

**Borders, boundaries and barriers:  
A narrative on Hammanskraal/Temba**

by

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## *A few Personal Notes on the Story behind the Study*

*As is true for life and every struggle, one also has to scratch beneath the skin of this study to get to the heart of it all...*

*Therefore, a word of thanks to...*

*The people of Hammanskraal/Temba without whom there wouldn't have been a story to tell, and for what I could have learned from you about life and about hope,  
and Mr Molopyane and all those who granted interviews and offered time, information, maps and help along the way – Ke a Leboga!*

*Ook 'n dankie aan dié sonder wie ek nie die studie sou kon aanpak en voltooi nie...*

*Johan vir jou motivering, ondersteuning, hulp en opoffering,*

*Prof Sakkie vir die geduld, raad, 'brain-waves' en geloof in die saak,*

*Mark vir 'n wêreld van post-modernisme en nuwe insigte,*

*Alida vir die tegniese versorging en laat nagte,*

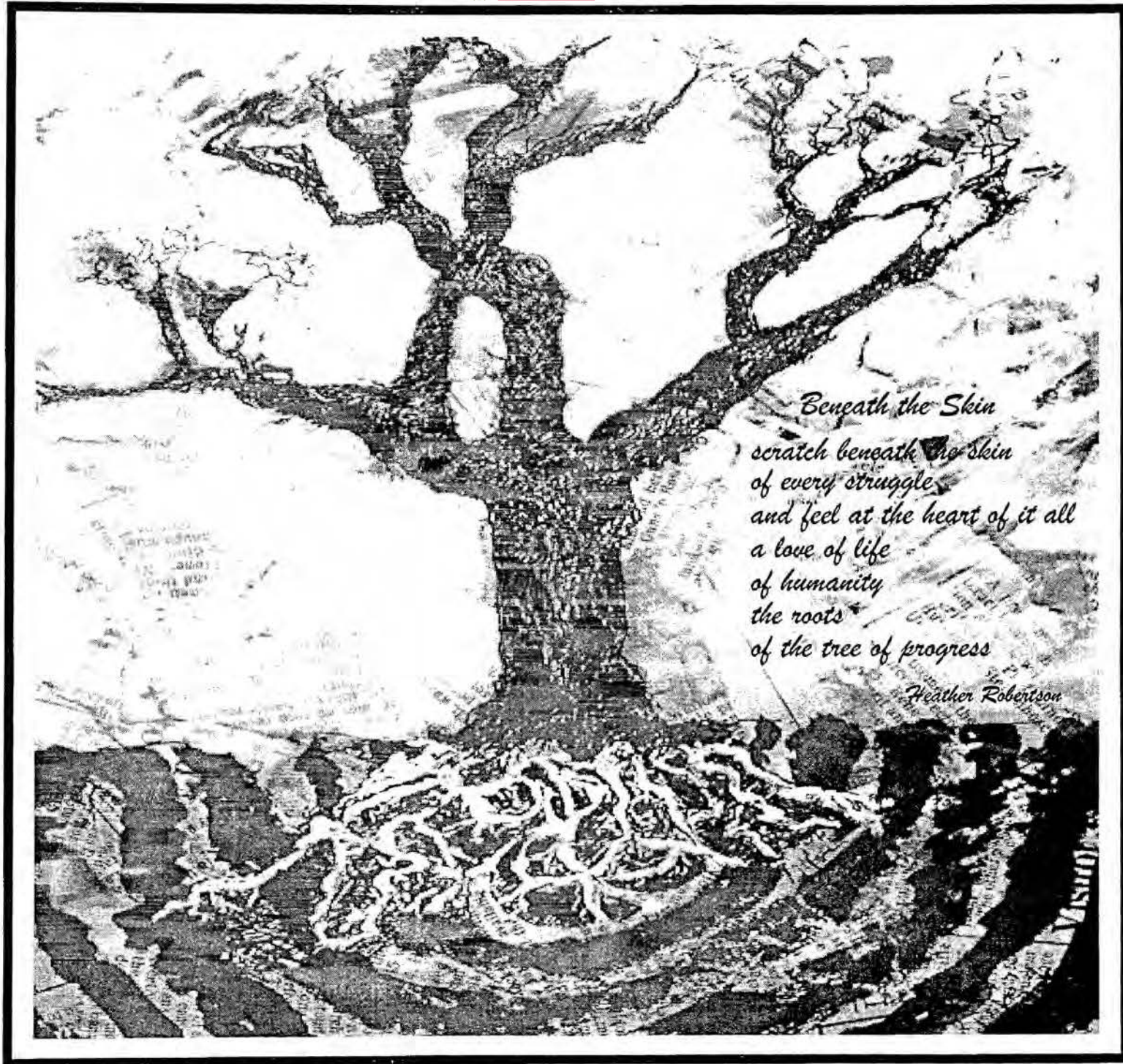
*Reinier en Dimitri vir tegnologie en raad,*

*Hennie en Annemarie vir krisisbestuur en 'konsekwentheid' en  
al my vriende en familie vir die ondersteuning en verstaan.*

*And then a special word of thanks to God - the source of Hope, for places of hope such as Temba  
and for Hope that kept people going when everything seemed hopeless.*

*Vir: Pappa en Mamma  
en al die geleenthede, liefde en vertroue.*

*Eloona*



# LIST OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

i

SAMEVATTING

iii

## **PART 1**

### **AN INTRODUCTION TO MY/HI-STORY OF, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE STUDY**

#### **ONE**

**AN INTRODUCTION TO MY/HI-STORY OF THE STUDY**

**1**

## **TWO**

### **HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

**7**

A REFLECTION ON SOME (LARGELY MODERNIST)  
DISCOURSES IN HISTORY

8

About a 'radical' view on the relative nature of objectivity

9

About the complexity of causation and how it is easier to  
determine general causes than particular causes

10

How the individual plays a much less important role than the  
group and the group's subconscious actions and influences

11

About the changes in the nature and topics within History and  
the influence of the social and political environment

11



About the relationship between the perceived value of history  
as a story of progress and confidence in man's future

12

Reflections on the discourses mentioned

13

### **THREE**

## **HISTORY IN THE MODERN/POST-MODERN CONTEXTS**

**14**

A BRIEF REFLECTION ON MODERNISM

15

About the origin of modernity, or 'new' ways of 'modern'  
thinking (repeated through linear time)

15

How space and pre-planning are imbedded in modernity

16

About a change in community life and the 'modern nation-  
state', as concepts of modernity

17

How 'modern history is perceived as elitism

17

About economic progress as the basis of modernity

18

Critique against modernity

18

### A BRIEF REFLECTION ON POST-MODERNISM

18

Some undefined notions of post-modernism as critique  
against modernism, questioning global views etc... etc...

19

About the origin of post-modernism in the culminating of a  
number of views, ideas, events etc... etc...

20

About the skeptical and affirmative post-modernists as two of  
many orientations within post-modernism

(as identified by Rosenau)

21

About the relation between the modernism/post-modernism  
debate and the fordism/post-fordism distinction

21

The post-modern focus on the importance of locality

21

Styles of discourse within post-modernism, contradicting traditional research, logic and reason 22	An interpretation of history in one of the post-modern contexts 28
About how post-modernists diminish the role of the author 23	A reflection on some theories of knowledge/ a discussion on 'how we know' 29
About the post-modern focus on the subject/individual as an everyday person, reflecting her/his situation 24	About whether there is after all, still a point in having history? 31
How post-modernism regard 'truth and reality' as relative 24	<b>FOUR</b> <b>A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH APPROACH WITH A POST-MODERN INFUSION</b> <b>33</b>
About the methods without methodology promoted by post-modernism 25	AN APPROACH TO HISTORY FOLLOWED IN THE STUDY 34
How history is regarded as a form of story-telling within post-modernism 26	About an approach to truth which is more democratic, participatory, and conversational 35
Some criticism against post-modernism 26	About the questionable role of objectivity and history as a form of interpretation 37
How the influence of post-modernism should not be disregarded 27	

A case for empathy, not with the people of the past, but rather with the people who constructed the past

39

How sources and evidence could be used/abused, are relative and should be critically reflected on

40

About interpreting causation and the way in which one should be aware of what one is doing and why, when doing research

42

About the nature of a qualitative/ phenomenological research approach

43

About a possible use for the historical narrative as an extension of the structure of reality

45

## **FIVE THE STUDY**

**49**

ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

50

ABOUT THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY

51

RESEARCH APPROACH AND STRATEGY

52

THE WAY FORWARD

53

A deconstruction of the discourses of development intent

55

Borders, boundaries and barriers:  
A narrative on Hammanskraal/Temba

55

Proposed format of the study

56

## **PART 2 BORDERS, BOUNDARIES AND BARRIERS: A NARRATIVE ON HAMMANSKRAAL/TEMBA**

### **PRELUDE**

a

### **THE STAGE SETTING**

c

About 'division' and its relevance to the rest of the story

d

A 'divisionist' reflection on the history of Hammanskraal/Temba before Unification

d

About the 'division' of land in particular

f

### **ONE SOME EXPERIENCE IN HAMMANSKRAAL/TEMBA**

1

About an experience of borders and boundaries in Hammanskraal/Temba

2

About barriers erected against development in the Hammanskraal/Temba area

6

### **TWO THE EVOLUTION OF TERRITORIAL PARTITION**

10

About the Unionist Government's native policy and the barrier in law, laid between black and non-black landholding

11

About the way in which the Smuts-Government tried to ensure communication between parliament and Natives

14

About keeping the South African Party in power and the persistence of segregationist policies after the 1920 elections

15



About the Nationalist-Labour pact in Parliament and the stated intention to develop the reserves

16

How the reserves had to be developed and how numerous other regulations were drawn up to keep Natives out of the urban areas

18

How policies after the big depression tried to 'solve the native question', and how the South African Native Trust was introduced to promote development of the reserves

19

How industrialisation in the reserves was discussed, found necessary and abandoned

21

About the end of the Fusion Government, the slow down of development in reserves during the war period, the introduction of regional planning, its modernistic nature and the role of the Social and Economic Planning Council.

23

How, after the war period, the South African Native Affairs Commission felt that changes in society, necessitated the reconsideration of native policies since the last attempt in 1936

26

### **THREE**

#### **SOME RECOLLECTIONS ON A PLACE CALLED HOPE**

**28**

An answer on a question of 'why?', that makes one wonders 'why?'

32

### **FOUR**

#### **SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT: COMING OF AGE**

**36**

How the Nationalists came to power and officially introduced apartheid, accompanied by the first policy on separate development

37

How border industries and township development were supposed to provide a means to achieve separate development

39

About Government's commitment to separate development and the prospect of Bantu self-government

42

About the role the Bantu Investment Corporation tried to play in developing the reserves with little immediate (if other?) effect

44

How South Africa became a Republic and policy and planning were divided between the Department of Planning and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development

45

## **FIVE**

### **ON THE 'OTHER' SIDE OF THE BORDER WHERE THE GRASS IS NOT ALWAYS GREENER**

50

How Temba developed as the first planned black town

51

About self-governing in Bophuthatswana

52

About development policies and plans in Bophuthatswana that did not really make a difference to places such as Temba

53

About the origin, development and success stories of Babelegi – and whether it was developed to lull or to rescue?

54

## **SIX**

### **SOME EXPERIENCES AND CONFLICTS IN BOPHUTHATSWANA**

57

Babelegi, supposed to carry a homeland on the back, but facing problems of its own

58

About life (of especially non-Tswanas) in Temba in the 'self-governing' Bophuthatswana

61

About the conflict, border and land disputes  
in the Hammanskraal/Temba area,  
especially between the Kekana's and Chief Mangope  
63

**SEVEN**  
**SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT ... SELFGOVERNMENT ...**  
**INDEPENDENCE ...**  
**66**

How self-government was kick-started in Bophuthatswana  
67

About the Bophuthatswana general elections of 1972, the role  
of Temba and the election of Chief Minister Mangope  
67

About problems in the Bophuthatswana legislator and on the  
development scene, including the Kekana tribal land  
69

About Temba, it's growth in size although not in viability  
and the problems it experienced,  
even as a town next to a growth point  
70

About Bophuthatswana gaining independence, and how it  
went about planning, politics and policies  
73

How the NPDP did not move beyond the official borders, but  
by the 1980's changed its focus to functional boundaries,  
including Temba with the PWV complex  
75

**EIGHT**  
**THE FALL OF THE 'BANTUSTANS'**  
**78**

About a call for bantustans to fall, the unbanning of the ANC  
and SACP and the beginning of reform in the old South Africa  
79

About Bophuthatswana deliberating on their future  
relationship with the (to be established) new South Africa  
80

**NINE**  
**THE ROAD TO TRANSFORMATION IN**  
**HAMMANSKRAAL/TEMBA AND MANDELA VILLAGE**  
**82**

About reported conflict in the Hammanskraal/Temba area (especially between the Bophuthatswana Government and non-Tswana homeland residents), on the road to the transformation of this bantustan

83

About Hammanskraal/Temba's hope for functional integration with the new South Africa

85

About the way in which Mandela Village got established and developed amidst the turmoil

85

About the Mandela Village community's fight for survival under the sword of unresolved land issues

87

About Hammanskraal's problems and conflicts during local government elections as a result of dissatisfaction with boundaries and taxation issues

90

**TEN**  
**THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA –**  
**A TEMBA OR SOFASONKE?**  
**92**

How hope for integration of Temba and Hammanskraal got shammed by the demarcation board

93

**ELEVEN**  
**STILL DEVIDED...**  
**BORDERS, BOUNDARIES AND BARRIERS**  
**99**

About the land claims lodged by the Kekana Royal Executive and the Amandebele-Ba-Lebelo Tribal Authority for land restitution

100

How the broader Hammanskraal community decided to take positive action, against the odds

103



## **PART 3**

# **MAKING MY OWN SANDWICHES**

About the study culminating in a  
kaleidoscope of stories, in different shapes and colours  
1

About some 'lessons' I have learned  
9

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **LIST OF ANNEXURES**

Annexure A:  
Practical implications for doing historical research

Annexure B:  
Qualitative research approach

Annexure C:  
Interviews

## LIST OF TABLES AND TABLES, ILLUSTRATIONS AND EXPRESSIONS

*Beneath the Skin*

*Illustration: Stevens, D.*

*Poem: Robertson, H.*

*(Book of Hope, 1992: 10-1)*

### PART 1

<i>Map 1: Hammanskraal/Temba</i> <i>'Official borders'</i> <i>(Benbo, 1977: Republic of Bophuthatswana)</i>	<i>6+1</i>	<i>Map 3: Hammanskraal/Temba</i> <i>'Borders by a resident'</i> <i>(Maggy Ledwaba, 1997)</i>	<i>6+3</i>
<i>Map 2: Mandela Village</i> <i>'Borders illustrated by an official'</i> <i>(Barnard, C. 1995)</i>	<i>6+2</i>	<i>Map 4: Hammanskraal</i> <i>Hammanskraal illustrated by a resident</i> <i>(Johanna Msima, 1997)</i>	<i>6+4</i>

**PART 2**

<i>Hope</i>	9+1
<i>Aesop's Fables, 1989:104</i>	
<i>Homeland standing room only</i>	27+1
<i>(Berry, A. 1989:125)</i>	
<i>Homeland scene</i>	27+2
<i>Dauids, A.</i>	
<i>(Book of Hope, 1992: 87)</i>	
<i>Spirit of a Crocodile</i>	35+1
<i>Mhlophe, G.</i>	
<i>(Book of Hope, 1992: 53-6)</i>	
<i>Forced Removals</i>	35+5
<i>Schwegmann, W.</i>	
<i>(South Africa The Cordoned Heart, 1986:91)</i>	

<i>Forced removals</i>	35+6
<i>(Berry, A. 1989:89)</i>	
<i>The Astronomer</i>	49+1
<i>(Aesop's Fables, 1989:39)</i>	
<i>Commuters</i>	49+2
<i>Goldblatt, D.</i>	
<i>(South Africa The Cordoned Heart, 1986:39)</i>	
<i>Bantustans</i>	49+3
<i>(Berry, A. 1989:18)</i>	
<i>A stake in the homeland</i>	56+1
<i>(Berry, A. 1989:49)</i>	
<i>SA Chess</i>	56+2
<i>(Berry, A. 1989:105)</i>	

<i>Bophuthatswana to have a casino</i> (Berry, A. 1989:67)	65+1	<i>Apartheid</i> (Berry, A. 1989:119)	81+3
<i>The fuse</i> (Berry, A. 1989:96)	65+2	<i>A vote for Unity</i> Mhlophe, G. (27 April 1994, 1994:86)	91+1
<i>SS Bophuthatswana launched</i> (Berry, A. 1989:85)	77+1	<i>Sun &amp; Moon</i> Bailey, B. (A Book of hope, 1992:2)	91+3
<i>Independent homelands</i> (Berry, A. 1989:98)	77+2	<i>Angel of Hope</i> Nolutshungu, T. (A Book of hope, 1992:63)	98+1
<i>The Oak and the Reeds</i> (Aesop's Fables, 1989:113)	81+1	<i>The crow and the pitcher</i> (Aesop's Fables, 1989:107)	105+1
<i>Protest at funeral</i> Badsha, O. (South Africa The Cordoned Heart, 1986:163)	81+2	<i>Apartheid</i> (Berry, A. 1989:76)	105+2



**- ABSTRACT -**

**Borders, boundaries and barriers:  
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by

**Elsona van Huyssteen**

**Supervisor: Prof. Dr. M.S. Badenhorst**

**Department of Town and Regional Planning**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree Masters in Town and Regional Planning  
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Traditional historiographic research is challenged by the very nature of post-modernism which, in terms of one of its less radical viewpoints, views history not so much as truth-seeking, nor objective activity, but rather re-interpreting it as story-telling and as history reflective of itself - an approach which have determined the nature and style of this study.

The study was prompted firstly by my exposure to the legacy of apartheid with regards to land and past planning policies while working at the Department of Land Affairs, and secondly by my personal involvement in Hammanskraal/Temba. The latter straddles the border of a former homeland, formed part of the previous governments' border industry programme, suffers tenure problems on land-ownership issues and is bisected by two present provincial boundaries. For a long time to come Hammanskraal/Temba will struggle to overcome results of modernistic grand apartheid policies as reflected in gross inequalities, uncertainty and the like.

The aim of this study was therefore to form an understanding of the grand generalising and local narratives regarding borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area, as well as the influence of the discourses of development intent on the area and its people.

In order to address the issues it was necessary to deconstruct the discourses in development intent that affected the Hammanskraal/Temba area, and to tell the respective role players' stories of the shaping of borders, boundaries and barriers in the area, as well as to play off the various discourses in grand, local and expressive narratives, as it is still unfolding. Instead of giving an 'all encompassing truth' or deliberately simplifying the 'story' in order to fit into a logical, chronological structure (arguing 'modernisticly', so that the reader cannot do otherwise than to agree with the argument), I rather opted towards telling some of the stories reflecting on various experiences regarding borders, boundaries and barriers in the area.

There are stories of artificial boundaries, of racists and capitalists, of land and tenure, of division, separation, independence and later integration, of reserves and their underdevelopment, of people suffering and struggling, and of unviable towns and demarcations. In these stories the immense influence and effect of policies and development intent on peoples lives, as well as on the physical, social and economical environment, are illustrated. However, the stories illustrate that not only were complicated barriers created, but also how in some cases, they were perpetuated and enhanced.

The value of this historical narrative, lies in the way it makes sense of events, actions and experiences, bringing forward stories that 'deserve to be told', thus opening up a new way of looking at planning and planning history. It illustrates the complexity and intriguing relationships and problems of an area influenced by a magnitude of modernistic planning policies and actions, casting a glimpse on the effect of borders, boundaries and barriers on the lives of those who have to live with it, cross it, or in the worst instances, struggle against it – somehow always with a glimmer of hope.

**- SAMEVATTING -**  
**Grense, skeidslyne en versperrings:**  
**'n Vertelling van Hammanskraal/Temba**

deur

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Tradisionele geskiedskrywing word tans bevraagteken deur die wese van post-modernisme, wat geskiedenis in terme van sy minder radikale uitgangspunte nie soseer as 'n soeke na die waarheid of objektiwiteit beskou nie, maar eerder as 'n herinterpretering in die vorm van 'n verhalende vertelling en 'n geskiedenis wat nadenkend is - 'n benadering wat die aard en wese van hierdie ondersoek bepaal het.

Die ondersoek het sy oorsprong gehad in my blootstelling aan die nalatenskap van apartheid, veral met betrekking tot grond en beplanningsbeleid, tydens my dienstryd by die Departement van Grondsake, asook deur my persoonlike betrokkenheid in Hammanskraal/Temba. Laasgenoemde lê weerskante van die grens van 'n voormalige tuisland, het deel gevorm van die voormalige grensnywerheidsprogram, gebuk gegaan onder probleme met betrekking tot eiendomsreg en grondbesit, en word tans deur twee provinsiale

grense gehalveer. Hammanskraal/Temba sal nog lank worstel met die nalatenskap van modernistiese apartheidsbeleid soos vergestalt is in grootskaalse ongelykhede en onsekerhede.

Die doel van hierdie ondersoek was gevolglik om 'n begrip te vorm van die groot veralgemeende en plaaslike vertellings rakende grense, skeidslyne en versperrings in die Hammanskraal/Temba gebied, asook van die invloed van diskoerse van ontwikkelingsintensies op die gebied en sy mense.

Dit was gevolglik nodig om die diskoerse van ontwikkelingsintensies wat die Hammanskraal/Temba gebied beïnvloed het te ontleed, om die onderskeie rolspelers se verhale oor die vorming van grense, skeidslyne en versperrings in die gebied te vertel, asook om die 'groot' teenoor die plaaslike en ekspressionistiese verhale af te speel, soos dit steeds besig is om te ontvou. Inplaas daarvan om 'n allesinsluitende waarheid te probeer voorhou, of om die storie so te ooreenvoudig dat dit inpas binne 'n logiese, chronologiese struktuur (met 'modernistiese' argumentering waarmee die leser nie anders sou kon as saamstem nie), het ek eerder gestreef na die vertelling van sommige verhale wat reflekteer op die onderskeie ondervindings rakende grense, skeidslyne en versperrings in die gebied.

Daar is verhale van kunsmatige grense, van rassime en kapitalisme, van grond en grondbesit, van aparte ontwikkeling, onafhanklikheid en latere integrasie, van tuislande en hul onderontwikkeling, van mense se swaarkry en stryd, asook van onlewensvatbare dorpe en afbakenings. In hierdie verhale word die ontsaglike invloed van beleid en ontwikkelingsintensies op mense se lewens, asook op die fisiese, sosiale en ekonomiese omgewing, geïllustreer. Die verhale illustreer egter nie net die gekompliseerde versperrings wat daargestel is nie, maar ook waarom dit soms in stand gehou en versterk is.

Die waarde van hierdie historiese vertelling is gesetel in die manier waarop dit sin maak van gebeurtenisse, aksies en ondervindinge, terwyl dit verhale na vore bring wat 'verdien om vertel te word' en sodoende 'n nuwe wyse daarstel waardeur na beplanning en beplanningsgeskiedenis gekyk kan word. Dit illustreer die kompleksiteit van verhoudinge en probleme binne 'n gebied wat beïnvloed is deur 'n magdom van modernistiese beplanningsmaatreëls en aksies, dit werp lig op die effek van grense, skeidslyne en versperrings op die lewens van dié wat daarbinne, daar-oor, of in die ergste gevalle, daarteen moes worstel – desnieteenstaande altyd met 'n flikkering van hoop.



# PART 1

## **AN INTRODUCTION TO MY/HI-STORY OF, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY IN, THE STUDY**

“The history of the world? Just voices echoing in the dark; images that burn for a few centuries and then fade; stories, old stories that sometimes seem to overlap; strange links, impertinent connections. We lie here in our hospital bed of the present (what nice sheets do we get nowadays) with a bubble of daily news drip-fed into our arm. We think we know who we are, though we don’t quite know why we’re here, or how long we shall be forced to stay. And while we fret and writhe in bandaged uncertainty – are we a voluntary patient? – we fabricate. We make up a story to cover the facts and spin a new story round them. Our panic and our pain are only eased by soothing fabrication; we call it history”

(From Julian Barnes’ *The History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*, in Lozano 1995:125)

**- ONE -**

**AN INTRODUCTION TO  
MY/HI-STORY OF THE STUDY**

“My son will understand. As much as for any living being, I’m telling my story for him, so that afterwards, when I’ve lost my struggle against cracks, he will know. Morality, judgement, character...it all starts with memory...I told you the truth...Memory’s truth, because memory has its own special kind. It selects, eliminates, alters...it creates its own reality...and no sane human being ever trusts someone else’s version more than his own.”

(Saleem Rushdie as quoted in Hervas, 1995:80)

# - ONE -

## An Introduction to My/Hi-Story of the Study

Once upon a time, not so long ago, I was appointed as lecturer in a Department of Town and Regional Planning - as it was still called then, in spite of the various conferences and debates regarding planning's future as a profession - at a renowned academic institution. Maybe it should be stated more specifically - as time and time frame is of relevance in this instance - that it was early in 1996 and that the academic institution was probably renowned to me and others who by that time had crossed its path in both the 'old' and the 'new' South Africa.

Some of the subjects I had to present that year involved a focus on the role of apartheid in South Africa and the 'history' of planning in the country. It could be argued that it was apt, after all it was only 2 years after the first democratic elections in 1994, with progress towards the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and with a lot of ...

politicians, ministers, new government officials and advisors, expatriates, never-to-have-been-blamed English wo/men, converted white Afrikaans fe/males and naturally academics (from previously

privileged and underprivileged institutions), talking, meeting, discussing, deliberating and writing on (and on) the burden of apartheid.

As a young, white(?) Afrikaans(?) female(!) I had experienced, a hi-story-education in an Afrikaans public school, a totally different (and at that time confronting) hi-story-education at the mentioned (then) Afrikaans academic institution (even before the 1991 reformist speech of De Klerk), and a number of her/hi-stories by former privileged and underprivileged, white and black, young and old South Africans.

It therefore came that I found myself with a mission (and for that a problem) -the hi-story of planning in South Africa that was to become my-story(?).

Immediately, however, the questions arose...what is history...what is the truth...can my/hi-story be told without it being from a certain perspective(s) ...is that academic and scientifically acceptable..? It could be worthwhile to

first elaborate on these issues further, although I choose not to - here, however, please feel free to continue it with me in the second section, even now if you would prefer.

Well, as most other lecturers (I presume, as I am not one for that long) I began scrutinising texts - her/their/apartheid/post-apartheid/official and unofficial/ previously prescribed and unprescribed and still other hi-stories of planning in South Africa. Through the texts, accounts, critiques, theories and explanations, the numerous effects of apartheid and the role of planning policy in apartheid, left me stunned.

One such moment of captivation in text, was in the dust of the library at the Department of Land Affairs. During a day of searching through old files and reports, I laid hands on the annual reports of the Native Affairs Commission. The report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1923 (Union of South Africa, 1923) *inter alia* elaborated on the Native (Urban Areas) Bill, which was to come into effect on 1 January 1924, as well as on various issues regarding native reserves. Ignorance and (to be said) additional hindsight, made me gasp at almost every paragraph, especially the minutes of the Native Conference, which was held at the Raadsaal in Pretoria on 24 September 1923, in terms of Act No. 23 of 1920. After the Chairman's address it is noted that two of the Native delegates, Mr Pelem and Mr Sikiti, respectively posed and supported a motion (Union of South Africa, 1923:32) that:

*"... this Conference of leaders and representatives of the Native population of the Union of South Africa wishes to place on record its sense of the great debt of gratitude they owe the Government for its statesmanlike foresight, recognition and concession to the Natives of the right and freedom to participate in the discussion of the mighty Native question on which hang (sic) the future and destiny of this country."*

As to the motives behind posing this motion in such a way, the deep lying impression of thanking someone to participate (the nature of which could be questioned) in one's own affairs, in such a seemingly subversive manner, and the foresight regarding the future of the country - I could just (and still do) stand in awe.

In the midst of my search in literature and historiographies of the history of planning in South Africa, I was, however, confronted with a problem, much more real and tangible - and in the present, which I'd like to share with you. During the course of February 1996 I attended, via the University's link with the Hammanskraal area, a discussion taking place between the Transitional Local Council's (TLC's) of Temba and Hammanskraal. That particular day a colleague and myself were standing in for our head of department, who was unable to attend the meeting himself. We were attending the meeting only as observers and only to deliver advice on technical issues, when needed.

We left Pretoria with the notion of 'another meeting to take place', but great were our astonishment on the issues facing these communities! The talks centred on the issue of a possible amalgamation between the Hammanskraal TLC and the Temba TLC. What was clear very soon, however, was that there were much more involved than amalgamating two TLC's. Also at stake and involved were the tribal area of the Kekaane tribe, former South African Development Trust (SADT) land, a so-called "squatter area" named Mandela Village which seemed to fall in nobody's jurisdiction, and a clash of provincial boundaries with TLC boundaries. As if this was not intricate enough, problems regarding the payment of taxes and representation were also underlying all issues. These were also further worsened by Babelegi (the industrial area) and other major retail and shopping facilities falling in one TLC area, while being supported and even provided with infrastructure by the other TLC, and provincial government. It did not only sound confusing, but it became evident from the meeting that the confusion and disagreements were hampering development and especially efforts from the Development Forums of the two TLC's, to a great extent.

Needless to say that against the background of the area straddling the border of a former homeland, being part of the border industry programme, experiencing problems with land ownership and borders at both local and provincial level - a number of questions regarding the role and the history of

planning in the development of the area and its current dilemmas, arose in my mind.

At that moment and from that moment on, I was (and kept being) stunned, moved, angered and intrigued with the origin of the problems faced by the people of the Hammanskraal/Temba area. Hammanskraal/Temba continually conjured images of division before my eyes and became embedded in my mind, or maybe embedded me in it. It is therefore no surprise that in my continued reading on the history of planning, policies and politics, I increasingly 'stumbled' across the Hammanskraal area in various texts and histories.

For example, in the report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1923 (Union of South Africa, 1923), the Native Affairs Commission *inter alia* reports on issues relating to the reserves and the handling of land, passes, taxation and education, as well as to tours undertaken to various parts of the then Union of South Africa. One such tour undertaken during August 1923 was the Transvaal Tour (Union of South Africa, 1923:15), where meetings ...

*"with Natives were held at the following centres: Graskop, Lydenburg, Schoonoord, Pokwani, Haenertsburg, Groot Spelonken, Louis Trichardt, Sibasa, Pietersburg, Potgietersrust, Nylstroom and Hammanskraal."*

In subsequent annual reports, such as the reports of the years 1925 and 1926 (Union of South Africa, 1927:52), I found mention being made of visits by the Native Affairs Commission, and in all these, Hammanskraal features as a place often visited. Even in the 1903-1905 Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (SA Native Affairs Commission, 1905:7) mention was made of the tribes not belonging to the central Bechuana and Basuto tribes, but found living in the northern districts of Transvaal (in the Hammanskraal area).

In my search for sources on the early twentieth century planning activities I came across a report prepared for the General Staff, War Office, United Kingdom, by Bt.-Major R.H. Massie (Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905). It is reported (Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905:32-4), amongst other things, that in the Central Division of the Transvaal, the native population of the 'Hamans Kraal District' (as spelt in the original text) was 27 874 of which the Kekaam Section of the Amandebele (Matabele) Tribes resided on the farm Leeuwkraal, 'Hamans Kraal District' under the chief Karel Kekaam.

The more I read about the history of planning policies and apartheid, and the more I was exposed to the problems faced by Hammanskraal/Temba - a place like most other peri-urban communities in South Africa, struggling for survival and characterised by most of South Africa's common problems, such as poverty, inadequate services and housing - the more I wondered whether

Hammanskraal/Temba could also be regarded as a living (or rather dying) "testimony" of the history of planning policies and politics in South Africa. With all the problems regarding borders and the restricting barriers, such as access to opportunities and resources, Hammanskraal/Temba seemed to me to be struggling to survive the results of modernistic, grand apartheid planning policies and planning processes.

A number of questions came to my mind and, according to me, needed to be asked and answered. I could not do otherwise but to wonder - What were the national political and planning discourses that affected the local Hammanskraal/Temba area? What were the influences these external forces had on the area and its people, assessed and played off against local discourses? What were the culminating effects of the interplay between intention and outcome, and between policies and results on the borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area?

However, what I needed to consider was whether some answers or some explanations could be derived from the deconstruction of the interwoven mixture of "international", national and local texts, focusing on the impact of South African and former Bophuthatswana policies and politics on the development of the Temba/Hammanskraal area, which is still unfolding. And indeed - whether such an inquiry or research could be regarded as achievable. Can one really look at modernistic policies and planning, without

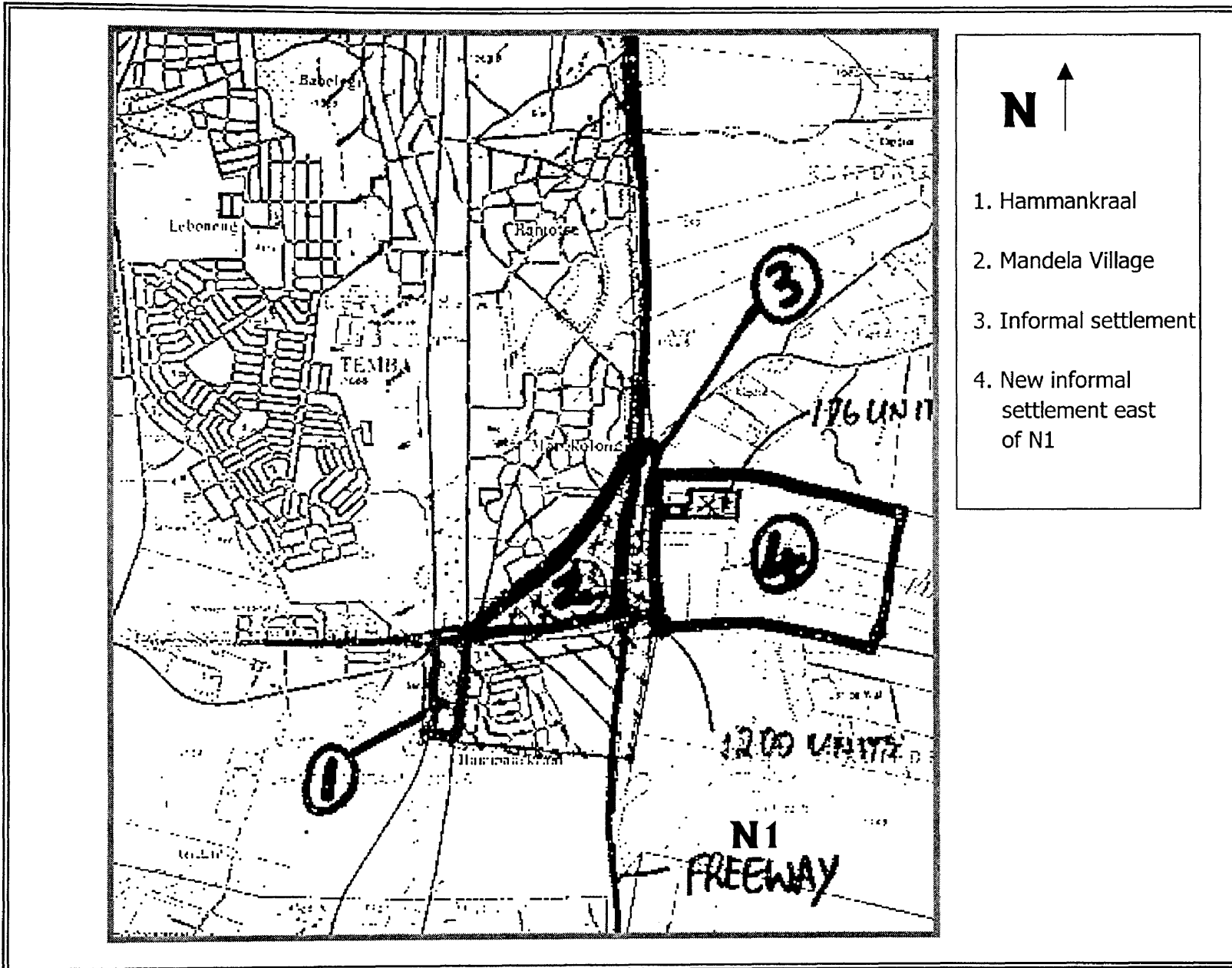
just again imposing another modernistic way of doing and thinking on the area, its people and its story?

To establish whether an attempt could be made to deconstruct these texts, a look into the past and an effort to learn/explain/understand from it, is implied. I, therefore, found it necessary to dwell on the importance, relevance and possibility of 'learning from the past' and the thoughts and discourses surrounding the nature and approaches to history. An apt place to start, I thought.

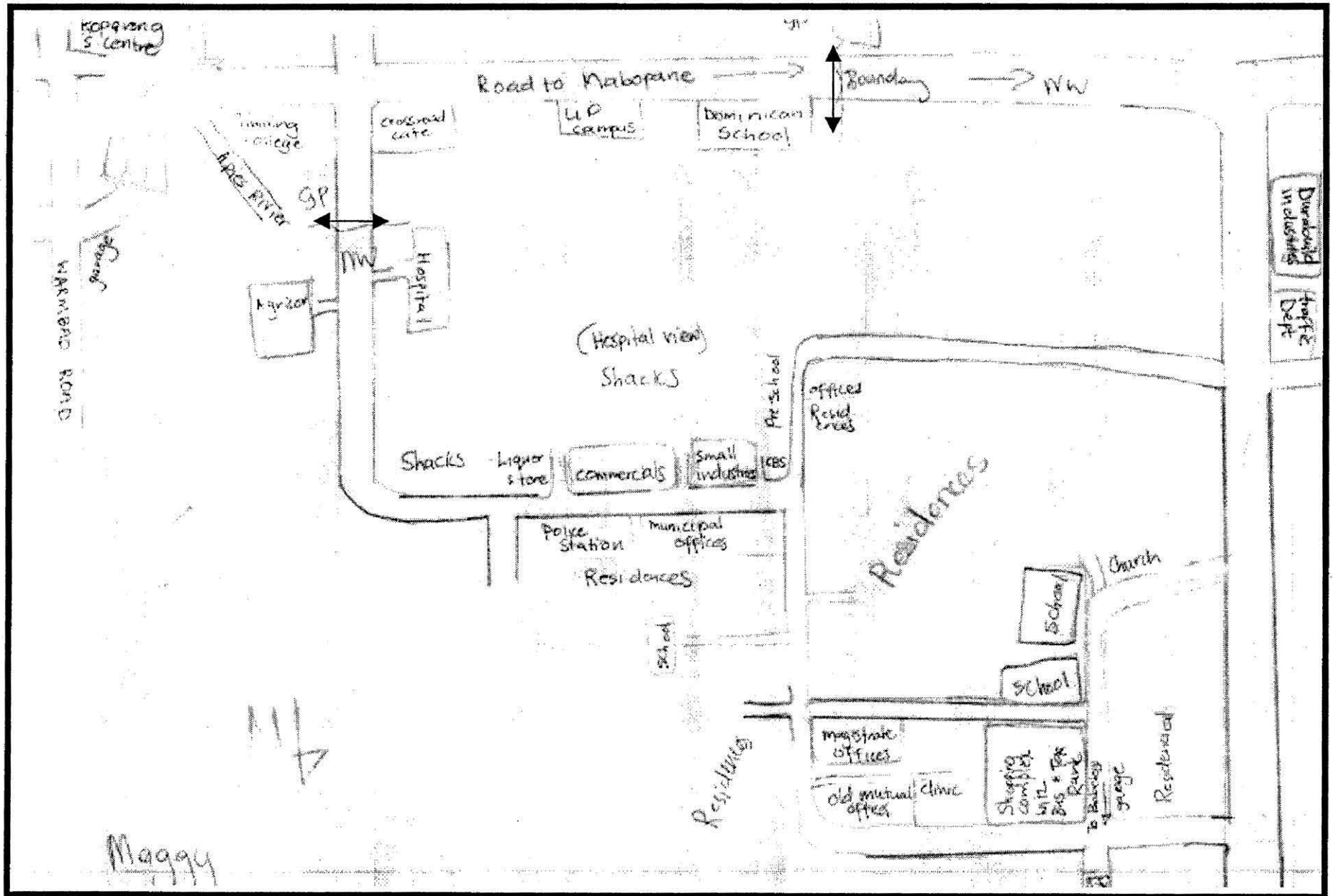




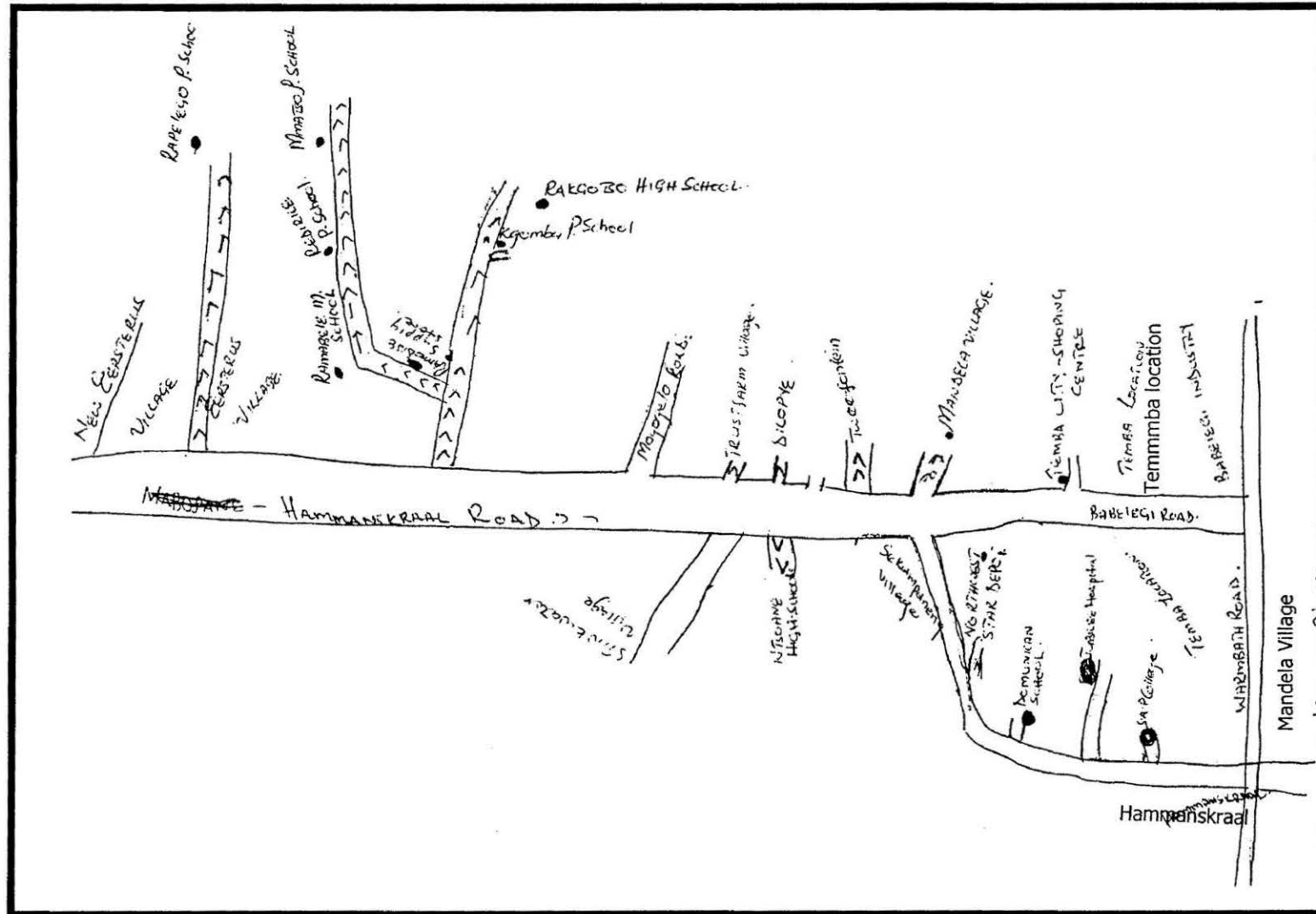




Map 2: Mandela Village  
'Borders illustrated by an official



Map 3: Hammanskraal/Temba 'Borders - by a resident'



Map 4: Hammanskraal/Temba: Illustrated by a resident'

## **-TWO-**

# **HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

“...the forces operating in history are not controlled by destiny or regulative mechanisms, but respond to haphazard conflicts. They do not manifest the successive forms of primordial intention and their attraction is not that of conclusion, for they always appear through the singular randomness of events.”

(Michael Foucault in Lozano, 1995:121)

## -TWO-

# History and Historiography

As already explained, I embarked on a new quest - and I had no guarantee that it would be a quest (with 'zero defect') without unsurmountable stumbling blocks on its way. In order to provide an understanding of the approaches to and within history and historiography, I tried to briefly reflect on history and the discourses surrounding it – a quest which seemed to pose the first stumbling block of gigantic proportions. I could not and have by no means attempted to, give a complete overview of the past and current discourses in history and the philosophy of history, or an in-depth look into the post-modern approach to history and the discourses surrounding that.

To determine whether and how a study in historical context could be done, to investigate into planning in the past and to form a(n) understanding of events and intentions, I, however, had to reflect (even though in a limited manner) on the discourses between historians and philosophers of history, to form an understanding of how history is approached and interpreted in our presumably post-modern world. How else could a 'planner' attempt to approach historical research?

### A REFLECTION ON SOME (LARGELY MODERNIST) DISCOURSES IN HISTORY

The first step obviously was to come to grips with the current, as well as recent past, discourses and discussions within the field of history and philosophy of history. According to William Dray (a professor in philosophy), in his book 'Perspectives on History' (1980:9), such an attempt could not be made without taking into account the views of R.G. Collingwood. It seems as though Collingwood's doctrines have been widely acknowledged by both philosophers and historians, since his posthumous monograph 'The Idea of History' was published in 1946. According to Dray (1980:9), one of the central ideas in Collingwood's work was that to understand the past in a properly historical way a 're-enactment of past experience' or a 're-thinking of past thought' is required of the historian. In Collingwood's own words the idea can briefly be described as that an historians work *"... may begin by discovering the outside of an event (factual data, dates, etc.), but it can never end there; he must always remember that the event was an action, and that his main task is to think himself into this action, to discern the thought of the agent (by re-thinking them in his own mind)"* (quoted in Dray, 1980:10 - own inserts between brackets).

After reading this, and agreeing that there are more to events than the mere 'outside of an event' the question that immediately came to my mind was - how on earth would I be able to rethink myself into other peoples actions? Well, the only hope I had was, that since this idea of Collingwood arose in the 1940's, some historian or philosopher had by this time critically evaluated this (to my mind) modernist, though emphatic, notion. This hope I soon found not to have been in vain, especially with all the post-modern thoughts and discussions - but let me first briefly discuss some of the thoughts and arguments that marked history through the previous number of decades.

Not trying to discredit Collingwood and all other historians after him, I should mention that in trying to come to some form of understanding of the thinking surrounding history, I found the arguments and discourses in the posthumous edition of "What is History?", by E. H. Carr, quite fascinating. It gives an overview of the thoughts surrounding history until the 1960's, with brief mention of his own thoughts through the 1970's and early 1980's (Carr, 1986). The first edition of "What is History?" appeared in 1961. After Carr's death, this edition was edited by R.W. Davies together with Carr's notes and preface for a follow up edition, which was not completed by that time, to form the second edition. In this edition I found discussions of discourses regarding objectivity, causation, the role of the individual in history, the changes in history, the influence of the social and political environment and the value of history. Other interpretations and reflections were maybe more

in-depth regarding certain issues - but as I already stated, my purpose is only to give an overview and not to historicise history.

### **About a 'radical' view on the relative nature of objectivity**

The edition edited by Davies was quite enlightening as he discussed his opinion on Carr's thoughts and arguments, as well as the evolution thereof. According to Davies, contrary to some other historians, Carr did not agree with empiricism in history, which according to him was based on the *"...belief that all problems can be solved by a value-free method, i.e. that there is an objective right solution and way of reaching it - the supposed assumptions of science transferred to the social sciences"* (Carr, 1986:xix).

Following (or maybe rather leading) this argument, Carr also dismissed the notion that facts speak for themselves and that an episode can be analysed without reference to the whole. According to Davies this could be brought in connection with Marx's views, because *"To study the part without reference to the whole, the fact without reference to its significance, the event without reference to the cause or consequence, the particular crises without reference to the general situation, would have seemed to Marx a barren exercise"* (Davies in Carr, 1986:xx).



Even though Carr denied so-called empiricism, adhered to the relativity of historical knowledge and voiced a (at the time) radical opinion on objectivity, he still regarded it possible to be an 'objective historian', even though with certain preconditions. He argued that *"...while no historian can claim for his own values an objectivity beyond history, an 'objective' historian can be said to be one 'with a capacity to rise above the limited vision of his own situation in society and history' and with 'the capacity to project his vision into the future in such a way as to give him a more profound and more lasting insight into the past'"* (Carr, 1986:xxii).

It is, however, interesting to note that this view of Carr triggered strong critique as critics defended the traditional (at that time) view that *"...the objective historian is one who forms judgements on the basis of evidence, despite his own preconceptions"* (Davies in Carr, 1986:xxii).

### **About the complexity of causation and how it is easier to determine general causes than particular causes**

Taking into account my interest in historical research and the questions on why, what happened and what caused this situation - I found Carr's discussions and discourse regarding cause, equally interesting. In the first edition Carr deliberated on the issue of 'cause' and noted that each historical event/episode confronts the historian with several and complex causes, which he then tries to bring into relation with one another. This thought was, however, elaborated on in his notes for the second edition, in which (according to Davies) he drew from notes from Montesquieu who stated that causes *"...become less arbitrary as they have a more general effect. Thus we know better what gives a certain character to a nation than what gives a particular mentality to an individual...what forms the spirit of societies that have embraced a way of life than what forms the character of a single person"* (Carr, 1986:xxvi). Carr also agreed with Tocqueville's notion that a difference exists *"...between 'ancient and general causes' and 'particular and recent causes'"* (Carr, 1986:xxvi) as he saw the historian being primarily concerned with the general and long-term.

### **How the individual plays a much less important role than the group and the group's subconscious actions and influences**

This modernist notion of historians being concerned with the long-term and the general, was also reflected in Carr and his contemporaries' notion that the individual played a much less (if not no) role in shaping history, but rather represents *"...a group of interests and attitudes which mould their thinking ...(and it is better to) look at history rather less in terms of conscious personal behaviour, and more in terms of subconscious group situations and attitudes"* (Carr, 1986:xxx). However, Davies further noted that despite the above, Carr was still puzzled by the role of 'accident' and person in history (as is shown in his discussions of Lenin and Hitler) and admitted that *"...even if you maintain that in the long run everything would have turned out much the same, there is a short run which is important, and makes a great deal of difference to a great many people"* (Carr, 1986:xxx).

### **About the changes in the nature and topics within history and the influence of the social and political environment**

To me, it became evident that history has not been and never will be a fixed subject about the past. The whole nature of history, the approaches and attitudes towards it, as well as the aspects guiding it, continually change. I regard my reading and writing, including this study, even your reading here, as just such an example of the changing of and deliberation on the discourses in history. The changes in history are also an aspect deliberated on by Carr in 'What is History?' and in notes and files for the second edition.

He held the notion that since the First World War the materialist conception of history on historical writings has been very strong (Carr, 1986:xxxii) and mostly shaped by Marxist influences. He further argued that this resulted in, or led to a change of the general topics of history from aspects such as battles, diplomatic manoeuvres and political history, towards aspects such as economic factors, social conditions and class struggles. History, thus, all the more tended towards sociology, which increased in popularity. According to Davies, it is evident from Carr's notes for the new edition (Carr, 1986:xxxii) that he regarded history and the social sciences to be in a crisis. Carr saw history as taking cover in methodology, which he calls the 'cult of quantitative history' - in which statistical information is made the source of all historical



inquiries. He further noted a movement in history (because of the crisis within itself) to the social sciences, which he regarded as reactionary. He noted that *"History is preoccupied with fundamental processes of change. If you are allergic to these processes you abandon history and take cover in the social sciences. Today anthropology, sociology, etc. flourish. History is sick. But then our society too is sick"* (Carr, 1986:xxxii).

The discourses and different approaches within history are for example reflected in the differences between the structuralist approach to history and the traditional historic or vertical approach. The traditional historic or vertical approach analyses society in terms of where it came from and where it is heading, while the structuralist approach analyses society in terms of the structural relationship between its various parts. These approaches also had different supporters. Carr (1986:xxxiv) for example, held the opinion that *"structuralism is the fashionable philosophy of a conservative period"* and had a negative effect on the study of history and that even though Levi-Strauss quoted from Marx, it was some times only to serve his own purpose. Davies, however, states that Carr once remarked that structuralists at least treated the past as a whole (Carr, 1986:xxxiii) and that *"...every sensible historian will agree that both approaches are necessary"*.

### **About the relationship between the perceived value of history, the past as a story of progress and confidence in man's future**

Even though Carr was very critical of historical studies of the time, he had a positive assertion of the value of history in its own right, and especially the value of a 'general history' (Carr, 1986:xxxiv). He maintained that the historian's perspectives and approach would be moulded by his social environment. With regards to the Britain of the 1970's he stated in 1974 that *"To a society which is full of confusion about the present, and has lost faith in the future, the history of the past will seem a meaningless jumble of unrelated events. If our society regains its mastery of the present, and its vision of the future, it will also, in virtue of the same process, renew its insight into the past"* (Carr, 1986:xxxv).

It should be noted that several years after this statement, Britain undergone an upsurge in conservative doctrines and a new confidence in the future, with a call for schools to focus more on British than on world history (Carr, 1986, pxxxv). According to Davies, Carr would have regarded this as *"...symptomatic of a sick society which sought comfort in recollecting of a glorious past, and to provide a striking demonstration of the extent to which historians reflect the prevailing trends in society"* (Carr, 1986:xxxvi).

To consider the crises of historical studies in the broad context of social and intellectual crises, in the new edition of "What is history?", Davies notes that Carr assembled a file on literature and art. In this file he argued that just as history and the natural and social sciences, art and literature are also influenced by the social environment (Carr, 1986:xxxvi).

Carr regarded the twentieth century as being marked by pessimism and hopelessness, reflected in the literature and poetry. According to him the literary critic could not stay uninfluenced by aspects other than language and literature (Carr, 1986:xxxviii). He subsequently regarded linguistic philosophy as without commitment to an idea and saw it as an escape from traditional philosophy.

Davies states that Carr intended the last chapters of the second edition of "What is History?" to *"...reassert that man's past had by a large degree been a story of progress and to proclaim his confidence in man's future"* (Carr, 1986:xxxviii). According to Carr the view of history as progress, that was introduced by the rationalists of the Enlightenment, has been rejected by intellectuals of the twentieth century, who were being sceptic about progress in the past and pessimistic about prospects for the future.

In spite of the above, Carr believed that *"...an understanding of the past... carries with it an enhanced insight into the future"*, but according to Davies

(Carr, 1986:xxxix) Carr added the important comment that the converse could also be equally true in that *"... our vision of the future influences our insight into the past"*.

### Reflections on the discourses mentioned

I am of the opinion that the discourses touched on by Davies and Carr give a broad overview of the discourses evident in history during the 1970's and 1980's and even before that. It is interesting to note that although Carr, for example, differs from his contemporaries with regards to objectivity in history, he regards the historian as being able to put himself in the thoughts of the agent - an aspect that is challenged by the 'new' interpretation of history. The arguments on 'cause' and the focus on general history are also challenged by some latter day historians. Carr noted the changes taking place in history and the social sciences, which to my mind is a reflection of the bigger discourses in society, namely the ones between modernism and post-modernism, notably embedded not only in our vision of the future but just as important in our perspectives on the past.

# **-THREE-**

## **HISTORY IN THE MODERN/POST-MODERN CONTEXTS**

"We cannot know the past except through its texts: its documents, its evidence, even its eye-witness accounts are texts. Even the institutions of the past, its social structures and practices, could be seen, in one sense, as social texts. And postmodern novels ... teach us about both this fact and its consequences."

(Hutcheons in Nadal, 1995:85)

## -THREE-

# History in the Modern/Post-Modern Contexts

I should state at this point (in writing) that I did not wish to, nor did I try to embark on an in-depth discussion of discourses in history (even though fascinating and tempting), and even less to do that with the concepts of modernism and post-modernism. Not that I do not find it fascinating, rather the contrary, but rather that I regard myself as no philosopher or expert (which I fortunately would not dare to be in this post-modern world) on a topic. As I read and searched, I found that the concept of post-modernism isn't to be easily described, contained or conquered. However, to discuss history against the background of the modern/post-modern contexts and discourses I feel obliged to briefly reflect and try to form 'a form of understanding of both modern and post-modern contexts - or maybe just try to give you an idea of what my (limited) perspective is. Or maybe I should say, try to play with words in order for you to deconstruct the text and find what the text reveals, even though it would most probably be what I not consciously intended to write, conceal or reveal.

### A BRIEF REFLECTION ON MODERNISM

Just as it can pose a problem to come to grips with the concept of post-modernism, I regard it as dangerous to simplify or think about modernity in an unwary manner. I will therefore, not attempt to cover the concept here. Instead I will only briefly touch on a few aspects of modernity as explained by Cooke (and understood by me) in his covering of the question of modernity (1990).

#### **About the origin of modernity, or 'new' ways of 'modern' thinking (repeated through linear time)**

It seems that the word modernity comprised of changing concepts and meanings from the medieval times, where the word 'modernity' meant expressing artistic novelty (traced by the social philosopher, Habermas as in Cook, 1990:4), through the Renaissance where modernism mostly implied the rehabilitated classicism, through the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries where 'modern' referred to the new way of thinking and with the Enlightenment, "...the elevation of human reason to a privileged position in western thought..." (Cook, 1990:4-5). And who now knows what 'modern' will

mean by the next millennium - if 'modern' (or maybe we) have by that time not constructed its (and our own) demise.

According to Cook, following the French Revolution, modernity became the *"...expression of individual and collective reason to bring about the achievement of some great social project"* (1990:5). With the change from the agricultural peasant existence towards emigration to cities, modernity was experienced as transitory and implying social upheaval. The prospect of 'modernity' implied that a person could regard her/his life as a project or adventure in which s/he is free to make choices regarding jobs, friends, etc. which implies that the person her/himself exercises a considerable amount of control over her/his life. Cook regards this entrepreneur-adventurer notion of 'modernity' as coinciding with 'competitive capitalism' (1990:8-9), which has the effect that lesser developed regions will become dependent on developed regions in terms of resources, etc. and that an advanced system of economics of scale seemed to develop in the more developed regions.

## **How space and pre-planning are imbedded in modernity**

Cook (1990:13) also mentions the notion of modern space in the urban environments and the accompanying necessity for a degree of pre-planning and preparedness to cope with urban changes and problems - a modernist birth I (being a 'planner') should probably be thankful for rather than criticise (but luckily that is one of the privileges and fringe benefits that academics have, even though not tax deductible).

Cook argues that *"The division between town and country where inhabitants of the former were the exploiters of the latter, was the kind of class-based division that so exercised modern critics of the origins of capitalist development, most notably by Marx"* (1990:23). The modern city increasingly developed into the centre of production, consumption, administration, labour and industrial development. Needless to say that it also became marked by pollution, congestion, deteriorating living environments and political consciousness of the working classes. According to Cook (1990:26-7) the idea of progress provided the motivation to organise, structure and transform the cities, via administrative systems, urban reconstruction and city planning. In his words:

*"The modern grand narrative of progress with its subtexts of centring, segregating, distancing, and thereby reorganizing the*

*space of the city into an authoritative social order reached its peak with the development of railways and related modes of transportation"*(Cook, 1990:27).

The centre-periphery city structures, garden-city and suburbia in cities world-wide, followed with the increase of mobility, distances and a rural lifestyle for those who could afford it. These urban centres were, however, in interaction with the rural hinterland, although the interaction could in a lot of instances have been regarded as a resource-exploitation, dominant-dependent relationship. With urbanisation, congestion in city centres, decentralisation of offices and shopping facilities to the suburbs, the relativity of distance and the changes in technology, urban systems were all the more introduced to change - even more enhanced by the globalisation of markets and localities.

### **About a change in community life and the 'modern nation-state', as concepts of modernity**

Modernity has become the dominant culture since the mid-nineteenth century, focusing more on association than community and embedded with aspects such as progress, change and affluent lifestyles, marked by a secularisation of culture. Modernity also resulted in a change in community

life (Cook, 1990:42-6) towards being collectively emancipatory and politically reformist in trade unions etc., from having powers at local authority level towards such powers being centralised with the welfare-state, and from urban social movements towards local issue-based partnerships, challenging the uniformity of modernity (sometimes towards its own demise) and ever conscious of the central opposition between individual and community.

Planning, therefore is not the only 'birth' within modernism. The modern nation-state and the system of parties within, can also be regarded as a concept of modernity (Cook, 1990:17-22), marked by aspects argued to be of cultural-political and/or economic rationales, such as the expansion of colonial territory and therefore markets on the one hand and nation-building through aspects such as common standards of education, a dominant language and culture, on the other - always striving towards progress.

### **How 'modern' history is perceived as elitism**

To come back to the aspect this discussion started off with, modernity and history, Cook notes that history itself presented modernity as for the elite, individuals and those in power (Cook, 1990:53), a notion I would agree with if I think about traditional histories, filled with stories of the 'great' leaders and heroes. This, however, changed with the recent (more-modern?) concepts

of 'living-community'-histories, and time-tourism (museums etc.) where the gap between high- and low-culture is closed.

### **About economic progress as the basis of modernity**

The basis of economic progress and affluent lifestyles within modernity was probably the Fordist regime, with its methods of mass production, industrial capitalism and unionised worker alienated from her/his labour but incorporated in the spirit of consumption. Linked to these were the claims (Cook, 1990:69) that the main aim of the welfare state was to subsidise modern capitalism, with capital gaining from a workforce with better living standards, not keeping in mind the political pressure from those who were homeless and needy. Cook, however, claims that some observers were of the opinion that *"...progress as understood most clearly in the link between the Keynesian welfare state and the Fordist regime of accumulation with its premium on the minimization of unemployment contained, with inflation, the seeds of its own destruction"* (1990:84).

### **Critique against modernity**

Even though one can scarcely argue that the destruction has taken place, a strong body of critique arose against modernism, mostly embedded and formulated in the notion of post-modernism.

### **A BRIEF REFLECTION ON POST-MODERNISM**

My deliberations on post-modernism are, as explained, only an effort towards a brief reflection on some of its aspects - I should, however, from the outset mention that a 'brief' reflection on the nature and complexity of post-modernism (to my mind) is probably not possible. For an in-depth discussion on post-modernism, its origins, applications, consequences etc. I would suggest a reading of the magnitude and differing works of various writers from various viewpoints. For this brief reflection I mostly drew on Rosenau (1992) and Cooke (1990) and their views on post-modernism.



**Some undefined notions of post-modernism as  
critique against modernism,  
questioning global views etc... etc...**

In his book "Back to the Future" (1990:viii), Phillip Cooke argues that the tension between individualism and those values that bonded communities, which were kept in check by the modern nation-state - protecting the individual's freedom, as well as the less-privileged from exploitation - has 'snapped' in the 1980's. This tension can, if I think about it, also be detected in spheres such as science, literature and art. According to Cooke some argued that the Enlightenment is exhausted and that *"...modernity, defined as commitment to live by the rules of reason rather than of superstition, has come to an end"* (1980:x).

Those who joined in this challenge to the inheritance of modernity are 'labelled' postmodernists and, *inter alia*, criticised for being superficial, populist and *"...not serious about any moral basis to what they seek to express"* (Cooke, 1980:i).

As I explained, the latter see nothing as fixed or solid and it therefore becomes difficult to define what post-modernism is about. However, both Goodchild and Keith Jenkins in his book 'Re-Thinking History', argue that the French philosopher Lyotard in 'The Postmodern Condition' gave an

explanation that can be made sense of. In spite of the critique against Lyotard, I would like to agree with Jenkins (1991:60). who argues that:

*"... Lyotard's analysis about that part of the world in which I live - a social formation where under the impact of secularising, democratising, computerising, and consumerising pressures the maps and statuses of knowledge are being redrawn and re-described - is one that I seem to recognise... "*

In the words of Cooke (1990:x):

*"... postmodernism in its many guises is more of an internal critique of modernism, and the interpretation of reason embodied in modernity, than an attempt totally to subvert it. If postmodernism has an objective, which some has doubted, it is to criticize the advocates of modernity for what they have left out and what they stress. In other words, postmodernism is the continuation of modernism by other means.*

*Postmodernists argue that modern perspectives undervalue, amongst other things, the concerns for minorities, local identities, non-western thinking, a capacity to deal with difference, the pluralist culture and the cosmopolitanism of modern life."*

Rosenau (1992:6) describes post-modernists as challenging...

*"...global, all-encompassing world views, be they political, religious,*



*or social...The post-modern goal is not to formulate an alternative set of assumptions but to register the impossibility of establishing any such underpinning for knowledge...Post-Modernists question the superiority of the present over the past, the modern over the pre-modern (Vattimo 1988). They reject any preference for the complex, urban life-style of the intellectual over the rural routine of the peasantry in the countryside (Karnoouh 1986). Therefore, they attribute renewed relevance to the traditional, the sacred, the particular, and the irrational (Touraine 1990). All that modernity has set aside, including emotions, feelings, intuition, reflection, speculation, personal experience, custom, violence, metaphysics, tradition, cosmology, magic, myth, religious sentiment, and mystical experience (Graff 1979: 32-33) takes on renewed importance".*

**About the origin of post-modernism in the  
culminating of a number of  
views, ideas, events etc...etc...**

According to Goodchild in his article 'Planning and the modern/postmodern debate' (1990:120), the modern/post-modern debate found its origin in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of making new sense of literature. During the 1970's it also moved into architecture and social

philosophy. Post-modernism showed its face(s) in architecture, in different styles, but with the key characteristic of being 'double-coded' - using and combining various aspects from the past - and communicating directly to the public, narrowing the gap between the high and the low culture (Cook, 1990:106). According to Ihab Hassan (quoted by Goodchild, 1990:120), American post-modernism can be defined as:

*"...a vast unmaking in the Western mind...'unmaking' though other terms are now de rigueur: for instance deconstruction, decentring, disappearance, dissemination, demystification, discontinuity, difference, dispersion, etc...Such terms express an epistemological obsession with fragments or fractures, and an corresponding ideological commitment to minorities in politics, sex and language...totalisation in any human endeavour is potentially totalitarian".*

However, according to Rosenau (1992:13),

*"...post-modernism is not entirely original. Its precursors can be traced and credited (Strathern 1987): post-modernism represents the coming together of elements from a number of different, often conflicting orientations. It appropriates, transforms, and transcends French structuralism, romanticism, phenomenology, nihilism, populism, existentialism, hermeneutics, Western Marxism, Critical Theory, and anarchism. Although post-modernism shares elements*

*with each, it has important quarrels with every approach".*

**About the skeptical and affirmative post-modernists  
as two of many orientations within post-modernism  
(as identified by Rosenau)**

Rosenau (1992:15) identifies two orientations within post-modernism, especially within the social sciences, between which there are a range of opinions and versions. These orientations could be broadly regarded as:

- The skeptical post-modernists, whose assessments of the post-modern age are pessimistic, gloomy and negative and who focus on the meaninglessness, vagueness and chaos within society; and
- the affirmative post-modernists who are more optimistic and hopeful, and more focused on process, maybe only implying post-modernism as critique orientating modernism.

**About the relation between the modernism/  
post-modernism debate and the fordism/  
post-fordism distinction**

To my mind, post-modernism can be regarded as a cultural condition affecting every sphere of life and being a reaction on modernism. It is probably obvious that the modernism/post-modernism debate can also be related to the fordism/post-fordism distinction. As fordism is related to the practices associated with industrial mass production, post-fordism is marked by information-based industries, flexible production, sub-contracting, a new emphasis on co-operation and decentralising of decision-making (Albertsen, 1988 and Cooke, 1990).

**The post-modern focus on the importance of locality**

In the spirit of this study - dealing with the Hammanskraal/Temba locality - an aspect which, according to post-modernists, has been undertheorised in modernism and is emphasised by post-modernism, is local knowledge, identity and activity (Cooke, 1990:xiii) and an enhancement of local consciousness and 'locality' (Rosenau, 1992:69).

It is evident from the discussion of post-modernism, that the local dimension of thought and action of modernism, constantly comes under the attack. In a discussion of localism in post-modernism, Cook (1990:114) mentions that:

*"Local discourses tend to be privileged by Foucault for their capacity to disclose the microstructures of the operation of power relations. Local narrative is highlighted by Lyotard because it problematizes the unjustifiable grand, universalizing narratives of modern philosophical method and modes of defining reason".*

Post-modernism is marked by local sensitivity, and in Cook's words (1990:114-5), the *"...reinterpretation of the past in ways which give local meaning to the present are part of the project"*. The modern culture was marked by the overlooking of the local dimension and insensitivity to local aspirations. Even the capacity of the state to handle problems of economic growth and distribution, unemployment, etc. diminishes and is all the more devolved to the local arena (Cook, 1990:115) as illustrated also by the widespread local economic development policies and decentralisation of competencies and responsibilities from central to local levels.

### **Styles of discourse within post-modernism, contradicting traditional research, logic and reason**

To academics and researchers probably the most frightening or challenging aspect about post-modernism is the way in which it contradicts traditional research, its value and its evaluation. Even in this study I struggled with the idea whether a traditional historic research methodology wouldn't be more 'academically acceptable', easier and less intricate. It would, however, just not play off the local against the 'grand' if done purely modernistic (once again). If you wish you can read the story of the methodology followed in Four and Five of Part 1, or continue with the reflection on post-modernism here.

It should be noted that post-modernists question 'traditional' disciplinary boundaries, eg. between the social and natural sciences and even between fiction and theory (Rosenau, 1992:6). Within the various disciplines, post-modernists *"...reject conventional academic styles of discourse; they prefer audacious and provocative forms of delivery, vital and intriguing elements of genre or style and presentation. The distinctness and specificity of post-modernism itself is certainly, in part, a function of all these characteristics. Such forms of presentation shock, startle, and unsettle the complacent social science reader. They are explicitly designed to instigate the new and unaccustomed activity of a post-modern reading. Post-modern delivery is*

*more literary in character while modern discourse aims to be exact, precise, pragmatic, and rigorous in style" (Rosenau, 1992:7).*

With the post-modern notion of time, space and linearity, post-modernists deliberately do not keep to the linear sequence of time/events/actions. Especially in post-modern literature, time, space, different cultures, dimensions and realms are interwoven and mixed, especially in order for the reader to construct her/his own interpretations/stories (Rosenau, 1992: 70-1). It is exactly this complexity of different stories and different versions and experiences of the seemingly same events, as well as the different dimensions of borders, boundaries and barriers experienced, that comes to the fore in the interplay between grand and local narratives in Hammanskraal/Temba.

This, however, does not imply that the post-modernists are not concerned with content. It seems that post-modernists re-focus on that which has been taken for granted, such as the marginalised, the peripheral, the things which has not received attention within the modern age. According to Rosenau, post-modernists have a new approach to science as well. Where modernists seek *"...to isolate elements, specify relationships, and formulate synthesis; post-modernists do the opposite. They offer indeterminacy rather than determinism, diversity rather than unity, difference rather than synthesis, complexity rather than simplification. They look to the unique*

*rather than to the general, to intertextual relations rather than causality, and to the unrepeatability rather than the reoccurring..." (1992:8).*

### **About how post-modernists diminish the role of the author**

In modernism, the meaning of a text actually reflected the author's intentions, in a somewhat authoritative/expert way, choosing between different viewpoints and presenting the 'truth' – an action every researcher, as the so-called 'expert' probably enjoyed. In post-modernism, the author's role is diminished. The author no longer has the 'final word' and his conscious or unconscious ways of interpreting for the reader and creating a framework for the reader is criticised. Post-modernists hold different viewpoints on the role of the author, with the affirmative post-modernist viewpoint the less dramatic (Rosenau, 1992:31). They reduce the role of the author to a post-modern interpreter.

*"The interpreter, unlike the legislator, makes no universal truth claims, has no prescriptions to offer. S/he only sketches out the various options and takes part as an equal in the 'public debate' (Bauman 1987:5-8). The interpreter's view is valuable only if it is personally and meaningful...The interpreter, mediating between the partial and various versions of truth exist within distinct communities*

*with different truths (Bauman 1987:191). S/he is 'concerned with preventing distortion of meaning in the process of communication' (Bauman 1987:5) but not with asserting the superiority of one interpretation over another"* (Rosenau, 1992:31 and Bauman as quoted by her).

This diminished role of the author has a significant influence in various disciplines, but especially in history, where it could be seen to diminish the legitimacy of the subject. The role of the author is much rather to enlarge the possible interpretations and meanings - in contrast with the modernist logic to argue in such a way that the reader can not other than agree with the argument, therefore limiting the interpretations to just one 'logical' one.

This obviously also influences the way in which post-modern writing is experienced. Rosenau (1992:35-6) explains that post-modernists focus on text, in terms of which everything is perceived. The text is much more reader orientated, for the reader to interpret and reinterpret, rather than just passively 'listening'. Nothing is new as everything is the interpretation of another text.

### **About the post-modern focus on the subject/individual as an everyday person, reflecting her/his situation**

The post-modernist notions of the individual also influence history and the social sciences. The individual/leader is seen only as a reflection of the situation s/he is confronted with (Rosenau, 1992:52). The focus would also not be on great figures in history, but rather on the everyday life and people.

### **How post-modernism regard 'truth and reality' as relative**

It seems that post-modernists reject the possibility of truth, with the skeptical post-modernists denying the possibility and the affirmative post-modernists relativising it for each person, community, time or locality. Together with the notion of 'truth', the notion of 'representation' also draws some critique. According to Rosenau "*...post-modernists argue that in the absence of truth one must welcome multiple interpretations, whereas representation assumes something out there is true or valid enough to be represented. Modern representation assumes 'meaning or truth preceded and determined the representations that communicated it.' Post-modernists argue it is the other way around; representations create the 'truth' they*

*supposedly reflect (Ryan 1988:560)"* (1992:95).

Many post-modernists doubt the existence of reality and a few theories regarding reality exist within post-modernism. Reality is seen by some as only existing in so far as those events that have meanings attributed to it by those perceiving them (Rosenau, 1992:110). Others see reality in terms of context, where truth for example is that which is agreed upon by a certain professional community and where *"Reality is the result of the social processes accepted as normal in a specific context"* (Rosenau, 1992:111). Another point of view is that language represents the only form of reality and therefore reality is actually seen as a 'linguistic habit' (Rosenau, 1992:111).

### **About the methods without methodology promoted by post-modernism**

One of the elements of post-modernism is the notion that there are no rules or specific methods aimed at creating new knowledge. According to Rosenau, *"Post-modern social science presumes methods that multiply paradox, inventing ever more elaborate repertoires of questions, each of which encourages an infinity of answers, rather than methods that settle on solutions"* (1992:117).

One of the approaches towards interpretation is examining text, an individual understanding where no interpretation is superior to another. Interpretation can also take place through deconstruction, which *"...involves demystifying a text, tearing it apart to reveal its internal, arbitrary hierarchies and its presuppositions"* (Rosenau, 1992:120).

It should be noted, however, that especially affirmative post-modern science is not always entirely without method, as it looks for differences and exclude aspects such as generalisations and synthesis (Rosenau, 1992:123). For post-modernists, the idea of evaluation is actually against the idea of post-modernism. *"They disparage modern social science's standards and its criteria for evaluating knowledge and all 'accepted' conventional means to judge the results of intellectual inquiry in any form (study, research, and writing)...Post-modernists seek not to dispense knowledge, but rather to provide a basis for people to decide for themselves because truth outside the individual, independent of language, is impossible (Jacquard 1982:195)"* (Rosenau, 1992:134).

The problem that arises is that if there are no criteria there can be no evaluation and therefore no testing of opinions/research by others. As Rosenau puts it *"In the end the problem with post-modern social science is that you can say anything you want, but so can everyone else. Some of what is said will be interesting and fascinating, but some will also be*



*ridiculous and absurd. Post-modernism provides no means to distinguish between the two"* (1992:137).

### **How history is regarded as a form of story-telling within post-modernism**

With regard to history the affirmative post-modernists would *"...retain history as a form of storytelling, as a local narrative without privilege, and they would deprive it of much prestige and influence. There could be as many different and conflicting histories as there are consumers of the historical text. Efforts to 'learn' from history would necessarily be discarded by the skeptics. The affirmatives would argue that such 'lessons' may exist but are never very clear. At best they would produce temporary, local lessons, and different people could be expected to derive distinct and disparate lessons from the historical record"* (Rosenau, 1992:171).

### **Some criticism against post-modernism**

According to Cook (1990:119), some of post-modernism's strongest criticisms are from Marxist aestheticians, such as Frederic Jameson, who regard post-modernism as the 'cultural collocate' of the pure consumption stage of capitalism. These critiques are based on aspects such as that the highly advanced, information and consumer societies, are dominated by multinational capital, indulging in the endless recycling and imitating of styles and losing its sense of history. Jameson sees the past as being reproduced (Cook, 1990:11) via cultural recycling (for example media, fashion and style) and fragmentation of time, resulting in deathlessness and disorientation.

Cook, however, draws from other authors to place Jameson's critique in perspective, stating that post-modernism does not merely imitate styles, but rather critically reinterprets it and highlights differences and has, *"...if anything, a stronger desire to vault backwards over the austere hermeticism of the late modern era in order to move forward into a renewed, more accessible aesthetic regime"* (Cook, 1990:113).

## How the influence of post-modernism should not be disregarded

Keeping my brief reflection of post-modernism in mind, I would argue that even without going into an in-depth discussion of what post-modernism is or is not, from where it originates and what its "state of mind" encompasses, cognisance should be taken of the influence of post-modernism. This influence should not be disregarded in terms of planning, its history and its approaches, or in terms of approaches to history, philosophy, science and research. I would agree with Goodchild (1990:120) who argues that even though the term 'post-modern' may derive some critique in that it derives the present merely in terms of the past, it opens up a new way of looking at planning and planning history.

It is argued that the frameworks that gave privilege to certain 'centres', such as Euro-centrism and ethno-centrism are no longer regarded as legitimate. They are regarded as 'centres' that were temporarily useful for certain interests, whilst

*"... those great structuring (metaphysical) stories which gave meaning(s) to western developments have been drained of vitality ... The late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries have seen an undercutting of reason and science which has made problematic all these certainist discourses built upon them: that whole*

*Enlightenment project, those various programmes of human progress, reform and emancipation that manifested themselves in say, humanism, liberalism, Marxism and so on"* (Jenkins, 1991:60).

As Goodchild concludes, the strength of post-modernism lies in its expression of dissatisfaction with the institutions of the 'recent past', not complying with either the strategies of the liberal Right and collectivist Left. Post-modernism as the notion of disintegration is, however, taken to its fullest sense, the disintegration of centralised, and even decentralised planning systems (Goodchild, 1990:134), opposing to the modernist view of total centralisation.

I would like to agree with Goodchild's argument that a compromise between these two extremes is needed, and that against that background *"...the application of postmodernism to town planning would not involve a rejection of modernity so much as an acceptance of tensions and contradictions which have long existed and yet which are invariably denied by an emphasis on comprehensiveness and technical rationality"* (Goodchild, 1990:134).

A lot of arguments can be posed against post-modernism. It can be stated that it is some form of new theory, that deconstruction is a method of logical action, that the affirmative post-modernists do not always act or interpret consistently, that the effort of everything being personalised is actually



meaningless. But it should also be noted that post-modernism can not be ignored as it could broaden our perspectives and horizons. As Rosenau remarks *"Yet, one thing seems clear, post-modernism in all its forms shakes us loose of our preconceptions, our 'normal' ways of doing science. It asks some of the most potent questions we are capable of phrasing"* (1992:169).

### **An interpretation of history in one of the post-modern contexts**

Traditionally historiographic research was regarded as a combination of descriptive and historical research. According to Lang and Heiss in 'A Practical Guide to Research Methods' historical research can be regarded as *"...the writing of an integrated narrative about some aspect of the past based on a critical analysis and synthesis of sources"* (1991:66). This is regarded as a research approach doing more than mere quoting, using principles of criticism, generating tentative new knowledge and having an ordering element, namely time, with the purpose to assess meaning over some significant period of time – a rather modernistic approach, I would argue.

The question that rose to my mind is obviously, how would I go about researching 'history' if the very nature of post-modernism implicates that it

challenges the conventional views of history? Rosenau (1992:63) sees this challenge as mostly questioning the idea of real 'truth' and knowledge about the past, the notion of objectivity in history, reason enabling historians to explain the past, and the role of history as transmitting cultural and intellectual 'heritage from generation to generation'.

With regard to history, skeptical post-modernists voice the opinion that it is *"...logocentric, a source of myth, ideology, and prejudice, a method assuming closure"* (Rosenau, 1992:63). For them history, if existing, is much less important than the future and some even argue for the end of history and thus the end of the idea of progress (Rosenau, 1992:65).

Almost in contrast to this view of history, the affirmative post-modernists are (although just as critical of modernist history), rather trying *"...to revise it, relativize it, salvage it, re-draft it, or re-invent it rather than simply abolishing it...Their version of post-modern history is not a truth-seeking activity so much as 'story-telling' (Ankersmit, 1989). Description' in the form of such stories becomes as valuable as 'explanation'. Post-modern historians also accept contradictions because they expect that there will be many different 'stories' about history (Scott 1989)"* (Rosenau, 1992:66) – a notion I would agree with.

According to Cook (1990:134) post-modernism uses history to illustrate the exclusive nature of late modernism. As becomes evident in post-modernism's critique against modernism, thoughts on history also significantly differ - where the modern notion of history is usually seen as sterile. This is illustrated in the quote from Raphael Samuel in Keith Jenkins' book "Re-Thinking History" (1991:2) in which the modern conception of history is described as the *"...relatively retarded condition of much historical work with its fetishism of the document, its obsession with 'the facts' and its accompanying methodology of 'naive realism'"*.

Keith Jenkins argues that one has to distinguish between the past and history, which he sees as that which is written about the past - a linguistic and intertextual construct (1991:6). He further claims (Jenkins, 1991:9) that *"...the world/the past comes to us always already as stories and that we cannot get out of these stories (narratives) to check if they correspond to the real world/past, because these 'always already' narratives constitutes 'reality'"*.

If this distinction between history and the past is accepted, the crucial question that arises in my mind is, how (if at all) do you capture the past in history?

This question, according to Jenkins, can maybe be addressed by, *inter alia*, reflecting on theories of knowledge and methods enshrined in historiography. Allow me to dwell on these reflections with Jenkins.

### **A reflection on some theories of knowledge/ a discussion on 'how we know'**

The theories of knowledge, or rather epistemology, highlight the issue of how we know. Jenkins argues (1991:10) that knowledge is tentative and constantly being constructed by historians, claiming objectivity, accurateness and truth. It could be asked whether indeed it would be possible to know once and for all, and if under such circumstances, a need for history would still have persisted. What becomes evident to me, through Jenkins' arguments (1991:11-2), is that epistemological fragility can surely be detected questioning the established theories of knowledge, in the notions that:

- the historian can not give a full account or fully recover the totality of the past;
- no account can really recover the past and as the past is constituted of situations and events, various historians' accounts can only be tested against one another;
- history is a personal, value laden construct, as the historian's perspective as narrator will always manifest and all hypotheses will

be influenced/framed by/in modern modes of thought. Even the historian's choice of materials and interpretation thereof, cannot other than to be shaped by her/his viewpoints; and

- due to hindsight, in a way we could know more about the past than people who actually lived in it, by putting pieces together that maybe never was.

Regarding the methods enshrined in historiography, it is evident that although history is a shifting discourse, historians strive for truth and objectivity via sound methodology. Jenkins (1991:14), takes a look at a few historians' opinions on the subject and it seems as though opinions range from: Elton<sup>1</sup>, stating that everything is a striving towards the truth even though it would never be finished or all encompassing; Thompson<sup>2</sup> arguing that knowledge can not be subjected to scientific proof; to Marwick<sup>3</sup> stating that history has a subjective dimension, but can be regarded as legitimate knowledge due to the nature of the evidence and the source material used by the historian according to strict methodology and rules. It seems as if these opinions, in a modernistic way, hold methodology as the way to the truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Elton, G in *The Practice of History* as discussed in Jenkins, 1991:14

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, E.P. in *The Poverty of Theory* as discussed in Jenkins, 1991:14

<sup>3</sup> Marwick, A. in *The Nature of History* as discussed in Jenkins, 1991:14

The remark Jenkins makes, regarding the notion of methodology as establishing a basis for truth, is one that made me think - "*History is never for itself; it is always for someone*" (Jenkins, 1991:17). This remark focused my attention on the power-relations vested in history and the nature of history to be changed and re-arranged to suit the interests of those in power - an issue also pursued by George Orwell in his book '1984' (Orwell, 1954:11,18,25), where he stated that those who control the present control the past, and that those who control the past actually control the future.

Against this background Jenkins (1991:26) regards history as "*...a shifting, problematic discourse, ostensibly about an aspect of the world, the past, that is produced by a group of present-minded workers (overwhelmingly in our culture salaried historians) who go about their work in mutually recognisable ways that are epistemologically, methodologically, ideologically and practically positioned and whose products, once in circulation, are subject to a series of uses and abuses that are logically infinite but which in actuality generally correspond to a range of power bases that exist at any given moment and which structure and distribute the meanings of histories along a dominant marginal spectrum*".

Keeping in mind the discussions on the discourses in history and post-modernism, I am of the opinion that 'sound' methodology can not ensure 'truth', objectivity and academic disinterest, as historians wish to 'pretend'. I

would agree with the argument (see Jenkins, 1991:21-4) that historians are all subjected to their own personal values, personal socio-economic positions, influences and ideological perspectives.

Against that background, they (or maybe I should say 'we', as I could not be excluded from this, having embarked on a study about the historiographies of a part of the past), are bound to be subjective/biased towards certain ways of gaining knowledge and certain ways to approach the selection and organising of material, methods and procedures used, the writing up of the history and the use of other historians' material.

**About whether there is after all,  
still a point in having history?**

The question that (logically to me) came to my mind is that, when all historiography, truths and even methodology seem to be relative - what is the point in doing/having history? Should it not be disregarded totally?

It can be argued that in the post-modern world we live in, with its pastlessness, everything is relative and nothing is fixed. According to Rorty in *Contingency, Irony and Solidarity* (quoted in Jenkins, 1991:65), in this world *"...anything can be made to look good or bad, desirable or undesirable,*

*useful or useless, simply by being re-described...And that it is this 're-descriptive turn' that has encompassed, of course, the particular thing that we are interested in...the past/history".*

History, just like any other written discourse, can, therefore, infinitely be re-described and deconstructed. Jenkins, however, argues that there is still a place for people to make history, somewhere between 'authorised history' and 'post-modern pastlessness' in this world. He argues that this history should be:

*"...viewed not in its traditional guise as a subject discipline aiming at real knowledge of the past, but seen rather as what it is, a discursive practice that enables present minded people(s) to go to the past, there to delve around and reorganise it appropriately to their needs, then such history...may well have a radical cogency that make visible aspects of the past that have previously been hidden or secreted away, that have previously been overlooked or sidelined, thereby producing fresh insights that can actually make emancipatory, material differences to and within the present - which is where all history starts from and returns to" (1991:67).*

According to Rosenau, Ashley regards a decentred history *"...as a substitute for history in international relations because it looks to struggles, discontinuity, and power plays in situations of constant change and*

*movement and because it accepts diverse interpretations and the absence of truth"* (Ashley 1987:409 in Rosenau, 1992:73).

It therefore would seem to me that history still has a point or maybe several points, even though rather in drawing attention to power plays and different interpretations or stories about the past – than singling out one as the 'truth'.

**-FOUR-**

**A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH  
APPROACH WITH A POST-MODERN INFUSION**

"History can be used to beat the people without history,  
like myself, over the head."  
(James Baldwin in Benito, 1995:181)

## -FOUR-

# A Historiographical Research Approach with a Post-Modern Infusion

In trying to follow a more post-modern approach, my being 'new' to academe and the research environment and therefore not being tied in to certain mode of doing research could be advantageous. However, my upbringing in nothing other than a modern society – would counter that by far. I therefore found it necessary to identify and explain some of the approaches that needed to be followed to do historiographic research with a post-modern infusion in this study. I will therefore dwell on the approach to history that has been followed in this study, its compatibility with the qualitative research approach and the importance of constructing history and the use of the narrative in that regard.

### AN APPROACH TO HISTORY FOLLOWED IN THE STUDY

How then was history approached, because as Jenkins (1991:25) states:

*"...to deconstruct other peoples' histories is the precondition of constructing your own in ways which suggest you know what you are doing; in ways which remind you that history is always history for someone".*

This approach of a 'reflexive historian', as proposed by Jenkins (1991: 68-9), is one that I found acceptable and relevant to this study. This approach could be described as:

- to deliberately call attention to one's own process of production;
- to indicate the constructed nature of referents;
- to deconstruct and historicise so-called 'pretensionist' histories, which do not question their own making;
- to have a critical and democratising approach to the past, 'laced with irony';
- to reflect on one's methodology, why certain sources are used and why in a particular way; and
- to reflect on historiographic studies in terms of how they were constructed with regards to methodology used and content.

In the final analyses Jenkins (1991:69) sees the choice as being: *"...between a history that is aware of what it is doing and a history that is not".*



For a history to be aware of what it is doing, it was necessary to reflect on aspects influencing its nature and very existence. Such aspects of importance, which I found continuously raised in discussions on post-modernism, are the approach to truth, the role of objectivity and the interpretation of facts, empathy in history, the use/abuse of sources and evidence, and the interpreting of causation. I will now endeavour to briefly reflect on each of these aspects.

**About an approach to truth which  
is more democratic, participatory,  
and conversational**

One of the discourses interwoven in post-modern thinking is that between philosophers and literary critics on the aspect of 'truth'. In his book on 'Researching, Writing & Publishing Local History' - which was written for the American Association for State and Local History, T. E. Felt, strongly pressed for the principle of truth. He regarded this ethical principle which, according to him, can be found in all 'good' work in history as *"...not just the principle of respect for the truth, but of respect for the whole truth"* (Felt, 1981:xii) – something which takes place when a historian makes a honest appraisal of all the information available to her/him at a moment in time.

This notion of Felt can be regarded as a modernist way of conceiving truth,

which is explained by Cooke (1990:89) as, where *"...we take the truth of a statement to be the degree to which it equates with our experience. Or, if the statement seems to conflict with our experience, and if sufficient experts tells us of the invalidity of our perception, we might, in time, change our experience - surprising as that may seem"*.

This is, however, not as it always were, nor is it true for people from all parts of the world. One can only consider the religious beliefs in the Middle Ages, where the earth constituted the centre of the universe, knowledge based on what was believed and perceived (as the sun revolved around the earth), a 'truth' to be declared 'untruthful' with Copernicus' discovery that the sun was the centre of the cosmos and the development of rational thinking during the Enlightenment (Cook, 1990:89). Scientific measures for determining the truth, became the bases for reasoning, enshrined in philosophy. Together with this philosophers established the methods of reasoning in order to ensure objective truth, assuming western knowledge to be superior to others who did not code/describe/perceive/picture reality the way they did. According to Keith Jenkins (1991:27) Plato, for example, regarded absolute knowledge as not only being possible, but as providing the basis of rationality to science.

Some of the questions that could therefore be raised (see Cook, 1990:90-2) are whether there are rules for rational reasoning and whether knowledge of the European and Western centres of philosophy can be justified in other

contexts? Even within Western reasoning, upheld by philosophers, there are serious questions, for example regarding discoveries of scientists that were accidental or based on a guess or a belief. These accidental discoveries even sometimes resulted in scientists experiencing problems convincing their peers of a so-called 'conspiracy' to maintain 'normal' consensus.

Cook (1990:92-3) argues that 'truth' could be seen to be vested in language. The language of science for example has its own texts and conversations, and the question is whether language can be representative of the reality? The result is that those opposed to the notion that language represents reality invent a 'language game', creating a new code within which to discuss that truth.

The argument, according to Cook (1990:93), is that there are no philosophical foundations for getting the truth about reality, nor a denial of reality but rather a denial of the concept that language connects to the world instead of internally to itself.

This opinion can, however, also be criticised as relativistic - the essence of the debate between post-structuralists and philosophers. Where philosophers agree that language is a medium for communication and arguments regarding the truth of statements, post-structuralists see truth as being without philosophical foundations and linked to power via the desire

for knowledge (according to Cook, 1990:93-113). Derrida, a post-structuralist, saw the concept of 'deconstruction' of texts as the means through which to reveal knowledge as a product of intertextuality. Lyotard, (Cook, 1990:93-113) on the other hand, disregarded the 'grand' way of modern rationality and focused on 'local narratives' - which he saw as a way of being critical on the general and centralised thinking of modernism, as well as a way of being conscious of aspects such as the limitations of language, relationships between texts and the exclusion of minorities.

According to Jenkins (1991:32) truth is linked to systems of power which produce and sustain it. Post-modern thinking is, however, regarded as ironic and subversive, interrogating assumptions based in modernity, inspecting and challenging the 'truth'/'knowledge' accepted by modernism and "*...in the place of distance between dominant thinking and the hegemony of rules it envisions a more participatory, conversational mode of reasoning*" (Cook, 1990:96).

It therefore seems that truth is challenged and language and text are regarded to reveal knowledge in a post-modern context. If post-modern thought challenges modern thought, it is only to be more democratic, but does not pose a threat to overthrow the knowledge base, because as Cook (1990:96) stresses:

*"The stakes are too high, the dangers posed by jettisoning the*

*foundations of modern thought, arbitrary though they may be, too great. For if the relativism implicit in purely local reasoning becomes the standard, then the exercise of power becomes the arbiter of truth. Post-modern thought is predicated precisely upon the critique of such outcomes, thus it is complicit with the project of modernity."*

### **About the questionable role of objectivity and history as a form of interpretation**

Another theme that is widely discussed in writings on history is the aspect of historical relativism, already broached upon. One such extensive discussion can be found in Dray's writings on the "Perspectives of History" in which he discussed Charles Beard's questioning of the assumption whether 'we can ever know the past as it actually was' (Dray, 1980:27).

According to Dray (1980:27-8), Beard questioned the above assumption, on the following claims:

- the historian's knowledge is indirect, through a medium such as documentation and therefore not objective;
- due to selection the historian's knowledge is incomplete, this 'less than the whole truth' account can be regarded as a falsification;
- the historian gives a structured account of past events, which is an

interpretation;

- the historian can not give a neutral history as all historical accounts are 'value-laden'. The historian will also always be bound to time, place, culture and social influences.

Dray, however, held the opinion that one can not compare history with objective science and that all human knowledge is limited, not just history (Dray, 1980:29). His critique on Beard's claims goes further to state that knowledge is only the known which can be 'inspected'. This would, however, not only challenge history, but also knowledge in the present.

Dray came to the conclusion that as history is not repeatable, accounts of events (even of the same sort) will not be able to substitute one-another. Dray further claimed that *"How an event fits into a historical process often cannot be 'seen' without knowing its consequences as well as its causes"* (Dray, 1980:32). Historians therefore could be regarded as to have more knowledge and give explanations beyond that of contemporaries/eyewitnesses.

Dray further stated that this problem is not unique to history, as any inquiry is selective by design (Dray, 1980:33-7). The real problem could, however, be detected where historians claim to give the 'whole truth'. On the other hand it should be admitted that selection implies a value-judgement, and it seems

important for a historian to state the problem to be investigated and do selections according to the particular issue. Dray held the opinion that historians therefore should admit that they can not present 'the whole truth', but should then be aiming for constructing an account as representable as possible (Dray, 1980:36).

According to Dray (1980:39), Beard regarded historical narratives as 'selections and arrangement of facts', at the historians disposal to impose on it any pattern or structure he pleases. However, Dray disagreed with this notion and stated that a historian can concern himself with a specific aspect without necessarily committing himself to a view of the past as linear, cyclical or chaotic (Dray, 1980:38).

According to Dray (1980:42) Beard is also of the opinion that in order to 'mirror the past' the values should be contained and history is therefore value-laden. However, Dray stated that *"The problem isn't just, as his first form may suggest, that the historian in fact brings certain conceptions of political legitimacy, certain political values, to what he studies. It is rather that he may have to do so in order to perceive it as having a political character"*(1980:45). This could be illustrated even in this study. In order to write, a history of planning or development intent, would inherently imply a selection and value-judgement as to what is to be regarded as planning or development intent, a selection obviously necessary to do the inquiry.

It therefore implies that the 'facts' the historian wants to report are in their nature embedded with values and ethical considerations, which lead to values being an integral part of reality (Dray, 1980:46). Even to represent 'the past as it actually was' will thus be done from the historian's scheme of values.

Jenkins (1991:36) also discussed this question of 'bias' from a post-modern perspective. He regarded bias as central in any historian's work, as indeed facts do not speak for themselves. An example of this could be seen whenever a group or a class of historians try to make sense of the past they are inevitably biased to certain references and literature. I would support this notion, as I am of the opinion that historians are never only concerned with the facts per se, but interpret, weigh, combine and construct explanations from and with it. According to Jenkins (1991:34), history can be regarded as interpretation, as history is always a form of work produced by a historian. What is therefore necessary is rather a form of historiography - a proper study of history (the interpretation of historians).

### **A case for empathy, not with the people of the past, but rather with the people who constructed the past**

In deliberating on approaches to history, it seems necessary to ponder on the notion of empathy. Various critiques could be found on the notion of the historian having empathy with the people and events of the past. The notorious historian Collingwood, inter alia, propagated the notion of the historian 'thinking himself into the action'. Dray (1980:21) noted that the critiques on this notion could be described as:

- attributing a power of 'self-certifying insight';
- creating an 'intuitionist' criteria for truth;
- implying thoughts which agents could have had as history; and
- reducing history to something made up by historians.

Dray, mentioned that Collingwood himself considered the question 'whether a historian and an agent could think the same thought' and indicated that the historian's answer must be that which the evidence demands, not independent of evidence but independent of testimony (Dray, 1980:22). Dray further explained that the historian should not necessarily re-enact the agent's experience, but rather consider the agent's situation the way the agent did - which actually enhances Collingwood's view of history as 'humanistic' – something which scientific study would not be able to do (Dray, 1980:26).

This humanistic viewpoint of Collingwood was shared by Jack Hexter, who as pointed out by Felt (in his work done for the American Association for State and Local History in 1981), could be regarded as one of the most sophisticated historians of his generation. Hexter (as quoted in Felt, 1981:12) argued that historians should beware of being 'careless' with common sense as this is their greatest means of understanding the human past, but also as this will imply carelessness with regards to what they can know about men. He regards this carelessness as the failure to *"...cherish one of God's greatest gifts to humanity - the capacity in many things, if we exercise it with care, to judge men justly and rightly, and to understand men humanly and humanely. Not to cherish those gifts is to deny other men their humanity and thereby debase and destroy our own"* (Hexter in Felt, 1981:12).

In a post-modern context, Jenkins (1991:40-2), however, argued that it is not possible to get an informed appreciation of the viewpoints, circumstances and predicaments of people in the past. He questioned the notion of whether it can be possible or practical to enter into the minds of the so-called agents and whether one does not instead directly/indirectly sympathise with the other writer.

Jenkins (1991:42-4) further noted that empathy in history is regarded as:

- important in order to personalise teaching;
- of academic importance as set out by Collingwood's notion of having a

humanistic approach; and

- as an ideology of liberal freedom - where empathy is settled in rationality and balance, and the historian places himself in the agent's position in order to rationalise people's ideas, motivations and thoughts and weigh up the pro's and con's thereof in order not to penalise them in one way or another.

He, however, argued that regardless of the above, people in the past differ from us. Empathy can therefore not be possible because *"...when we study history we are not studying the past but what historians have constructed about the past"* (Jenkins, 1991:46). The issue thus was not the people of the past, but much rather the historians that brought them to life.

**How sources and evidence could be used/abused,  
are relative and should be critically reflected on**

Traditionally modernist historians regarded primary and secondary sources and the difference between them as of the utmost importance in providing evidence of the past. Primary sources were regarded as getting back to the roots of evidence or so-called 'truth' (a notion which has already been dismantled).

However, there is still a strong focus on the identification of sources and the use in the field of history, without a focus on its validity. A revived focus on local history, even though probably related to the post-modern notion of the importance of locality ('Using local History Sources' by Griffin and Eddershaw, 1994), for example gives a description of sources to be used in studies of a more local nature. These sources such as information technology, the use of census data, commercial directories, maps, aerial photographs, newspapers, oral accounts of history, photographs and pictures and information from institutions such as churches, schools and town councils, are, however, mentioned without stressing any critical reflection on their nature and approaches towards them.

There, however, seem to be other publications, although focusing on sources, doing that in a much more reflective manner and also giving practical hints in that regard. Such a publication is that of W. O. Simpson, 'Working with Sources, Case Studies in Twentieth-Century History' (1988) in which the author argues for a more reflective approach to sources. He stresses the importance of issues such as:

- the comparison of events, questioning differences, questioning reasons given or not given, questioning the value given to sources, discussion etc.;
- motivations given for actions or events, consistency of actions by governments etc; and



- newspapers that may present or misrepresent issues or events.

This publication, however, also does not really reflect on the issue of the writers/producers of the sources - their positions, powers, interests and motivations.

In his work on how to do local history, Felt (1981) also gives a thorough description on sources to be used and how to go about these sources when doing local history. He notes (Felt, 1981: 11) that the study of sources, especially 'raw contemporary sources', can enhance the historians insights to a degree, but is of the opinion that this can only happen when the historian's mind is 'opened by the curiosity to understand'. Felt (1981:9), however, encourages historian's to be critical of the motives of and powers behind writers/institutions/newspapers and to actually read documents for what they do not intend to give.

Jenkins (1991:48) remarks that the noted historian, Carr regarded a trace as becoming evidence as soon as a historian used it to support an argument and that the historian, Elton similarly regarded all sources used by historians as evidence. It seems that the notion of 'evidence', rests on the argument that a trace is a remnant of the past, which exists whether discovered by a historian or not, when traces are then used as motivating or proving arguments, they are regarded as evidence. Jenkins (1991:49) regards evidence as a *"...product of the historian's discourse...because, prior to that*

*discourse being articulated, evidence...does not exist: only traces do..."*

It has already been mentioned that it is not possible to get into the minds of original people/agents. Roland Barthes, in the *Discourse of History* (as interpreted by Jenkins, 1991:50), attacks historians who try to give a true account of the past and states that they perform a 'sleight of hand' in projecting referents *"...into a realm supposedly beyond discourse from which position it can then be thought of as preceding and determining the discourse which in fact posited it as referent in the first place"* (Jenkins, 1991:50).

In the light of all the above discussions, it seems that both sources and evidence are relative. As Jenkins states (1991:48) *"...if we are freed from the desire for certainty, if we are released from the ideal that history rests on the study of primary/documentary sources...then we are free to see history"*. What is important, however, is the importance of being critical of sources used.

Lang and Heiss (1991, p74-5) in their guide to research methods, regards external and internal criticism of sources as being very important. External criticism of sources, in relation to this study, can be regarded as being critical of the authenticity of documents and their completeness. Internal criticism can be regarded as dealing with the credibility of the source, whether it can be believed and what it means, as Lang and Heiss (1991:175) states *"...we*



*probably never find the 'whole truth and nothing but the truth', but we try to come as close as we can through a critical study of the best available sources. Our truth becomes a tentative kind of truth rather than an absolute kind of truth".*

**About interpreting causation and the way  
in which one should be aware of  
what one is doing and why, when doing research**

One of the most pressing questions, in the light of the post-modern approach to history, is whether one could find out what is done and why - culminating in what 'cause/s' seem to be. Historians obviously disagree on the things that cause certain events, actions, wars, political actions etc., but according to Dray (1980:69) there should be some agreement amongst historians on when something could be regarded as a historical cause.

Dray (1980:69-96) addresses the controversy of cause in a discussion based on J. P. Taylor's controversial book, in which he discusses the origins of the Second World War, and the various critiques against it. Dray asks the question as to what the doctrine of causation of Taylor and his critics is. He is of the opinion (Dray, 1980:70) that a difference between cause and conditions exists which, although not addressed in philosophy, is done so in

Law<sup>1</sup>. According to Dray there is a limit to *"How genuine causes are to be distinguished from conditions which, although admitted to be necessary (or close to necessary) for what occurred, are seen by historians as providing no more than a matrix or background within which the causes themselves operated"* (1980:70).

In Dray's discussion on Taylor and his critics' accounts, differences and agreements on the cause/s for the Second World War (or rather whether Hitler could be seen as responsible for the Second World War or not) he came to the conclusion that *"...historians regard conditions of at least the following five kinds as having special claim to be accorded causal status:*

- *those which were intended to bring about the result;*
- *those which interfered with normal processes or states of affairs;*
- *those which compelled or forced people to act;*
- *those which enabled or allowed things to happen or to be done; and*
- *(possibly) those which rendered what occurred inevitable"* (1980:93).

Of these, Dray regards all but the first and last conditions as requiring the historian's value-judgement. From his discussion, Dray (1980:94-5) derives that although casual judgements are 'value-laid' and can differ or compete with each other, they are necessary to understand human affairs. He raises

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<sup>1</sup> Hart, H.L.A. and Honorés, A.M. Causation in the Law.1959. University Press, Oxford.

the question whether the distinctions between those conditions which are causes and those which are not, can be made - if then not free of values - then free of moral considerations. However, he notes that even though it should be explored (and according to him by 'those who propose reform') *"...it remains to be seen whether it can be done in a way that retains any significant contact with the casual judgements we are, in fact, inclined to make. Meantime, casual concepts are to be seen at work in history, although admittedly not always tidily or even entirely consistently, that appear to be closely bound up with the task of making the past significant as human affairs"* (Dray, 1980:96).

Jenkins (1991:51-3), however, takes the concept of causation a bit further claiming that questions, such as:

- from what perspectives or so-called theories of casual explanation do historians work; and
- how do historians decide on how far in the past to inquire or look for causes, which field/sector (economy/politics, etc.) to inquire in?

cannot be 'logically' answered. He argues that to come to a satisfactory explanation, historians usually copy others in the same discourses and that the way in which it is written and the ability to interpret that discourse is what it is all about. This leaves one with the notion that it does not really matter what you say but rather whether what you say is compatible with a specific form of discourse (Eagleton as quoted in Jenkins, 1991:53).

In the light of the above, it became evident that the focus continually falls on the notion of being aware of what and why one is doing the research in a certain way. What also seems important is to identify whether these notions of historiographic approaches can be accommodated in the research approach.

### **About the nature of a qualitative/ phenomenological research approach**

As research in history is usually 'classified' as being part of the qualitative research approach, I could probably not proceed without a brief reflection or rather a view thoughts on a post-modern approach to qualitative research, and possible inputs/guidelines that could be derived from that process.

The qualitative research approach can be regarded as being part of the alternative paradigm, which according to Polanyi *"...can be characterized by a close examination of people's words, actions and documents in order to discern patterns of meaning which come out of this data"* (as quoted in Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:16). This critical examination to derive meaning, to my mind, can be related to the post-modern approach to history, as discussed.

According to Maykut and Morehouse's (1994:3) phenomenological position, qualitative research focuses on the understanding and meaning of events. They regard the patriarchal view of science as recently being challenged by new ways of doing natural science, such as the feminist theory and post-modern perspectives - in which the qualitative approach is the emerging paradigm (Lincoln and Guba as quoted in Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:10).

The notion that knowledge can not be separated in parts and that the researcher can not stand apart from it, implying that knowledge is being constructed and the researcher can not be separated from it, is also an influencing perspective in qualitative research.

Qualitative research actually "*...values context sensitivity, that is, understanding phenomena in all its complexity and within a particular situation and environment*" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:13), which is one of the reasons why it seems to have an important influence in a study of this nature.

Maykut and Morehouse (1994:12) reflected on the qualitative or phenomenological approach to research as implying the following (opposed to that implied by the positivist approach):

- having a worldview of more than one reality in an interconnected whole (the positivist approach see one reality studied in parts,

leading to an understanding of the whole);

- the knower and the known are interdependent of each other (the positivist approach regards the knower as being objective and outside the known);
- values play an important role in mediating and shaping what is understood of the world;
- events shape each other and are interconnected in a multidirectional way (unlike the positivistic approach which sees events taking place one before the other and thus being regarded as cause);
- explanations are only tentative and explaining one time and place (in contrast with the positivist approach to generalise from one place to others); and
- the contribution to knowledge can be regarded as uncovering or discovering propositions (opposed to propositions being proved or verified in the positivist approach).

An important aspect of qualitative research is the tolerance for ambiguity, in that the perspective is open ended and not clearly focused in initial stages. As information changes and new perspectives are discovered the data's understanding unfolds. This, however, implies *the "...ability to hold two or more different interpretations of an event...in mind, while waiting to see which interpretation is merited by the data which you are in the process of collecting"* (1994:35). However, as already argued a post-modern orientated

historian would not necessarily pose one view above the other but rather strive to explore the different meanings/opinions.

The important aspects of qualitative research that could be of value to the historiographic research approach are that:

- it composes of concepts of a more complex nature, which are rich in meaning;
- it has a general research purpose with an unstructured and open approach to inquiry/observation; and
- it is context bound while aiming to understand in more depth.

What, therefore, seems important in both the approach to history and the qualitative nature of research is the reflective way in which a study and history are to be constructed.

**About a possible use for the  
historical narrative  
as an extension of the structure of reality**

In the context of the qualitative approach, the situation is understood and constructed by words such as... *"We create our world with words. We explain ourselves with words. We defend and hide ourselves with words"*

(Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:18). What is thus of importance is the deconstruction of texts and the reflection on words. Cook (1990:97) argues that post-modern writing has not made a complete break with modernity. According to him the feature is much rather that there is a bigger degree of 'crossover' between philosophy and literary criticism, which is also found between other disciplines such as sociology and geography, and economics, philosophy and literary criticism. What is central in all, however, is *"...the fundamental idea that the way thought is written exerts a pervasive effect on the truth value of what is being communicated"* (Cook, 1990:97). I therefore, regarded it critical to examine the way in which history could be constructed and how the narrative could be used in this regard.

I found the most extensive discussion of the concept of the historical narrative, its use and value and the philosophies underlying it in David Carr's book 'Time, Narrative and History' (1991). In order to come to an understanding of the narrative, I regarded it as worthwhile to reflect on his thoughts and arguments. I deliberately mention his name, as he is not the same 'Carr' mentioned in the former discussions on history and historiography and it could be confusing – even the more so, as you will note that the two authors differ widely in opinion on the approach to history.

David Carr specifically takes a look into the accounts of history by communities. According to him (Carr, 1991:163-4) most communities trace

themselves to origin and foundation, as they experience a sense of finitude and fragility - based on the community's dependence on individuals' attitudes and interests. This is usually enhanced in times of external or internal change, when 'collective Besinnung' of the community's past, present and future takes place. David Carr (1991:165) regards the narrative account of the community's history as a reflection on the community's life through time *"...from that place the future prospects and the past background make up the temporal horizons of this particular present..."*. The 'present' is therefore filled with events and group experiences, the community's birth and its prospective death.

According to David Carr (1991:166) this 'life story' of the community is based on a sequel of communal events, which differ in meaning for the individual (relating to personal experiences) and the community (relating to joint experiences). The story usually finds its origin outside the life span of the individual, where present events get their sense from the background of events to which they belong. The past is thus not investigated for its own sake but rather to *bring "...into focus the whole dimension of time temporal complex (whole story) in which we are engaged"* (Carr, 1991:167).

David Carr (1991:168) regards the narrative recounting and accounting that takes place at the 'collective Besinnung' as practical in nature, drawing together the temporally extended sequence, rediscovering the story, picking

up the thread and reminding the community of where they stand and where they are going. Out of his discussion it seems that he regards the narrative as a practical mode of discourse, which is part of the fabric of life and of a reflective and retrospective nature. David Carr (1991:169) therefore argues that the implication for historic understanding and writing is not to regard the narrative character of human experiences as a misrepresentation, but rather as an extension of the structure of reality.

The narrative as seen by David Carr is:

*"...to tell the story of a community and of the events and actions that make up its history is simply to continue, at a somewhat more reflective and usually more retrospective level, the story-telling process through which the community constitutes itself and its actions..."* (1991:177).

The historic narrative is thus regarded as inherent in the process and not an external imposed story, based on unrelated facts. It seems as if David Carr regards narrative as not being artificial by nature. In this regard he also states that the narrative is a natural feature of how we live in time (Carr, 1991:179).

An interesting relationship between historical events, historian's time and the historian's narrative account can be found in historians looking at the recent

past of their own society. David Carr regards this as working in a milieu where a very general story already exists and in which the story is constantly being written and rewritten. In this instance, the history is not constructed by documents only, as the historian functions within a context in which an account already exist (Carr, 1991:169).

It should be taken into account (Carr, 1991:170), that as academic and generalised accounts of the past form a social context in which the historian operates, certain aspects will influence the historic inquiry. These aspects are things such as:

- a pre-thematic narrative account which contain conflicting accounts of the past and present situation of the community under question;
- the historian's account can enter into the debate and challenge certain other accounts; and
- the historian is working with material which is unrelated and actually waits for a story to be told about them.

The question that can be posed is whether the historian's account, in such instances, has a role and whether something will differentiate it from the reality it depicts and from narratives which may exist. Usually the community's narrative is practical, while the historian will seek objective representation, detached and disinterested - aiming at the truth. These notions of truth and objectivity were, however, already argued to be based

in a modernist conception of history.

According to David Carr (1991:172), the truth will also be of concern to the community, which has a genuine interest and that an objective inquiry into history is not disqualified from a role in the political and social debates in the community. He also sees a difference between the temporal standpoints of narratives in that one can be in a situation, while the other can look back and have hindsight, knowing how intentions turned out.

A narrative of the recent past, for instance, "*...deals with events whose consequences are still being felt and are operative in the present*" (Carr, 1991:173). It can not be regarded as a final description as events can still be unfolding, although the question can be asked whether the case can be prejudiced by choosing to do a recent history.

As can be expected there are a number of critiques against the notion of narrative as being 'natural'. David Carr (1991:180) gives a broad overview of some of these critiques, which I can briefly mention as:

- the narrative conception of human time and history is regarded as a limited cultural phenomenon;
- linear time is a mere appearance;
- the notion of narrative is based in European thought, linked to the Judeo-Christian tradition;
- in non-western societies time and change are devalued and actions



only derives significance through their reflections on other events and actions, not because of their place in a narrative sequence. Although change is experienced, the system's purpose is to render changes harmless.

The narrative-history, can thus be attacked as being intellectual Eurocentrism and cultural imperialism – even though based on relative truths. David Carr comes to the conclusion (1991:180), that against the background of critiques, linear and narrative organising can be seen as characteristic of experience, but can not be projected on long term social events or large-scale time. The narrative could therefore be held universally only at the level of individual experience, and can only be regarded as a culturally relative phenomenon.

The arguments against the narrative-history is according to David Carr foreign to us (in which I include myself), as *"...we are asked to admit the reality of a way of construing and living in time which is alien to us"*. However, it is crucial in that it makes us (those sharing a certain conception of and a certain way of living in time) aware and *"... cautious about asserting all this about ourselves, not necessarily about everyone"* (Carr, 1991:183).

The value of fictional and historical narratives, according to Ricoeur (as quoted

in Carr, 1991:184) lays in the service that it renders to make sense of events, actions, circumstances, etc. Even though people's lives are so versatile in terms of actions, intentions, goals and circumstances, the important thing is that these 'deserve to be told'.

According to Carr (1991:185) the historical narrative differs from the literary one in that it's structure is more practical and concerned with the actions, lives and historical existence of people rather than the aesthetic and cognitive. It also differs from anti-narratives, which instead focus on the settings and circumstances, and the deeper lying social and economic factors (Carr, 1991:175). The anti-narratives give cross sections instead of a story and pre-suppose the background of the historical continuum.

Against the background of all of the above I would like to agree with Carr (1991:176), that it is important to see that the anti-narrative and the narrative history can be compatible and actually very complementary approaches - as a deconstructing and reconstructing manner in which history is written.



## **- FIVE- THE STUDY**

“Some people say there are true things to be found, some people say all kinds of things can be proved. I don’t believe them.  
The only thing for certain is how complicated it all is, like a string full of knots.”

(Winterson in Omega, 1995:141)

## - FIVE -

# The Study

After digesting some of the discussions on a post-modern and qualitative approach to research and historiography, it would probably be apt (and easier) to reflect on the format and nature of the rest of the study.

### ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

In deliberating on the value and relevance of a historiographic study, I dwelled on the work of a few writers on planning history. In her article on planning history Patricia Burgess (1996:20) asks more or less the same question - if planning history still have meaning. She, however, comes to the conclusion that planners do not use their history effectively and can actually benefit by doing so. Interpreting Kreuckeberg's comments on planners learning about their past, Burgess remarks that through the history we could maybe understand or come to know about the hopes, fears, dreams and offences that are sometimes hidden. She argues that the understanding of planning history will presumably lead to better planning practice and concludes that even though it is debatable whether things are better or worse than in the recent past:

*" ... because of planning history we are better able as a society to address the problems than previous generations. We better*

*understand the nature and number of forces and factors involved in urban and suburban growth and development. We know more how they relate to one another. We know better, too, the part that planning has been able to accomplish. But that does not mean that the job of planning history in the United States is done"* (Burgess, 1996:20).

Most definitely the 'job of planning history' in South Africa, is not nearly 'done' either. A look into the history of planning in South Africa can help us to better understand the role of planning and the forces active in shaping it and shaped by it. It can probably be argued that a lot has already been said and written on the policies of apartheid and it's crippling effects. It can also be argued that from a post-modern approach the cause and effect relationship between past policies and manifestations thereof on local level can not be pinpointed in the complex and interconnected nature of events and intentions.

It could be argued that if the role of planning policies and the interplay between intention and outcome are to be better understood in the South African context, surely it could be done by looking at the history of planning within the complex socio-political and economic development arena of which

it forms part. This could, however, bear little relevance if it is only to be a duplication of work already done or a broad modernistic overview of planning policies. Another approach, also modernistic in its approach and nature, could have been to try and understand the interplay between intention and outcome in planning, in relation to political, economical and social policies and intentions, taking all influencing factors into account – a somewhat impossible task.

If one, however, takes the approach of a 'reflexive historian', as proposed by Jenkins (1991:168-9), as a starting point, I would argue that by critically reflecting on the approach and methodology one can 'choose' a history that is aware of what it is doing and be able to study the past that has been constructed by historians, politicians, officials, institutions and academics.

As already argued, post-modernism is marked by local sensitivity, and in Cook's words, the *"...reinterpretation of the past in ways which give local meaning to the present are part of the project"* (1990:114-5). In this study this is exactly what happens, with the focus on the local narrative, played off against the modernistic and grand policies and power relations (see Le Goff, 1972:341) of apartheid, highlighting the unjustifiable grand and generalising nature of those narratives.

The story of Hammanskraal/Temba seems as story that can help us to

understand the effects of the policies of grand apartheid planning, the story of the problems faced by communities and an attempt to understand some of the problems' origins. This, to me, seems a story that deserves to be told. I therefore valued it as a worthwhile journey to try and form a(n) understanding of a fragmented peace of our "past" and country, to form an understanding of the culminating effects of development intention in shaping borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area.

As Goodchild (1990:121) notes, grand narratives lost their legitimacy and *"...politics have to become more concerned with the practical impact of policies and events, more directly related to the 'life goals' of the self..."*, implying political and cultural diversity in institutions, the public sector, grass roots action, etc.

### **ABOUT THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY**

Various ways of stating problems could be used in the historical research study. According to Gottschalk (quoted in Lang and Heiss, 1991:73), it is more productive to approach the problem statement *"...with a question or group of questions than with a declarative statement"*, instead of using hypotheses. This method also allowed for less bias by the researcher (myself) and aided

in determining the relevancy and sorting out of sources.

In trying to form a(n) understanding of how borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area were shaped by development intention, played off against the modernistic and grand policies and power relations of apartheid, while highlighting the unjustifiable grand and generalising nature of those narratives, I regarded the following questions as being the focus on the business the research:

- what are the grand and generalising narratives (regarded as broader national and regional political, economic and planning discourses) about borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area?
- what are the local narratives (if any) regarding borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area?
- dDid the discourses of development intent, as external forces, had an influence on the area and its people, when assessed and played off in terms of local discourses of borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area?

For the purpose of the study:

- borders are seen as the borders between the former Bophuthatswana and South-Africa;
- boundaries are regarded as the boundaries between the different provinces, former Transitional Local Councils (currently Local Area

Councils), Services Councils, tribal, state and private land; and

- barriers were regarded as barriers of economical, physical, administrative and cultural nature, restricting development or access to opportunities.

The research was based, and explanations derived from, the deconstruction of the interwoven mixture of "international", national and local texts, involved. The research was of historical nature, as discussed in the previous section. It should be noted that the study does not have a reductionist nature. It rather poses the complex and diverse nature of the various stories about the development of Temba/Hammanskraal, in terms of borders, boundaries and barriers.

## RESEARCH APPROACH AND STRATEGY

As already mentioned, the research approach is orientated towards the affirmative post-modern approach. An approach *"...viewed not in its traditional guise as a subject discipline aiming at real knowledge of the past, but seen rather as what it is, a discursive practice that enables present minded people(s) to go to the past, there to delve around and reorganise it appropriately to their needs, then such history ... may well have a radical cogency that make visible aspects of the past that have previously been*

*hidden or secreted away, that have previously been overlooked or sidelined, thereby producing fresh insights that can actually make emancipatory, material differences to and within the present - which is where all history starts from and returns to"* (Jenkins, 1991:67).

## THE WAY FORWARD

Against the background of the nature of historical research, the notion of qualitative research and the approach I accepted to follow in the study, as well as with the focus of the study in mind, I am of the opinion that the only way to have come to an understanding of the questions under consideration was to:

- deconstruct the discourses in development intent (regarded as national political, planning and economic policies and measures) that affected the Hammanskraal/Temba area;
- to tell the various role players' stories of the shaping of the borders, boundaries and barriers in the area, illustrating the influence of the development intent on the area and its people; and
- to play off the grand against the local discourses.

The way forward is explained by firstly discussing a deconstruction of the discourses of development intent, secondly reflecting on narratives

illustrating various discourses in Hammanskraal/Temba and lastly on the format of the study.

In a preliminary overview of sources, it became evident that there are a number of sources and literature on the discourses of development intent that influenced the Hammanskraal/Temba area. I should maybe at this stage mention that before the amalgamation of the former homelands with South Africa, Hammanskraal formed part of South Africa while Temba formed part of the former Bophuthatswana. This implied that discourses of development intent - defined as spatial, political and related economic policies - for both the former Bophuthatswana and South Africa, were of importance for the study.

The problem, as indicated in the discussion on the approach to historical research, is that it was difficult and subjective on the part of the historian/researcher (myself in this instance) to decide on the sources to be used and the period of time that will be covered in the study. How could it be determined where certain causes originated from or how far in time their origins lay (if at all)? For the purpose of this study and against the background of the issue of borders, boundaries and barriers, the point of departure selected was by taking a look at the discourses of development intent, affecting the Hammanskraal/Temba area, since 1913, when the segregationist land policy was statutory instituted via the Bantu Land Act

(Act No27 of 1913). This Act introduced reserves, and laid the foundation for the crucial distribution of land between Africans and Whites (Butler, Rotberg and Adams, 1977:10), which I regard as a crucial event/definite point in the establishment of borders and barriers affecting the area.

I am, however, aware that a lot of actions, events and possibly 'scraintents' and forces gave rise to this 1913 policy and Act and can not just be left out of the equation. I therefore endeavoured to give a brief overview of the broader history, sketching the situation in which the 1913 Bantu Land Act has been introduced, to place the rest of the study in context. This context was structured according to the western concept of time - a concept I can relate to, but not necessarily declare as the beginning and the end.

I should also mention that the research for the study was undertaken during the course of 1996 and will therefore only include discourses up till the end of 1996. The limitation of time and lack of hindsight, obviously resulted in a great void in understanding the complex interplay between development intention and local discourses, which are still unfolding and which will inevitably continue to be much more far reaching than we (I) will be able to grasp, predict or follow in future.

The sources I found reflecting on the issues of development intent and related topics, can mostly be regarded as:

- official documentation and reports of various government departments involved;
- academic discussions, critiques and articles on the planning and economic development policies, programmes, acts etc;
- academic discussions and articles regarding the constitutional development policies within South Africa and the former homelands;
- interviews with people from various communities in the area;
- interviews with industrialists; and
- interviews with officials from various government bodies.

I should mention that in the preliminary investigation, I found very little literature or 'formally' recorded history on the local discourses in the area. The sources on the local discourses consist of limited government records, files kept by officials working in the area, 'common' verbal accounts and observations of the local situation and discourses. I am of the opinion that an account of the informal notes, records, verbal accounts and observations, without losing the complex and human nature thereof, can be regarded and used as local narratives, reflecting on stories of the community and of events and actions that form part of its history.

Regarding the sources used in the grand narrative, the purpose obviously was to give a reflection on some existing stories and frameworks, sketched not only by original documentation or reports, but especially by its

interpretation as well. As the purpose was not, as indicated, to determine the 'all encompassing truth' of each event or detail regarding each act or policy, there was no attempt to scrutinise all so-called 'original' or available sources. The attempt was rather to narrate some already existing stories (usually already regarded as important and usually published as well) in a reflective manner, playing it off against some already existing local stories (deserving to be told – but not necessarily regarded as grand or important enough to tell, let alone to publish).

### **A deconstruction of the discourses of development intent**

Some explanations were derived from the deconstruction of the interwoven mixture of 'international', national and local texts, focusing on the impact of South African and former Bophuthatswana policies and politics on the development of the Temba/Hammanskraal area, which is still unfolding. In the deconstruction of these various text versions of parts of the past, the focus was on the milieu and context against which these sources were written, as well as their writers' interpretations of the past. In order for the interpretation to reflect the way in which the existing stories are told, as well as to make sense to others and myself in a similar frame of mind, it has been done, in a predominantly chronological way, grouped together according to certain main themes I found identified throughout the subtexts.

### **A narrative on Hammanskraal/Temba**

As explained in the first section, with all the problems regarding borders and the restricting barriers, such as access to opportunities and resources, Hammanskraal/Temba seemed to be struggling to survive the results of grand apartheid planning policies and planning processes. In attempting to answer the questions set out in this study, it was not only necessary to look into the deconstruction of the discourses, but also important to play off the various discourses against each other. Such stories, which are somewhat more reflective and retrospective can be regarded as historical narratives, as set out in the discussion on the historical narrative.

As a 'subjective' researcher, I did not contemplate to give 'the' account of events, actions and discourses. I, however, contemplated to give 'some' accounts, which consist of my subjective, influenced and value-laden interpretation of the so-called 'evidence' that I had to my disposal and research at the point of writing up my interpretation of the various stories. In no way can these narratives be regarded as an attempt to be the only narrative of the story as contemplated by the communities of Hammanskraal/Temba.

I am, however, of the opinion that such narratives aided me (and hopefully you) in forming an understanding of how development intent, as external



forces, had an influence on the area and its people, assessed and played off in terms of local discourses on borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area.

### **Proposed format of the study**

As explained, I aimed at understanding the influence of development in terms of borders, boundaries and barriers, on the Hammanskraal/Temba area and its people, assessed and played off against local discourses. This has been attempted by deconstructing the available texts on development intent and writing some historical narratives, reflecting on the grand and local discourses. I should mention that this has been done, while striving to keep the approach to history and research in mind and above all striving to do it in a manner reflective of itself.

The format of the historiography (study of history), in Part 2 reflects the interplay, movement and reflection between the deconstruction of the discourses of development intent, narratives on broader policy level and the narratives illustrating the local discourses under consideration in Hammanskraal/Temba. In this format it is possible to discern some of the discourses and narratives, to move between the constraints of time, place and space, role players, events and restricting order, in such a way as to be

reflective and to reinterpret intentions, actions and events.

A dimension also used in reflecting on the borders, boundaries and barriers created, as well as on the influences of grand policies on peoples lives and experiences, is the expressive narrative. According to Colin Falck in *Myth, Truth and Literature: Towards a True Post-Modernism*, "*Poetry or imaginative literature is our most fundamental mode of inscription of reality, and it is imaginative or imagistic concreteness that we need for this purpose, rather than the abstractions either of the intellect or of the traditional systems of religious symbolism*" (1994:151). The expressive narrative are introduced throughout Part 2, played off against waarmee local and grand narratives. In the expressive narrative I drew from expressions of people in the form of short prose, photos, cartoons and illustrations, and even modernistic fables (see Falck, 1994:151), relating to the issues addressed in the other narratives. The expressive narrative is an attempt to provide an additional and uninterpreted narrative to the reader, for own interpretation and thought. Although not drawn from people of Hammanskraal/Temba specifically, it presents expressions of artists, writers and photographers of both grand and local narratives and particularly those related to borders, boundaries and barriers created and forced upon.

However, the reader should keep in mind that the various stories are as experienced and understood by myself – not aiming at giving the 'ultimate

And ilfe truth'. The various stories also reflect the various interpretations of the 'truth' as experienced by various role players in certain instances. In such a format, it can be argued, it will be impossible not to subjectively link events/intentions and outcomes in a cause-effect related manner, which should be kept in mind by the reader. I, however, regard this - even though subjective as is the nature of history and historiography - as one of the most reflective and less restrained ways in which I can contemplate to come to a(n) understanding of how borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area were shaped by development intention, played off against the modernistic and grand policies and power relations of apartheid, highlighting the unjustifiable grand and generalising nature of those narratives.

A reflection on the historiography in Part 2, as well as an interpretation thereof is given in Part 3, through the eyes of the historian/writer - myself.

Detailed information regarding certain aspects of the research, are set out in the Annexures. In Annexure A, detail regarding the research strategy is set out. In Annexure B, practical aspects to keep in mind while doing historical research, as well as the approach towards the unstructured interview used in the study, are explained in more detail. In Annexure C the unstructured interviews are set out in transcribed format.

In a recent (by the time of writing this) article Amanda Coetzee (Beeld, 14 April 1997:12), stated that the historical film 'Braveheart' again made her think about historiography, as each version of the story as told by the Scottish, British, etc. reflects another image of William Wallace's values and power interests. She remarked that maybe history is like beauty - vested in the eye of the beholder, a lesson which mankind will maybe eventually learn.

As you are aware by now, the rest of this study/story/narrative will be told as experienced and understood by myself, but will go further/materialise as interpreted by you. This study/story/narrative will be told as vested in the eye of the beholder, and as can be expected will surely be challenged by other versions (implying other beholders) - a 'lesson' the reader could and should be aware of in a reflective history. The reader should also be critical and therefore feel free to challenge interpretations within the context set by the boundaries of personal experiences, knowledge and values, as well as the limitations and interpretation of the text at hand.

## PART 3

# MAKING MY OWN SANDWICHES

*"And when I look at a history book and think of the imaginative effort it has taken to squeeze this oozing world between two boards and typeset, I am astonished. Perhaps the event has an unassailable truth. God saw it. God knows. But I am not God. And so when someone tells me what they heard or saw, I believe them, and I believe their friend who also saw, but not in the same way, and I can put these accounts together and I will not have a seamless wonder but a sandwich laced with mustard of my own...Here is some advice. If you want to keep your own teeth, make your own sandwiches."*

(Winterson as quoted by Onega, 1995:139)

## 'Making my own sandwiches'

### About the study culminating in a kaleidoscope of stories, in different shapes and colours

In her book 'Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit', Jeanette Winterson makes the statement that "*Everyone who tells a story tells it differently, just to remind us that everybody sees it differently*" (as quoted in Onega, 1995:137). Traditional history can be regarded as ordered, simple and coherent – and according to post-modernists and new historicists, as a way of reducing stories. As described in Part 1 and as aptly put by Onega, this kind of history..."*does not, in fact, offer a truthful version of the past, but rather a simplified and distorted version of it, one that help us deny its complex nature*" (Onega, 1995:137).

The way we see, tell and hear these stories are different. As set out in Part 1, other than the traditional historic way, aimed at simplicity, history could rather illustrate the many possible and different stories. The stories about borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba can also be set out in many different ways and from various perspectives, which I would like to illustrate in these following 'small sandwiches':

## 'Sandwiches' on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba

Well, as I know by now, there are no clear distinctions regarding where stories end and where they begin, which is probably also true for the division of land between white and black areas in South Africa.

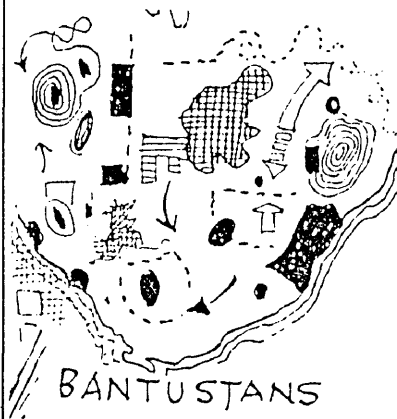
If one really wants to claim a beginning, the first colonials setting foot on land in Southern Africa, followed by 'land invasions' of Europeans and the Mfecane, would probably qualify as a good one. Even though I started my story a few hundred years after that, I would not regard it as not being part of the story, as the divisions just took on bigger proportions and became more structured through the various colonial governments.

By the time of Unification, so-called native areas were already set out in a most unviable manner and land tenure was already a bedrock for problems to come, as African land ownership was restricted by the boundaries of these areas. How was anybody to know that 80 years of South African governments promoting territorial partition, creating stronger and fiercer barriers, boundaries and even international borders, were waiting to follow?

With the promulgation of the Native Land Act in 1913, the reserves were officially introduced and formal boundaries laid down between black and white geographical areas. Little was everybody then to envisage that this division would later culminate in a magnitude of economic, social and physical barriers created between black and white development, isolating and restricting the expansion of reserves.

These barriers, however, not only restricted the reserves to develop, but also created a situation where people who could not make their own livelihoods had to find an income outside the reserves (where their movement and choices were severely restricted). This situation could be seen to maybe have pleased the farmers, mine-houses and industrialists, who could (probably as always) make good use of controlled and cheap

### *A story told by images*



An imaginary discussion on Hammanskraal/Temba by persons from the Kekana Tribe, Temba, Hammanskraal, Mandela Village and Babelegi.

"As, I am the eldest I will start the story. It was a long time ago, a few hundred years ago I think, that the Amandebele-A-Lebelo settled in the area now known as Hammanskraal, in the vicinity of other Tswana Tribes. With the coming of the Europeans everything obviously changed and soon we even found ourselves in a declared traditional native area, not allowed to expand our territory or even purchase additional land. Obviously our people were used to farming and grazing cattle on extensive pieces of land and soon we had too little land to provide in the livelihoods of our people. Unlike the areas designated to us, the white areas were developed and had cities where our people went to work. We, however, could not go there as we pleased and mostly it was the fathers who went to work in the mines or later the mothers who went working in Pretoria, to support their families. It was during the time of the War that we found out that Natives were really unwelcome in the white cities, when the Government brought Natives with trucks to a farm near our land. These suffering and devastated people were brought from places such as Lady Selbourne, Orlando and Klipspruit in the Pretoria and Johannesburg areas. The tent-town that emerged was named 'Sofasonke', which means 'we are going to die'. Our Chief was requested by the Whites to allow the people of 'Sofasonke' to use the Tribal Authority's schools, churches and other facilities, in return for payment. What was soon evident was that even in the worst situations, people would not give up hope. In the tent-town, the building of permanent houses commenced and the place was renamed 'Temba' – 'place of hope'. However, in the years to come it housed many other people relocated from the cities.

## 'Sandwiches' on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba

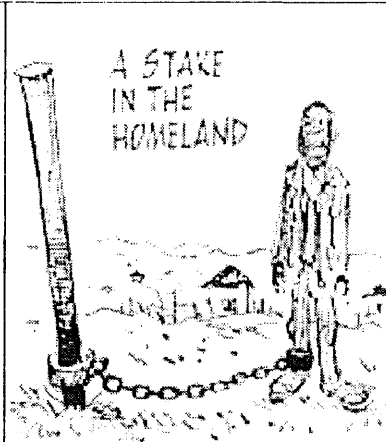
native labour. It also, however, seriously inhibited development and created problems for areas such as the Kekana tribal area and the unviable 'sleep' town of Temba.

Through the last few decades the predicament of these areas within the reserves were continually enhanced, regardless of the reaction of natives against native areas and even more so, regardless of numerous proposals (and hidden agendas) regarding development of these areas.

Hertzog was one of those expressing an active desire to develop the reserves and even allocate additional land to them. However, from the early years of separation towards later independence (which Hertzog's Government thought would never happen) and even to the 'fall' of the bantustans, nothing was ever really done to develop the reserves or towns such as Temba into economically viable units.

This has been illustrated by numerous stories regarding proposals and desires that never culminated into action, whether via the concentration of building sites (notably not town establishment), the introduction of the South African Native Trust to promote development in the Reserves, proposed economic development by the Board of Trade and Industry in 1936 and even discussing the possibility of industrialisation of the Reserves as such (abandoned because of the possible negative effect on white industries).

By the 1940's the Rural Industries Commission suggested that white capital should be invested in Reserves (a proposal later rejected), while the Social and Economic Planning Council indicated the crucial importance of urban employment in the reserves and spelt out that the economic base of reserves should be broadened. It was within this context of underdevelopment and deterioration that Temba was established on the border of the Tswana Reserve north of Pretoria – however, for no other reason than to accommodate people forcefully removed from white areas. Ironically Temba both grew and deteriorated due to its proximity to the border. Being one of the nearest places to access the PWV from



After the War there were elections in the white South Africa and a new word was created – Apartheid. Soon it was known that the white Government's policy was now aimed at developing our areas, then called reserves, in order for it to become politically independent. However, with us nothing changed. People from Temba and the Kekana Tribe were still getting up in the early hours to work in the white area of Pretoria, while our area deteriorated by the day – no education, no freedom to go and find work, no possibility of lending money and starting an own enterprise. As you can guess black resistance started building up against the system.

With the so-called self-governing came the establishment of the Bophuthatswana Homeland, of which us Ndebeles, as well as the non-Tswanas in Temba, were to form part. I should, however, tell you about a strange happening. A portion of our land was used for the building of a road. However, the piece that was cut off by the road was included in white South Africa, while the rest of our land was in Bophuthatswana – an ungovernable situation. This problem actually worsened when Bophuthatswana became independent with Mangope ruling. Our Tribal Authority did everything possible to get our land back, but can you believe, we had to work through Bophuthatswana and South Africa's Departments of International Affairs to negotiate. As you can imagine nothing came of it."

"You could have thought that. Just look at the way Mangope handled us non-Tswanas in Temba and all the problems and conflict your Tribe had with him regarding land and chiefs. I, however, knew this homeland-thing would not last long, especially with all the trouble and riots during the 1980's and people demanding reincorporation with South Africa."

"Well, it is actually because of all these problems that we fled the homeland. We had nowhere to go and the only land we knew were available was that of your tribe situated in South Africa. It was during the time that President Mandela was released and De Klerk talked about reforming South Africa. I must say when your Tribe





## 'Sandwiches' on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba

Boophuthatswana. it was growing with residents commuting and working in Pretoria. However, because of its location inside the border of a Reserve, it was growing without developing an economic base or viability.

Against this background of boundaries created between Reserves and white South Africa, and the barriers separating the people in the Reserves from opportunities for economic development, the National Party came to power in 1948, maybe just in time to officially label the grand separationist policies as Apartheid. As the economic interaction in the white South Africa made it difficult for the government to justify the exclusion of Blacks from politics, the same pattern of 'proposed development and non-action' was followed.

Industrial decentralisation was considered a possibility, together with the development of economically viable towns. The development of these townships was proposed to be done via proper planning, viz, combining all functions of an urban center. However, nearby employment in white areas was still regarded as providing an economic base for Reserve towns such as Temba, providing residents with the facility to live in a homeland (behind a boundary a 'safe' distance away) and commute to border industries and white cities for work opportunities.

With the introduction of the policy of separate development, borders and the constitution of homelands were formalised, once again proposing development but now by each area for itself. With this border demarcation, non-Tswanas of Temba, as well as Ndebeles of the Kekana Tribe, became part of Tswanaland. With the later creation of Boophuthatswana, barriers were enhanced, restrictions formalised and yet more disparities created with regards to planning and legislation for white and black South Africa.

Understandably the South African Government reflected on the success, in the case of Temba, officially regarding it as one of the first successful black planned towns and one of those towns in the reserves having an economic base. This was, however, due to its proximity to Pretoria and



threatened to evict us I got quite angry – we had to fight for a bigger cause. This tribal land and homeland thing was anyway just a way of restricting our Blacks from having land and be able to develop. With all the changes taking place we fortunately had the former TPA recognising our problem and with the help of people from within and from outside the community, we showed people how one can develop – even if you are in a desperate situation.”

“You know, now that I think about it, your people on our tribal land were almost just like the people of Sofasonke – at first you had nothing, but hope and the will to survive. And almost like Temba, the place of hope, you named your town Mandela Village – after a person of hope.”

“That is very true. Look at our people in Temba. We did everything to show our support for Mandela and our resentment of the homelands. At that time I remember us all talking about freedom, anxiously awaiting the new South Africa, hoping to become part of one country, one settlement and one society.”

“You may not think so, but I was just as anxious for the new South Africa and the first elections in 1994. I probably did not have so much at stake as you people, but having being part of the area and its problems since I was first lured here with all the incentives and promises of development of Babelegi’s industries, I also longed for an integrated society. Imagine the Temba-Hammanskraal functional area to at long last become part of one country and one society, with no more white sleep towns, restrictions on movement and barriers regulating where one could work or stay, or even do business.”

“At least we know now that we were foolish. And to think that all our pleas for Hammanskraal/Temba to become one functional area, were useless! Could we have imagined that in the new South Africa, we would be divided into two different provinces and three local governments’. This is nothing else than the perpetuation of the





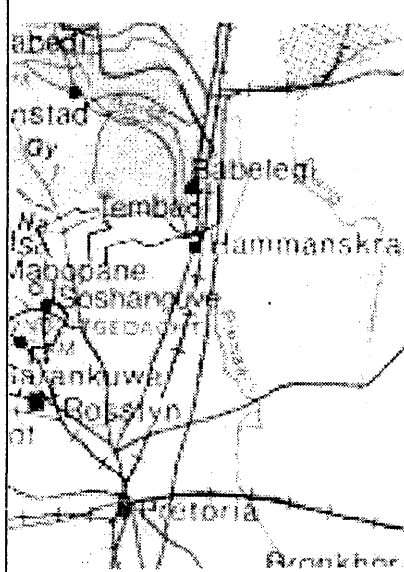
## 'Sandwiches' on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba

later to Babelegi. In the same manner, the development of Babelegi was also regarded a success, as one of the most successful growth points/border industries.

With the so-called independence of Bophuthatswana in 1977, separate development came to its full realisation. Formal constitutional borders were created, thus creating a 'sovereign' Bophuthatswana. The latter faced numerous problems regarding consolidation of its land (in one case the Kekana's tribal land was split, with a few pieces falling within South Africa's jurisdiction and the rest in Bophuthatswana, regardless of pleas and disputes). As was the case with South Africa, Bophuthatswana subsequently introduced its own planning policies, with scant attention at project level and once again little advantage in terms of development for areas such as Temba.

Ironically, only four years after independence, it was realised that development could not be addressed within the restrictions of artificial borders. Functionally integrated development regions were demarcated for the 1982 Good Hope Strategy. It is interesting to note that development Region H (being the PWV), actually had Hammanskraal and Temba included. The previous policies of industrial decentralisation were also now regarded as unsuccessful, and changed to industrial deconcentration – with more co-ordination/integration between white South Africa and the Homelands.

With the unbanning of political organisations in South Africa in 1990, conflict between the African National Congress and the Bophuthatswana Government, as well as between the Bophuthatswana Government and non-Tswanas, reached a climax and the Bophuthatswana Government started evaluating its future relationship with South Africa. One of the central issues was the demarcation of regions and the Commission on the Delimitation/ Demarcation of SPR's was introduced in 1993. Various arguments regarding the Odi-



former boundaries, with Mandela Village and the greater part of Hammanskraal being part of Gauteng, and Temba and Babelegi part of North West."

"And to think that even in the new South Africa, we were still unwelcome – not even good enough for Hammanskraal. However, as their pleas to be integrated with Temba had no effect and we (Mandela Village) were part of the same Local Council, we had to work together. We are in a similar position as our requests regarding the land on which we are located, which still belongs to the Amandebele-Ba-Lebelo Tribe, also led to nothing. We are technically land invaders and development is therefore largely restricted."

"Well, I think everybody has serious concerns and faces serious problems. In Babelegi, with the cutting of incentives to industries, markets being located in Gauteng, high transport costs, labour unrest and problems, we have concerns about the viability of industries which also seriously affects peoples' job opportunities and our area's economy."

"It seems that a lot of problems have been created by the barriers restricted in the area and on us. The rest is probably due to our tribe, the problem-makers in everybody's eyes, as we are claiming the land on which Babelegi is situated, and don't want to sell the land on which Mandela Village has developed. You must understand, however, that we never really belonged anywhere. We also never really had a choice regarding selling or even getting back our own land, whether in Bophuthatswana or in the old and the new South Africas either. It also seems that we won't get any of our land back, with a lot of our claims seemingly technically not qualifying and the whole chieftainship dispute also still pending."

"Well, if it were not for the barriers created by land legislation and institutional borders you wouldn't have had these problems! We at least have our Development Forum and the prospect of the Land



## 'Sandwiches' on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba

Moretele area were put forward for inclusion in both Gauteng and North-West. However, regardless of pleas by the communities, Hammanskraal/Temba was divided as being no functional unit, with Hammanskraal located in Gauteng and Temba and Babelegi in North-West and each province embarking on planning processes of its own. Thus the story on boundaries, and most of all, of barriers to development and opportunities, continued and is perpetuated once again.



Development Objective process to better the position of the Hammanskraal and other northern rural areas. At least we know that in spite of all that happened, the homelands became provinces and the old South Africa became a new one, even though we can't really influence it."

"Maybe most importantly, at least we know that some things we can influence (even against all odds). We know that we can do, and are doing, something to ensure that the Sofasonkes of despair, can become Tembas and Mandela Villages of hope."

Other than in the case of these stories, traditional history and especially the grand narratives, have very often been means of denying the past and of 'telling' people what to believe. As set out in Part 1, there are various opinions regarding the approach towards history as reaction to this. There are those suggesting the discarding of history and then there are those, such as the affirmative post-modernists (although just as critical of modernist history), rather trying "...to revise it, relativize it, salvage it, re-draft it, or re-invent it rather than simply abolishing it...Their version of post-modern history is not a truth-seeking activity so much as 'story-telling' (Ankersmit 1989). In this approach towards history..."Description' in the form of such stories becomes as valuable as 'explanation'. Post-modern historians also accept contradictions because they expect that there will be many different 'stories' about history" (Scott as quoted in Rosenau, 1992:66).

In this study and the 'small sandwiches' it is exactly the contradictions and different stories and interpretations/experiences of the same events, places and policies – that are illustrated. It is also important to see that the anti-narrative and the narrative history have been compatible and actually very complementary approaches – in providing even a wider range of stories, as well as more interpretations and different viewpoints and experiences in stories such as:

- ...about Temba, where there are stories regarding Temba's sad origin and the experiences of non-Tswanas, and other stories, ignoring and contradicting those experiences – depicting triumph and boasting its growth and success as the first planned black town. There are stories about Temba as one of the few viable planned black towns, and then

there are conflicting stories about overcrowding, long commuting distances, a lack of services and an economic base, as well as of Temba's functional link with the greater Pretoria;

- ...Babelegi's success stories, which are even louder, in a way contradict industrialists' stories of problems with infrastructure, unskilled labour, services and a decentralised growth-point's remnants, not to forget the stories of disputes regarding land, still on the foreground;
- ...in Hammanskraal, a once 'white sleep-town', there are stories of problems regarding a tax base and cries for integration with Temba and Babelegi – the reason for Hammanskraal's development and growth. On the other hand, the nearby Mandela Village is filled with stories of resistance, struggles and pleas for land and the building of a community with a will to survive. Not far away is the Kekana Tribe, with stories of a troubled past, stories on problems of boundaries, and stories of disputes and conflicts regarding chiefs, a chief minister, government and land;
- ...stories of separation and division, of artificial boundaries becoming barriers, stories between races and stories of capitalists and the workers. There are stories of land, ranging from division to separation, to independence, causing problems of tenure and now even reform. There are various illustrations where the critical importance of developing the reserves has been proven and recommended by

commissions (even though sometimes with certain agendas and political ideologies in mind), where politicians acknowledged the importance of the development proposals, and where either nothing, or some limited, or unviable and scaled down actions were taken. There are stories of the problems of native areas, stories of reserves and their underdevelopment, stories of homelands and their unviable towns and deteriorating rural areas, stories of independence (where everybody are 'at long last' responsible for themselves) and...then there are stories where it all 'comes tumbling down';

- ....stories which seem to have a familiar pattern: a problem is identified and a certain path of action is decided upon (even though artificially or ideologically motivated). The problem persists, but no other direction is considered - the chosen direction is rather pursued with more vigour, introducing more acts, rules and regulations. And when that does not work, either further rules and regulations are applied and the same course is pursued with even more vigour;
- ...stories of modernistic government planning and different ideas of how development will take place – those ideas of development trickling down or supposedly dispersing, those ideas of development where you only see the back-wash effect and those where growth is the ultimate goal, and then those ideas of development aiming to reconstruct, not forgetting those of communities (without theories) taking charge of themselves;

- ...varying stories of industrial development – seen as an outcome for reserves, but rather not implemented at the cost of the rest of the country, the investment of white capital being regarded as important but also rather not allowed. Industries located on the borders to develop the reserves – while at the same time keeping all infrastructure, investment, taxes, etc. within white South Africa;
- ...stories of contradiction between development in the white and black South Africas. Where the first had political power, money, policies, programmes, planning and co-ordination and the second had almost none to start with, let alone after the so-called independence (struggling to get a system and competent personnel in place, focusing on policy and budget, in the process allowing projects to lag behind);
- ...stories regarding Bophuthatswana, its land and politics, with problems of demarcation and a lot of non-Tswanas who 'had to' be accommodated elsewhere (Ndebeles not even regarded as needing a place of their own), as well as some peoples' fanatic acceptance and others' traumatic revolt; and
- ...stories of the new South Africa, its demarcation of provinces – where some old divisions were perpetuated, even with contradictions in motivations for or against inclusion or exclusion, especially regarding Temba/Hammanskraal in the Gauteng or North West provinces – and

where some divisions were pleaded and reacted against – with no effect.

In this narrative of development intent in Hammanskraal/Temba, I have not tried to give an all encompassing truth, drawing an exact parallel between causation and implication, or deliberately simplifying the 'story' in order for it to fit into a logical, precise, encompassing and chronological structure. I rather strove towards telling some of the stories, and for the sake of this study especially some of those reflecting on various forms and experiences regarding borders, boundaries and barriers. I am of the opinion that the complexity, the contradictions (between and even within) and the variety of interpretations and experiences, in a way, come to the fore in the interplay between the grand, local and expressive narratives – complying to the purpose and approach towards the study, set out as follows:

- The purpose of the study - to try to form a(n) understanding of how borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area were shaped by development intention, with local narratives played off against the modernistic and grand policies and power relations of apartheid, highlighting the unjustifiable grand and generalising nature of those narratives, with specific focus on the following:
  - what the grand and generalising narratives (regarded as broader national and regional political, economic and planning discourses) about borders, boundaries and barriers in the Hammanskraal/Temba area are;

- What the local narratives (if any) regarding borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area are; and
- Whether the discourses of development intent, as external forces, had an influence on the area and its people, assessed and played off in terms of local discourses of borders, boundaries and barriers created in the area; and

□ The approach to the study to:

- Deconstruct the discourses in development intent (regarded as national political, planning and economic policies and measures) that affected the Hammanskraal/Temba area;
- Tell the stories of the various role players regarding the shaping of the borders, boundaries and barriers in the area, illustrating the influence of development intent on the area and its people; and
- Play off the grand against the local discourses, with the expressive narrative also in mind.

In a study (historiography) such as this, the role of the author is very often seen as diminishing the legitimacy of the subject, illustrating subjectivity instead of objectivity. However, in contrast with the modernist logic to argue in such a way that the reader can not other than to agree with the argument (therefore limiting the interpretations to just one 'logical' one), the role of the author in this study was much rather to enlarge the possible interpretations and meanings. In this study/narrative the aim was rather to make the text more reader orientated, open for the reader to interpret and

make her/his own conclusions or opinions. It has also been stated from the outset that no story should be regarded as 'new', as every story and therefore the narrative is my interpretation of other texts. However, as Rosenau remarks, even though not 'new' it could serve a purpose in shaking us 'loose of our preconceptions, our 'normal' ways of doing science' (Rosenau, 1992:169).

### **About some 'lessons' I have 'learned'**

In her discussion on the approach towards history Rosenau states that affirmative post-modernists would "... *retain history as a form of storytelling, as a local narrative without privilege, and they would deprive it of much prestige and influence. There could be as many different and conflicting histories as there are consumers of the historical text. Efforts to 'learn' from history would necessarily be discarded by the skeptics. The affirmatives would argue that such 'lessons' may exist but are never very clear. At best they would produce temporary, local lessons, and different people could be expected to derive distinct and disparate lessons from the historical record*" (Rosenau, 1992:171). Well as you have gathered by now each of us has our own interpretations, and therefore it could be best to make our own 'sandwiches' – which is why I will not contemplate to give a glamorous 'conclusion', nor to highlight the lesson/s.



As you could probably guess I have learned a great deal from my deliberations on the story of history, especially that in the absence of 'absolute truth' one must welcome multiple interpretations. The world/the past comes to us always already interpreted as stories and we cannot get out of these stories in order to check whether they correspond to the real world/past, because these 'always already' narratives constitutes 'reality'. I could, however, contemplate to share some of the maybe more conscious lessons I have learned from this study/narrative and various stories.

What I have seen is various stories and interpretations, too complex to grasp or try and understand in its entirety, and too complex to place in direct relations towards each other in a cause and effect manner. These grand and local narratives take place on different levels, in different frames in time and with different focuses in each, all are however, continuously being played off against each other, in an interrelated and intertwined manner. As a planner, there are certain things that will stay with me – I know now that we don't have the answers, that we don't know the outcome of all our wonderful policies and plans. I think I understand better that people see and experience everything differently and personally, and that there are therefore more than one truth in the same situation. I think today that with all our efforts to co-ordinate, to get new ideologies into plans and policies and to introduce plans and budgets – we are still not really focused on people, nor on implementation or identifying strategic issues for those, and on the respective levels, where it could make a difference. I learned that it is not always the big

plans and policies that work. It is not the acts or regulations or the money or people behind it that make things work. It is so many times the small things and the action by communities that can bring about positive results/changes.

Can we now imagine what effect we as planners, the government and all policies and programmes of development intent have on the physical, social and economical environment, not even to mention the influence on peoples lives? The influence we have in creating various forms, shapes and sizes of borders, boundaries and barriers (in various dimensions) – we can not even contemplate. Even in this study I might have observed only a glimpse of the effect of these, of the complications created and their effects on the lives of those who have to live with it, across it and in most instances, against it.

The value of this historical narrative, to me, lays in the service that it renders to make sense of some events, actions and circumstances. As stated by Jenkins, history "*...viewed not in its traditional guise as a subject discipline aiming at real knowledge of the past, but seen rather as what it is, a discursive practice that enables present minded people(s) to go to the past, there to delve around and reorganise it appropriately to their needs, then such history ... may well have a radical cogency that make visible aspects of the past that have previously been hidden or secreted away, that have previously been overlooked or sidelined, thereby producing fresh*

Well, that is certainly true for this historiography, still a 'string of knots' even though it is almost 'bedtime'. Maybe I (and you) can knot it up a bit more, thinking and chewing on borders, boundaries and barriers in Hammanskraal/Temba...

*And even though this could be an end...*

*...I think, it is just the beginning....*



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## ANNEXURE A

### Setting out some aspects to keep in mind while doing a historic inquiry and unstructured interviews

#### About aspects to keep in mind while doing a historical inquiry

Although the way Felt described the historic inquiry can be seen as fairly modernistic in nature, still aiming at the absolute truth, it is important to take it into consideration. Even though the aim of this study, as set out in Part 1, is not to define 'a story/truth' it is still done in a reflective manner, being aware of what it is doing and why. I therefore regarded Felt's advice, in *Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History* (1991:7-41), valuable and kept the following in mind that:

- The effects on people effect their testimonies;
- writers usually have their own motives, for example documents written by officials from/for state departments;
- newspapers are subsidised by political parties and dependent on subscribers and readers, letters to the editor can not be regarded as public opinion and reflect the bias of either writer and/or editor;
- even pictures should be interpreted carefully as a picture is an object created by someone and can be misleading;
- maps express the relation between time and space but is always done with a specific purpose. Maps can also be used for propaganda and can be biased by the mapmaker;
- organisational records reflect the formal structure of the organisation they are used by;
- definitions or phrases may mean different things in different areas/for different people; and
- it should be clarified what interviewees role were/how their opinions were influenced.

#### The use of sources in historical research

It has been set out in Part 1 of the study that the study ought to be done in a reflective manner. W. O. Simpson, in his publication 'Working with Sources, Case Studies in Twentieth-Century History' (1988) argues for a more reflective approach to sources. He proposes probing into issues such as: comparison of events, questioning differences, questioning reasons given or not given, questioning the value given to sources, as well as motivations given for actions or events; consistency of actions by governments and newspapers that may present or misrepresent issues or events. Even though these have been taken into account, the approach of the study especially allows for inconsistencies, not denying conflicting opinions or versions.

Felt, in his work on how to do local history (1981), gives a thorough description on sources to be used and how to go about with these sources when doing local history. He notes (Felt, 1981:11) that the study of sources, especially 'raw contemporary sources', can enhance the historians insights to a degree, but is of the opinion that this can only happen when the historian's mind is 'opened by the curiosity to understand'. Felt (1981:9), however, also encouraged historians to be critical to the motives of and powers behind writers/institutions/newspapers and to actually read documents for what they do not intend to give. As set out in Part 1, this historiography sets out to narrate an existing story and therefore consciously uses secondary sources.

Lang and Heiss, in their book 'Practical Guide to Research Methods' (1991:73) notes the following important resources to be used in a historical inquiry:

- physical remains;
- orally transmitted material;
- printed matter;
- personal observation;
- representative material;
- hand-written materials;
- audio-visual material; and
- interviews.

These authors, however, also notes the difference between primary and secondary sources (which they note as being biased by the authors). According to Lang and Heiss (1991:76) it is important in the historical research to do a brief review/identification of literature to be used and why, as done in Part 1.

### **What to keep in mind while doing interviews in an unstructured manner**

The unstructured interview was used to derive information for the study. In the book 'Inleiding tot Kwalitatiewe Metodes, Module 3', produced for The Human Sciences Research Council in 1989 by Ferreira, M. et al. the unstructured interview is discussed in depth by E.M. Schurink. This discussion formed the bases for the use of the unstructured interview and can be set out as follows:

Schurink (Ferreira, 1989:136) regards the interview process as not only an instrument of gathering data, but also an interactive process between the interviewer and interviewee. In order to get a trustworthy and valid reflection of the reality, to reconstruct a phenomenon or come to a better understanding thereof, the methodology used in the unstructured interview can prove to be important.

Annexure A

The types of unstructured interviews that Schurink discusses (Ferreira, 1989:137-9) can be described as:

- The informal discussion/in depth interview, which is done with no prerequisite knowledge, to prevent subjectivity. No questions are asked with a purpose but rather develop spontaneously and the respondent has unrestricted participation. The interviewer, however, experiences difficulty staying in charge of the topic. The advantages of this method is that an insiders view is heard, while it can be a very time consuming method that has to be done by the researcher herself.
- The unstructured interview at the hand of a schedule implies the use of themes that seem to be relevant from literature. These are not used in any particular order, but just to ensure the discussion of all themes. The advantages of this type of interview can be regarded as that discussion will be stimulated and data can be gathered on a systematic manner, while unforeseen data will not be excluded. The disadvantage of this interview type is that it requires experienced interviewers.
- The open ended question interview can be regarded as not being only qualitative of nature, as only the answers are left to the perception or interpretation of the interviewees. The biggest advantage is that data can be systematically compared, while the negative aspects include the exclusion of the respondents' living worlds and the losing of chances to expand knowledge.

What is important in the unstructured interview as reflected on by Schurink (Ferreira, 1988:140-7), are the phases of the interview and the role of the interviewer in each of the phases. A few important aspects that can briefly be mentioned, are:

- Preparing for the interview, if an informal discussion is not to be held;

- the meeting and introduction of interviewee/s and interviewer, which should be handled truthful and with openness. It seems important out of Schurink's discussion that the purpose of the study is explained and that the practical arrangements regarding place, time etc. are as convenient as possible for the respondents, with a pleasant atmosphere. The interviewer should illustrate a sensitive and attentive nature, body language and handling of the interview;
- a partnership relationship between the interviewer and the respondent, where "... in return for allowing the interviewer to direct their communication, the informant is assured that he will not meet with denial, contradiction, competition, or other harassment. As with all contractual relations, the fiction or convention of equality must govern the situation" (Benny and Hughes, as quoted by Shurink in Ferreira, 1988:144).
- a trusting relationship is the basis of the unstructured interview, and it can be regarded as "...probably unfair and undoubtedly counterproductive for the researcher to completely hold back his or her own feelings" (Bogdan and Taylor as quoted by Schurink in Ferreira, 1988:145).
- the ending of the unstructured interview, which can usually be regarded as problematic for each session as well as for the research project/study. This should be done sensitively and differs for each situation.

# ANNEXURE B

## ANNEXURE B

### APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH

The research of the study could in terms of traditional research methods, be regarded as a combination of descriptive and historical research.

### Origin

According to Mouton and Marais, in their book on methodologies for research within human sciences (1989), the choice of the subject can have various origins, ranging from theory testing, hypothesis generating, to amazement (Mouton and Marais, 1989:34). This study, as indicated in the introductory section of Part 1, largely originated from amazement with the situation in Hammanskraal/Temba on the one hand, and the amazing influence of grand apartheid planning policy on the other.

### Research Design

Mouton and Marais stresses the importance of research design, but also indicates that in cases such as historical analysis and unstructured interviews, the research design will not play as big role (1989:32) as designing the research will presuppose the outcome or findings and in this case, the story and narrative.

### Problem Formulating

The problem in case of this research is formulated in terms of a range of questions, as set out in Part 1, such as:

- \* what were the national political and planning discourses that affected the Hammanskraal/Temba area;
- \* what were the influence these external forces had on the area and its people, assessed and played off against local discourses; and
- \* what were the culminating effects of the interplay between intention

and outcome, and policies and results regarding the borders, boundaries and barriers established in the area?

The consideration was, however, whether some answers or some explanations could be derived from the deconstruction of the interwoven mixture of "international", national and local texts, involved. The nature of the research implied, was that of historical nature, which it was necessary to dwell on, as has been done in Part 1.

The units of analysing to be used in the study (in terms of those set out by Mouton and Marais, (1989:38-42) is of complex and interwoven nature, but can be set out as focussing on:

- the Hammanskraal/Temba area;
- historical events, actions, etc. implying a study over time;

It should be noted that the study does not have a reductionist nature but implies a look into the policies regarding political, economic and physical development, as well as the local development of Temba/Hammanskraal in terms of borders, boundaries and barriers.

### Purpose of Research

The purpose of the study can be regarded as descriptive, investigative and explanatory (see Mouton and Marais, 1989, 43-5). In such a study the focus in the first instance falls on the description of the situation in terms of a narrative and historical description, in the second instance the focus falls on gaining insight and thirdly on understanding the situation and issues at hand.

## Research Strategy

The research strategy in the study can be regarded as of both ideographic and contextual nature. Mouton and Marais (1981:49-50) regards research strategies of ideographic nature as focussing on unique events or circumstances and the ways in which it came about, and those of contextual nature as having importance settled within itself as historical studies with in depth descriptive studies.

The nature of data or information analysis used in this research strategy can be regarded as historical analysis, based on content analysis, text analysis and deconstruction, as well as qualitative research through unstructured interviews.

## Validity of Research

The study under consideration can not be regarded as having any external validity, but rather focuses on internal validity in which the study, according to Mouton and Marais (1989:51), should be accurate and a reflection of the reality. The mentioned writers (1989:107) also reflects on inferential validity, which they regard as the coming to conclusions on the basis of data gathered, by using logical arguments and coming to logical conclusions. According to them (1989:117) the question should be asked whether other conclusions could not also be made. In the case of this narrative, the aim is, however, much rather complexity and illustration of various (even conflicting) stories, than in forming 'logical conclusions' or arguments.

## Qualitative Nature of the Research

The research can, although being mostly based on a historical inquiry, be regarded as having a qualitative nature. These concepts can be identified in the discussion on qualitative and quantitative research by Mouton and Marais (1981:157-71), as:

- Composing of concepts of a more complex nature, rich in meaning;
- having a general research purpose;
- having an unstructured and an open approach to inquiry/observation;
- being context bound; and
- aiming to understand in more depth.



# ANNEXURE C

ANNEXURE C

## INTERVIEW A

DATE: 19 March 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEES: Mr W. Mahlangu: Mandela Village Civic Association  
Mr L. Seshlangu: Hammanskraal Residence Association  
Mr M. Molopojane: Department of Local Government and Housing, Regional Office (former Governor's Office)  
PLACE: Temba, Former Governors Offices

*Scribed from a recording of the interview as well as from notes, made during the interview and discussions. Due to the nature of the interview being very informal, as well as due to the movement between offices and the unexpected field trip, field notes were made where recording was not possible. Only discussions related to the study have been scribed. Personal observations have been given of sections of the interview/field trip. Mr Mahlangu had to leave the discussion early due to prior arrangements.*

Mr Molopojane: The demarcation board cut through Hammanskraal, parts are in Gauteng and parts are in North-West Province. Regarding administration people in Hammanskraal (with portions in North-West and portions in Gauteng) share a geographic, social and economic environment, but I don't know why. The Eastern Services Council is pressing to own the Tribal land in Gauteng and want the Tribe to sell it. The tribal authorities are jealous of the area. The Civics took control but didn't own it. If the Eastern Services Council buy it then they can develop it... The former Government with their decentralisation policies instituted Babelagi. The industrialists received tax incentives. Now workers can form unions and there are no subsidies and industrialists feel the dash...The industrialists have an association and talk with local leaders. The North West Development Corporation is an important role player.

Mr Seshlangu: Currently there are two Transitional Councils, the Hammanskraal TLC in Gauteng and the Greater Temba TLC in North West. Before the local government elections, Mandela Village was no-mans-land. The Kekanas own Leeuwkraal (Temba, Mandela Village and rural areas). The Kekana's fields were used to build the factories and royalties were paid before independence. From 1978 taxes were redirected to Mmabatho - all income of the areas was paid to Government not to the Trust Account. The Kekanas fought to get it back...Greater Temba can not exist if it is not demarcated properly, actually the fabrics are owned by the Tribe.

Mr Mahlangu: The Chief is an ex-officio member of the GTTLC. Boundaries of Bophuthatswana and South Africa were not consulted with owners. The tribe developed the area and used it for grazing. Then it was cut in two (*that is portions of the farm Leeuwkraal*) and one area was in South-Africa and the other area in Bophuthatswana. The grazing area's title deed is in North-West and held by the Tribe, but Mandela Village is in Gauteng. The ANC used the people to help serve political needs. Bophuthatswana and South Africa said it was not in their area. Police could not intervene as there was doubt whether Mandela Village was in South Africa. The area was neglected and people started settling there. Now Mandela Village is in Gauteng and wants to be bought by the Eastern Services Council. The Civic Association runs Mandela Village. They demarcated Hammanskraal to include Mandela Village.

ANNEXURE C

## INTERVIEW A (continues)

Mr Sheshlangu: The people of Mandela Village work in Babelegi and in Town, they shop in Temba in the North-West. The two communities work together without sharing anything. Now people don't accept the local authority. The residence association (*of Hammanskraal*) asked in a letter to the Premier and MEC. They said that if they were not going to receive a reply, they would embark on a boycott of land tax, etc. They want to pay what Mandela Village pay, just electricity and water. Mandela Village was asked to R26.00 but they don't want to pay because they don't own the land. There are discussions to form a unit. Hammanskraal and Temba came together. This will be an advantage to Hammanskraal and a disadvantage to Mandela Village. Mandela Village is between Hammanskraal and Marokolong.

Mr Molopojane: The fence behind Tucks is the boundary of Hammanskraal. The Police College, however, is halfway in Gauteng and halfway in North-West. Hammanskraal is on farm 112 JR, while Leeuwkraal 92 JR stretches from the highway east. This is Moretele, which are Temba, Babelegi, Marokolong and Majaneng, where the Chief's Kraal is. In 1946/1947 forced removals from Johannesburg and Pretoria and I think in 1964 from Wallmansthal shifted people here. They told the Chief that if he took the people he would receive a grant. So he agreed. Temba means 'Hope' - 'This is our hope'. From there the place developed. Before you could get a site you had to go to Majaneng and pay. Independence came in 1977. The payments continued until 1978. Then they started to develop without consulting the Chief.

Mr Seshlangu: Traditionally when they cut sites, it was measured with a chain of 650feet. So they put people there with planning, against the Chief... Now the Eastern Services Council Gauteng think they can buy the land from the tribe, but the chief must get a tribal resolution. They can only get the land through expropriation.

### Personal Observation

*At this stage a discussion of the boundaries between Temba and Hammanskraal, mostly amongst the interviewees, started. The discussion was very hectic, unstructured and heated – and I will not attempt to scribe it effectively. With the interviewees giving directions on where they think the boundary is supposed to be, then west of Kopanong and then east, then alongside the old Warmbaths road and then from one telephone pole to another, I am totally lost and confused. Someone fetched a drawing board and the interviewees start drawing maps of the surrounding area, with each one indicating the boundaries - it should be noted that detail formally produced maps of the area, indicating the exact borders and boundaries could be found nowhere at that stage. After the heated discussion on the location of the boundary, the effect thereof was again discussed.*

Mr Seshlangu: Kopanong (*the shopping centre*) wants to be in Temba for business reasons. Temba has small industries and Hammanskraal need that. Hammanskraal dorp's boundary is too small. They are planning sub-economic houses in Hammanskraal and built show houses for the RDP. Why should they plan for a new faction in Hammanskraal if Babelegi is not fully occupied. Duggy Rens is the owner of the housing scheme.

## INTERVIEW A (continues)

Mr Molopojane: On independence of Bophuthatswana, Tomb's name was changed to Kudube after the Kudube Spruit. Now the name is Greater Temba, but they did not remove the name Kudube. The rural areas of Hammanskraal fall within the Pienaarsriver Transitional Council.

Mr Seshlangu: Hammanskraal was the sleep town for Babelegi.

### Personal Observation

To my astonishment, one of the interviewees made a proposal that we should go and have a look at the boundaries, a proposal well received by the others. Well it was settled, out of the offices, into the car and on our winding road back to the Hammanskraal/N1 intersection. As we drive through the area we, or rather the interviewees discuss and debate each portion's location in relation to the boundaries - fortunately with much agreement, but unfortunately also with a lot of uncertainties. As we started from the Hammanskraal/N1 intersection towards Temba, I came to understand that the informal settlement on our right was Mandela Village (in Gauteng under jurisdiction of the Eastern Services Council). The farm land belongs to the Reds Brothers and supposedly falls in Gauteng, the formal 'suburban' houses on the left is Hammanskraal (the previous white township for Babelegi) and falls in Gauteng. The Kopanong centre seems to form part of Temba's TLC in North West, Babelegi is according to the interviewees partly in Gauteng and partly in North-West but forms part of the Temba TLC with Temba located in North West. However, situated in the functional area of Temba are the University of Pretoria's Campus and the Hammanskraal Police College - which are said to be part of Hammanskraal and Temba. The Jubilee Hospital just, north-west of the University is located in Temba.

## INTERVIEW B

DATE: 16 May 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEE: Mr N. Ledwaba: North West Development Corporation  
PLACE: North West Development Corporation Offices, Babelegi

*Scribed from a recording of the interview as well as from notes, made during the interview and discussions. Only discussions related to the study have been scribed. As all other interviews that with Mr Ledwaba has been very informal, in this transcription, his opinions are set out.*

Mr Ledwaba: The Bophuthatswana Development Corporation were transformed into the North West Development Corporation (NWDC). The main focus of the NWDC is small businesses...With regards to problems in the area, the main problems are borders and demarcation problems which inhibits the work of the local development forum...As I understand it Kopanong, for example is in the North-West, while Hammanskraal's residential section is in Gauteng.

With the Local Government Elections there were a lot of problems regarding who is where, who contribute to which area and who controls what. The demarcation board should have envisioned the serious problems of the economy. Some of the problems experienced with this demarcation is that the traffic problems of the past is perpetuated - industrialists always experienced problems at the intersection to Babelegi...There were two four-way stops with problems at the traffic lights, to which Bophuthatswana responded that Babelegi was not their responsibility and South Africa that the robots were not within their jurisdiction. Now Babelegi is in North West under Temba TLC. Around the Carrousel is also a lot of uncertainty regarding the borders.

Hammanskraal is a small town in Gauteng, with Mandela Village and little economic viability on its own, accept maybe for RENBRO, owned by the Rens brothers – they own a lot of land and business ventures in the area. Babelegi originated as a border industry and received certain forms of incentives. Other forms of incentives are now looked at. These incentives comply with the World Trade agreements - it protects the industries but encourages exports. The Department of Trade and Industry introduce the incentives at National level and Department of Economic Affairs in Mmabatho (North West Province).

## INTERVIEW C

DATE: 21 May 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEES: Members of the Kekana Royal Executive Council  
Mr Dimakatso Kenneth Moropa  
Mr Johannes D Masoga  
Mr Nelson Pato  
Mr Silas Kekana  
PLACE: Temba, Governors Offices

*Due to disputes about the chieftainship of the Kekana or Amandebele-a-Lebelo Tribe, a Commission of enquiry has been established. By the time of the interview the Commission had just nominated Silas Kekana as the Chief. However, chieftainship has not been transferred from the then acting chief to Silas Kekana. As can be understood, the Chieftainship issue is a very sensitive one, about which feelings ran high - I was subsequently advised by Government Officials not to interview the other section of the tribe at that stage. Against this background, it should be kept in mind that some of the things said by the interviewees could have been to influence the researcher towards their cause. The talking was mostly done by the elder members and filled in by the others. They regard the statements as a joint statement and it will be handled as such. The elders did not want the interview to be recorded and the transcription of the interview was subsequently done from extensive field notes on the interview. . Only discussions related to the study have been scribed.*

The Kekana Tribe owns their own land. The South African Government keeps it in trust for the tribe and the chief.

Note:

*As proof that the Kekana Tribe owns certain sections of the farm Leeuwkraal, copies of Title Deed 7775 of 1916 and Title Deed 396 of 1924, in which the ownership of the Kekana's since 1911 is set out, was given to the Interviewer.*

By the 1970's the land on which Babelegi is situated now, has been used as plough land. On 20 February 1970 Dr Koornhof negotiated with the Tribal Authority to build two firms there, to produce school and army uniforms. The Government was supposed to pay R1000 a month, this was not paid up and no resolution has been taken between the Tribe and the Government.

In 1975 an argument regarding Chieftainship broke out. The other clan of the Kekana came to say that they would give more land to the Government. In 1976 the other faction's chief (which is still acting now), Nathaniël Sillo Kekana was installed as Chief by the Government. The new Chief gave Babelegi away without any compensation, payment or tribal resolution. In 1977 Bophuthatswana gained independence. Mangope installed a Commission to look into the Chieftainship of the Tribe. In 1981 Mr Mangope installed Mr Agrippa Kekana as the new Chief. The other faction questioned this, but the tribe was happy. Mr Agrippa Kekana, questioned the land on which Babelegi was developed and asked Mangope and South Africa about it. In 1986 Mr Agrippa Kekana died and then the previous acting Chief became Acting Chief again, the faction of which Mr Mangope sided with. Then the fight started again. In 1990 Mr Mangope installed Mr Silas Kekana as the new Chief.

ANNEXURE C



## INTERVIEW C (continues)

During the transitional time there were no violent differences. He, however, wanted to know about Babelegi again and became unpopular with Mangope.

However, when the Carrousel was built, Mangope really turned against the Tribe. He started building a garage on the way to the Carrousel. To do this he removed people staying there from 1930, and bulldozed 4 houses in the Tribal area, and did not pay for the land. He then took the Chief, the secretary of the Tribal Authority and staff to the Carrousel, but the Chief still said no. The Chief made a case against Mangope and said his garage was there illegally. The Supreme Court of Mmabatho ruled that the people should be refunded and that the Tribe must get the land back, during 1993. Mangope ignored the Court order, fired the judge and built the Caltex Garage. He also suspended the Chief and the Tribal Authority and put the Acting Chief back into office.

The Tribe asked for a Commission of Enquiry. Then everything became unsettled with the ANC, etc. The 'real' Chief and Tribal Authority did not know where to go. We met with President de Klerk and wrote letters to President Mandela - but nothing transpired. Then we asked Mr Molefe, the new Premier for North West, to institute a Commission of Enquiry. This was done in 1995 and on 7 December 1995, the Commissioner, Mr Greyling, found that Mr Silas Kekana should be constituted as Chief with immediate effect. There was, however, no documentation. Nothing came up and another letter was written. On 19 March 1996 a report was given by the Commission but no documentation was received. Then a media statement was made about the new Chief. The Chief wrote to the Acting Chief that he would be taking Office from 1 May 1996. He received a letter from the lawyers of the Acting Chief to state that he won't resign from Office. A letter by the appointed Chief, was subsequently written to the Premier to intervene. The tribe is very unsettled, with all the corruption and no progress. The community is very unstable.

The Tribe is also unsettled because we form part of North West. With only 40km to travel to Pretoria we still have to travel 500km to Mafekeng. We have also had no involvement in the demarcation of the boundaries. Most tribe members (about 75%) work in Pretoria and Johannesburg, about 10% are working in Babelegi and a lot are looking for jobs in Pretoria.

The situation on tribal land is not good. Electricity is supplied by Eskom's compound system. Water pipes are still under construction and currently water is sold by vendors for R6/R8 for 44 gallons (or 210 litres). Roads are not good and not walkable. Care Community Services should be built, such as clinics and recreation. Development managers should be trained. While Bophuthatswana Government was still in place a programme was undertaken for development, to supply electricity. The Tribe also had assistance from the RDP Programme to build some schools and extra classrooms. Shopping takes place at Temba and Pretoria.

Temba was established during 1941-1943, with people squatting there from the Rand. There were rangers in two camps where we were not allowed - cattle farming by the Bezuidenhout brothers. People were moved from Orlando, Klipspruit, Lady Selbourne, etc. to Temba. There was no local government. The place, which was a tent-town, was called Sofasonke - which means 'we are going to die'. After building the first Government houses the place was named Temba - which means 'we got hope'.

## INTERVIEW C (continues)

People who wanted a plot on Temba land, paid a launcher fee, which was used by the Tribal Authority to provide schools and churches. The Government told people to go to the Tribe. The so-called Bantu-Commissioners talked to the Chief to guard over the people. Before Temba was established the place was Bezuidenhoutfarm. Temba is not located on Leeuwkraal. Before Temba was established, the tribe was forbidden to enter the farms, which were guarded by rangers.

The Tribal land ranges from Hammanskraal, from the river to the highway (including Mandela Village), and from the highway to Babelegi. The N1 traverses the tribal land. The land was taken for the Road, but no compensation was received. The road's construction was started, probably in 1975. The road from the old Warmbaths road to the Highway was also constructed on Tribal land during the 1970's.

After the construction of the road, the land on which Mandela Village is situated remained in South African custody. The tribe applied for it to be incorporated in Bophuthatswana Government's jurisdiction, but it was not transferred. Now Mandela Village forms part of Gauteng. It is so funny that one part of the village is in Gauteng and the other one in North West, they drink water and work here but live there.

During 1991 they used the tribal school but gave no payment. The Tribe and the Governor went to remove the people but they just became more. The Tribe was told by the Bophuthatswana Government to stop removing people and people flocked there. The Acting Chief encouraged people to squat there and to pay him.

The Tribal land does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Hammanskraal or Temba TLC. Babelegi went to Temba with all its interest, money etc. The Tribe was not involved in discussion regarding the TLC's.

## INTERVIEW D

DATE: 16 May 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEE: Mr N. Dedekind: Industrialist, Springbok Clothing  
PLACE: Springbok Clothing, Babelegi

*Scribed from a recording of the interview as well as from notes, made during the interview and discussion. Only discussions related to the study have been scribed.*

Mr Dedekind: Babelegi currently has about 170 industries and 30 000 workers. With its establishment as part of the decentralisation programme, we tried to bring industries closer to the people. The people are mostly rural people, but you still need the right payment to draw the right worker. The most common industries in the area are working with clothing, textiles, steel and wood. Industries received incentives such as wages and capital incentives. These were, however, phased out after seven years, except for informal agreements with eg. the former Bophuthatswana and new North West...The North West Development Corporation still owns a lot of land in Babelegi. They made some land available to industrialists to sell, but everybody didn't buy.

My feeling is that industries will stay here. The capital investments made are too high to move. Rents here are lower, however, the market is in Gauteng and that takes a lot of planning. There are all sorts of problems with transport costs and labour problems. Bophuthatswana didn't allow outside unions and now there are a lot of union problems. Wages are now being pushed up to be on par with the more centralised areas. Training is also a big problem. People do not have the skills and the know-how, but training is now emphasised. We find that efficiency is a problem also affecting management and control. Other major problems faced are that of infrastructure and telephones. In the past the industry used leverages as 'blackmail' for government, however, some made it and some did not. Now the industrialists and government must work together.

In the area the biggest problems affecting the people and our workers are poverty, housing and the lack of access to loans for housing. Big problems were caused by apartheid. The RDP has not yet come here. The Premier is only now starting to know the area and if Molefe gets involved the area could be promoted. The problem regarding boundaries in the area is quite extensive. Services for Babelegi are rendered from both Gauteng and North West and differ for each province. The infrastructure from one province to another differs and poses serious traffic problems. There are also debates regarding which province is responsible for which area and for traffic. It seems that the uncertainty regarding changes affects the approach towards responsibility of the government sectors. What is strange is that in one are the banks and shops are in Gauteng and the industries in North West. The infrastructure is in both provinces and poses problems of service. Babelegi would now have to pay taxes to the regional councils, as well as to Mmabatho and to the Receiver of Revenue in Pretoria. The administration and accounts for services and levies are not sorted out and pose problems.

ANNEXURE C

## INTERVIEW E

DATE: 9 May 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEE: Mr H S Pienaar  
Former Government Official responsible for SADT land  
PLACE: Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria

*This was a very informal interview, where he actually did not want to say much. He indicated that there are a few files available with correspondence between the Government and the Kekana Tribe regarding land issues. These files, however, indicates what land was transferred to Bophuthatswana and what land stayed part of South Africa.*

Mr Pienaar: 'n Deel van Hammanskraal is oorgedra aan die regsgebied van Bophuthatswana. Temba is op gedeeltes van die plaas Leeuwkraal gestig. Die voormalige TPA het gedeeltes van die plaas Leeuwkraal van die Kekana Stam aangekoop. Gedeeltes van die plase Bezuidenhoutskraal en Stinkwater is aan die Kekanas aangebied maar hulle het dit geweier. Daar steek geen waarheid in dat die Kekana's nie betaal is vir die gedeeltes waarop die pad, sowel as die fabriek van Babaelegi, gebou is nie. Die stigting van Temba op SAOT grond is ook met die Kekana stam onderhandel.

## INTERVIEW F

DATE: 2 August 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEE: Mr D Schoeman  
Government Official of North West Provincial Government  
Formerly employed by Bophuthatswana Government  
PLACE: Provincial Government Offices, Mmabatho

*The interview took place in Afrikaans and has been scribed from recording in that way. Only aspects related to the discussion has been scribed.*

Mnr Schoeman: Bophuthatswana het onafhaklikheid verkry in 1977. Onderhandelinge het plaasgevind tussen die Department Bantoe Administrasie van Suid-Afrika en die Departement Buitelandse Sake van Bophuthatswana, met betrekking tot grond en grondregte. Die Bophuthatswana Regering was nie geneë met die feit dat ander Swartes ook deel van Bophuthatswana was nie. Die ooreenkoms was dat wette van Suid-Afrika ook gegeld het vir Bophuthatswana tot tyd en wyl Bophuthatswana sy eie wette opgestel het of die Suid-Afrikaanse wette aangepas het.

Onderhouvoerder: Was dit ook die geval met beplanning?

Mnr Schoeman: Dit het nie in die pratyk gerealiseer nie, byvoorbeeld die Wet op Fisiese Beplanning is nooit in Bophuthatswana aangewend nie. Beplanning in Bophuthatswana is hoofsaaklik vanuit die Departement Ekonomiese Sake gedryf, wat verantwoordelik was vir statistiek en beplanning. 'n Direkoraat Beplanning en Koördinering is op die been gebring en het hoofsaaklik gefokus op ekonomiese advieslewering. Gedurende hierdie tyd het Prof Cloete van Tukkie's voorstelle gemaak m.b.t. plaaslike owerheidstrukture. Hy het voorgestel dat die Bophuthatswana Ontwikkelingsraad op die been gebring word. Hierdie Raad het verteenwoordigers gehad van die privaatsektor, bv Gerald Brown, en het gedien as die advies liggaam m.b.t. beplanningsriglyne. Die sekretariaatdiens is deur die Direkoraat Beplanning en Koördinering behartig. Die Raad het 'n SWOT analise m.b.t. die makro-ekonomiese toestande gedoen. Ander aspekte van beplanning is onder andere aangespreek deur Prof Fritz Potgieter van Potchefstroom se Departement Stads- en Streekbeplanning. Hulle het vir elke blok 'n fisiese ontwikkelingsplan opgestel, ook vir die Odi-Moretele gebied. Vir die ontwikkeling van Bophuthatswana is daar ook 'n Nasionale Ontwikkelingsplan deur Potchefstroom opgestel. Alhoewel hierdie plan nie amptelik aanvaar is nie, is dit as basis gebruik vir begrotings ens. asook die Witskrif vir Ontwikkeling. Dit het alle sektore en beleidsriglyne aangespreek. In 1980 het Bophuthatswana 'n Ontwikkelings-Beplanning Wet opgestel, wat gedien het as die basis vir die Bophuthatswana Ontwikkelingsraad. Teen die einde van 1980 is daar 'n Jaarverslag opgestel oor die pad vorentoe. Die Afrika Instituut het konsolidasie ondersoek en gekyk na hoe sterk is die eise vir grond se konsolidasie, asook die geskiedkundige en ekonomiese agtergrond. Gedurende 1980-1981 is 'n nuwe minister van Finansies aangestel. Voorheen is 'n konserwatiewe ekonomiese beleid gevolg, met die nuwe minister is daar egter begin kyk na kunsmatige ekonomiese groei en buitelandse fondse. Die Direkoraat Ontwikkelingskoördinering is na die Departement van die President verplaas. Na 'n paar jaar is die funksie egter terug verplaas na Ekonomiese Sake. Gedurende 1982-1983 het die Ontwikkelings Raad tot niet gegaan.

ANNEXURE C

## INTERVIEW F (continues)

As voorbeeld van die wanbestuur kan genoem word dat daar in die tyd in Moretele 2 'n kragstasie ontwikkel is. Alhoewel dit lae graad steenkool was, het Italianers buitelandse geld beskikbaar gestel en die Bophuthaswana Regering erken. Dit het daartoe gelei dat geld geleen is ten spyte daarvan dat projekte nie lewensvatbaar was nie, ten einde die investering te kry. Met die daling in die waarde van die Rand en die Rubicon - was Bophuthatswana gevolglik in sy 'glory'. In 1986 is die Ontwikkelings Bank van Suid-Afrika ingetrek ten einde Bophuthatswana van finansiële verknorsing te red, daar was selfs nie fondse vir salarisse nie. 'n Finansiële aanpassingsprogram is geloods wat in die kort termyn die wolf van die deur gehou het en gepoog het om op die langtermyn onverdienstelike projekte en strukture te verwyder - die kragstasie is byvoorbeeld toegemaak. Suid-Afrika se Regering het oorbruggings-finansiering aan Bophuthatswana verskaf. Hierdie bydraes was egter nie goot genoeg nie, behalwe in 1987 waar 'n groot bedrag Bophuthatswana uit finansiële verkorsing gered het. Sedert 1987 het die Bophuthatswana Regering meer gebalanseerd begin optree en begin om 'n surplus te toon wat vir ontwikkeling aangewend kon word, waarvan niks egter afgekomp het nie.

Onderhoudvoerder:  
Mnr Schoeman:

Wat het gebeur na die regering se hervormingsinisiatiewe?

Na De Klerk se hervormingstoespraak het Bophuthatswana die vraag begin afvra oor hoe onafhanklik hy regtig is. Daar is gevolglik 'n ondersoek gedoen deur Ernest & Young, met houdingsopnames, ondersoeke ens. In 1991 is daar vasgehaak by die vraag wat die implikasie van onafhanklikheid of herinkorporasie sou wees? Daar is verskeie Scenarios opgestel. Die "Friendly new South Africa" scenario is waar dinge aangaan soos met die ou RSA. Dan is daar die "Unfriendly New South Africa" Scenario waar gesindhede nie vyandig is nie, maar waar Bophuthatswana hanteer word soos ander buurstate bv. Botswana. Laastens was daar 'n Scenario van die 'Vyandige Nuwe Suid-Afrika' waar dit moeilik gemaak word vir Bophuthatswana en die vraag gevra kan word hoe lank Bophuthatswana sal kan uithou.

Onderhoudvoerder:  
Mnr Schoeman:

Wat was u gedagtes rondom hierdie verskillende Scenarios?

Finansiëel en ekonomies was die ou Bophuthatswana Regering beter daaraan af as die nuwe Noord-Wes Provinsie. Noord Wes is groter as die ou Bophuthatswana, maar die begroting is egter amper dieselfde, wat die vraag laat ontstaan wat die kwaliteit van lewe kan wees? Dit sou ook ingedagte gehou moes word dat Bophuthatswana nooit die nodige politieke erkenning sou kry nie en ook nie militêr sou kon stand hou nie. Dit is dan ook geïllustreer met die 'popular uprising' gedurende Maart 1993 - waar Bophuthatswana gedwing is om deel te neem aan die nuwe Suid-Afrika.

Onderhoudvoerder:  
Mnr Schoeman:

Hoe het dit toestande hier beïnvloed?

Toe alle wette weggegooi is in die bestaande stelsel het dit totale chaos veroorsaak. Daar is nie geleentheid om ontwikkeling te inisieër nie - die administrasie word slegs aan die gang gehou. Byvoorbeeld SAOT grond is in Bophuthatswana gesien as staatsgrond en nie stamgrond nie. Trusts het byvoorbeeld soms grond verkoop aan boere, terwyl daar nou verskeie komitees is wat bilateraal na Trustgrond kyk. Bophuthatswana het naatuurlik ook sy eie voorstelle gehad vir Streekafbakening. Daar is 'n konsolidasie dokument opgestel in samewerking tussen die "Tswanas" en bure soos SDR'e, boere unies ens. - naamlik die SATSWA inisiatief. Nege provinsies is te veel vir Suid Afrika.



## INTERVIEW F (continues)

Wat dalk beter kon gewerk het is die 5 provises wat voorgestel is in die SATSWA dokument waar die Noord-Wes provinsie sou bestaan vanaf Kuruman tot Thabazimbi in die noorde en selfs 'n deel van Vrystaat insluit. Baie politieke invloede het egter die federale karakter/beweging beïnvloed. Suid-Afrika het weer gekyk na die eenheidsgedagte en stemme getel om provinsies af te baken.

Onderhouvoerder:

Mnr Schoeman:

Weet u iets spesifiek van die Hammanskraal/Temba omgewing?

In daardie gedeelte dink ek wou die stamme deel van Bophuthatswana bly. Die vreemde swartes het egter geen volksgevoel nie en wou deel wees van Suid-Afrika, wat ook die naaste aan hul werksgesleentheid is. Die vorige Bophuthatswana regering was baie puriteins en ek weet daar was wrywing met van die stamme, asook 'n grond dispuut met Carousel se ontwikkeling.

Onderhouvoerder:

Mnr Schoeman:

Hoe is daardie gebiede in die verlede geadministreer?

Die vorige 8 selfregerende gebiede is gedurende 1977 as een geadministreer, met Departementele Streekkantore. In 1989/90 is 'n stelsel geïmplimenteer waar elke distrik sy eie 'Governor' gekry het wat as politieke hoof van die Regering gefunksioneer het in daardie blok. Die 'Governors' is deur die President aangestel en het hoofsaaklik die funksie van administrering en koördinering van ontwikkeling gehad. Hulle was ook die politieke oor van die Regering in die gebied. In Bophuthatswana was daar bv. 8 'Governor's Offices', asook nog departementele streekkantore. Dit het probleme geskep omdat daar gewoonlik nie deur streekkantore gewerk is nie.

## INTERVIEW G

DATE: 20 August 1996  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEE: Mr C Barnard  
Former TPA Government Official responsible for Mandela Village area  
PLACE: Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council

*Mr Barnard made some documentation and personal notes regarding Mandela Village, in which area he worked as official of the former Transvaal Provincial Administration and later PWV Provincial Administration, available for the study. The interview was very informal and short due to a time constraint (his leaving for holiday, resignation and moving). It was also arranged on short notice and therefore has not recorded. The field notes taken are, however, set out below:*

Mr Barnard: While an official of the former Transvaal Provincial Administration, I worked closely with the community of Mandela Village and got to know the people and their struggle fairly well. The whole thing seemingly started with Mangope's evictions of non-Tswanas and Sotho people from Bophuthatswana. The portion on which Mandela Village is located belonged to the Kekana Tribe and was just outside Bophuthatswana in South Africa's jurisdiction. People accordingly started moving there and squatted on the tribal land. At first the Tribal Authority asked the TPA to remove the people, but then again got a court order to stop evictions from their land. The Tribal Authority provided some services to the community, who, however, did not recognise their powers and subsequently they stopped providing any services. The TPA decided to accept the community's permanence and started assisting them with development.

With a lot of deliberations the Leeuwkraal Development Forum was established through the TPA Pretoria Office, Demacon (the Regional Development Officer), the community and the Tribal Authority, during June 1993, looking at issues related to the community's development. The community also had the advantage of a very strong civic structure. With the land issue we had a lot of problems. The Development Forum even requested the area to be included in the Reconstruction and Development Programme's pilot projects, that got rejected because the community is on Kekana land, which is regarded as private owned land. The tribal authorities, up till now, refused attempts by the Eastern Gauteng Services Council, in whose jurisdiction Mandela Village falls, to sell the land.

## INTERVIEW H

DATE: 18 June 1997  
INTERVIEWER: E Van Huyssteen  
INTERVIEWEES: Mr K Motibe and Mr Mpho Malaka  
OFFICIALS OF THE LAND CLAIMS COMMISSION RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CLAIMS OF THE AMANDEBELE-A-LEBELO TRIBAL AUTHORITY  
PLACE: Land Claims Commissioner Offices, Pretoria

*An informal interview was held and official documentation obtained. The discussion mostly focused on the relevant documentation. Only discussions relevant to the study have been scribed.*

Mr Motibe: The Amandebele-A-Lebelo tribe lodged some land claims. They can, however, not claim land that they still own and can apply for tenure reform. In this case chieftainship is regarded a big problem, which seemingly started within the reign of the Bophuthatswana Government... The land which they own and has lodged a claim for is that on which Mandela Village is situated. The Department of Land Affairs and the Eastern Gauteng Services Council are having discussions with the tribe and want to buy the land.

Mr Malaka: The people in Mandela Village do not pay tribal levy they have their own democratic system.

Mr Motibe: There was an enquiry regarding chieftainship, in the last one Nathaniël Sillo lost the case. Maybe there are some hidden agenda with the land claims. The tribe can only claim land that was dispossessed after 1913. Some of the claims are land they did have, but before 1913. It seems as if they want the land of the Carousel. In that case they were also dispossessed before 1913. In such cases we can only assist with tenure upgrading not restitution. In Wallmansthal the tribe also lodged a claim. That land, however, belonged to the church, which sold portions to Christian individuals. Non-Christians left the area. The Kekanas can not claim the land, only individuals who were dispossessed can claim.

Mr Malaka: The Land Claims Commissioner wrote a letter to the community indicating that they have to prove their rights to the land claimed. This was done with the court case regarding chieftainship in December 1996. Up till this date the tribe has not responded.

Mr Matiba: Regarding the money paid for Babelegi, it has been paid. It is just not clear which of the chiefs received the money and the letter. In the tribe there are also those pro-chieftainship and those not. The problem is with whom do you talk and negotiate? The Tribe also lodged a claim on Rust de Winter, which they withdrew after talks with the Commission. On Rust de Winter it is the labour tenants that have a claim.

Mr Malaka: The claim is ver complicated. The tribe must prove who their Chief is, as well as their rights to the land.