TSHWANE, PRETORIA, PHELINDABA: STRUCTURE—AGENCY INTERACTION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF A SOUTH AFRICAN REGION UP TO 1994, WITH PROSPECTS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

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SUMMARY

TITLE OF THESIS : Tshwane, Pretoria, Phelindaba: structure-agency interaction and the transformation of a South African region up to 1994, with prospects for the immediate future

by

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The overall purpose of this study was to investigate the transformation of a South African region, with the city of Pretoria at its core, from pre-historical times up to 1994, and with consideration of the prospects for the immediate future, in terms of the dynamic nature of South African society. The names *Tshwane*, *Pretoria* and *Phelindaba* in the title of the study refer to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras in the historiography of the region and symbolize the notion of transformation. The aim was to contextualize, exemplify and understand structure-agency interaction, with particular emphasis on the territorial outcomes of the interrelationship between identity and place.

The approach of the study was area specialization, based on the principles of contemporary locality and regional studies, and combining a structurationist ontology with the epistemology of postmodernism.

Chapter 1 introduces the purpose, theme, theoretical framework, sphere, subject field, approach and methodology of the study. After defining the study area and describing

its natural environment, the chapter discusses the operational paradigm and the research process of this study.

Chapter 2 describes the occupation of land, the control of resources and the organization and transformation of society in the Bankenveld up to 1840 in relation to the limitations and possibilities of a dynamic natural environment. A time-space schema integrating human-environment interaction in the study area over two million years of human occupation is presented.

Chapter 3 describes the development of a colonial land policy set against the formation of a new colonial society in the Pretoria District after 1840. Further, it details the findings of a reconstruction of territoriality, based on an identity-in-land. These findings are at variance with established views on land occupation in the Pretoria District as at 19 June 1913, and at the same time lend support for the current post-apartheid land reform programme.

The focus in Chapter 4 is on the development of a racial land distribution policy in tandem with the evolution of a Euro-colonial segregationist ideology in South Africa. The objective was to conduct an audit of land occupation in the Pretoria area between 1910 and 1940. This quantitative analysis provides the basis for a critical evaluation of historical land policies and their influence on contemporary land reform policies.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the development of the apartheid spatial planning strategy in terms of the micro-environment of public urban amenities, the meso-environment of urban planning and the macro-environment of homeland formation against the background of the evolution of the *apartheid* racial ideology from 1940 to 1990. It further traces the desegregation of public amenities and the demarcation of new provinces during the period of negotiations for a political settlement in South Africa between 1990 and 1994, and considers prospects for spatial development in the study area.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, reflects on the conceptual framework, approach, and aim of the study in an attempt to understand fully the particularities of the Pretoria region within the larger national context and within the context of an integrated human-earth in a fully theorized and integrated way.

OPSOMMING

TITEL VAN TESIS : Tshwane, Pretoria, Phelindaba: struktuur-agent interaksie en die transformasie van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse streek tot 1994, met vooruitsigte vir die onmiddellike toekoms

deur

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Die oogmerk van die studie is die ondersoek, in terme van die dinamiese aard van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, van die transformasie van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse streek, met die stad van Pretoria as die streekskern, vanaf pre-historiese tye tot 1994 en met inagneming van die vooruitsigte vir die onmiddellike toekoms. Die name *Tshwane*, *Pretoria* en *Phelindaba* in die titel van die studie is verwysings na die voor-koloniale, koloniale en na-koloniale tydperke in die historiografie van die streek en simboliseer ook die idee van transformasie. Die doel is om struktuur-agent interaksie, met besondere klem op territorialiteit as resultaat van die inter-verwantskap van identiteit en plek, te kontekstualiseer, met voorbeeld toe te lig, en te verstaan.

Die benadering wat in die studie gevolg word is die van areaspesialisasie, gebaseer op die beginsels van kontemporêre lokaliteit- en regionale studie en waarin die ontologie van strukturasionisme en die epistemologie van postmodernisme gekombineer word.

Hoofstuk 1 stel bekend die oogmerk, tema, teoretiese raamwerk, sfeer van studie, studieterrein, benadering en metodologie van die studie. Voorts, na definisie van die

studiegebied en beskrywing van die natuurlike omgewing, word in dié hoofstuk ook die operasionele raamwerk wat die studie rig, bespreek.

Die doelwit van Hoofstuk 2 is om die besetting van grond, beheer oor middele en die organisasie en transformasie van die gemeenskap in die Bankeveld tot 1840 te beskryf in verwantskap met die beperkings en moontlikhede van 'n dinamiese natuuromgewing. 'n Tyd-ruimteskema word aangebied wat mens-omgewinginteraksie in die studiegebied oor drie miljoen jaar uitbeeld.

Hoofstuk 3 beskryf die ontwikkeling van koloniale grondbeleid teen die agtergrond van 'n nuwe koloniale samelewing in die Pretoria Distrik na 1840. Voorts bevat dit die besonderhede van die bevindings van 'n rekonstruksie van territorialiteit gebaseer op 'n identiteit-in-grond. Hierdie bevindings weerspreek ander standpunte oor die besetting van grond in die Pretoria Distrik op 19 Junie 1913 en verskaf ook ondersteuning aan die huidige post-apartheid grondhervormingsprogram.

Die fokus in Hoofstuk 4 is op die ontwikkeling van 'n rasgebaseerde grondverdelingsbeleid in tandem met die evolusie van 'n Eurokoloniale ideologie van segregasie in Suid-Afrika. Die doel was om 'n oudit van grondbesetting in the Pretoria gebied tussen 1910 en 1940 uit te voer. Hierdie kwantitatiewe analise verskaf die basis vir 'n kritiese evaluasie van die historiese grondbeleid en die invloed daarvan op kontemporêre grondhervormingsprogram.

Hoofstuk 5 gee 'n analise van die ontwikkeling van die apartheidsbeplanningstrategie in terme van die mikro-omgewing van openbare stedelike fasiliteite, die meso-omgewing van stedelike beplanning en die makro-omgewing van tuislandontwikkeling teen die agtergrond van die evolusie van die apartheidsrasideologie vanaf 1940 tot 1990. In die hoofstuk word die desegregasie van openbare fasiliteite en die afbakening van nuwe provinsies gedurende die periode van onderhandeling vir 'n politieke skikking in Suid-Afrika tussen 1990 en 1994 ondersoek. Daar word ook oorweging geskenk aan die onmiddellike vooruitsigte vir ontwikkeling in die studiegebied.

Hoofstuk 6, die finale hoofstuk, herbeskou die konseptuele raamwerk, benadering en doel van die studie in die strewe na behoorlike begrip van die besonderhede van die Pretoria streek op 'n behoorlik geteoretiseerde en geïntegreerde wyse binne die groter nasionale konteks en die konteks van 'n geïntegreerde mens-wêreldomgewing.

QUEST FOR IDENTITY: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY IN TIME, SPACE AND PLACE

CHAPTER 1

An attempt to understand any area
must be based on sensitive
interpretation of the values that
motivate the behaviour
of its people
J. Fraser-Hart

ABSTRACT

This study concerns the dialectic between structure and human agency and, as its general theme, relates identity to place through the notion of territoriality. The focus of the study is on the transformation of settlement in a South African region in relation to the dynamics of South African society. Society and history represent the sphere of study; settlement and the related institutional framework is the subject field; and the Central Bankenveld / Pretoria area the locality of interest. The study is aimed at contextualizing, exemplifying and understanding the socio-spatial organization of settlement as a product of structure-agency interaction. The study practises 'area specialization', a postmodern regional approach characterized by a study of related specialized topics with reference to a particular location or study area, and combines a holistic perspective, interdisciplinary research, an integration of knowledge and an applied emphasis. An investigation of four topics relevant to contemporary issues in South African society, and representing two million years of local history, is the objective of the study. These topics are (1) the occupation of land in the pre-colonial period before 1840; (2) the colonization of territory and redistribution of land between 1840 and 1913; (3) rural land policies and land occupation during the period of segregation, 1910 to 1947; and (4) the socio-spatial transformation of the Pretoria region, which includes the formation and spatiality of an apartheid city and African national homelands.

Although a thesis may simply be viewed as a report on a research *act*, i.e. a discrete sequence of action, it is more representative of a research *action* which is a continuous flow of involvements by different human agents of which the researcher is the primary partner. Giddens (1984) differentiates between three levels of action: (1) motivation of action; (2) rationalization of action; and (3) reflexive monitoring of action.

This thesis starts with a rational outline of the motives and intentions of the researcher (levels 1 and 2, above) in Chapter 1, acknowledging, at the same time, that not all action is guided by clearly thought-out purposes and activities. This acknowledgement necessitates reflexive monitoring, and — following the actions represented in Chapters 2 to 5 — the thesis concludes in Chapter 6 with such a reflexive account, explanation and rationalization of actions.

1.1 SPATIALITY: A MOTIVE FOR ACTION

When South Africans went to the polls in April 1994 AD[1] to elect their first fully representative government, they demonstrated a desire to change from a segregated, undemocratic society to an integrated, democratic one. The election heralded the beginning of social re-organization on a grand scale that will inevitably change the spatial construction and overall organization of South African localities. This event is only the start of another phase in the process of **spatiality**[2], the interaction between spatial environmental and social structures and human agencies.

The central *thesis* of this study, based on the **general theory of structuration** formulated by Giddens (1984), is that the spatial construction of a region is a manifestation of social formation and conversely that the organization of society is a product of the construction of space, and that socio-organizational adaptation and change are reflected in spatio-constructional transformation. This view of spatiality emphasizes a balanced interrelatedness between structure and agency and questions the validity of making any distinctions between social relations and spatial structures (Johnston, 1991).

The *purpose* of the study is to **interactively investigate the transformation of a South African region**, the subject field, in relation to the **dynamic nature of South African society**, the sphere of study, during the period up to to April 1994 after which the socio-spatial paradigm in South Africa again changed markedly. According to Cooke (1989:10): "*There is a gap in the social science literature when it comes to a*

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1. Hereafter all dates are *Anno Domini* or, otherwise, are indicated as Before Present (BP).

2. So phrased by Soja (1980, 1985).

concept dealing with the sphere of social activity that is focused on place, that is not reactive or inward-looking with regard to space ...". In an attempt to unravel both the general and the unique, the progression from universal truth to contextual theory is taken a step further in this study by its focus on the particularity of the region as a **locale**.[3] Although a balance between structure and agency is implied by the socio-spatial dialectic[4] the focus of this study is, at the same time, on the uniqueness of place and locality.

The general *aim* of the study is to **contextualize**, **exemplify**, and **understand**[5] human territorial behaviour and patterns of social and spatial organization in terms of the interrelatedness of **identity** and **place**. Whilst the concept of place emphasizes the uniqueness of the locale in terms of space, the concept of identity with which it is

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3. According to Giddens (1984:118) 'locales' "... *refer to the use of space to provide settings of interaction*."

4. The view is taken from Pred (1984:258) that "... *(b)iographies are formed through the becoming of places and place become through the formation of biographies*"; also see Warf (1988).

5. The socio-spatial dialectic of the smaller locale takes place within the context of socio-spatial interaction of a wider/larger locale: although the locality is unique it is always connected to the parameters of the larger context. The purpose of **contextualizing** is to place the smaller locality within the milieu of the larger context.

   To **exemplify** implies the indication of an example of a certain generality. In this instance the specificity of the locality serves as an example of a more general occurrence.

   The concept of **understanding** incorporates the views of, amongst others, the philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber, the geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache, the historian R.G. Collingwood, the historical geographer Cole Harris, and the idealist geographer Leonard Guelke.

   Two categories of **understanding** are generally recognized. The first is what Max Weber termed 'observational understanding' of the 'outside' of the human event (Collingwood, 1956; Holt-Jensen, 1980), activity that can be studied as an object. The second category refers to the 'inside' activities that can only be described in terms of thought (Collingwood, 1956) and what Weber termed 'motivational understanding', the inference of a motive in order to explain certain behaviour (Holt-Jensen, 1980). In operational terms the first aim of this study, **contextualizing**, equals 'motivational understanding' whilst the second aim of the study, **exemplifying**, indicates 'observational understanding'. In terms of this interpretation the third aim of the study, **understanding**, can only be achieved (and was achieved) as a result of the combined achievement of the two prior aims, **contextualize**/motivational understanding and **exemplify**/observational understanding.

   According to Dilthey (see Rose, 1981), on the other hand, **understanding** (*verstehen*) presupposes some form of lived experience (*erlebnis*). The lived experience contains cognitive, affective and conative components, therefore *erlebnis* does not refer simply to the 'content' of the act of consciousness or 'outer experience' but also to the experience of the act itself — experiencing as it is given, otherwise referred to as the 'inner experience' (Rose, 1981). In the case of reflective experience of a historical entity there is most often an intermediary or link in the *erlebnis-verstehen* connection involving expression (*ausdruck*). The purpose of the expression is to act in a mediating role between the inner and outer realms, as a text for the operation of *verstehen*. In terms of this view the achievement of neither the lived experience (*erlebnis*) nor the inner experience thereof (*verstehen*) can be determined on the basis of the text (*ausdruck*) since both the relived experience and the **understanding** thereof remain the mental possession of the scholar and can only be supposed on the basis of the text.

related represents the generality and universality of social consciousness.[6]

The foremost part of the title, **Tshwane/Pretoria/Phelindaba**, represents different reflections of time, space and meaning in relation to the locale[7], symbolizing, firstly, the flexibilty of time and space and, secondly, a multiplicity of meaning resulting from a conjoint social production of space and spatial construction of society. The next part of the title **structure-agency interaction** and **transformation**[8] pays tribute to the concept of structuration as general theory of the study, and emphasizes the notion of continuous interaction and change. By reference to **a South African region** the third part of the title refers to a macro-scale study area, acknowledges the role of the locale/regionalization in structuration theory, and indicates a regional approach to the study of the locale. The final part of the title **up to 1994, with prospects for the immediate future** provides a time dimension to the study with a focal date around which time is compressed in certain cases and stretched in others to result in more emphasis-in-text being devoted to contemporary times, less to historical times and even less to pre-historical times — the final part of the title also indicates that although the focus of the study is historical and its nature basic, it also carries an interwoven — rather than added (at the end) — applied and contemporary message.

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6. See Section 1.1.1.

7. The name 'Tshwane' symbolizes the society and settlement in the study area (the Central Bankenveld) before the date 1840. The name is associated with the local Ndebele society of the 17th century which was ruled for a period by a chief named Tshwane. It is not clear if this Tshwane was the great chief Msi (or Musi) or one of his sons. Sotho history refers to a different person, Tshwane, as a leader amongst the Phuting tribe of the south-eastern Highveld before and during the *Difaqane* who raided in the Bankenveld (the Pretoria environs, see study area Section 1.2.3.1) during the early 1820s and was eventually killed during the battle of Dithakong (1823). Tshwane or Tswane, in Sotho, is a reference to the blue monkey of which large numbers live(d) in the area. One of the major rivers in the Bankenveld carries this name, translated in Afrikaans/English as Apies River. After 1994 the trend is increasing to refer to the Pretoria area as Tshwane, its pre-colonial regional name.

   'Pretoria', the European name for the main settlement of colonial origin in the Bankenveld since its establishment in 1855, was named in honour of the Voortrekker leader Genl. A. H. Pretorius. In the context of this study the name represents the particular timespan between 1840 and 1990, an era of colonialism and white racial domination.

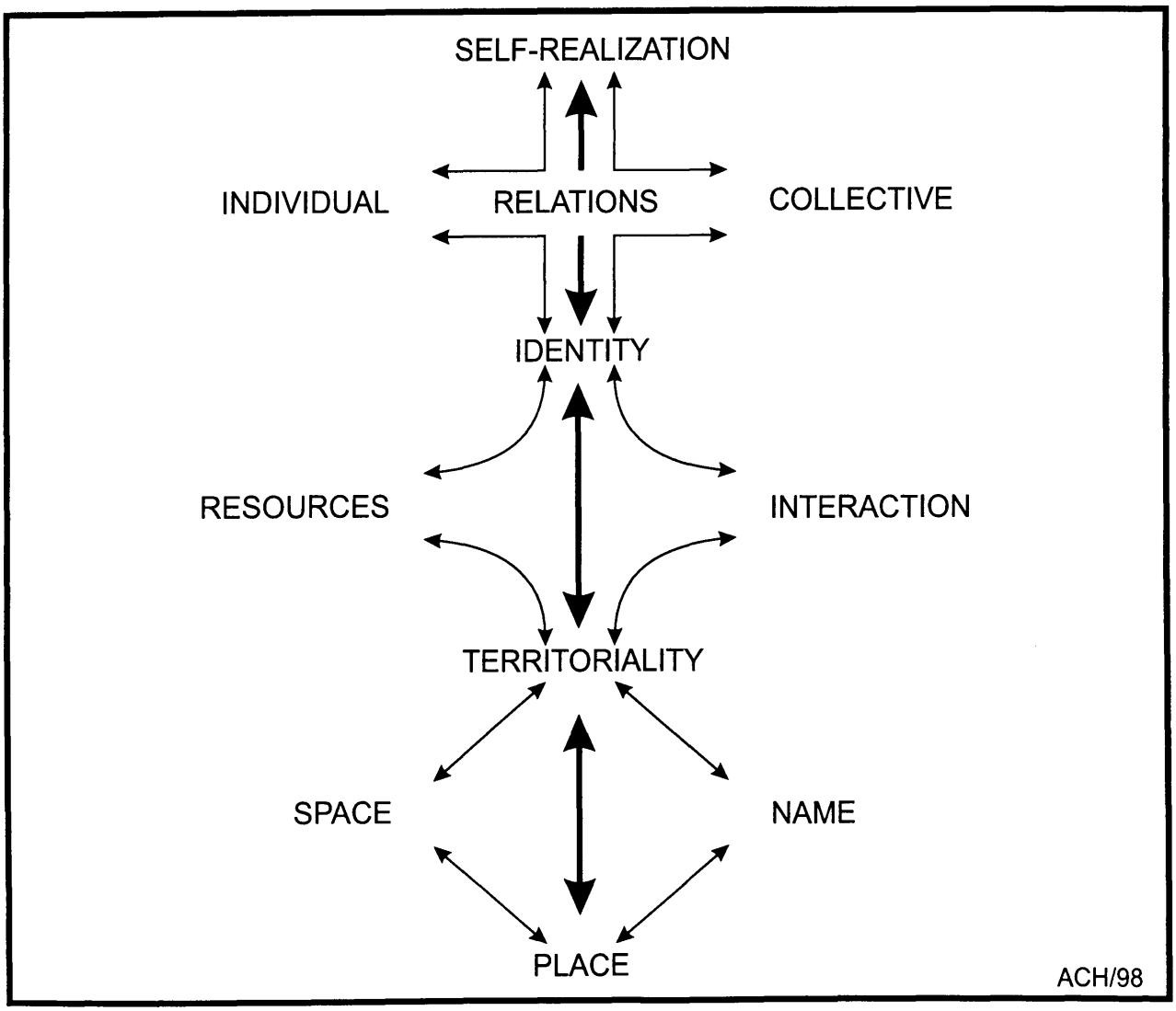
   'Phelindaba', also Pelindaba, has a sub-regional area connotation in the Bankenveld, but is also widely used in the region as expression to convey the true meaning of the term, which is 'concluded/end of the business/end of the story'. In the context of this study the term is used to indicate the latter part and conclusion of the text — symbolically 'end of the story'; even more importantly, it indicates that the latter part of the text deals with the conclusion, demise and dismanteling of the racially oppressive socio-spatial system up to 1994 — 'end of the business'.

8. The concept of 'transformation' implies change in a strict sense. It implies unilinear change which may be rapid or gradual, to a state of distinct difference. Transformation is both the process and product of change, which although progressive and sometimes adaptive and gradual, is therefore more than mere evolution. It is only when adaptation, unilinear change and evolution result in differentiation that the situation can be regarded to be in a transformed state. Transformation, therefore, enables the recognition of phases of change as well as stages or outcomes of change.

1.1.1 TERRITORIALITY: CLAIMING PLACE — ESTABLISHING IDENTITY

Figure. 1.1 shows the **thematic framework** of this study which incorporates the linkages between **self-realization** and **identity**, between **identity** and **territoriality**, and between **territoriality** and **place**. **Self-realization** is regarded as a fundamental principle of **individual** (person to person) and **collective** (inter-association) **relations**. The struggle for self-realization is primarily a quest for **identity**. A sense of identity results from social **interaction** and access to and control over **resources** and is expressed by way of **territoriality**. Hence, an important function of territorial behaviour is the maintenance of personal and group identity (Retief & Kelbrick, 1990). Apart from territorial behaviour serving as a mechanism that regulates social interaction (Altman, 1979), it also involves control of resources including geographic **space** and the **naming** or personalization of space to become **place** (Holahan, 1982).

FIGURE 1.1 SPATIALITY: A THEMATIC FRAMEWORK



1.1.2 STRUCTURATION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to Duncan (1985:178) "... *the difficulty in constructing a workable theory of action is to avoid on the one hand the determinism of the structural view, and on the other the idealism and hyper-individualism of some non-structural approaches*." Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration, alongside other theories such as realism and postmodernism, is an attempt to break down the polarities of *structural* and *interpretative* approaches such as Marxism and humanism. Despite a number of fundamental objections to aspects of structuration (see Cloke *et al.*, 1991) the search for a balance between structure-orientated and agency-orientated accounts of social life within the context of time and space is as relevant now as it has been in the past.

The motive of structuration has been, and still is, not only to criticize the seemingly exclusivity of some versions of Marxism and humanism but to reconstitute the importance of both structure and agency by transcending the dualism of deterministic views of structure and the voluntaristic views of agency.[9] Structuration recognizes a duality in which structures enable behaviour whilst behaviour influence and reconstitute structure — a situation of agency influences structure influences agency *ad infinitum*.

Figure 1.2 represents a model of the structuration of time-space relations, based on the views of Giddens (1984). According to the model there are two possible routeways of **societal integration** as determined by **contextuality: social integration** or the integration of routine interaction of agents co-present in time and space (**time-space routinization**), and **system integration** or the integration of similar practices that are constituted outside of current time and space and involve interconnectivity with others who are separated in time and space (**similar distantiated time-space routinization**). Social integration and system integration come together in particular locales. Thus, routine interaction and distantiated interaction meet in modes of **regionalization**. Regionalization is not necessarily a reference to geographical region, but an expression of the structuration of social conduct across time and space.

1.2 RATIONALIZATION OF ACTION

Next, the major components of the **research action framework** comprising the **sphere** or context of study, **subject field**, and **focus** are introduced (Fig. 1.3) and discussed.

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9. *Agency* is a notion of human action as something rationalized and ordered by human agents, people who are viewed and treated as knowledgeable and capable subjects that skillfully accomplish structural outcomes. *Structure* represents social realities such as power, struggle, institutional organization as well as a created (planned or built) environment and a natural environment that on the one hand constrains behaviour, and on the other hand enables involvement in socio-spatial action.

FIGURE 1.2 MODEL OF THE STRUCTURATION OF TIME-SPACE RELATIONS

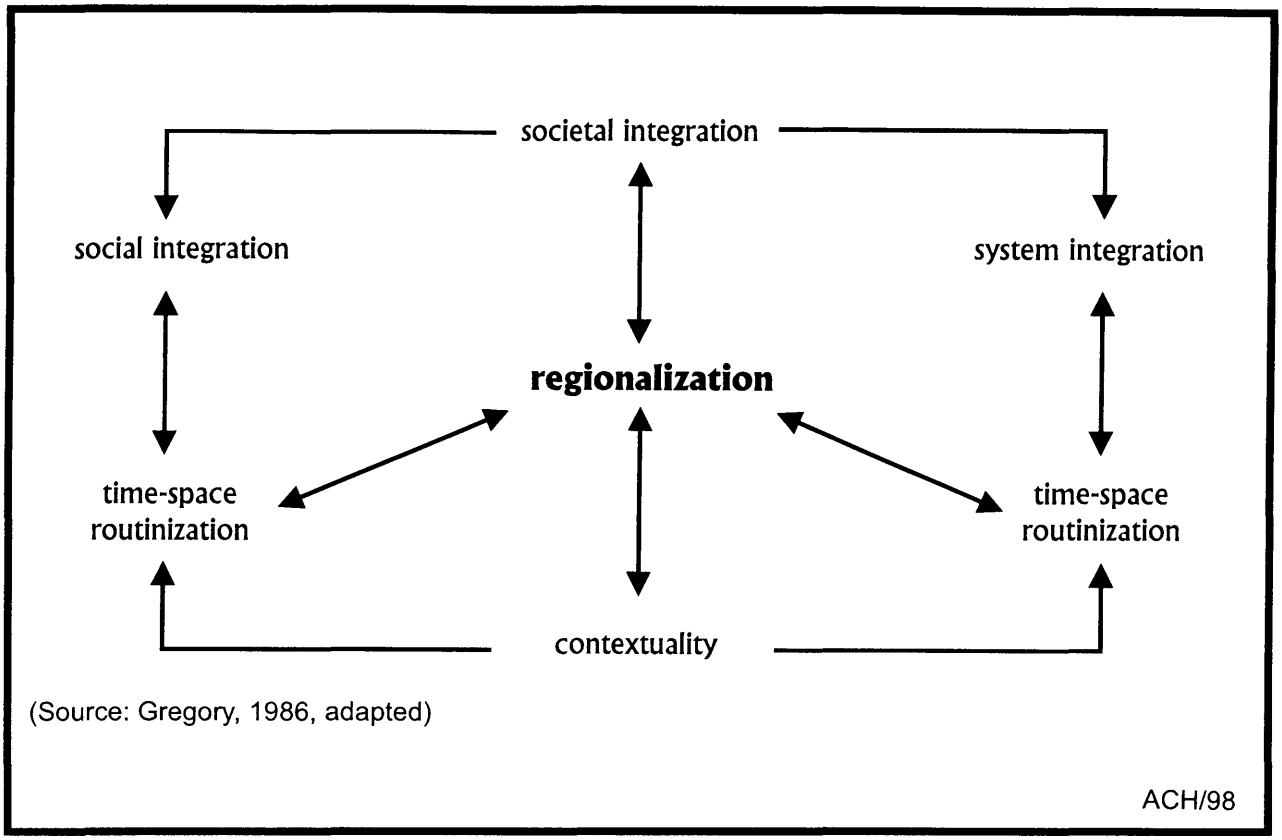
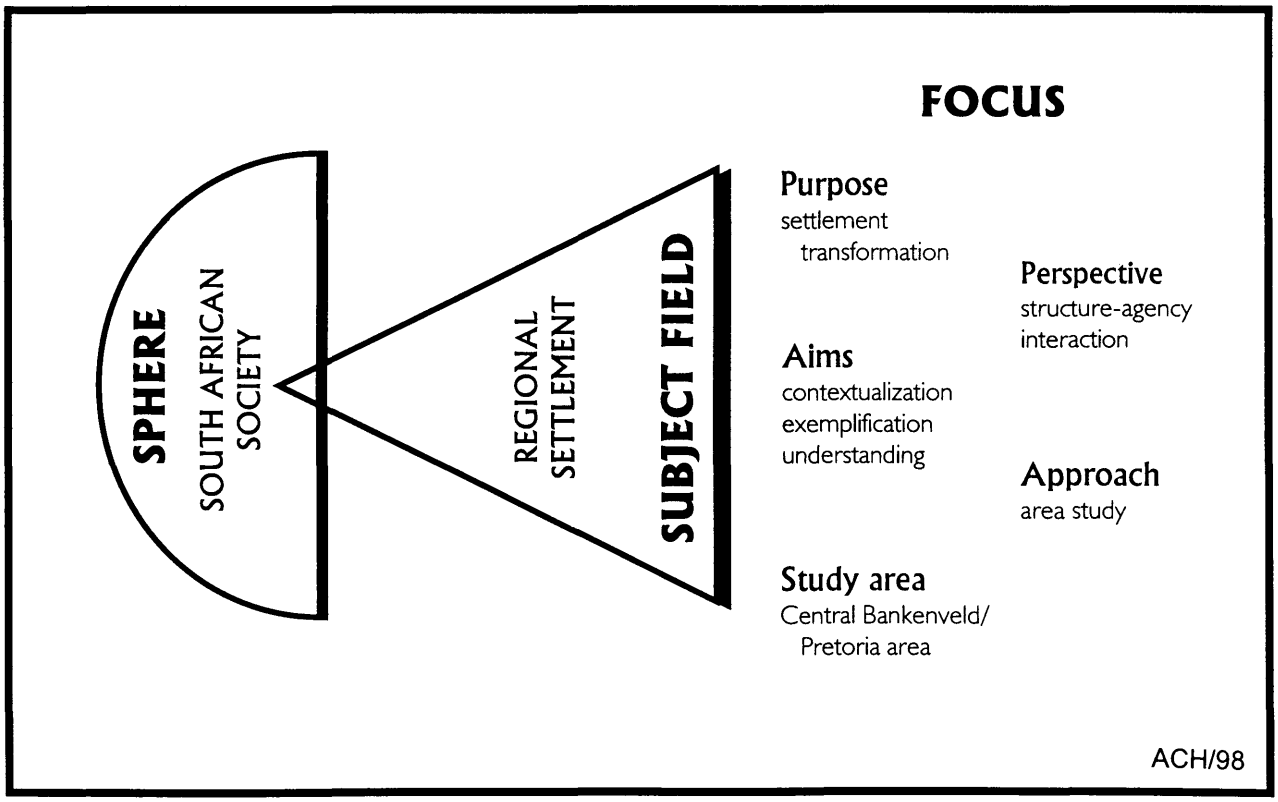


FIGURE 1.3 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK: SPHERE, SUBJECT FIELD AND FOCUS



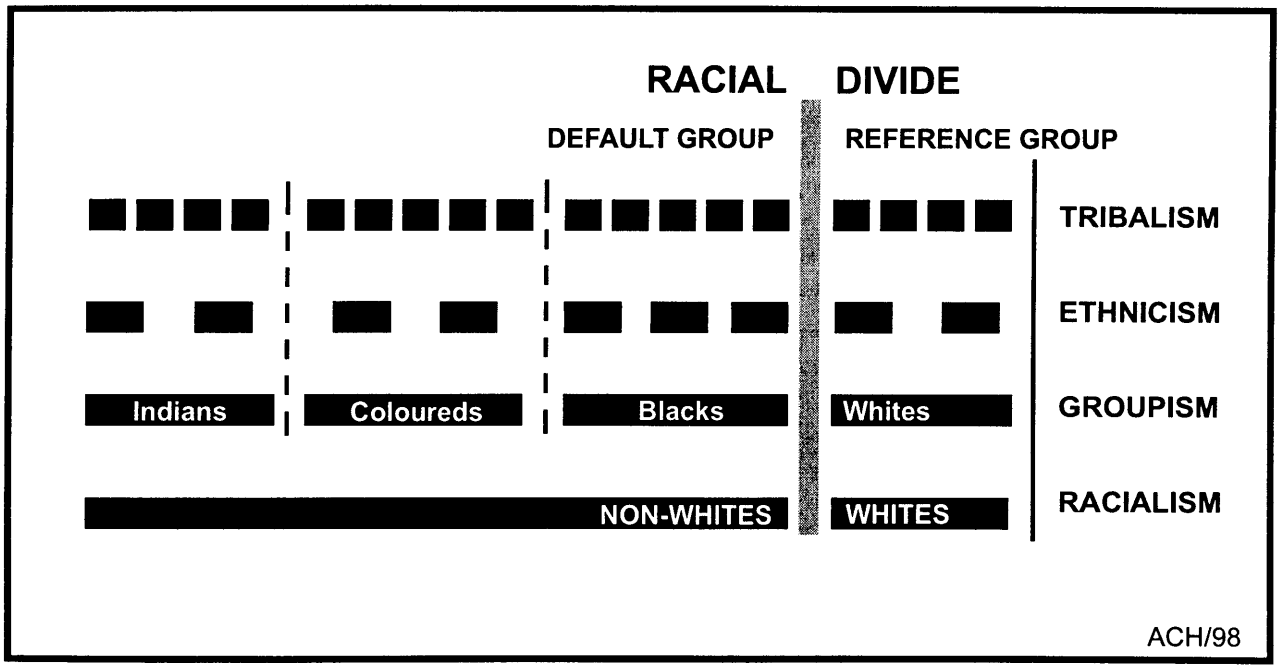
1.2.1 SPHERE: A UNIQUE SOCIETY

The interaction between structural form and function on the one hand and socio-political dynamics on the other at a particular locality should be regarded within a larger context (Thrift, 1990). This encompassing milieu includes aspects of social formation and organization which are fixed to a historical framework of time and events. To accommodate the study, the social history of South African society has been reduced to the major features of the **social sphere** and the **historical sphere**, and reconstructed to represent a **socio-historical framework**.

1.2.1.1 Social Sphere

South African society is unique in terms of its social organization (Drury, 1968). The sphere of social relations in pre-1994 South African society was characterized by peculiar categories of social organization (Fig. 1.4) which essentially represent different facets of ethnicity.[10]

FIGURE 1.4 SOCIAL SPHERE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY



10. 'Ethnicity' refers to aspects such as place of origin, genetic characteristics, and cultural practices and outlook that distinguish a particular community of people; ethnic differences are largely learned or otherwise founded on perceived characteristics. Specific definitions are included in: Berry (1965); Bloom (1971); Cohen (1976); and Schaeffer & Lamm (1986). Other sources consulted on this issue include: Yetman & Steele (1975); Bowker & Carrier (1976a); De Vos & Rommanucci-Ross (1982); Giddens (1989); and Vail (1989).

■ **Race** — Since the first encounter of Africans with non-Africans in what is today known as South Africa, the history of interpersonal relations in this evolving society has become a saga dominated by a fateful racial fault-line (Leatt, 1992).[11] According to Berry (1965) this has resulted in acute problems of race relations.

Race is a biological term and is narrowly confined to those physical characteristics that are perceived to distinguish one group of humans from another. However, despite numerous attempts to classify races, people cannot readily be separated into biologically different categories. Racism is therefore but a set of ideas about racial differences on which social interaction is based.

In South Africa racism was/is largely based on skin colour. The ambiguity of this racial definition is illustrated by the inclusion of some Asian ethnic types and by excluding others in the white race, and furthermore by including people with a relatively dark complexion from other continents and yet excluding indigenous ethnic groups with a lighter complexion in the same white race. Based on the criterion of race in the South African context a broad distinction can be made between whites and non-whites, but the post-1950 classification of population groups was often seen as representing racial groups.

■ **Population Groups** — In an attempt to institutionalize the race-ethnic categorization of the South African population, four population groups were officially defined by the *Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950*, introduced in 1950 and repealed in 1991: Whites, Coloureds, Asians (later implying only Indians) and Blacks (indicating Africans).[12]

■ **Language** — Ethnicity based on language preference is another important facet of South African society. Amongst whites, the differences between Afrikaans (58 percent of the white population), English (39 percent) and other linguistic groups[13] are, however, subordinate to categorization on the basis of population groups or race. Language amongst South African Indians is a cultural criterion in a community commonly organized in terms of social strata and religion, however, 95 percent of Indians in 1991 indicated their home language as English (South Africa, 1992) — other

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11. See also Fig. 1.4

12. Within the context of 'apartheid society' (1948-1991) the different population groups are referred to as ***B***lacks, ***C***oloureds, ***I***ndians, and ***W***hites as officially proclaimed populations groups constituted by the *Population Registration Act* which was in force between 1950 and 1991. The term ***b***lacks refer to the collection of Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. In non-apartheid time-contexts these groups are addressed as ***A***fricans, ***c***oloureds, ***I***ndians, and ***w***hites; in these cases the term ***b***lacks refer to the collection of Africans, coloureds and Indians.

13. Other language groups among whites include Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian and Portuguese (South Africa, 1992).

language preferences include Afrikaans, Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. A large majority of coloured people speak Afrikaans (83 percent) but a significant proportion of particularly urban coloureds prefer English as their home language (15 percent). Most significantly, language and dialect were employed by different whites-only governments to divide Africans into ethnic units and to rule over them on this basis. The main African ethnic categories based on language are: Ndebele, North Sotho, Shangaan, South Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu (South Africa, 1992).

- **Tribes** — Tribalism is a system of social organization of pre-modern societies into micro-units, clans or affiliations. At the least it is an informal criterion for social association and affiliation; at the most it is a formal measure of social stratification and organization. Variables such as language, religion, political affiliation, family relationships and community interests serve as criteria for social differentiation. From the 1920s formal tribal classifications in South Africa were compiled by an ethnological division of the Department of Native/Bantu Affairs.[14]

The social categories and variables outlined above brought about a complex and highly stratified society in South Africa.[15] On the basis of the basic divisions of race, population groups, language groups, and tribes, the pre-1994 society further encompassed a dominant (white) group (or reference group) and a subordinate group representing non-whites (Fig 1.4).

1.2.1.2 Historical Sphere

The history of South Africa spans millions of years. In this study attention is largely devoted to the last two thousand years with an increasing focus on more recent times. The reconstruction of historical time into a simplistic two-dimensional framework obviously excludes any reference to individuals, specific dates or locations and allows mainly for broad **occurrences** and **events** that can be related to a relative **time-frame** (Fig. 1.5).

In essence, two simultaneous **occurrences** mark the social history of South Africa to date (i.e. up to 1994): the **populating** of the area, and the accompanying socio-spatial **organization**. These occurrences are characterized by various **events**

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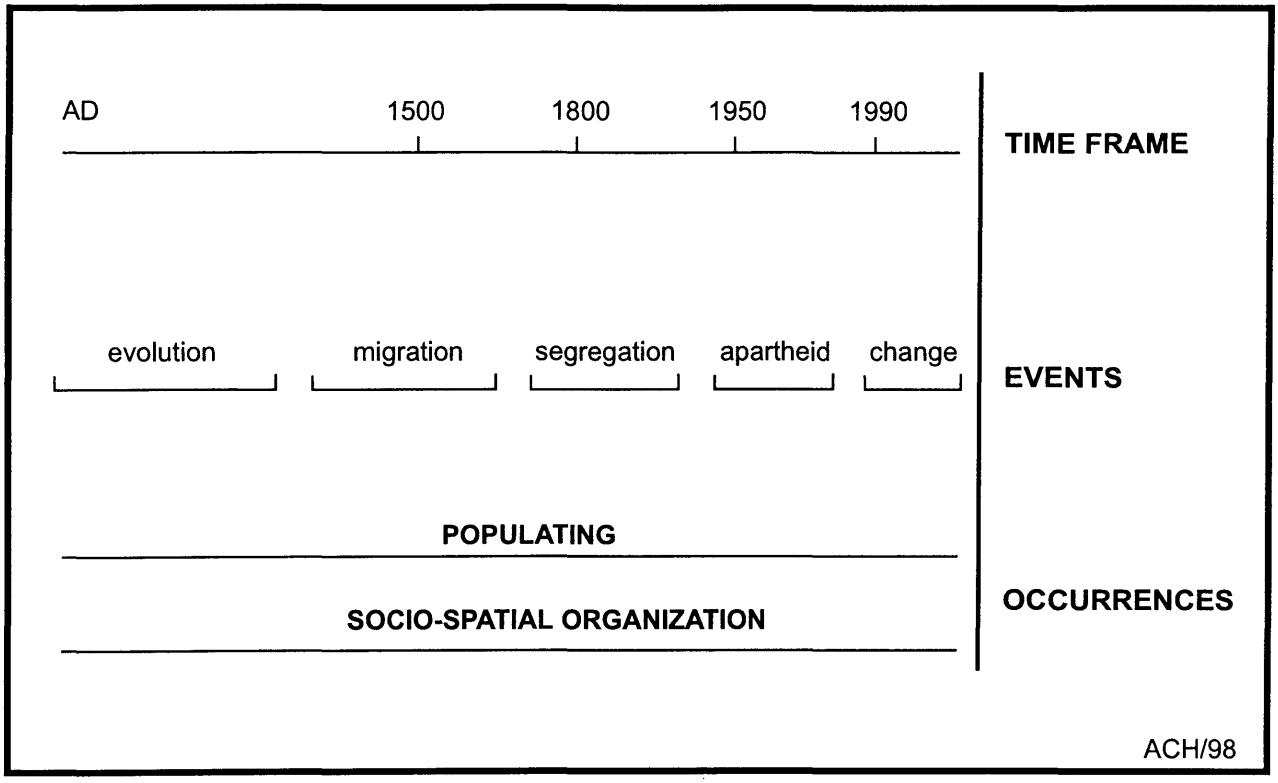
14. The process of tribal classification is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

15. Stratification encompasses "... *the process of dividing societies into ranks, grades, or positions, and involves the unequal distribution of privileges, duties, responsibilities, power, prestige, and influence*" (Berry, 1965:178).

which include the **evolution** of an indigenous human form during pre-historical time, the **migration** and **fusion** of different types of people thereafter, the struggle for power and control of resources which later resulted in the establishment of a **segregated** society, the implimentation of the **apartheid** system, and the gradual demise of apartheid which forced the system of racial domination into **reform** aimed at eventual transformation. The dates associated with certain events are approximate and function only as relative indicators of the chronology of events.

FIGURE 1.5 HISTORICAL SPHERE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

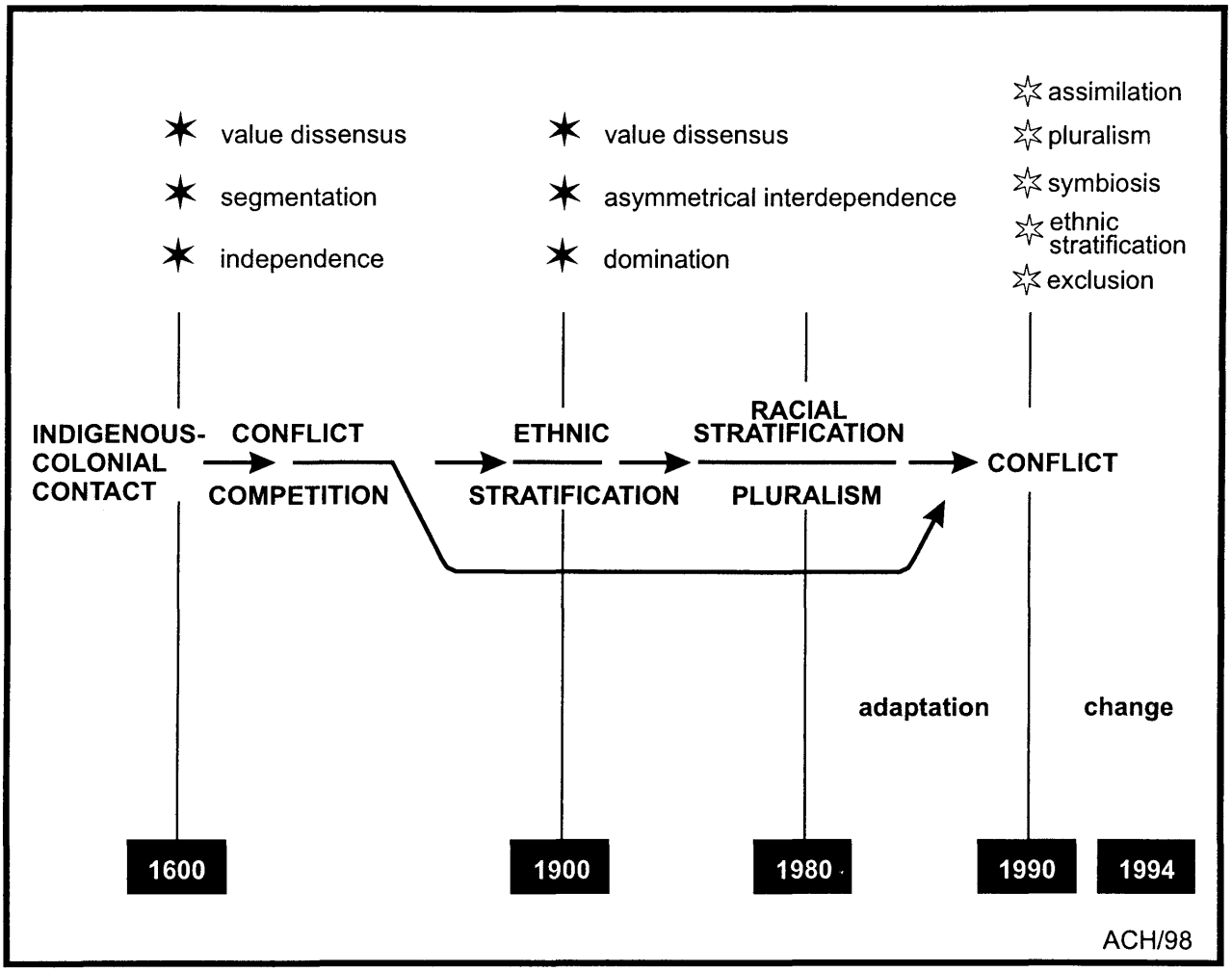


1.2.1.3 Socio-historical Framework

The final stage of the delineation of the sphere of study comprises the incorporation of the social and historical spheres into a composite socio-historical framework to serve as a guide for the study of social relations and spatial manifestations within the South African socio-spatial environment (Fig. 1.6). The emphasis is on relations between the dominant and subordinate sectors of society based on racial divisions (Fig. 1.4) during the last four centuries of social history. The framework is able to accommodate different views of the history of South Africa including the 'traditional', 'liberal' and 'radical' perspectives (e.g. Muller, 1975; Wilson & Thompson, 1982; Davenport, 1989). Social overviews of this society (e.g. Van den Berghe, 1965, 1990; Bloom, 1971; Lever, 1978) represent a range of social relations paradigms including

those of 'order', 'interdependence', and 'conflict', that incorporate theories of 'natural history', 'structural functionalism', 'symbolic interactionism', 'materialism', and 'pluralism' (Barth & Noel, 1975; Bowker & Carrier, 1976b). The progression of social relations according to this framework is based on the principles of the 'race cycle concept' (Park, 1926, 1950; Brown, 1934; Lieberson, 1961; Barth & Noel, 1975) which are illustrative of the 'order perspective' of social history.

FIGURE 1.6 SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE STUDY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY



Initial **contact** between explorers and the indigenous people of Southern Africa was founded on **value dissensus**, **segmentation**, and **independence** and resulted in immediate **conflict**. Once the descendants of the European immigrants came to view themselves as permanent and therefore indigenous citizens, competition emerged that inevitably led to increased conflict. Although **value dissensus** prevailed, an **asymmetrical interdependence** developed. In terms of social organization, segmentation was replaced by **domination**. With the **continuing conflict**, the dominant white segment of society gradually enforced **ethnic stratification** that became more and more

formalized, leading to **racial stratification**. Conflict remained present. **Pluralism**, however, quickly became a revised form of increasing **asymmetrical interdependence** and the upholding of **domination**. From the mid-1970s social confrontation was transformed into violent conflict. During the period between 1980 and 1990 the dominant white class tried to counter the demand for equality by means of **adaptive** measures aimed at the minimalization of change in order to maintain the existing social order. It is therefore not surprising that the conflict between the main categories of society intensified in the latter half of the 1980s and eventually forced the social system into processes of **change** from 1990 onward aimed at modifying the system and creating a new political order through **transformation**. The timeline of this study ends in 1994 with the dawn of a new political order and the possibility of a number of socio-ethnic outcomes: **assimilation**, **pluralism**, **symbiosis**, **stratification**, and **exclusion**.

1.2.2 FIELD: THE STUDY OF LOCALITY

The study of *structure-agency interaction* in a specific locality is in this case perceived as the field of study. *Agency* has already been defined as *human action as something rationalized and ordered by human agents* (see Section 1.1.2). One aspect of the aim of the study is to **contextualize** the particularity of the locality within a broader national context. The notion of context in part refers to the broader geographical setting, but also includes particular emphasis on the motives, goals, policies and social experiences of the dominating as well as subordinate groups in South African society. Further emphasis is added to the notion of agency by another aspect of the aim of the study, namely to **understand** human actions in the context of the study by particularly focussing on aspects of South African social and political history as well as the social and political interaction between the various categories of human agents in the national system.

The notion of *structure* is being represented by social realities, a created environment and a natural environment. In the study the concept of social structure is particularly accommodated by strong emphasis on and representation of the institutional and legislative framework of South African society. Further emphasis is placed on the created environment by focussing at a regional scale on the planned and built environment of the study area. This focus places the study in the spheres of spatial planning science, the study of settlement geography, and the spatial development sciences. The role of the natural environment, due to its deterministic potential, is often neglected by researchers working within the parameters of structuration theory. However, in this study it receives proper attention as a result of both the regional approach that is being followed (see Section 1.2.3.1) and the

definition, delimitation and description of the study area (see Section 1.2.3.2).

1.2.3 FOCUS: THE CASE FOR AREA SPECIALIZATION

The next sections, discuss the actual focus of the study.

1.2.3.1 Area Study

According to Giddens (1984) and Johnston (1991) the concept of *locale* is central to the socio-spatial dialectic: localities provide the setting within which interactions are organized and are thus the context for economic, social, and political life. Cooke (1989:296) adds that "... *(l)ocalities are not simply places (and) communities: they are the sum of social energy and agency ... (they are) centres of collective consciousness*." The scale of locality is relative. It comprises territorial entities, produced, reproduced and transformed through human agency (Johnston, 1991).

For the purpose of this study an original approach, which the researcher terms **area specialization**, is being introduced. Although this approach incorporates a number of original features, it merely is a variation of a contemporary approach to regional study referred to in the literature as 'new regionalism' (e.g. Thrift, 1990; 1991; 1993). **Area specialization** is a *contemporary*[16] variation of a long tradition of *regional study,* yet differs markedly from regionalism in the *ancient*[17] as well as *modern*[18] periods of geography. The ensuing discussion is aimed at clarifying this position.

The study of areas in their own right is one of the oldest, strongest, and enduring traditions of geography (Barnard, 1984). Through space and over time the many interpretations of and approaches to *regional study* have given rise to various schools of thought (Holt-Jensen, 1980; James & Martin, 1981) including *chorography*, *chorology*, *länderkunde*, *landschaftkunde*, *regionalization*, *regional planning*, *regional specialization*, *areal differentiation*.

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16. 'Contemporary geography' represents the post-1980 period of study.

17. The 'ancient' period of geographic inquiry is generally accepted as the period prior to the revolutionary ideas of Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Karl Ritter (1779-1859) (Holt-Jensen, 1980; James & Martin, 1981; Gould, 1985). The contributions of Humboldt and Ritter to geography are regarded as '*classical*' since they laid the foundations of the subject and because their methods were uniform and simple (Holt-Jensen, 1980).

18. 'Modern geography' more or less represents the period between 1850 and 1980 that coincides with the '*modern period*' in the history of humankind. Further differentiation should be made between the '*early modern*' period (1850-1960) and the '*late modern*' period (1960-1980) of study in geography. The first is associated with idiographic tradition and the latter with positivist tradition (James & Martin, 1981; Johnston, 1983).

Regional geography is based on the principles of

- the *wholeness* of a region,[19]
- *ideography*,[20]
- an *empiristic* epistemology,[21] and
- a special *geographic method*.[22]

The decline of modern regional studies came as the result of the new spirit of *modernity*, the structure of geography, and the state and image of '*regionalism*'.

The *modern period* in the history of humankind (1850 - 1980) encompassed a '*zeitgeist*' directed towards '*knowledge*' rather than '*values*', towards '*explanation*' rather than '*experience*', an ontology backing away from '*holism*' and facing towards '*reductionism*',[23] and an epistemology of '*systematic study*'. The systematization of knowledge introduced geography as a separate field of study and institutionalized this

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19. The concept of 'wholeness' or unity in a region (Taylor G., 1962; Holt-Jensen, 1980; James & Martin, 1981) is based partly on Karl Ritters' (1779-1859) religious concept of '*ganzheit*' which parallels the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel's (1770-1831) view of teleological unity in the universe. It also incorporates another view of regional unity that is much more materialistic and aesthetic and resembles Goethe's (1749 -1832) concept of unity.

20. The term 'ideography' (see Holt-Jensen, 1980; James & Martin, 1981) was first used by the German philosopher Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915) to describe unique phenomena (the idiographic principle) without relation to general laws (the nomothetic principle). In geography the idiographic principle became a tradition anchored in Bernhardus Varenius's (1622-1650) division between general (systematic) and special (regional) geography, the latter concerned with the unique characteristics of places. Throughout the history of modern geography the idiographic principle was emphasized by scholars such as Alfred Hettner (1859-1941), Otto Schlüter (1872-1952), and Richard Hartshorne (1899-1994). The idiographic principle was rejected by positivist philosophers and hence faded somewhat from mainstream geography during the mid-1950 to mid-1970 period. Since then, however, there has been a resurgence of the idiographic principle as a result of anti-positivist sentiments and the current age of postmodernism which reiterates the emphasis on uniqueness.

21. Empirical science is founded on (1) data which are concrete, most often visible, and measurable, (2) an *a priori* theoretical framework of concepts and methods, and (3) the theoretical attitude of the disinterested observer. Empirical science yields factual knowledge that is precise, exact, and certain, yet never absolute and unqualified as is the case of positivist science (Holt-Jensen, 1980; Christensen, 1982).

22. Regional geographers of the modern period placed great emphasis on methodology, and procedures such as Alexander von Humboldt's '*comparative method*', the French school's '*la tradition vidalienne*' and in particular the '*regional schemata*' of Richard Hartshorne and Derwent Whittlesey (more a research agenda than a method) led to regional geographers' belief in a 'unique geographic method'. Along with the idiographic principle it was this 'exceptionalism' that was rejected by Schaefer (1953) and became a major point of criticism of modern regionalism.

23. There are basically two opposite ways of viewing the world: the '*reductionist*' view presupposes that properties can be explained in terms of their constituent parts while the '*holistic*' view on the other hand suggests that wholes have properties that cannot be explained in terms of the properties of the individual constituents (Capra, 1982; Simmons & Cox, 1985).

field as an acknowledged subject[24] yet at the same time clashed with the principle of '*wholeness*' as metaphor for '*holism*'.

Eventually poor efforts, terminological chaos, and the failure to incorporate or apply the concepts of the systematic approaches, contributed to the decline of regional study.[25] Within the structure of geography the divisions between '*systematic*' and '*general*', and between '*human*' and '*physical*' geography, previously concealed by the '*wholeness*' of regionalism, became acute when the approach was rejected.[26]

The attack on the regional paradigm for its 'unscientificness' and its claim of 'execptionalism' based on a unique 'geographic method' was spearheaded by Schaefer (1953) who subscribed to the principles of the '*logic positivism*' of the Vienna Circle and campaigned for a search for *nomothetic laws* using *quantitative methods*. Despite attempts to defend the regional tradition, the fierceness of the attack, the lack of support for the regional tradition, and the merit of the criticism caused regional studies to become the prime victim of the 'quantitative revolution' (Spate, 1960; Burton, 1963; Taylor, P., 1976). Traditional regional studies were dismissed as atheoretical, descriptive, and nonexplanatory (Archer, 1993).

The disasters facing mankind as a result of the philosophy and principles of the age of *modernity*, accompanied by the crude abstractions and generalizations of a monistic, reductionistic and physicalistic '*positivist*' paradigm (Johnston, 1983), however, caused an ontological adjustment to a '*postmodern*'[27] position of uniting '*logic*' with '*values*'. On an epistemological level there was renewed interest in '*holism*', accompanied by pleas for the reconstruction of human geography (e.g. Haggett, 1979). The reductionist view "... *is no longer capable of providing a meaningful framework for the experience and deep understanding of a complex, chaotic and uncertain world*" (Frielick, 1992:74). Since the mid-1970s more and more pleas (e.g. Fleming, 1973; Gregory, 1978; Steel, 1982; Johnston, 1984; Massey,

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24. Although Eratosthenes of Cyrene (273-192 BC) is regarded by many as the founder of geography, the credit for the establishment of the subject as a distinct discipline should become the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). The institutionalization of the discipline has been documented by Capel (1981).

25. In addition to this Fraser-Hart (1982), supported by Barnard (1984), emphasized that regional geographers avoided the urban field of study since it would have exposed the inadequacies of the traditional regional checklist.

26. These divisions are rooted in dichotomy: whether geography is nomothetic or idiographic, topical or regional, deductive or inductive, a science or an art (James & Martin, 1981).

27. The contemporary age of 'postmodernism' (Dear, 1988; Harvey, 1989; Cloke *et al.*, 1991) urges a great sensitivity to the 'differences' that exist between phenomena emphasizing the 'otherness' of each rather than the essential sameness. The spirit of post-modernism defies categorization. Moreover, this view of the world defies the simplicity of any grand theory or cosmic order. However, it does not present a completely opposite ontology-epistemology to modernism/positivism. It tries to combine (not unite) the idiographic value qualities of the pre-modern period and the nomothetic factual properties of the modern period.

1984; Lee, 1985) for the re-institution of a reconstructed regional geography, an interactive, holistic, ecological view of reality, have been made. The locality debate quickly moved into the debate on postmodernism (Thrift, 1991) and the new regionalists became concerned with developing a sophisticated theoretical understanding of regional complexity (Warf, 1988; Archer, 1993). The mission of the reconstructed regional approach is to "... *treat people as agents, places as contexts, and causality as an interactive procession of fast-moving actions and slower-moving structures of interaction*" (Thrift, 1991:456). Jonas (1988) believes that there are many different varieties of the new regional geography of localities but Archer (1993) distinguishes only between two main straims: 'locality' studies (e.g. Cooke, 1989) and 'new regional geography' (e.g. Gilbert, 1988; Pudup, 1988).

Guelke (1977), Walter & Bernard (1978), Fraser-Hart (1982), Meinig (1983) and Barnard (1984) advocate **area study** as a way of uniting the positivist and alternative approaches in a common study object. Saunders (1992) also indicates that it could lead to inter-disciplinanary contact. The principles of contemporary **area study**, specifically as advocated by Barnard (1984), are as follows:

- area study should avoid nomothetic pretensions and should emphasize its idiographic character in clear terms; study concerns parts (a part) of the earth's surface that should be **understood** rather than explained, and of which the **character** should be more important than the content, and the **core** be more prominent than the parameters;
- area study should neither strive to describe nor explain - its ultimate aim should be to explore the **character** and **personality** of an area; and
- the area practitioner should be an extraordinary craftsman, a student with a broad **academic background** and extensive research experience, yet at the same time a **specialist** of the area with a **personality** truly anchored in the humaniora.

Further, Barnard (1984) presents guidelines for the study of an area:

- the study must be organized over and about a specific **theme** that will capture the character of the area and avoid the self-evident;
- **time** is an essential element of the empirical reality and none of the past, present or future should be disregarded;
- at least three frontiers could be explored, namely (1) **human-environment relations**, (2) **idiographic study of specific urban environments**, and (3) **the region in its wider national or international context**; and
- the area specialist should seek contact with other scholars, particularly inter-disciplinary contact, based on a common interest in the area.

The term **area specialization** is preferred to area study since this approach implies integration within a defined spatial area and at the same time implies thematic and topical specialization. This approach re-introducess the concept of holistic

specialization that has been self-evident since the days of Karl Ritter and his concept of '*wholeness*': "*(t)he view that geography is a synthesizing subject has always been basic to the philosophy of the discipline ... In spite of the criticism of Schaefer and the nomothetic movement neither modern quantification nor critical geography has in fact abandoned the idea of synthesis*" (Holt-Jensen, 1980:110). At this stage, it should be clear that the postmodern epistemology and structuration ontology of area specialization fosters integrative thought and revives the need for specialized synthesis in a flexible time-space context.

1.2.3.2 Study Area

Broadly defined, the area of study[28] is located between latitudes 25° 00′ and 26° 00′ south and between longitudes 27° 30′ and 29° 00′ east, in the north-eastern part of South Africa (Fig. 1.7A). The area constitutes a surface of 16 500 km^2. Previous as well as present-day settlement in the area can be related to the general geomorphology, climate and vegetation of the land (Fig 1.7B). This description of the study area is largely based on the following sources: Louw (1959); Hugo (1979); Liebenberg *et al.* (1976); Cooks (1994).

The area is known as the Central Bankenveld — a term already used by Van Luipen (1938) — and is a transitional zone separating the rolling plains of the Highveld in the south (approx. 1 500 m above sea level) from the flat land of the Middleveld (approx. 1 200 m above sea level) in the north. The Bankenveld consists of a series of ridges and valleys extending east-west. The three major ridges in the central part are Timeball Hill (1 525 m), Daspoort Ridge (1 400 m), and Magaliesberg (1 500 m increasing westward to 1 677 m). The relative relief between valleys and ridges is between 400 m and 450 m.

The area was once part of a large geosyncline in which material accumulated. The rocks of the area belong to the Pretoria Group of the Overvaal Succession. Their age is of the order of 2 000 x 10^6 years and they consist mainly of quartzite, sandstone, shale, conglomerate, dolomite, and chert, together with some lava, and intruded by diabase dykes and sills. The three parallel ridges (Timeball Hill, Daspoort Ridge, and Magaliesberg) are formed from resistant sandstone and quartzite, and the valleys between them are formed from less resistant shale. Several major and minor faults cut across the lateral succession of ridges and valleys. North of the valley and ridge area the Bushveld Complex forms the floor of an extensive basin. The southern part of the Complex is a relatively level plain of gabbro, and is interrupted by a narrow ridge of steep hills called the Pyramids (1 317 m to 1 383 m).

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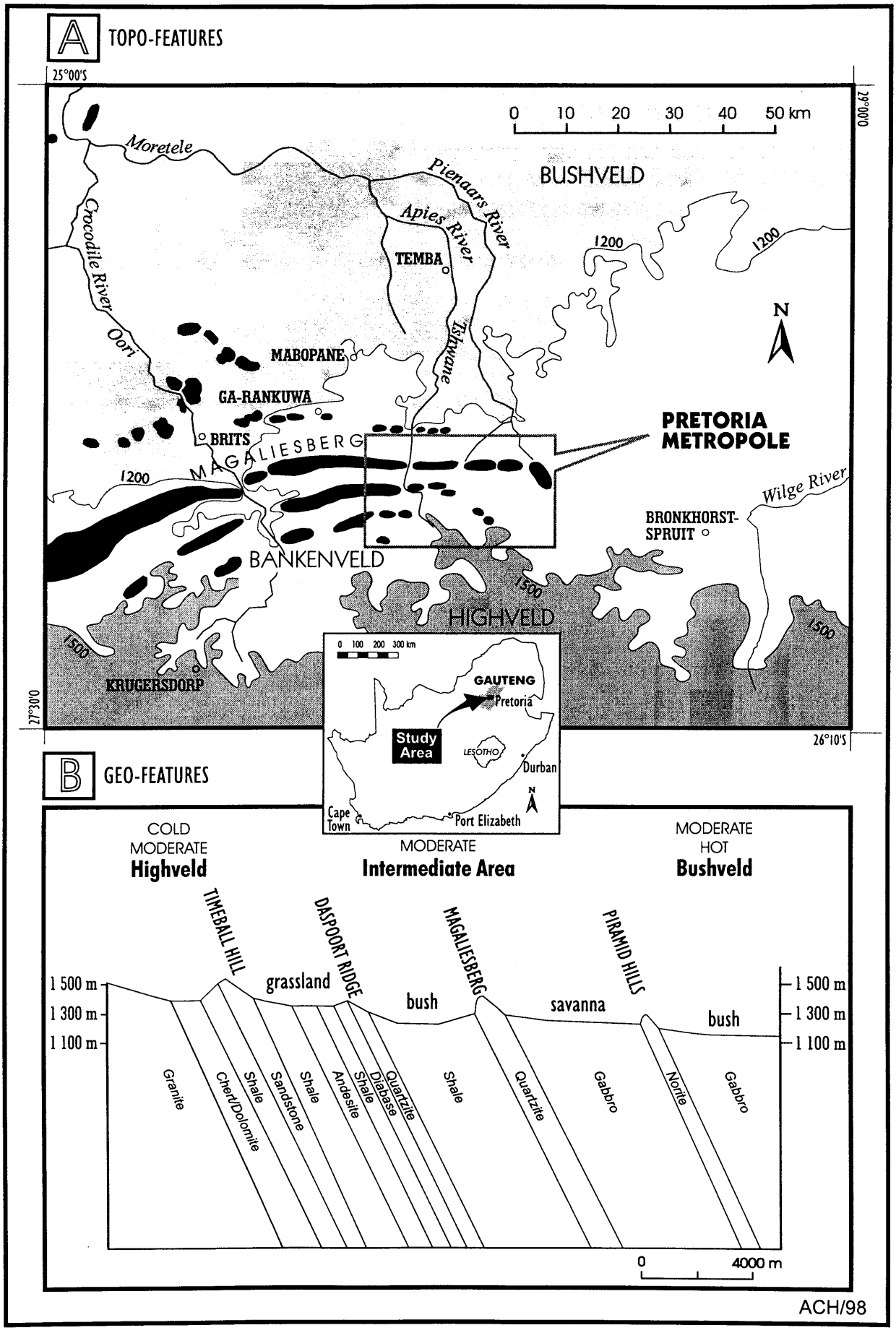
28. The exact boundaries of the study area are re-defined in each analytical chapter in terms of the topic of investigation and the analytical focus of each chapter.

FIGURE 1.7 STUDY AREA: LOCATION AND FEATURES



The ridges and valleys have an incline of some 20° to 30° northwards which means that they are all monoclinical, with escarpments facing southward. The valleys which separate the ridges vary in width between 2 km and 7 km. Many dykes, veins and sills have been intruded into joints, faults and fissures in the surrounding rocks. The faults are mostly strike faults with considerable displacements, although normal and reversed faults also occur. Several of the prominent passes (poorts) in the ridges have developed along fault lines which have weakened the material.

The major rivers draining the area have their origin south of the Bankenveld on the dolomite, and cut across the succession of ridges and valleys, often by following structural fault lines. They are, therefore, epigenetic and form part of the Limpopo drainage system which includes the Crocodile River (Oori), the Apies River (Tshwane) and the Pienaars River (Moretele).[29] Minor rivers that are tributaries generally follow the elevation of the major valleys and do not cross the ridges.

The average annual rainfall in the area is 710 mm with small annual deviations from this figure. About 75 percent of the total annual rain falls during the period November to March, with a monthly maximum in January. Thunderstorms are fairly common and hail sometimes occurs. The average annual temperature is 17.7° C with an average range of 14.2° C. Topographic variations give rise to major climatic differences locally. The climate of the southern parts (Highveld) is mild in summer and cold with frost in winter whereas the central part (Bankenveld) experiences a generally warmer climate with hot summers and cool winters. The northern parts (Bushveld) experience hot to very hot summers and mild winters.

The combination of topography and climate has resulted in the evolution of different vegetation biomes in the area varying from sourveld grass on the grasslands of the southern Highveld to trees, shrubs and grass in the Bankenveld and Bushveld savannah in the north.

Before humans settled in the area, it was inhabited by a large variety of game which flocked to the well-watered valleys. Topographical breaks in the ranges also allowed the passage of large herds migrating annually between the southern and northern biomes.

1.2.3.3 Topics and Time

Four specialized topics are investigated within the setting of the study area. Each of the topics represent a particular time period within the context of a variable spatial definition of region. The order in which the study of the topics are presented indicates a chronology in time. These are stated below.

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29. The names 'Oori', 'Tshwane' and 'Moretele' are indigenous Sotho names. The rivers also have other names in other indigenous languages.

- The **occupation of territory** from about **2 million years BP up to 1840**.

- **Spatial identity on the basis of land distribution** during the **colonial period between 1840 and 1913**.

- **Rural land policies and outcomes** during the **period of segregation between 1910 and 1947**.

- **Regional transformation** during the period of **apartheid rule between 1940 and 1994**.

1.2.3.4 Area Specialization: an Operational Paradigm

In an attempt to relate the concept of **area specialization** to the particular characteristics and features of the study, and to mobilize these into an operational paradigm, a number of premises need re-iteration.

- Each chapter of the study addresses a particular **theme** — the relatedness between structure and agency in general and the relatedness of identity and place in particular.

- The **sphere** of study is represented by the dynamics of history and society in South Africa.

- The **field** of study comprises the transformation of a locality in the context of a social, institutional and natural environment.

- The purpose of the study is to focus on a particular **locality**, the Central Bankenveld or Pretoria area.

- The aim of the study is to **contextualize**, **exemplify** and **understand** the spatial realm of South African society with regard to certain aspects of regional settlement.

- The approach is based on the principles of **area specialization**, a postmodern study of locality.

- Specific **topics** are investigated. The goals of the investigation of these topics are presented as the **objectives** of the study.

- The **epistemology** of the study entails holistic specialization and an emphasis on the uniqueness and specificity of locality.

The **methodology** of this study includes a literature survey, archival research, national and international networking, interviews, observation, field excursions, collection of printed and computerized data, surveys, statistical analysis, and graphic and cartographic analysis.

1.3 PROCEDURE AND PRESENTATION

The research procedure is shown graphically in Figure 1.8.

Area specialization (Phase 1) requires specific knowledge of the **subject field**, as well as a broad knowledge and familiarity with the geographical **area** of interest. Phase 2 comprised the construction of an **operational paradigm**. This phase included selection of a broad **theme**, definition of the **purpose** in relation to the subject field, definition of the general **aim** of the exercise, identification of **topics** or **problems**, and clarification of epistemological orientation with regard to **approach** and **methodology**. Phase 3 comprised a cyclic procedure during which each **topic** represented an entity in which the relatedness between identity and place was considered. The first step in this phase involved identification of the **problem** or specification of the **issue**, followed by a statement of the **objective**. The third step comprised **field work** including **data collection** and **application** of the data to the problem/issue by way of **analysis**, and **interpretation**. Procedures and methodology were in each case determined by the objectives. Phase 4 entailed a **review** of the entire research design and an **evaluation** of the results of research in terms of the purpose, aim and objectives.

The text of the study is presented in six chapters outlined in Figure 1.9. In addition to the introduction of the study in Chapter 1, and its conclusion in Chapter 6, the study comprises four analytical chapters. The analyses in the analytical chapters are supported by historical overviews. Although Chapters 2 to 5 represent a historical chronology, with the history in each chapter building onto the history or histories of the previous chapter(s), a significant amount of historical repetition, albeit brief, occurs in sequential chapters. There are two reasons for this occurrence. First, the histories of the analytical focuses of different chapters may overlap. Second, each chapter, apart from representing a sub-component of the study as a whole, is designed to represent a complete and independent study unit in itself and in which the analytical focus is based in each case on a complete history — this approach also explains the division of the list of *Contents*, *List of Figures*, *List of Tables*, and *References Cited* into sub-sections for each chapter.

FIGURE 1.8 AREA SPECIALIZATION: RESEARCH PROCEDURE

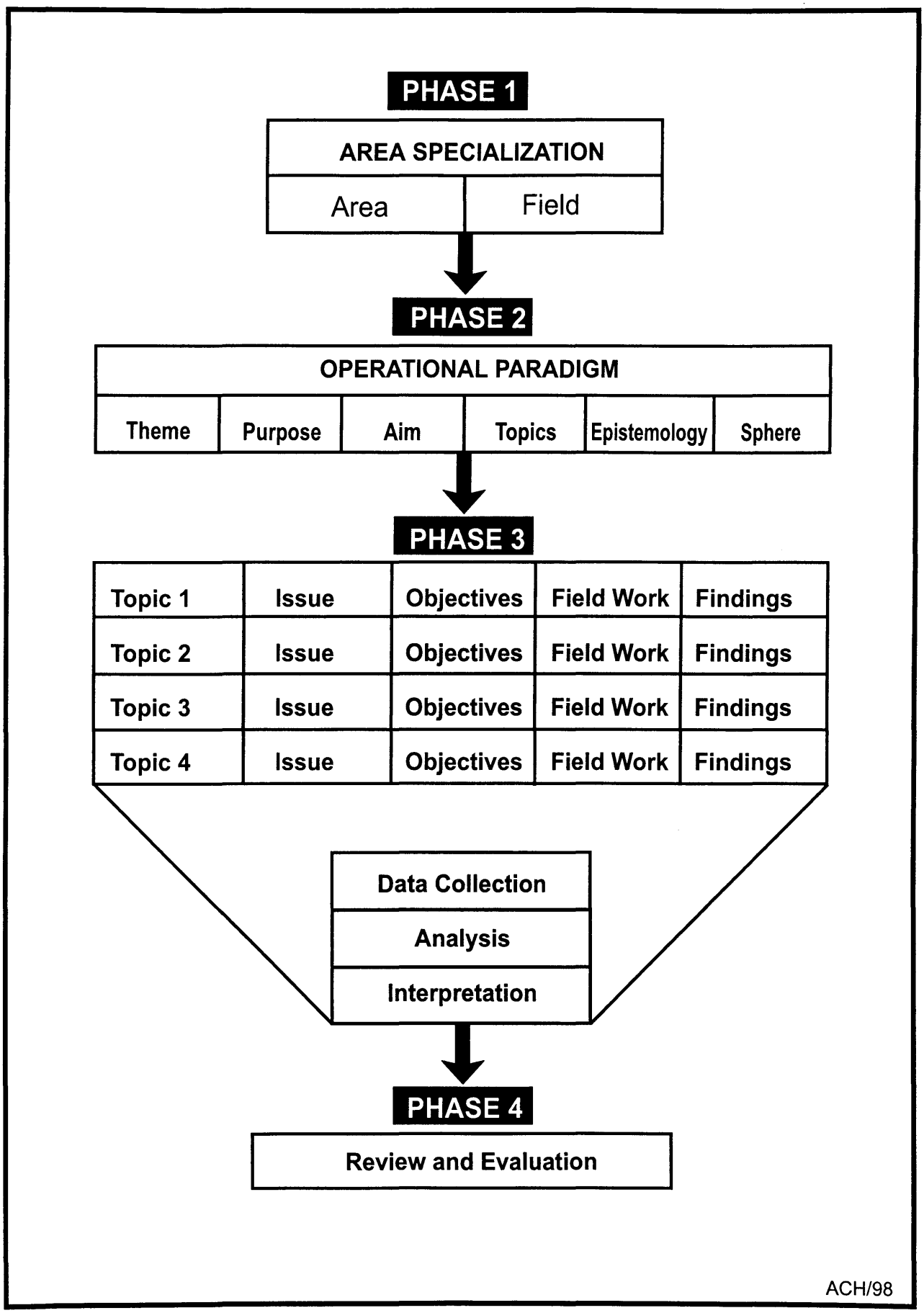

FIGURE 1.9 TEXT OUTLINE: SIX CHAPTERS

CHAPTER 1	**QUEST FOR IDENTITY: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY IN TIME, SPACE AND PLACE** The first chapter introduces the purpose, aim, sphere, field, focus and procedure of the study. Particular emphasis is placed on the central theme and theoretical framework of the study. The subject field and research tradition are defined, followed by a descriptin of the study area, operational paradigm and outline of the procedure of action.
CHAPTER 2	**CLAIMING THE LAND: THE OCCUPATION OF THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840** The chapter represents the relatedness of identity and place in the study area before 1840. The topic considers the occupation of land, control over resources and the organization and transformation of society within the limits and opportunities of a dynamic natural environment.
CHAPTER 3	**COLONIZATION AND THE IDENTITY OF LAND IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT, 1840 TO 1913** This chapter deals with the colonization of the study area after 1840 and the consequent re-organization of land occupation based on the constitution and structure of society. It is aimed at reconstructing an identity-in-land in relation to the structure of society as at June 1913 as demonstration of the outcome of colonial spatiality.
CHAPTER 4	**SEGREGATION AND TERRITORIALITY IN THE PRETORIA AREA, 1910 TO 1947** The focus of this chapter is on the development of a racialist land policy in South Africa in conjunction with the evolution of a Euro-colonial segregationist ideology. The formulation and application of rural land policies during the period considered are evaluated in terms of quantitative analysis of the outcomes of these land policies.
CHAPTER 5	**FROM RACIAL SEGREGATION TO SPATIAL COMPLEXITY: APARTHEID PLANNING IN THE PRETORIA REGION, 1940 TO 1994** This chapter describes the development of the apartheid ideology from being an unspecific political slogan to a sophisticated spatial strategy. It describes the formation and spatiality the early-apartheid city of Pretoria as well as the structuration of a complicated regional spatial framework including African national homelands and reactive late-apartheid urban planning.
CHAPTER 6	**AREA SPECIALIZATION: REFLEXIVE MONITORING OF ACTION** The final chapter represents a concise review of the purpose, aims and objectives of the study in terms of structuration theory. Moreover, it reconsiders some of the main elements of the study, and re-evaluates the practise of area specialization.

CLAIMING THE LAND: THE OCCUPATION OF THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840

CHAPTER 2

So here (in the Bankenveld) was a web of streams giving water and easy hunting to early homonids ... At Wonderboom an immense accumulation of Stone Age artefacts have been found

R.J. Mason

ABSTRACT

This chapter considers the occupation and claiming of space as a territorial expression of a collective identity. The objective was to contextualize, exemplify and understand occupation of land, control of resources and the organization and transformation of society in the Bankenveld up to 1840 in relation to the limitations and opportunities of a dynamic natural environment. A synthesizing approach was adopted to integrate views and fragmented pieces of evidence into a coherent sketch of human settlement in the study area. The occupation of the Bankenveld represents a complex chronicle of evolution, immigration, assimilation and replacement, with the primary agents having been the Oakhurts, Wilton and Smithfield Late Stone Age groups, the Early Iron Age community at Broederstroom-Strauss, Middle and Late Iron Age Sotho-Tswana, the Ndebele of Musi, and the Matabele of Mzilikazi. The settlement patterns, technologies, architectural styles, economy and social organization of the locality developed in relation to the resources and limitations of the local natural environment. This inter-relationship between structure and human agents is conceptualized in a composite schema of human-environment interaction in the Bankenveld from the the evolution of early humans up to 1840. This framework represents a revision and improvement of existing time-space frameworks of human-environment interaction in the pre-colonial Bankenveld.

Territoriality is the spatial expression of individual and collective identities. In this chapter territoriality represents a catalyst between social dynamics on the one hand and environmental determinants on the other. The aim is to contextualize, exemplify and understand occupation of land, control of resources and the organization and transformation of the society in the Bankenveld[1] up to 1840 in relation to the limitations and opportunities of the natural environment.

Although the principle originally expressed in the Freedom Charter of 1955 that *South Africa belongs to all who live in it* (see Aeschliman, 1986) is accepted by the majority of South Africans, the idea of land and territory which "*... has little to do with class, and everything to do with place and herritage*" (Bromley, 1985:100) is distorted by perceptual biases and clichés such as 'indigenous people' and 'settlers'. The uncertain histories and geographies of the pre-colonial period of South African society are the breeding grounds for simplistic conceptions and biases. Knowledge of the pre-modern history of the Bankenveld has been built up by a number of researchers in the fields of anthropology, archaeology and history, most of them from a narrow disciplinarary perspective. Mason (1987) managed to combine the various anthropological histories of pre-colonial occupation in the Bankenveld into a continuous, yet simplistic, time-space framework. After more than a decade, this remains the only framework of its kind in terms of which the specifics of particular pre-colonial histories can be contextualized. The specific objective of this chapter is to construct a particularized and cohesive time-space framework of human occupation and environmental change in the Bankenveld up to 1840. In order to arrive at an integrated synthesis, an approach is adopted which is signified by a balanced human-environment emphasis and a multi-disciplinarary perspective. The chapter proceeds with a time-space chronicle leading to the graphic representation of an integrated and particularized time-space framework.

2.1 OCCUPATION OF THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840: A CHRONICLE

The ancient history of South African communities and the occupation of a territory is often described in terms of chronological layers and levels of evolution or in terms of successive waves of migration (e.g. Mönnig, 1967; Wilson & Thompson, 1982; Loubser, 1988; Davenport, 1989). The formation of South African society is

1. The term 'Bankenveld' is used in this chapter as a broad, unspecific reference to an area with its centre between the Apies, Crocodile and Moretele Rivers and the Magaliesberg

undoubtedly the result of a complex time-space web of evolution and diffusion.

2.1.1 SHADOWS OF STONE (UP TO 1 000 BP)[2]

Contrary to popular and scientific belief at the time, Charles Darwin suggested in 1871 that the human form[3] originated in Africa rather than on any other continent.[4] Despite some controversy over the specific locality of the evolution of humans, there is wide scientific acceptance that humans evolved from a species *Australopithecus afarensis*, a small-brained primate. *A. afarensis* developed along a number of lineages, and from about 4 MYR (million years) BP there was a clear distinction between common primates and bipedal primates. Amongst the bipedal family many varieties have evolved over time and space (Fig. 2.1). Particularly two overlapping stages of development are noted, the first represents a number of lineages of *Australopithecus* species (including *A. aethiopicus*, *A. robustus* and *A. boisei*) and the other by a single lineage (which probably included *A. africanus*) eventually leading to *Homo sapiens sapiens*. This lineage also included *H. habilis* (the most probable immediate ancestor of early humans); *H. habilis* evolved into *H. erectus* which evolved into *H. sapiens* some 200 000 to 150 000 years BP. Since then *H. sapiens*, represented by many forms throughout the world collectively referred to as 'archaic man', was finally replaced by modern humans (*H. sapiens sapiens*) some 35 000 years ago.

There is incontrovertible evidence of the presence in southern Africa of hominids from at least 3 MYR ago (Volman, 1984). Many pre-human and hominid species occurred in and around the Bankenveld, including

- *A. africanus* — a small-brained bipedal ape that lived 3 to 1 MYR ago;
- *A. robustus* — a heavily built small-brained bipedal ape (2.6 to 1 MYR ago);
- *H. habilis* — a stone tool maker and probable ancestor of humans (2.5 to 1.6 MYR ago);

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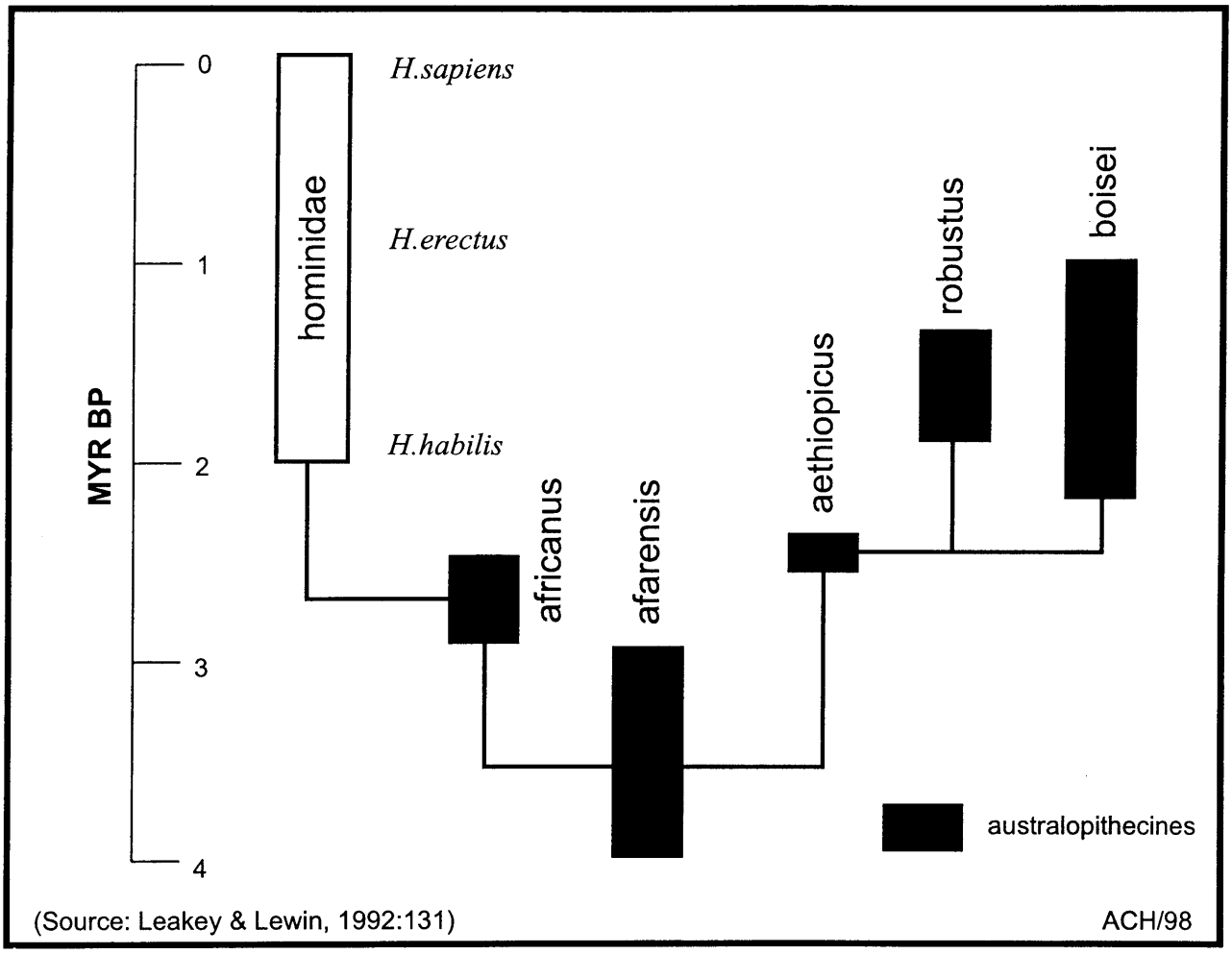
2. Sources consulted include: Goodwin & Van Riet Lowe (1929); Mason (1969, 1971); Mason *et al.* (1981); Voight (1981); J Deacon (1984a); Klein (1984); Vogel (1985); Wadley (1987); Leakey & Lewin (1992).

3. A distinction is made between 'human form' or the anatomy of the hominid family and 'humanity' which implies a cultural capacity.

4. Two different theories of the locality of human origin are the *multi-regional model* and the *mitochondrial Eve hypothesis* (Leaky & Lewin, 1992). The first proposes that there was a strong evolutionary continuum through time and space implying similar biological and cultural development simultaneously at different isolated locations. The second proposes that the evolution of humans was a single speciation in a geographically discrete population which, as a result of later fusion, swept all pre-existing human populations into evolutionary oblivion.

- *H. erectus* — a mobile explorer and conqueror of the world (1.7 MYR ago to 200 000 BP); and
- *H. sapiens* — a large-brained wise creature which evolved between 200 000 and 150 000 BP.

FIGURE 2.1 HOMINIDS AND AUSTRALOPITHECINES IN AFRICA FROM FOUR MILLION YEARS BEFORE PRESENT

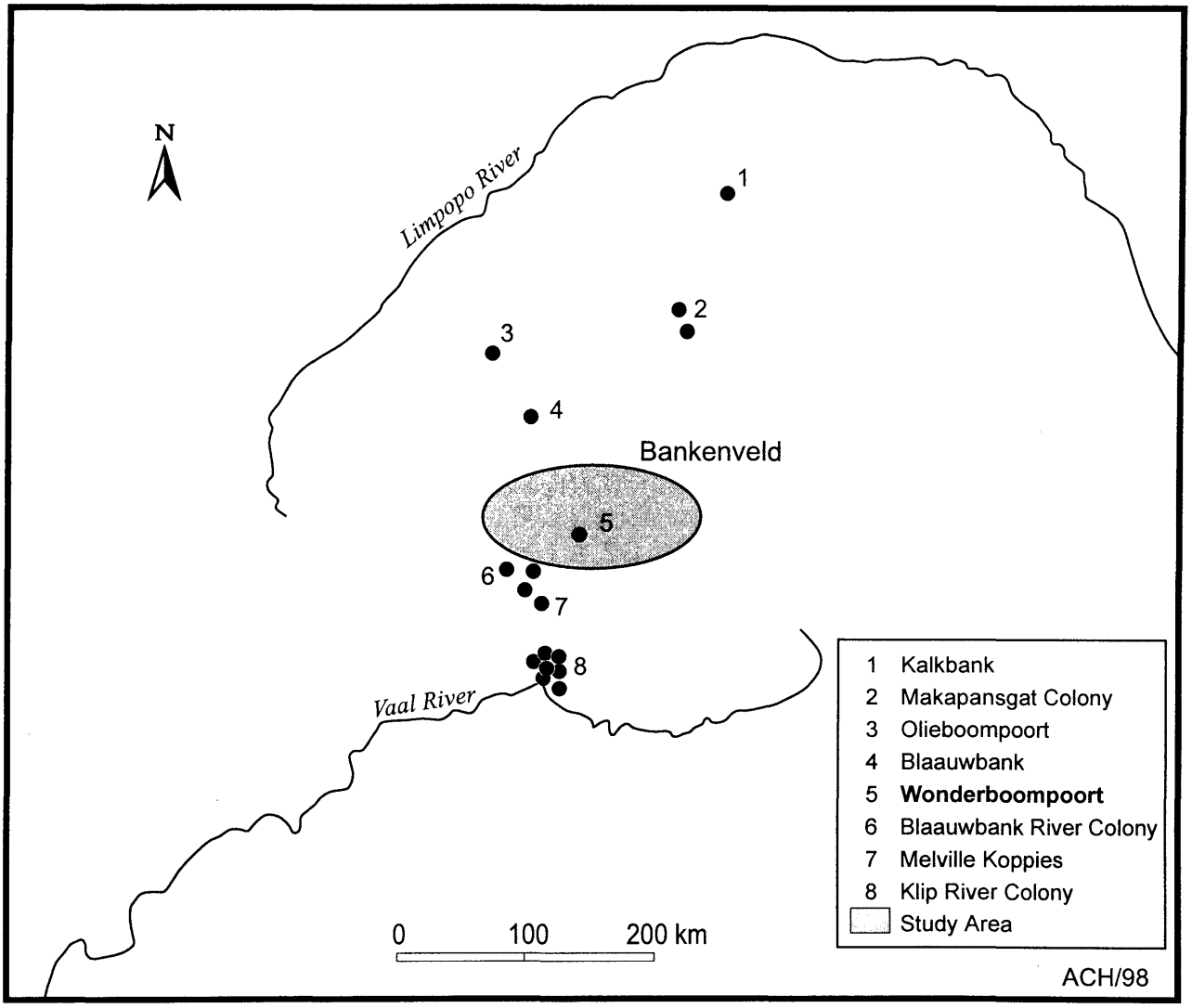


During the transition from the pre-archaic to archaic stages two distinct but interacting cultures developed in southern Africa (Volman, 1984): Acheulean adaptations in relatively open environments and Sangoan adaptations in the more wooded regions. Mason (1969:153) imitates the following scene of the replacement of the last *australopithecines*, probably *A. robustus*, by Early Acheuleans in the Bankenveld between about 1.5 to 1.0 MYR ago:

> "*So here was a web of streams giving water and easy hunting to both australopithecines and Earlier Acheuleans living in the same region. They were not good neighbours and their conflict ended in defeat for the australopithecines and immense stimulus to the Earlier Acheuleans who, for survival in the struggle with their ancestral form, were forced to design a set of stone artifacts whose pattern had a functional efficiency that carried their descendants through several hundred thousand years until the dawn of the Middle Stone Age ...*"

The replacement of pre-archaic forms by Early Acheuleans heralded the Early Stone Age (ESA)[5] in southern Africa. To date several extensive ESA sites between the Limpopo and the Vaal Rivers have been excavated, including the site at Wonderboompoort at the core of the study area (Fig. 2.2) and several other ESA sites in close proximity (less than 150 km) of the study area, three of these less than two days away on foot in the valley of the Blaauwbank River (Upper Crocodile River) and another nearby at Melville Koppies.

FIGURE 2.2 EARLY STONE AGE SITES IN AND AROUND THE BANKENVELD



Mason (1969:169-171) has reconstructed the situation at Wonderboom:

> *"At Wonderboom ... an immense accumulation of Earlier Stone Age artefacts (have been found) on the floor of a shallow valley parallel to the strike of the Magaliesberg and on its southern slopes. The valley owes its form to erosion of a decomposed*

5. The terms Early, Middle and Late Stone Age have both cultural and chronological meaning (Volman, 1984).

> *diabase sheet that intrudes into the local quartzites ... Later Acheul people were attracted by the shelter of a low ridge on the southern side of the valley and the mass of artefact-size rubble fragments weathering from its quartzite slopes. They lived on the diabase floor as the rubble slowly accumulated, converting a high proportion of the fragments into artefacts ... It is fairly clear that Later Acheul people used Wonderboom ... during several generations of intermittent but regular occupation ... as a camp whence game could easily be killed in the nearby poort, either in (common) mass migrations ... or under normal conditions. (T)he Magaliesberg range ... proved a barrier to game movement between the Vaal River and the bushveld country of the north. Animals moving through the poorts could be more easily killed than on the open plains; those slaughtered in Wonderboompoort were carried to the safety of the nearby valley where people gathered to eat the meat and turn the bones and skins into weapons and clothing ... Once the game migration had passed, or seasonal movement through the poort came to an end, the ... bands dispersed from Wonderboom, to return again when conditions were right*."

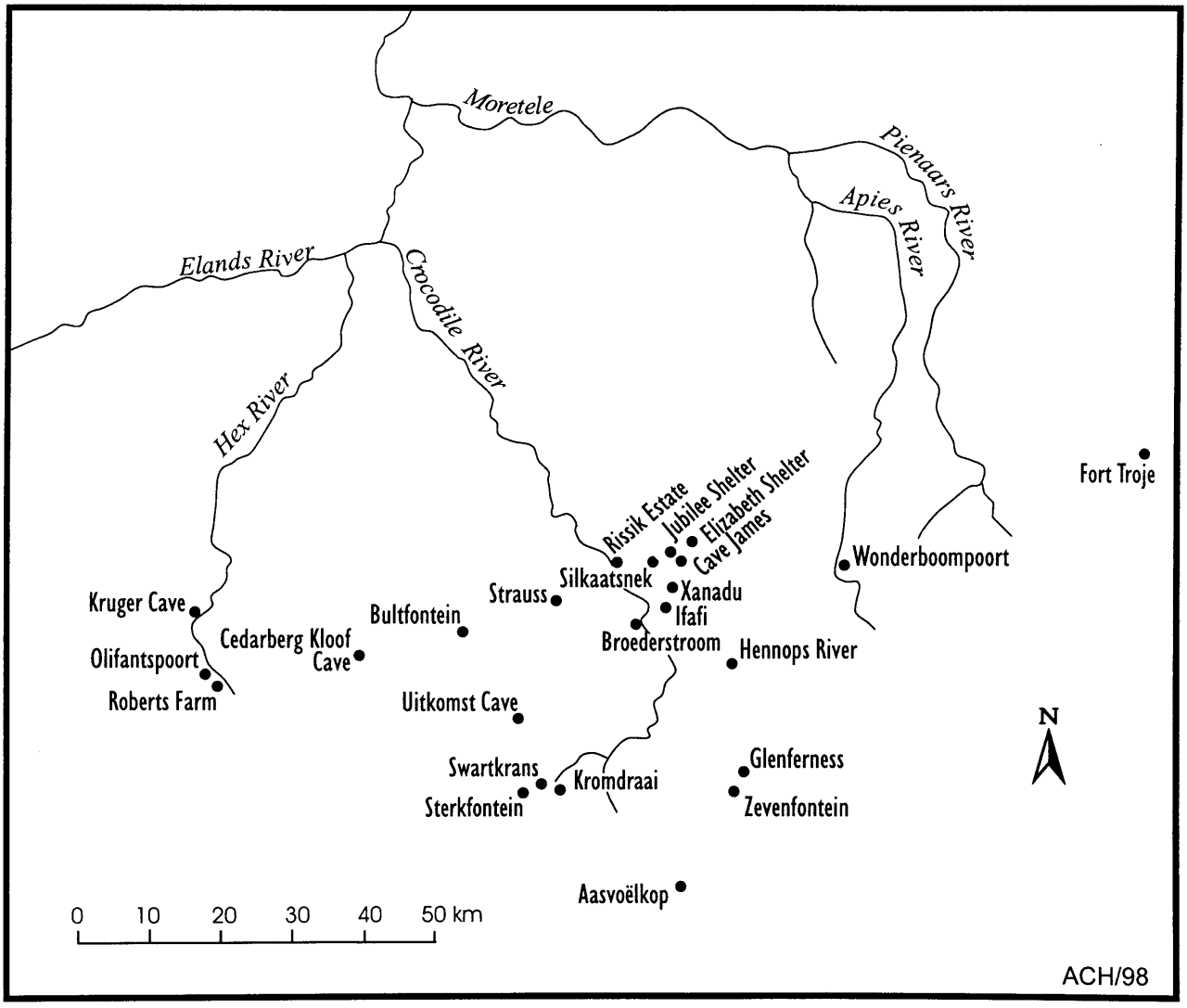
It is assumed that the end of the ESA saw a human situation similar to its beginning; a time of change, probably with conflict between competing groups, with the potential to survive going to the more advanced. Just as ESA communities armed themselves with handaxes and displaced the *australopithecines*, so many Middle Stone Age (MSA) cultures defeated their ancestors, the last handaxe makers. The MSA assemblages which replaced ESA ones in southern Africa did not make handaxes or cleavers but flake and blade tools, such as points, scrapers and denticulates (Volman, 1984). In southern Africa the MSA represents the period 150 000 to 30 000 BP and comprised various cultures such as the Pietersburg people whose territory included the Bankenveld.

According to the climatic model for South Africa designed by Vogel (1985), conditions started to change from moist to cooler and dry conditions from 40 000 BP reaching a cold dry maximum at 18 000 BP. During the Late Pleistocene that followed, there was a rise in temperature and an increase in humidity. However, the transition from MSA to Late Stone Age (LSA) societies was not the result of responses to environmental change nor to the introduction of a new sub-species of *H. sapiens* but to significant changes in the stone flaking technique and the range of stone artefacts produced (J. Deacon, 1984b). In the Bankenveld, at Jubilee Shelter and Cave James (Fig. 2.3), the Early Late Stone Age societies (ELSA) had MSA elements mixed with it: no geological separation between the two industries is evident, nor is there any sign of the occupation hiatus between the MSA and ELSA evident elsewhere in South Africa (Wadley, 1987). The ELSA of the Late Pleistocene was characterized by a pattern of large local group organization, low population density, large territorial range and weak territoriality (H.J. Deacon, 1976).

Finally, in about 10 000 BP, MSA cultures had been absorbed into and displaced by LSA cultures. Gradually, over thousands of years, diversity gave rise to numerous cultural systems and assemblages (J. Deacon, 1984b) most of which can be associated with the Oakhurst industrial complex (Wadley, 1987).

The Bankenveld Oakhurst complex occurred between 10 000 BP and 7 500 BP. Known sites include Kruger Cave, Uitkomst Cave, Rissik Estate, Glenferness, Zevenfontein and Hennops River (Fig. 2.3). The end of the Pleistocene epoch brought about improved climatic conditions and the bushveld boundary shifted from somewhere north of the Magaliesberg (8 500 BP) to some distance south of the Bankenveld (6 300 BP). The Oakhurst industrial complex is characterized by demographic expansion, technological innovation, and a shift in subsistence activities and in the size of hunter-gatherer bands (Wadley, 1987). Changes included a new emphasis on plant foods and the growing use of the bone point shifted interest to the hunting of small non-migratory animal species, and populations re-arranged into small groups with higher densities and fixed territorial boundaries.

FIGURE 2.3 MIDDLE STONE AGE AND EARLY IRON AGE SITES IN THE BANKENVELD



Aridity during the mid-holocene (7 500 BP-3 000 BP) made the Bankenveld area marginal for habitation by the Wilton industries that succeeded the Oakhurst. The thin Wilton levels at Jubilee Shelter suggest that the only mid-holocene site in the

Bankenveld was only sporadically occupied. Wadley (1987) believes that the people redistributed themselves in the better watered coastal and escarpment areas of southern Africa. By 5 000 BP the bushveld boundary had retreated to the north. Wilton bands only returned permanently to the Bankenveld 4 000 year ago (Wadley, 1987).

Conditions gradually improved and Late Stone Age (LSA) societies again became well-established in the interior. Post-Wilton industries in the Vaal River area were widespread and associated with the territorial expansion of large numbers of small groups (Wadley, 1987). The hunter-gatherers of the LSA were an egalitarian society consisting of small family groups of about 15-25 people who lived on a wide variety of game, birds and fish hunted by the men and supplemented by plants and eggs collected by the women. They were highly mobile on account of their dependence on game and therefore territorially widely dispersed. Metals were unknown to them, their weapons being made of wood, bone and stone. They did not domesticate animals nor did they cultivate crops. They did not make pottery, but instead used ostrich eggshells, tortoise shells and skin bags for domestic purposes (Saunders, 1988).

The LSA societies in the Bankenveld developed a unique localized life rhythm largely determined by the geomorphology, vegetational biomes, and seasonal micro-climate (Wadley, 1987). This localized behaviour pattern was characterized by primary and secondary movements and associated social patterns. The trend was to spend summer (September to February) in the grassland biome of the southern highveld and the winter (March to August) in the bushveld biome north of the Magaliesberg. The seasonal migration from the one biome to the other through the Bankenveld can be seen as the primary movement. Secondary movements occurring within each of the biomes were related to aggregation phases on the one hand, and dispersal phases on the other (aggregation represented the 'public' phase of band life when relatives gathered at a joint camp; the dispersal phase was a 'private' phase when households broke away from each other).

The causes for the primary movement pattern are clear. Although the climate of the bushveld was more arid than that of the grassland, its geomorphology allowed a reliable and more extensive water supply than the grassveld (Wadley, 1987). Temperatures in the bushveld were a few degrees higher (Hugo, 1979) and many bushveld trees and shrubs, including the nutritious morula (*Sclerecarya hirrea*) carried fruit in late summer. Impala antelopes, furthermore, congregated in winter (June/July) for the rut and provided an abundant meat supply. On the other hand, the grassland was bitterly cold in winter, fruit was unavailable, roots and tubers were difficult to obtain because of the hard, dry ground, and the game tended to disperse to sweeter grassland areas. In spring and summer the soil was damp and soft and roots and tubers were obtainable, shrubs and trees carried fruit and antelope congregated in large herds after the first rains (Rautenbach, as quoted by Wadley, 1987:18-19).

Many sites in the valleys of the Magaliesberg provide evidence of the extended occupation by MSA and LSA communities in the region as recent as 1 000 years ago. Apart from the ESA site at Wonderboompoort, a significant number of major MSA and LSA sites have been discovered in and on the fringes of the study area (see Fig. 2.3, above) and include Elizabeth Shelter, Xanadu, Silkaatsnek and Uitkomst Cave.

2.1.2 A TIME OF CHANGE (3 000 TO 800 BP)[6]

The final replacement of Stone Age communities in the Bankenveld by Iron Age society about 900 BP was the result of a relatively short period of dramatic change: the establishment of a pastoral lifestyle and economy, the introduction of iron technology, and the social interface between three alien societies.

The transformation from Stone Age egalitarianism to Iron Age pastoralism certainly was not a simplistic event: in certain areas pastoralism may have preceded iron technology; in others these innovations may have coincided; in some areas the innovations may have been the result of the diffusion of ideas and goods; in others they may have been brought about by the migration of people.

In the southern and western sectors of southern Africa the spread of pastoralism was associated with the dynamics of the Khoisan society (Morris, 1992).[7] Pastoralism was an agro-cultural innovation. These pioneer pastoralists in essence remained hunter-gatherers who kept tame animals for symbolic and ritual purposes or to supplement their basic diet. However, gradually pastoralism introduced a completely different lifestyle as well as the idea of individual ownership of natural resources and a social hierarchy determined by wealth of cattle and sheep. Two distinctive and competing societies emerged in central southern Africa: traditional hunter-gatherers (referred to by the other as the 'San') and pastoralists, who called themselves the 'Khoikoi' (= men of men). The Khoikoi also organised themselves into bigger groups. This forced the San to retreat into less hospitable mountain and desert areas, or to organize themselves into robber bands which preyed on the herds of the Khoikoi, or

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6. Sources consulted include: Tobias, 1955, 1972; Wilson, 1959, 1982a; Mason, 1969, 1986; Huffman, 1970, 1979; Evers, 1974, 1975; Olivier & Fagan, 1975; Robertshaw, 1978; Phillipson, 1977; Mason *et al.*, 1981; Voight, 1981; Hall *et al.*, 1984; Maggs, 1984; Elphick, 1985; Hall & Smith, 1986; Maylam, 1986; Plug, 1988; Davenport, 1989; Barnard, 1992.

7. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Cape Bushmen ('San') were believed to be a subspecies of the Hottentots ('Khoikoi'). Based on the views of Lichtenstein, Stow, Theal and Vedder (see Elphick, 1985; Barnard, 1992), a second or 'traditional' perception formed that the San hunter-gatherers were the original LSA inhabitants of southern Africa and that the Khoikoi were aliens who invaded the region from the north. Since the 1960s a third view has emerged, that focus on the diffusion of goods and techniques rather than the migration of people to distinguish between Khoisan cultures. Scholars such as Elphick (1985) argue that Khoikoi herders and San hunters had a common origin, that the Khoikoi originated from southern African hunters and not from encroaching pastoralists.

to enter Khoikoi society as servants, hunters, herders and warriors.

The core of Khoikoi pastoralism was in central southern Africa in the proximity of the confluence of the Vaal and Orange Rivers, about five or six days on foot southwest of the Bankenveld. However, there is strong evidence (e.g. Mason, 1986; Huffman, 1993) that pastoralism was established in the Bankenveld by Iron Age settlers who, it is thought, entered from the north-eastern lowlands in a gradual migration of the 'bantu' speakers (Huffman, 1982). Mason (1969:371) describes the event as follows:

> "*(T)he silence of the Limpopo lowlands was broken by the sounds of moving people and the cries of men herding cattle and sheep or goats. In all the millennia of its Stone Age the Transvaal had never seen more than a few dozen people gathered together in times of good hunting, but now the horned game fled before hundreds of humans clearing bush, building new villages and planting grain. Before long men sweated over small furnaces to fuse metal ores for weapons, tools and ornaments. Women dug into smooth clay near streams and made thousands of pots for meat, beer, plant food or water ... The Iron Age had begun.*"

The earliest EIA sites (prior to 1900 BP) are clustered in the eastern and south-eastern lowlands of southern Africa and it can be assumed that the Bankenveld EIA community of 1650 BP reached the area from the east or north-east (Mason, 1986) which justifies Evers's (1983) linking this society with the large EIA Moloko tradition of the eastern parts of southern Africa.[8]

The main features of this society were semi-permanent villages, the cultivation of crops and domestic animals and the processing of ceramics and metals (Maggs, 1984). Communities consisted of hunter-gatherers who also herded goats and sheep and probably supplemented their diets by unsophisticated agriculture.[9] Communities may have possessed the odd cow or two.[10] The food supply was derived mainly from hunting, snaring and gathering, and stock were slaughtered only during social rituals or times of extreme hunger. They had a limited capacity to transport materials and long distance transport was restricted to valuable materials such as gold, copper and tin.

Evidence of the presence of EIA pastoral communities in the Bankenveld is confined to the sites at Broederstroom and Strauss (Fig. 2.3, above). According to

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8. Mason (1986), on the other hand, attempts to link the EIA communities of the Bankenveld (1650-1400) with the LIA Sotho-Tswana of the same area to express a continuity of development amongst the Iron Age bantu. Mason's theory is entirely based on the comparison of pottery styles and has been criticized (e.g. Pistorius, 1992) and contradicted by his own evidence on differences in metal production techniques (see Mason, 1986).

9. Archaeologists differs on this point: Mason (1986) states that there was no cultivation in the Bankenveld prior to 800 BP whilst Huffman (1993) actually associates grain cultivation with the EIA settlement at Broederstroom.

10. Whereas Mason (1986) dismisses the presence of cattle in EIA Broederstroom, Huffman (1993) goes so far as to ascribe a system of social organization of rank and bridewealth to this community based on the so-called 'central cattle pattern' of the bantu-speakers.

Mason (1986), the Broederstroom-Strauss settlement was a pioneer Iron Age outpost in Stone Age territory. The site at Broederstroom was intermittently occupied by a large number of related communities (Mason, 1986). At times the community may have been small, occupying areas of 30-50 m in diameter and at other times the site may have accommodated more-than-one family units, or may have been deserted for years at a time before re-occupation (Mason, 1986; Huffman, 1993). At least two furnace clusters, a distinct ore processing area and a number of possible forge foundations indicate that metallurgy was a primary function of the site and may have served as a base or aggregation site with small communities moving in and out at irregular intervals following the dictates of grazing by their herds (Mason, 1986).

This confined hive of EIA activity in the Bankenveld was linked to the richness in resources of the area, and the wide variety of local micro-environments and land systems (Mason, 1986). Resources included ores for metal crafting, and the fauna and flora associated with the ecological contact between the northern savannah and southern grassland biomes which could accommodate stock not yet adapted to the grassland environment of the highveld. In addition, the hillslope resources of the Bankenveld appear to have offered a greater basic hunter-gatherer food supply than the plains environments in the south and north. Evidence from both LSA and EIA sites in the Bankenveld (e.g. Jubilee Shelter and Broederstroom) indicates that there was close contact between these two societies. The EIA way of life may have been very similar to a hunter-gatherer economy (Mason, 1986). Societies competed for game and other resources. According to Wadley (1987) evidence points to reduced grass cover in the area at the time of the EIA Broederstroom-Strauss occupation. Although the seasonality and aggregation-dispersal pattern of the LSA society remained intact, vigorous bonework, beadmaking and ornamental production indicate tension with the EIA settlers (Wadley, 1987).

Indications are that the entire EIA community of the Bankenveld moved out of the area in about 1400 BP and retreated eastward beyond the borders of the Bankenveld to sites such as Plaston (occupied after 1350 BP) (Mason, 1986). It is almost certain that the migration of the bantu from the Bankenveld was the result of environmental stress caused by overgrazing and a deterioration in the local climate (Mason, 1986; Wadley, 1987).

Although the original hunter-gatherers reclaimed the entire Bankenveld for their exclusive occupation, the social stress within this society resulting from their contact with technologically advanced bantu continued. According to Wadley (1987) the size of the hunter-gatherer groups during the dispersal phase became much smaller than before and they moved into shelters far smaller than any previously occupied (e.g. Fort Troje). To the west of the Bankenveld, beyond the land which had been overgrazed by the pastoral herds, an arc of LSA sites dated 1200-900 BP (Munro site, Kruger Cave, Magabeng Cave and Olieboompoort Cave, Fig. 2.3, p. 49) indicates the

persistence of a hunter-gatherer society (Mason, 1986).

Shortly after 1000 BP the descendants of the EIA society returned to the Bankenveld. Bankenveld Middle Iron Age (MIA)[11] pottery and hut-building styles were little different from those in the EIA (Mason, 1986). The MIA, however, signalled, the local beginnings of crop cultivation and cattle breeding on a grand scale (Mason, 1986). This development certainly brought about the demise of the LSA hunter-gatherer society. The broadening of the subsistence base to include animals such as frogs, lizards, and crabs and the occurrence of summer and winter fruit at the same excavated site suggests that there was a total disruption of the migration cycle and that LSA groups had little option but to stay in their own territories and were entirely dependent on local resources (Wadley, 1987). LSA groups became very small and their being under siege prevented normal social contact and reproduction. According to Wadley (1987), the final demise of the hunter-gatherers in the Bankenveld may have come about, not so much through starvation as through social strangulation.

Although the MIA pastoralists of the Bankenveld established relatively large settlements such as Olifantspoort and Roberts Farm and established improved iron and copper industries (copper furnaces and other related artifacts have been found at Uitkomst, Cedarberg Kloof and Ifafi) the MIA occupation represented only a relatively short period of time. When MIA communities were establishing themselves in the Bankenveld a new wave of bantu-speakers were moving into southern Africa. Some of these peoples were destined to absorb and replace the MIA society and to establish the Late Iron Age in the Bankenveld.

2.1.3 THE LATE IRON AGE (1200-1820)

The Late Iron Age (LIA) communities originated from localities north and south of the equator. Mason (1969:371) states:

> "*We may speculate that the idea of food production spread slowly across the Sahara and Sudan thousands of years after its application in north-eastern Africa, fertilizing Stone Age communities spread from a Hamitic east to a Negro west. Anchored to the first stable food supply they had known, these equatorial people increased in numbers but lived on in a series of neolithic communities until the secret of metal smelting reached them ... Armed with new and formidable iron weapons these people ... moved southwards in a long series of erratic and unplanned migrations whose direction and timing was fixed only by the need for new farmland and pressure of increasing numbers.*
>
> *Southwards stretched the cool healthy tapering length of Africa, occupied only by small Stone Age hunting bands, a quietly waiting sub-continent rich in grasslands and metal ores ...*"

11. The term 'Middle Iron Age' (MIA) is localized and should not be applied beyond the limits of the Bankenveld.

2.1.3.1 Pioneers of the Late Iron Age

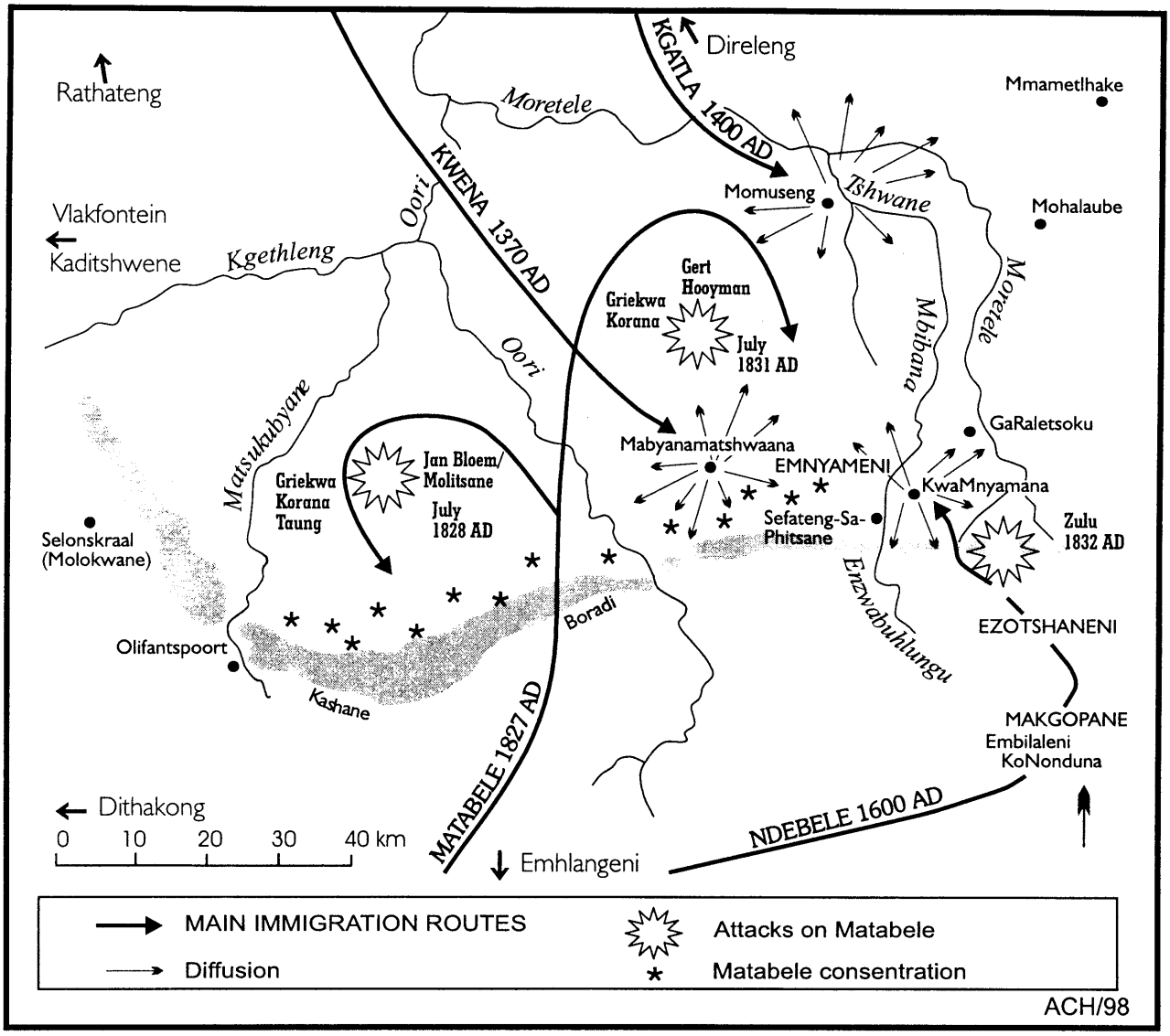
The view of this study is that the pioneers of the LIA in the Bankenveld do not represent a homogeneous people or even a coherent group. This implies a rejection of Mason's theory (Mason, 1986) of a continued Oori tradition in the Bankenveld and an acceptance of Ever's view (Evers, 1983) that the LIA settlers represent an intrusive group superimposing an earlier Iron Age tradition. The Limpopo Valley is cited as the general migration route and particular reference is made to the course of the Magalakwena offshoot (Breutz, 1989).

The migration of the Sotho was characterised by successive waves: first the Kgalagadi, Fokeng and Hoja, then the Thlaping and Rolong followed by the Kgatla, Kwena and Hurutshe (Lye & Murray, 1980). It is certain that the Kgatla, Kwena and Hurutshe share a common past identity (Coertze, 1987). The Kgatla was the first to separate from the main party, the Kgatla settling close to the ancient mining sites of the south-western Waterberg while the Kwena continued south and the Hurutshe south-westwards after separating at Rathateng. The Kgatla replaced the MIA community in the area and must have absorbed many LSA communities: the Kgatla developed a light complexion and later referred to the Kwena as 'blacks' (Breutz, 1989). Breutz (1953, 1989) and Coertze (1987) state that a Hurutshe-Kwena lineage cluster settled at Mabyanamatshwaana (Swartkoppies) under the leadership of Mogale (Fig. 2.4). Mogale and the five chiefs who succeeded him ruled from this location over the entire Oori region between 1350 and 1470 (Breutz, 1953, 1989; Coertze, 1987). About 1450/80 the Hurutshe separated from the main body and eventually left the area (Breutz, 1989). Pistorius (1992, 1995), however, suggests that the main separation took place *en route* to the south at the site of Rathateng and the Hurutshe therefore never accompanied the Kwena to Mabyanamatshwaana. The Kwena dispersed locally from the Mabyanamatshwaana nucleus moving gradually to the west of the Oori. The Kgatla reached the Bankenveld after the Kwena and settled along the Moretele and became closely associated with the Kwena (Breutz, 1989). The Kgatla initially settled at Direleng (north of the Moretele) and later still to Momuseng (south of the Moretele). In time, the Kgatla occupied the entire region east of the Oori, north and south of the Moretele.

2.1.3.2 Perfected Iron Age Agro-pastoralism

When people began building in stone during the 15th century it was not only an indication of their advanced technology but also a sign that they intended to settle permanently in the Bankenveld. Mason (1986) cites the location of several stone built settlement clusters north of the Lekua (Vaal River), one of which is located east of the Oori (Crocodile River) and another one west.

FIGURE 2.4 **MIGRATION AND OCCUPATION: THE BANKENVELD DURING THE LATE IRON AGE**



The development of these clustered settlements may be explained in terms of the perfecting of pastoral and cultivating farming techniques within the latitudinal botanical zones of the Bankenveld. These herders may have been able to exploit grazing both on the grasslands and in the bushveld-savannah. The apparent rapid increase in size of LIA sites and expanding populations indicate that the cattle farming and cultivating experience in the local environment was beginning to produce an economic surplus.

Megasite clusters at Olifantspoort, Molokwane, Selonskraal, Bôitsêmagano, Vlakfontein, Kaditshwene (east of the study area) and Mabyanamatshwaana, which may have had populations of a thousand or more people, represent the climax of local economic surplus. The megasites are concentrated in a narrow band more or less midway between the borderlands of the tropical bush area and the grassland and it is

between the Magaliesberg and the Vaal River (Van Vuuren, 1992). Mafana (Nghana) ruled at this location and was succeeded by Mhlanga. According to Van Vuuren (1992) the Ndebele abandoned *Emhlangeni* under the rule of Mhlanga in about 1610 and moved to an area just north of the Magaliesberg which they called *Emnyameni* ('place of the black hills') (Figure 2.4)[12]. *Emnyameni* represents a dispersed site near the Apies River and on the slopes of a series of dark norite and conically shaped hills known as the Pyramids a few kilometres north of the Magaliesberg. The main centre was *KwaMnyamana* and the villages were dispersed over a wide area on both sides of the Apies River. The area is adjacent to the territory of the Kwena in the west (the site of *Mabyanamatshwaana*, earlier Hurutse-Kwena centre of dispersal, is about 32 km west of the site of *KwaMnyamana*) and bordered on the territory of the Kgatla to the north and northwest. The Ndebele settled at the territorial interface between the Kwena and the Kgatla and certainly threatened these communities but under the leadership of chief Musi the Ndebele was a more coherent group than the Sotho in the area (Breutz, 1989) and established their presence on the banks of *Mbibana* (the Apies River).

Musi who was also known as Msi, Rhasa, Bulongo, and Tshwane, had five or six sons.[13] After the death of Musi, the Ndebele headed by Tshwane, son of Musi, moved to a location just north of Wonderboompoort on the banks of the Apies River (Coetzee, 1980). Tshwane died here (Van Warmelo, 1944a).[14] The tribe divided amongst the sons of Musi/Tshwane who were Modimakwane, Manala (Mabhena), Mopô, Moletlane, Letswalo and Malete. Modimakwane became the chief of the Hwaduba faction which moved to the northern part of the study area where settlements included *Ga Raletsoku*, *Mohalaube* and *Mmametlhake* (Figure 2.4).[15] A quarrel broke out between the Manala and the Ndzundza factions. The Ndzundza fled east with the Manala in pursuit. After peace was restored between the two groups the Ndzundza settled in the Steelpoort region, east of the Olifants River and well beyond the study area.

The Manala returned to the Magaliesberg region and established a new area of residence 40 km southeast of *KwaMnyamana* which was called *Ezotshaneni* (Fig. 2.4). According to Van Vuuren (1992) the Manala Ndebele resided in the *Ezotshaneni* area

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12. According to one tradition chief Musi, who succeeded Mhlanga, led the migration and first settled for some time at *Makgopane*, southeast of modernday Pretoria, before proceeding to the region of *Emnyameni*.

13. See Coetzee (1980), Van Vuuren (1992) for a review of the interpretations on this issue.

14. Commentators such as Van Warmelo (1944b) and Van Vuuren (1992) believe that chiefs Musi and Tshwane could have been the same person.

15. Exact locations are also described by Coetzee (1980).

from about 1677-1717. During the reign of Ncagu (who succeeded Manala) the Manala territory expanded vastly to the south and west and the new capital kraal was called *Embilaleni*. The occupation of *Embilaleni* by the Manala took place between about 1717 and 1747 (Van Vuuren, 1992). After 1750 the various sections of the Manala Ndebele occupied the entire southeastern part of the study area.

The cohesion amongst the Manala Ndebele steadily declined during the 17th and early 18th centuries as a result of changing environmental conditions and numerous clans such as the Bapô, Malete, Tlhako, Tloung and Mfatlha broke away from the main body and were absorbed into the Sotho communities (Coetzee, 1980; Breutz, 1989).

The rapidly expanding population and growing herds placed extreme pressure on local environmental resources even during the favourable climatic period of the 16th and early 17th centuries. It is clear that conditions thereafter deteriorated (Mason, 1986). According to Breutz (1989) a period of drought began some time between 1680 and 1700. Mason (1986) recorded evidence of over-crowding and competition for resources during the final phases of cluster settlement. The shortage of local resources was exacerbated by the deteriorating climatic conditions. Evidence suggests that otherwise unpalatable foods such as animal bones and hides were actually eaten by the inhabitants. The main clans were forced into social and political re-organization and most tribes experienced a period of fission and secession (Breutz, 1989). Several communities including the Kgatla, Kwena and Ndebele left the area in the second half of the 18th century in search of grazing and water; others had only grass and seeds to eat (Breutz, 1989).

The pressures of environmental deterioration and over-population weakened the social relations of a previously tolerant society. The incidence of limited strife and inter-clan clashes in the Bankenveld before 1800 is referred to by, amongst others, Van Warmelo (1930), Coetzee (1980), Thompson (1982), Breutz (1989) and Van Vuuren (1992). Broad climatic and environmental deterioration during the 18th century exacerbated by the unavailability of unoccupied land eventually led to the demise of Iron Age agro-pastoralism. The *difaqane/mfeqane*[16] of the early 19th century was the final cataclysmic event of an obsolete social and agricultural system and should be evaluated in its wider spatial and historical context (Saunders, 1992). Local conflict in the Bankenveld became part of a widespread upheaval and eventually culminated in a huge offensive by a combined Kgatla, Hwaduba and Tlhako force against the Kwena in 1820 (Breutz, 1989).

Many clans ceased to exist, others lost their identity or became wanderers. Thompson (1982:391) describes the human condition during the difaqane as follows:

"*For several years there was widespread chaos as Sotho peoples competed with Nguni*

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16. *Difaqane* (=Sotho), *mfeqane* (=Nguni): a period of social upheaval among the Iron Age communities of southern Africa from about 1815 to 1830.

> *invaders and with one another for diminishing supplies of grain and cattle. Old settlements were abandoned, ancient chiefdoms disappeared; new groups came into being and in turn dissolved; and, as food became scarce, demoralization set in and there was widespread cannibalism.*"

Warfare amongst the Nguni on the eastern escarpment launched many refugee groups to operate as secondary agents of destruction in all directions. The raiding groups which invaded the Bankenveld region included the Phuting of Tshwane, Hlakwana under Nkgaraganye, Kololo under Sebetwane and Taung led by Moletsane (Thompson, 1982). After being attacked by the Khumalo refugees of Mzilikazi in 1822 the starving Pedi also invaded the Magaliesberg area. The upheaval reached a climax when Mzilikazi and his entourage conquered the entire Bankenveld region and the king, his court and followers settled in the area in 1827.

2.1.4 MZILIKAZI'S KINGDOM

What is known about Mzilikazi and his migrating kingdom south of the Limpopo River between the years 1820 and 1837 is based on oral tradition, the documented memories of contemporary sources, the records of near contemporary sources such as Robbert Moffat and William Cornwallis Harris, and the interpretations of 20th century historians.

Amongst historians two interpretations have emerged. One is a view based on the 1905 draft article and 1926 publication (re-published 1972) by A.A. Campbell ('Mziki, 1972). First, Ellenberger (1912) based his interpretation of Mzilikazi's kingdom on Campbell's draft article and then Bryant (1929) drew on Ellenberger's material. Believing that Ellenberger and Bryant are authorities on the subject, subsequent authors such as Becker (1962), Preller (1963), Coertze (1987), Grönum (1987) and Van Vuuren (1992) have helped to perpetuate significant errors originating with Campbell. Concerning the Bankenveld, the most significant misinterpretation is that Mzilikazi and his following entered from the east and occupied the region in about 1825 after a prolonged stay (1822-1825) at a place called *ekuPhumaleni* ('a place of rest') in the upper reaches of the Olifants River on the eastern highveld. This 'traditional' interpretation was eventually questioned and largely corrected by Rasmussen (1978) who indicates that *ekuPhumaleni* (also translating as 'a time of rest') was not a place but an event, a period of time, and that Mzilikazi and his following stayed only briefly on the eastern highveld and moved to the Vaal River in 1823 where they stayed until 1827. During that year (1827) the king migrated to the Magaliesberg area, thus entering the region from the south. According to both interpretations the occupation of the Magaliesberg region continued until 1832 when Mzilikazi migrated westward to the Mosega basin.

This presentation draws on both interpretations but largely favours the view of

Rasmussen (1978). Mzilikazi's campaign between the Limpopo and the Vaal River can be divided into four periods: the eastern highveld period (1821-1823); the Vaal River period (1823-1827); the Magaliesberg period (1827-1832); and the western or Marico River period (1832-1837). During the first period (1821-1823) Mzilikazi destabilized the communities of the Magaliesberg area by waging war against local communities on the fringes of the region. Magaliesberg communities often became involved with or were affected by these actions. The launching of other destabilized groups as agents of destruction into the region also became an increasing problem. During the second period (1823-1827), whilst Mzilikazi and his people resided at the Vaal River his influence on the population of the Magaliesberg increased through raids and other forms of interaction. During the third period (1827-1832) he finally conquered and occupied the Magaliesberg region for five years. Eventually, in 1832 Mzilikazi and the larger part of his following migrated westward but retained indirect control of the area demarcated by the rivers *Moretele* and *Oori*.

The chronicle of Mzilikazi will now be narrated in more detail.

Mzilikazi was a Khumalo Nguni tied to the house of Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, during the early 19th century. As a vassal of Zwide, Mzilikazi became chief of the approximately 500 Khumalo of the region between the Mkuze and Mfolosi Rivers. During the Ndwandwe-Mthetwa wars Mzilikazi and his Khumalo switched allegiance from Zwide to Shaka. However after an incident relating to a cattle raid (against Somnisi), Mzilikazi rebelled against Shaka in a calculated ploy to establish his political autonomy and to assert his independence (Rasmussen, 1978). Shaka learned of this demonstration of power and his attempts to discipline the Khumalo convinced Mzilikazi to defect with about 300 followers, mostly males.

On the second day of their flight the Khumalo raided the Ngweni town of chief Nyoka. From this moment onwards the numbers of Mzilikazi's band of followers steadily increased with the addition of new adherents. The Khumalo, travelling north, left Zululand in 1821 and skirted the fringes of Sobhuza's domain beyond the Phongola where a number of Khumalo deserted to join the growing kingdom of Swaziland. Mzilikazi then crossed the Drakensberg just west of the Usutu River and immediately attacked a branch of the Phuting (Sotho) on the Vaal/Olifants watershed who had already become *difaqane/mfeqane* refugees after an earlier attack by the Ngwane Nguni. Scattering before the invaders some Phuting led by Tshwane[17] raided the villages in the Magaliesberg region before 1823 (Thompson, 1982; Davenport, 1989). The Khumalo invaders from the east occupied Phuting territory only briefly

17. This individual, Tshwane (who probably served as regent-head of the Phuting until his death during the battle of Dithakong (26 June 1823) and was succeeded by Ratsebe) should not be confused with the 17th century Ndebele chief in the Magaliesberg, who was also known as Tshwane (alias Musi).

while they rested, refreshed themselves from Phuting food supplies, and rounded up livestock. During this event the Manala Ndebele of the Bankeveld became aware of the presence of an alien force on the southeastern highveld. From the Phuting, Mzilikazi learned about a thriving Pedi paramountcy and decided to turn to it.

From Phuting territory the Khumalo proceeded north, following the course of the Steelpoort River, and attacked the Ndzundza Ndebele ruled by Magodongo. The Manala Ndebele of Sibindi from the Magaliesberg area became involved in this brief but decisive battle won by the raiders (Van Vuuren, 1992). The Khumalo stayed for a couple of months at this location in Ndzundza territory during 1821/1822 (the *ekuPumuleni* event). During this stay in the Steelpoort Valley the Khumalo had several clashes with the Pedi of Thulare, the BaKoni of Makopole, Nqaba's Msene (later known as Ngoni) and probably the Ngwane/Tsonga of Soshangane. The Pedi, the authority in the area north of the Olifants River, were eventually defeated in 1822/23.

After the defeat of the combined Manala and Ndzundza Ndebele force during the early stages of the campaign, Mzilikazi increased the pressure on the Manala of the Magaliesberg region. Chief Sibindi died at the hand of Mzilikazi (Coetzee, 1980; Breutz, 1989) in about 1822 (Van Vuuren, 1992). In 1823 Mzilikazi decided to leave the area, a decision based on the growing animosity of local societies, constant fear for persecution by Shaka and the Zulu, drought and declining booty. The best solution seemed to be to migrate further from the threat posed by Shaka to the Vaal River in the south-west where the country was occupied by the loosely organized Sotho, perceived to be easy to conquer and a suitable donor population.

The Khumalo returned southward through the Steelpoort Valley and again encountered the Ndzundza under Somdegi. Again the Ndzundza were defeated and their leader killed. Mzilikazi then turned southwest and advanced to the confluence of the Suikerbosrand and Vaal Rivers where he confronted the Khudu and some Kgatla people related to the Sotho of the Magaliesberg. Mzilikazi's followers were now known as *Ndebele* (also Matabele) or strangers. In about August 1823 they reached the Vaal River shortly after the battle of Dithakong, a few hundred kilometres to the west, took place on June 1823 and captured a large number of refugees fleeing east along the Vaal. The Matabele stayed along the Vaal River from about August 1823 until mid-1827. It is believed that they first camped for a brief period at the Suikerbosrand whilst conquering the land, driving the Kwena and the Rolong westward in 1823/1824, and then (probably in 1824) moved further to the west where Mzilikazi had his 'great place', *Ezinyosini* ('the place of the bees') near the confluence of the Mooi and Vaal Rivers. During this period the Ndebele carried out frequent raids against the Ngwaketse (1825), the Taung (1826), the Rolong (1826), the Fokeng (1826) and against the Griquas at the Caledon River. Mzilikazi's confrontation with the Manala Ndebele continued and it is certain that he carried out raids against the Kwena and

Kgatla of the Magaliesberg.

Mzilikzi's kingdom grew rapidly as scores of conquered Sotho people including Ndzundza, Pedi, Khudu, Kwena, Rolong and Taung adhered to his rule. The Khumalo Ndebele were also joined by an increasing number of Nguni who fled from the conflict on the east coast. Among them were Hlubi, Ngwane and Ndwandwe.

After nearly five years at the Vaal River resources began to decline steadily. The Griqua, Korana and other Baster groups, residing on the northern fringes of an expanding European colony, continuously harassed Mzilikazi. Finally, Mzilikazi decided to move again.

Rasmussen (1978:57) believes that "*(a)lthough the Ndebele left the Vaal under some duress, there is no indication that their move was panicky ...*" and asserts that the migration to the north was planned in advance to take place in the winter.[18] However, the assertions that the Matabele "*... apparently crossed the Magaliesbergs with the intention of continuing north indefinitely ...*" and that it "*... appears to have been tsetse fly which halted their northward progress, forcing them to find their security on the northern slopes of the Magaliesberg Mountains ...*" (Rasmussen, 1978:56-57) is incorrect.[19]

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18. Rasmussen (1978:57) states that winter was "*... the most convenient period for both military campaigns and migrations: river beds were easier to cross, the firmer soil was easier to travel over, summer crops already harvested, and the veld still held fresh fodder for livestock. Furthermore, migrants needed to arrive at a new location during a winter season in order to have time to prepare farms for the following spring's plantings.*"

19. There are a number of arguments suggesting that Mzilikazi in 1827 had no intention to migrate *north indefinitely* as stated by Rasmussen (1978:56) and that the Magaliesberg was rather a pre-selected destination.
    1. Mzilikazi was a calculating person. His successful contention of the Khumalo chieftaincy, his switch of allegiance from Zwide to Shaka during the mfeqane, and his defection from Shaka exemplify his calculated strategies (see Rasmussen, 1978:13-16; 23-24). Apart from his initial escape from Shaka and his later escape from Gabeni (1837), all other migrations were orderly and pre-planned. Hence, whilst Rasmussen (1978:57) states that there is no indication that their move was panicky, it is unlikely that the Matabele would have conducted a planned migration without a pre-fixed destination.
    2. If the Matabele had intended to continue north indefinitely but were *halted* by the tsetse-fly it is unlikely that they would have stayed for a period of five years (1827-1832) and stayed another five years in the Marico Valley before scattering to the north in 1837.
    3. The view that tsetse fly halted the northward migration process is unsubstantiated. If Mzilikazi did not know about the incidence of tsetse fly north of the Moretele from the direct experiences of his patrols to the north and northwest he must have learned about it from either the Pedi or Ngwaketse and certainly from the Kwena and Manala incorporated into the kingdom. Hence, it must be accepted that Mzilikazi knew beforehand about the incidence of tsetse fly and probably also about the fly-free corridor west of the Limpopo River. The cattle disease certainly shaped his sphere of influence but cannot be regarded as the reason why the Matabele did not migrate northwards to a region about which Rasmussen (1978:140) insists they had no prior knowledge.

The arrival of the Matabele at the Magaliesberg in roughly mid-1827 had devastating effects on the communities in the area. Moffat (1846:138, 148) recorded the experience of a witness of the event:

> "*The onset was as the voice of lightning, and their spears as shaking of a forest in the autumn storm. The Matabele lions raised the shout of death, and flew upon their victims. It was the shout of victory. Their hissing and hollow groans told their progress among the dead. A few moments laid hundreds on the ground. The clash of shields was the signal triumph. Our people fled with their cattle to top of yonder mount. The Matabele entered the town with the roar of the lion; they pillaged and fired houses, speared the mothers, and cast their infants to the flames. The sun went down. The victors emerged from the smoking plain, and pursued their course, surrounding the base of yonder hill. They slaughtered cattle; they danced and sang till the dawn of day; they ascended, and killed till their hands were weary of the spear.*
>
> *The Matabele were not satisfied with simply capturing cattle, nothing less than the entire subjugation, or destruction of the vanquished, could quench their insatiable thirst for power. Thus, when they conquered a town, the terrified inhabitants were driven in a mass to the outskirts, when the parents and all the married women were slaughtered on the spot. Such as have dared to be brave in the defence of their town, their wives and their children, are reserved for a still more terrible death; dried grass, saturated with fat, is tied round their naked bodies and then set on fire. Youths and girls are loaded as beasts of burden with the spoils of the town, to be marched to the homes of their victors. If the town be in an isolated position, the helpless infants are left to perish either with hunger, or to be devoured by beasts of prey.*"

The Sotho and Ndebele chiefdoms had been weakened by a long period of internal strife followed by a succession of foreign invaders such as the Pedi of Maleku, the Fokeng of Sebitwane and the Phuting of Tshwane. Yet, it is simplistic to conclude that the Matabele "*... may well have conquered the entire Oori River basin in a single stroke*" (Rasmussen, 1978:59). Whilst many tribes were probably conquered without resistance, others such as the Kwena of More briefly resisted Mzilikazi's impi (Breutz, 1989). Some groups such as the Kgatla of Motsepe (their leader who was killed during the invasion) took evasive action (Breutz, 1989). Some attempted to hide in isolated mountain retreats where the Matabele besieged and harassed them during their occupation of the region. Groups such as the Hwaduba Ndebele fled from the region (Coetzee, 1980). Mzilikazi experienced particular difficulty in subjugating the Manala Ndebele (Coetzee, 1980; Van Vuuren, 1992). By 1829, however, the Matabele controlled the entire region between the *Moretele* and the *Oori* (Fig. 2.4, above).

The Matabele appropriated the livestock of every community they subdued and added new recruits to their own population. Many chiefs who were killed, were

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4. Following Mzilikazi's deception by Shaka, his band of followers established a lifestyle based on *parasitic-pastoralism*. This lifestyle implies that after the Matabele besieged an area and conquered its people who became their vassals, they confiscated the livestock, grazed the land, and fed on the food supplies. As soon as supplies became limited a new donor area was selected, destabilized, besieged, conquered and reaped. The Magaliesberg with its watered valleys densely populated by humans and livestock, and its rich grain stores were obviously identified as a suitable donor area beforehand.

replaced by successors loyal to the new reign. Mzilikazi required some communities to pay him taxes in grain, skins, ivory, and iron tools. Other communities were given herds of livestock to tend, but ownership of these herds remained firmly with the Matabele. The Matabele found the land fertile and well-watered and it was ideal for raising livestock and for farming. Also, the Magaliesberg offered some physical protection. To increase the difficulties for potential invaders, the Matabele cleared the territory between the Vaal and the Magaliesberg of human settlements.

The five-year stay in the Magaliesberg was characterized by a quick succession of events. Mzilikazi was visited by two traders, Schoon and McLuckie, and the missionaries Moffat, Archbell and Pellisier, and in 1831 by a party of white colonists from the district of East Riet River headed by Hans (Dons) de Lange who was on a hunting and reconnaissance mission (Visagie, 1992). The settlement was raided by Griqua/Korana/Taung bands under Jan Bloem and Molitsane in mid-1828. The Matabele retaliated and Molitsane was attacked in mid-1829. Mzilikazi consistently maintained pressure on the Tswana communities to the west and attacked the Ngwaketse in 1830 for a third time. In 1831 he raided south of the Vaal River and attacked the Tlokwa at their mountain stronghold and the Basotho of Moshweswe at Thaba Bosiu. Then, for a second time the Griqua/Korana, this time headed by Barend Barends raided the Magaliesberg region in 1831 but Mzilikazi retaliated and defeated the commando. In mid-1832 Mzilikazi was attacked by the Zulu of Dingane, who succeeded Shaka, in mid-1832. This long anticipated confrontation between the Matabele and the Zulu ended in an indecisive battle (Fig. 2.4, above).

Moffat's record (1846:135-138) of his experiences in the Matabele kingdom in 1829 indicates the following:

> *"It was a country once covered with a dense population. On the sides of the hills and Kashan mountains were towns in ruins, where thousands once made the country alive ... We now travelled along a range of mountains running near E.S.E., while the country to the north and east became more level, but beautifully studded with ranges of hills, many isolated, of a conical form, along the bases of which lay the ruins of innumerable towns, some of which were of amazing extent ... The ruins of many towns showed signs of immense labour and perseverance; stone fences, averaging from four to seven feet high raised apparently without mortar, hammer, or line... When the weather allowed us to proceed, two days more brought us through a fertile country to the banks of the Limpopo, called Uri, higher up ... and two days more we proceeded eastward, over a hilly, trackless, and woody country ... In the early part of the day we came within sight of the long looked-for spot under a range of hills ... "*

The Bankenveld around the upper reaches of the Oori and Apies Rivers as well as the northern slopes of the Magaliesberg housed the most population and most towns were also located in this area. Because the Matabele settlements were organized around the needs of cattle, the Matabele occupied a very large area relative to the human population size. Villages seldom had more than 200 human inhabitants and consisted of a circle of huts made of reeds and matting bounded by a barricade of brushwood within which the cattle were enclosed at night. Each time new cattle were captured

a new town was created and a body of men assigned to guard it. Regimental towns comprising individual soldier regiments were also established. These units were periodically shifted between locations according to prevailing defensive considerations. Many central towns were made up principally of adult women occupied in food production. In the more remote regions cattle posts were occupied by males most of whom were below the fighting age.

The names of a number of Matabele towns in the Magaliesberg region are known: *Mhlahlandela*, *Nkungwini*, *Ndinaneni*, *Mzinyati*, *Nloezi*, *Ngondweni* and *Nkenenkene*. It is generally believed that *Mhlahlandlela* (Nguni) or *Motlatlantsela* (Sotho) was the most important town (i.e. Mzilikazi's 'great place'). From Moffat's record it is clear that the town where he was received was two days by ox-wagon east of the Oori/Limpopo River (approx. 20-30 km), in a hilly woody country, under a range of hills, by a river, with a smooth plain adjoining the town, and with a precipice close to the river. This description fits the surroundings of Wonderboompoort, where the Apies River (*Ntsa-bohloko*) cuts through the Magaliesberg. Many authors (e.g. Preller, 1963; Grönum, 1987; Bulpin, 1989) accept that the locating of the main town visited by Moffat and the Archbells was in the vicinity of Wonderboompoort. Other commentators, however, argue that the town referred to was the military kraal of *Nkungwini* (Mzilikazi had a known proclivity for moving about between many of his towns) and that *Mhlanhlandlela* ('where the pathway is cut') was located somewhere along the Oori/Limpopo River. Ellenberger (1912:205) places *Mhlanhlandlela* "*... on the right bank of the Ntsa-bohloko, not far from its confluence with the Limpopo*." Bryant (1929) supports this view. Lye (1969) places the town at the confluence of the Oori and Marico Rivers. Rasmussen (1978 locates the town somewhere around the upper tributaries of the Oori River. Nevertheless, although the names of a number of Matabele towns are known, the exact location of these towns cannot be specified with certainty.

The Matabele directly controlled the entire area from the Elands River (east) to the Elands River (west), and from the Moretele in the north to the upper reaches of the Oori in the south. The Manala Ndebele were subjects of Mzilikazi and resided on the eastern and south-eastern periphery. The Kwena subjects and refugees were pushed to the northeast and the Kgatla to the northwest. Smaller Sotho configurations such as the Po and Fokeng were locked in the southeast while the Hurutshe populated the western periphery of the direct sphere of Matabele influence.

Finally, after being attacked by the Zulu in 1832, Mzilikazi led a large-scale migration to the Marico River in the west. Although the main body of Matabele accompanied the king to the new area, a number of people remained in the Magaliesberg to sustain Mzilikazi's authority over the area and to populate the eastern outposts of the kingdom. Thus, between 1832 and 1837 the Matabele remained in control of the Bankenveld but with the original inhabitants slowly regaining a foothold

in the area. After the Matabele were defeated during a series of attacks in 1837, the main body fled northwards and resettled north of the Limpopo, now Zimbabwe. The local clans slowly continued their reoccupation of former territory. Despite the demise of the former kingdom, some Matabele remained along the Oori but scattered when they encountered a commando of white colonial pioneers or 'Voortrekkers' (Van der Merwe, 1986) and eventually assimilated with their former subjects.

In 1836 the Magaliesberg region was visited by William Cornwallis Harris. His record (Harris, 1987:152-159) typifies the situation concerning human settlement during this period between 1832 and 1837:

> "*Here again the scenery was wild and romantic. The mountains rose on either hand in bold majestic forms, clothed in parts with luxuriant verdure—their steep rockysides besprinkled in others with occasional light bushes, which enlived the rich and varied tints of the broken crags. Rugged cliffs margined the bubbling river and hut in the lower prospect, whilst the great range of the Cashan mountains towered above them in the distance ...*
>
> *Three hours' travelling between two ranges of the Cashan mountains* (=Magaliesberg), *brought us to the Ooli river, a pretty little stream ... The banks of the Ooli are precipitous, and clothed with extensive mimosa groves, abounding with wild buffaloes, pallhs, and guinea-fowl.*
>
> *At daybreak the following morning, we crossed an extensive valley which skirts the mountain range, passing the ruins of several stone kraals, which in former time served to confine the cattle of numerous Bechuana tribes then living in peaceful possession of the country. These crumbling memorials now afford evidence of the extent to which this lovely spot was populated before the devastating wars of Moselekatse laid it waste, and indicate also a refinement in the art of building that I had not met with before.*
>
> *Conducted by an elephant path, we descended through the forest to a secluded dell on the northern side of the range. Beyond, the whole plain was studded with detached pyramidical stony hills, amongst which we could perceive the extensive remains of cattle enclosures and ruins, similar to those we had passed in the morning, testifying of 'cities long gone by'*".

After 1832 the survivors of Mzilikazi's reign attempted to regroup while others slowly returned to their devastated land. These attempts were, however, hampered by Matabele agents who remained in the area to cover the rear of the retreating king and to secure their changing position as an outpost of the new Matabele sphere of influence. Although large areas of land were re-populated before 1840, the dwellers of the Bankeveld did not succeed in reorganizing properly before white settlers from the European colony in the south took possession of the land.

2.2 AN INTEGRATED SPACE-TIME AND HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT FRAMEWORK

On the grounds of the broad sketch of human occupation of the Bankenveld, it is now possible to conceptualize and construct a composite schema of human-environment interaction in the context of space and time from the evolution of early humans until

the introduction of colonialism in the area in 1840 (Fig 2.5). This schema represents an elaboration and specification of the existing archaeological model of the Bankenveld (see Mason, 1987); it incorporates more recent ethnological particulars as recorded by many sources already cited; and integrates geomorphological events (Cooks, 1994) and climatological dynamics (Preston-White & Tyson, 1988). It is believed that this schema can serve as framework for the further particularizing and contextualizing of pre-colonial human-environment histories in the study area.

The first part of the schema (Fig. 2.5) sketches geo-events and climatic conditions during the Precambrian, Palaeozoic, Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous and Tertiarry periods leading to the evolution of humans during the Pleistocene. During the Pleistocene period *Australopithecus robustus* and *Homo erectus* occupied sites such as Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraai, Gladysvale, Drimolen, Wonderboom and Aasvoëlkop in the Bankenveld.

Part 2 of the schema focuses on the Holocene and Quaternary periods up to 1700 AD and indicates the characteristics of Bankenveld communities during the gradual social transformation from Late Stone Age technologies to Late Iron Age technology. This part of the schema also identifies sites in the Bankenveld where archaeological traces of human occupation between 20 000 BP and 1700 AD have been uncovered.

Part 3 of the schema contextualizes the occupation of the Bankenveld by Late Iron Age agro-pastoralists, such as the Kgatla, Kwena, Hwaduba and Manala. It also reflects the disruption of the *difaqane/mfeqane* leading to Matabele autocracy and arrival of the first white settlers in 1840 AD.

2.3 RECONSIDERATION OF THE OBJECTIVE: PRE-COLONIAL SPATIALITY IN THE BANKENVELD

It is believed that the research presented above is a contribution to current debate about heritage and the spatiality of the South African population, mainly as a result of the aim to contextualize, exemplify and understand the specificity of the locale in the light of larger concrete and abstract realities. First, it represents a continuous and complete narrative of the pre-colonial human occupation of the Bankenveld, something that has not been presented before. Second, the adoption of a multi-disciplinarary approach and the application of a synthesizing method has resulted in the integration of historical time and geographical space, environmental structure and human agency. Third, the work provides in schematic form, a framework against which claims on pre-colonial land occupation and geo-events in the Bankenveld can be evaluated. Finally, it adheres to Elphick's (1983) call for a balanced approach to historical anthropology that may contribute to the particularizing of local geo-history.

FIGURE 2.5 THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840: AN INTEGRATED HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT FRAMEWORK (PART 1)

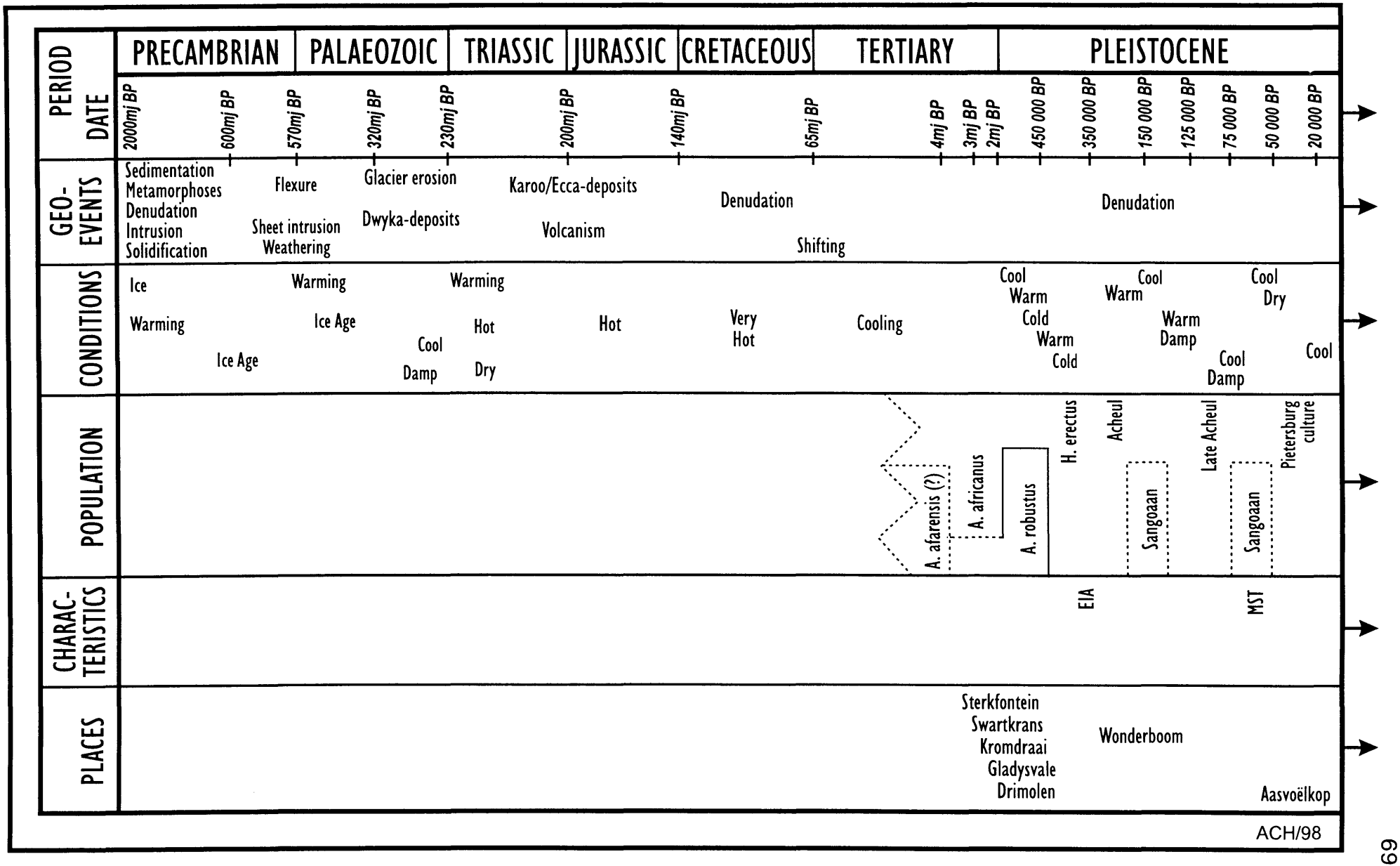


FIGURE 2.5 THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840: AN INTEGRATED HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT FRAMEWORK (PART 2)

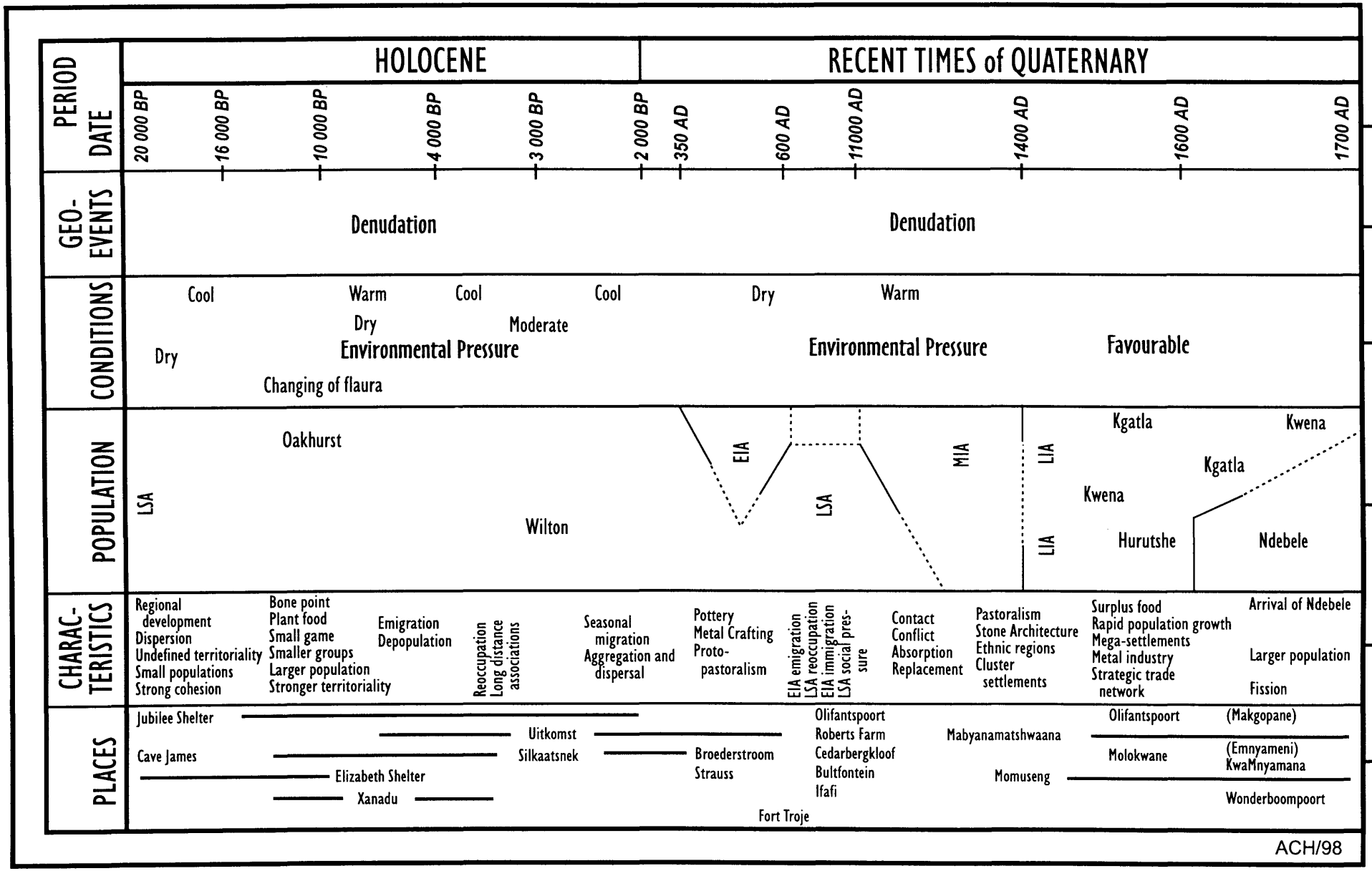
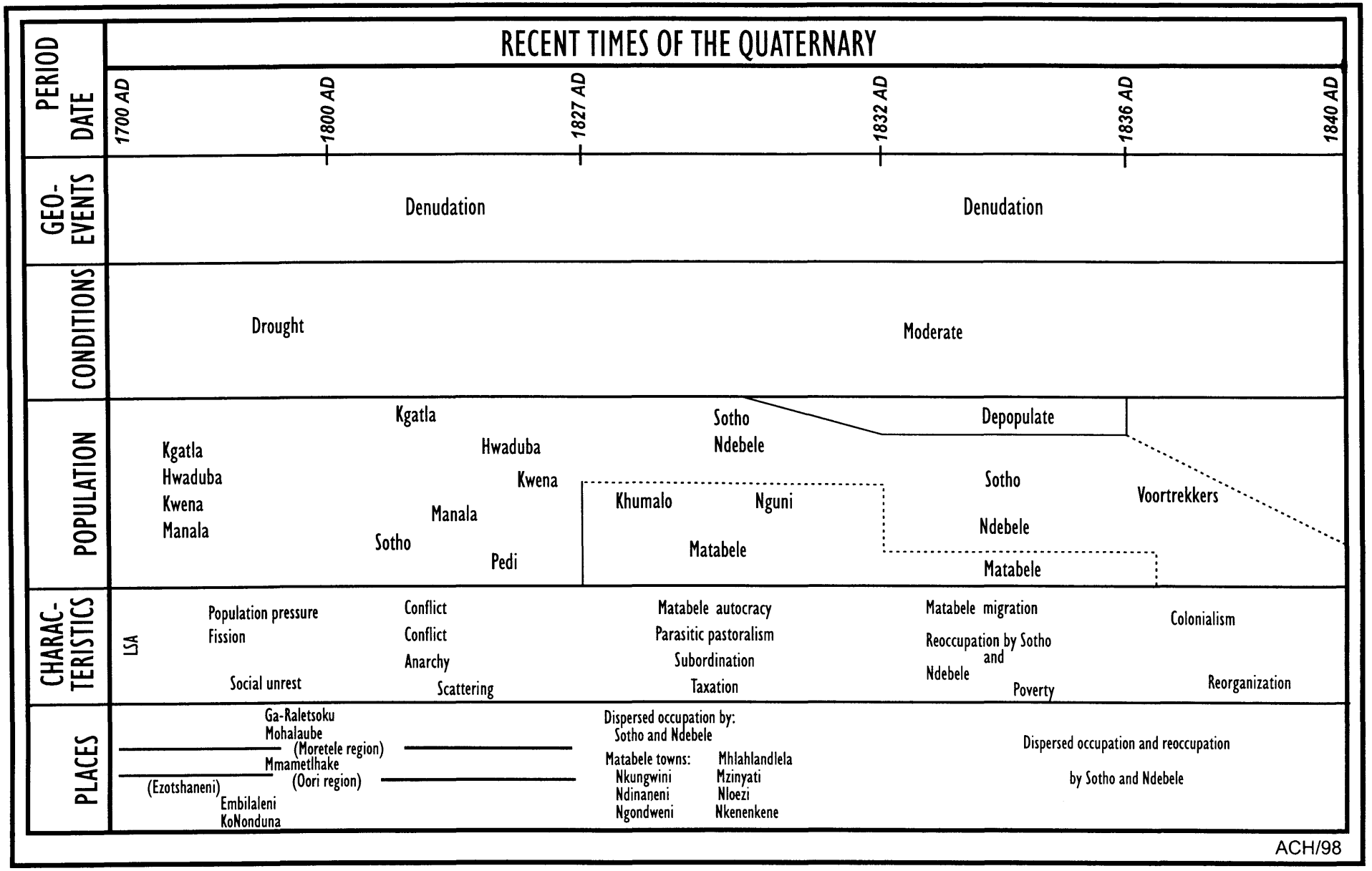


FIGURE 2.5 THE BANKENVELD BEFORE 1840: AN HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT FRAMEWORK (PART 3)



clear that the two parallel vegetation regions north and south of the Bankenveld supplied the organic resources that provided the impetus for these advances (Mason, 1986). Location and economic interaction further contributed to the prosperity of the LIA Sotho-Tswana in the Oori region. Furnaces, such as those at Ifafi and Uitkomst, suggest that the Oori-Bankenveld was a metallurgic industrial complex where ore from the bushveld ore lodes were refined, crafted and sold to thousands of dispersed LIA settlements south of the Bankenveld. The Oori-Bankenveld region also served as the interchange between two major trade routes of the time: it was on the direct route between large settlements in the west (e.g. Dithakong) and the Indian Ocean in the east and linked the bantu on the highveld with the populations of the north via the Limpopo Valley.

The prosperity of communities in the Bankenveld-Oori region during the 17th century was an indication of favourable environmental conditions and a locally adapted pastoral and cultivation economy supplemented by strategic metal industries and trade networks. Over the next two centuries the position was to change dramatically.

2.1.3.3 The 'Time of Troubles'

By 1600 thousands of stone wall sites had been built. Favourable climatic conditions provided excellent conditions for herding and cultivation. The Kgatla and Kwena of the Bankenveld increased rapidly and dispersed over the entire area. However, whilst the communities in the Bankenveld were thriving, tension was building up amongst the LIA bantu who were migrating south along the east coast.

Late Iron Age pastoralism could not be sustained at any one location for any length of time and its sustainability was based on social secession and spatial diffusion. By 1500 the mobility of the front markers of the east coast migrants was abruptly disrupted. The migrants reached the southernmost coastline and also came into contact with established Khoisan societies. Linear migration changed into lateral diffusion and in some cases into reversed migration (Wilson, 1969).

The arrival of the Ndebele people in the Bankenveld at the end of the 16th century was due to the social pressures in the south. The Ndebele are believed to have been part of the general southward migrating stream of Nguni of the LIA and were amongst the foremost groups alongside the Xhosa, Mpondo, Mpondomise and others (see Wilson, 1969; Hammond-Tooke, 1974; Muller, 1975; Inskeep, 1978; Wilson, 1982b; Davenport, 1989). According to this view the Ndebele broke away from the other Nguni trek parties in the vicinity of the eastern or southeastern Drakensberg and moved to the Vaal River.

The Ndebele settled before 1585 at *Emhlangeni* ('by the reeds') somewhere

COLONIZATION AND THE IDENTITY OF LAND IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT, 1840 TO 1913

CHAPTER 3

There will be no equality
between blacks and whites
neither in Church nor in State
Article 9, Transvaal Constitution

ABSTRACT

This chapter starts with an overview of the colonization process in South Africa leading to the establishment of a colonial settlement at Pretoria, later the capital of the South African Republic (ZAR). The focus then shifts to the unsuccessful efforts to develop a coherent land allocation policy in the ZAR on the basis of unequal ethnic rights and disregard for geographical and economic realities. The objective of the analytical component of this study was to demonstrate territoriality as an outcome of the social structure of society by way of reconstructing the occupation and possession of rural land in the Pretortia District as at 19 June 1913, the end of the colonial period in South Africa. A progressive research method, moving forward in time, was used to classify, on the basis of race, demarcated farms in the Pretoria District in terms of possession and occupation. The investigation was based on historical records and considered, amongst others, land survey records, reports by the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Transvaal), the Native Location Commission (1905-1907), and memoranda of the Department of Lands. The analysis emphasizes the imbalance of land allocation between whites and non-whites, and quantitatively demonstrates the disregard of de jure land rights of de facto land occupation patterns. Finally, the opinion is expressed that the post-apartheid land restitution programme in South Africa may fail because it disregards the fact that the dispossession of land took place mainly before 19 June 1913, and it favours proven land possessory rights over informal land rights.

The 'land' is the substance and symbol of nationhood, national independence, self-determination, national development and national culture (Latakgomo, 1993). The land question has been one of the most sensitive in modern Africa and issues such as land distribution and redistribution and agrarian and agricultural reform have become priorities for every post-colonial government. In 1994, the post-apartheid Government of National Unity introduced a land reform strategy — based on programmes of land restitution, redistribution and tenure reform — to redress the unjust distribution of land in the past. The focus of the land reform strategy is to redress racial imbalances in land occupation that resulted from events after 19 June 1913[1] (South Africa, 1997). However, Parnell & Beavon (1996) believe that the complex geographies of the past, including those before 1913, must be fully understood before land restoration can proceed.

The objective of this chapter is to achieve understanding of land allocation policies in the study area between 1840 and 1913 by way of contextualizing these policies in the realm of the colonization of South Africa in general and the Transvaal/South African Republic in particular, and then to exemplify the process of spatiality by reconstructing the identity of land in the Pretoria Magisterial District as at 19 June 1913.[2]

3.1 COLONIZATION AND LAND POLICY: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE TRANSVAAL UP TO 1913

Although the European colony between the Vaal and Limpopo Rivers was only established in 1840, it represented an extension of the broader process of colonization in South Africa which already started in 1652. The colonization of South Africa, with particular emphasis on the colonization and land policies of the Transvaal, provides the context of territoriality in the Pretoria District between 1840 and 1913.

3.1.1 A COLONIAL PRE-VIEW

Although the indigenous people of southern Africa had had contact with foreigners

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1. The colonial period in South Africa ended with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910; on 19 June 1913 different former colonial land policies were consolidated into a single measure of land allocation to non-whites, the *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*.

2. The boundaries of the Pretoria Magisterial District were amended on several occasion before 19 June 1913. References to the Pretoria District in the text imply the District as it was on 19 June 1913.

before the 15th century, the colonial era truly started only when the Portuguese explored the coast of southern Africa during the 15th century and passed the Cape of Good Hope (*Cabo da Boa Esperança*) in 1488 (Böeseken, 1975a; De Kock, 1975). The first permanent colonial settlement in South Africa, De Kaap, was founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 as a refreshment station on the sea route to the markets of the Far East. The population of De Kaap steadily increased with the importation of slaves and the arrival of new settlers such as the French Huguenots in 1688. Apart from employees of the Company, the society consisted of private farmers (*vryburgers*), nomadic herders (*trekboere*), imported slaves as well as Khoikoi labourers who had lost their nomadic independence as a result of the competition and conflict with the colonists and the advancing Nguni (Böeseken, 1975b).

In 1795 the colony was occupied by Britain during its campaign against France and returned to the Batavian Republic in 1802, but reoccupied by Britain in 1808. Especially after 1808 large numbers of British immigrants arrived to populate the new British Cape Colony.

Throughout the periods of Dutch and British occupation the extent of land under colonial control steadily increased. At first land occupied by Khoikoi pastoralists and San hunter-gatherers were seized. Thereafter the Nguni were pushed back from land that they had previously taken from the Khoikoi and the San (Davenport, 1989). By 1835 the Colony comprised 13 districts.

From 1730 the trekboers on the eastern frontier came into conflict with the Nguni as a result of the expansion of the two communities (Muller, 1975a; Wilson, 1982. This conflict over land and poor relations was exacerbated by the inconsistent policies of the various colonial governments (Kotze, 1975; Van Zyl, 1975). By the mid-1830s and after six border wars and critical differences between the colonial government and its subjects on the frontier on socio-economic policies, a number of colonists determined to leave the Cape Colony and to establish their independence elsewhere.

Every reason for the split of Cape colonial society had something to do with race relations and colour policies (Brookes, 1974). At the beginning of the 19th century the colonial society was divided geographically into the subcontinental Cape core and the frontier districts and divided socially into the British loyalists and the Afrikaners (naturalised Dutch, French, Germans etc.). The worldviews of the British colonial government seated in the Cape core and the rural Afrikaner people on the frontier represented two extremes. The British authorities believed in equality and integration aimed at anglicization and assimilation and was based on 17th and 18th century European rationalism, naturalism and philanthropy (Van Biljon, 1947). The worldview of the frontier Afrikaners was based on self-serving Calvinistic and biblical principles (Templin, 1984). These Afrikaners viewed themselves as culturally advanced

compared to the natives and as the carriers of Christianity and European civilization whilst the native races were seen as culturally of a lower standard and still in the claws of barbarism and paganism (Van Biljon, 1947). The association between whites and the native races was believed to be that of master and servant.

The colonists on the frontier had suffered bitterly under a vaccillitating British Cape native policy (Sullivan, 1928). British practices of reversed discrimination unsettled the Afrikaner frontier society:

> "*Their heart was sick, their energies were broken, their industry, though productive of fruits, was to them unprofitable. The gatherings of years of toils was frequently swept away by Kafir Bandits and no redress on application to Government. The spirits of these indefatigable men at length became dejected, and the land to which they were attached, that cost them so much anxiety and fatigue to improve was abandoned by them for ever. By this move we lost a body of worthy, upright men, first rate agriculturalists, the best prop this part of the Colony had.*"[3]

At this stage South Africa was spatially segregated into three communities (Fig. 3.1). First, the southwestern section consisted of land claimed by the colonial society. Second, the eastern, northeastern and far northern section were occupied mainly by Late Iron Age bantu communities. Third, the frontier in between was dominated by pastoralist bands including Korana, Griqua, Basters, Orlams and nomadic white farmers which engulfed small isolated bands of hunter-gatherers (Morris, 1992).

The build-up to the mass migration of colonists from the Cape was a prolonged and complicated issue (Muller, 1987) so that when the so-called Great Trek eventually began in 1835 it was not a single, coherently planned population movement (Muller, 1975b; Thompson, 1982; Davenport, 1989). Families grouped together in bands of two or three to several hundred (Rasmussen, 1978). Trek parties included those of Hans van Rensburg (who left the Colony in early 1835), Louis Tregardt (May 1835), Andries Hendrik Potgieter (late 1835), Sarel Cilliers and Gert Maritz (September 1836), Piet Retief (February 1837), Piet Uys (April 1837), and Andries Pretorius who trekked in 1838. Other parties followed later and by 1850 between 10 000 and 15 000 whites were residing north of the Orange River.

When the parties of Van Rensburg and Tregardt crossed the Vaal River in 1836 and made their way across the central highveld just west of the Elands River on their way to the north[4], Mzilikazi was still in firm control of the central Transvaal. Mzilikazi had no knowledge of these trekkers skirting the fringes of his territory (Rasmussen, 1978). Neither did he know of a subsequent patrol of 12 men headed by Andries Hendrik Potgieter and Sarel Cilliers whose aim was to make contact with Tregardt at

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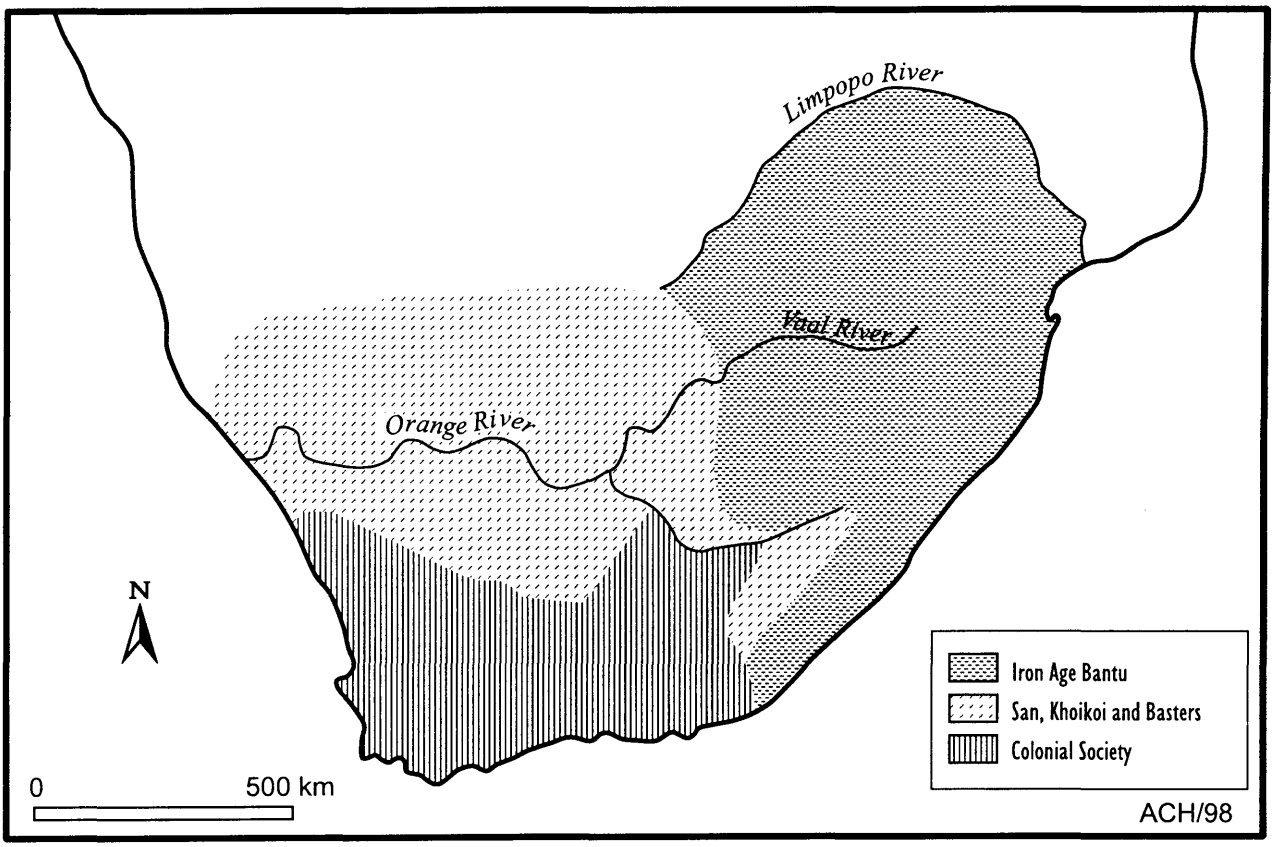
3. Dr. Tancred — Letters to Sir Peregrine Maitland, September 1846.

4. At Soutpansberg the two groups parted after which the Van Rensburg party was massacred by Tsonga north of the Limpopo (1837). The Tregardt party arrived at Delagoa Bay in an exhausted condition in April 1838 where many, including Tregardt, died of tropical diseases.

Soutpansberg and to survey the area beyond the Vaal River. After meeting with Tregardt at Soutpansberg, the Potgieter-Cilliers party passed through the Apies River valley on its way back to its base south of the Vaal (Engelbrecht, 1955) and became the second group of Voortrekkers to visit the Apies River area. The first group consisted of about five farmers from the of East Riet River region(eastern Cape Colony) who visited Mzilikazi at the Apies River in 1830 (Visagie, 1992).

FIGURE 3.1 DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETIES, 1835



In early August 1836 a few bands detached from the main body of the Voortrekkers on the central highveld and crossed the Vaal River to the north. At the same time Mzilikazi (who at that stage was staying in the regions of Motsenyateng and Gabeni) became angered by a group of hunters led by Stephanus Erasmus who had ventured deep into his territory without his permission. When finally, news of the Voortrekkers' presence south of the Vaal reached Mzilikazi he attacked Erasmus's camp, followed by attacks on other Voortrekker camps. As many as 30 whites were killed (Van der Merwe, 1986). Shortly after these clashes, Potgieter and his company returned from their expedition to the north (Rasmussen, 1978). A few Voortrekker families fled south to safety. The remainder of the Voortrekkers, including about 35 adult men, regrouped at the Rhenoster River and formed a defensive laager (barricade of wagons and branches). In mid-October 1836 the laager was attacked by about 2 000 Matabele

impi supported by about 1 000 servants and followers (Rasmussen, 1978). Although the laager was defended successfully, the Matabele captured all the livestock of the Voortrekkers.

The strong resistance that met the Matabele onslaught gave hope to the numerous clans oppressed by the Matabele as well as rivals of Mzilikazi of overthrowing him. By means of a quick succession of attacks against the Matabele the reign of Mzilikazi was shattered. This comprised, first, a combined force of Voortrekkers, Griqua, Korana, and Tswana who destroyed the settlement in the Mosega Basin (January 1837); second, the fleeing Matabele were then pursued by an independent commando of Korana of Jan Bloem and Hurutse of Moilwe; then, third, followed attacks by a Zulu force (June 1837, Pilanesberg), by the Griqua of Jan Isaac, Korana of Jan Bloem, Hurutse of Moilwe, and by some Thlaping (August 1837); finally, a force of 360 Voortrekkers and about a dozen Rolong headed by Potgieter and Piet Uys drove the Matabele north during a running battle which lasted nine days (4-13 November 1837).

When the Matabele crossed the Limpopo River, the Voortrekkers claimed the land previously controlled by Mzilikazi on the basis of 'the right of conquest' (Van der Merwe, 1986). However, it was not until late 1838 that the colonization process began (Bergh, 1992).

3.1.2 COLONIZATION OF THE OVER-VAAL AREA

3.1.2.1 Institutionalization of a Colonial State

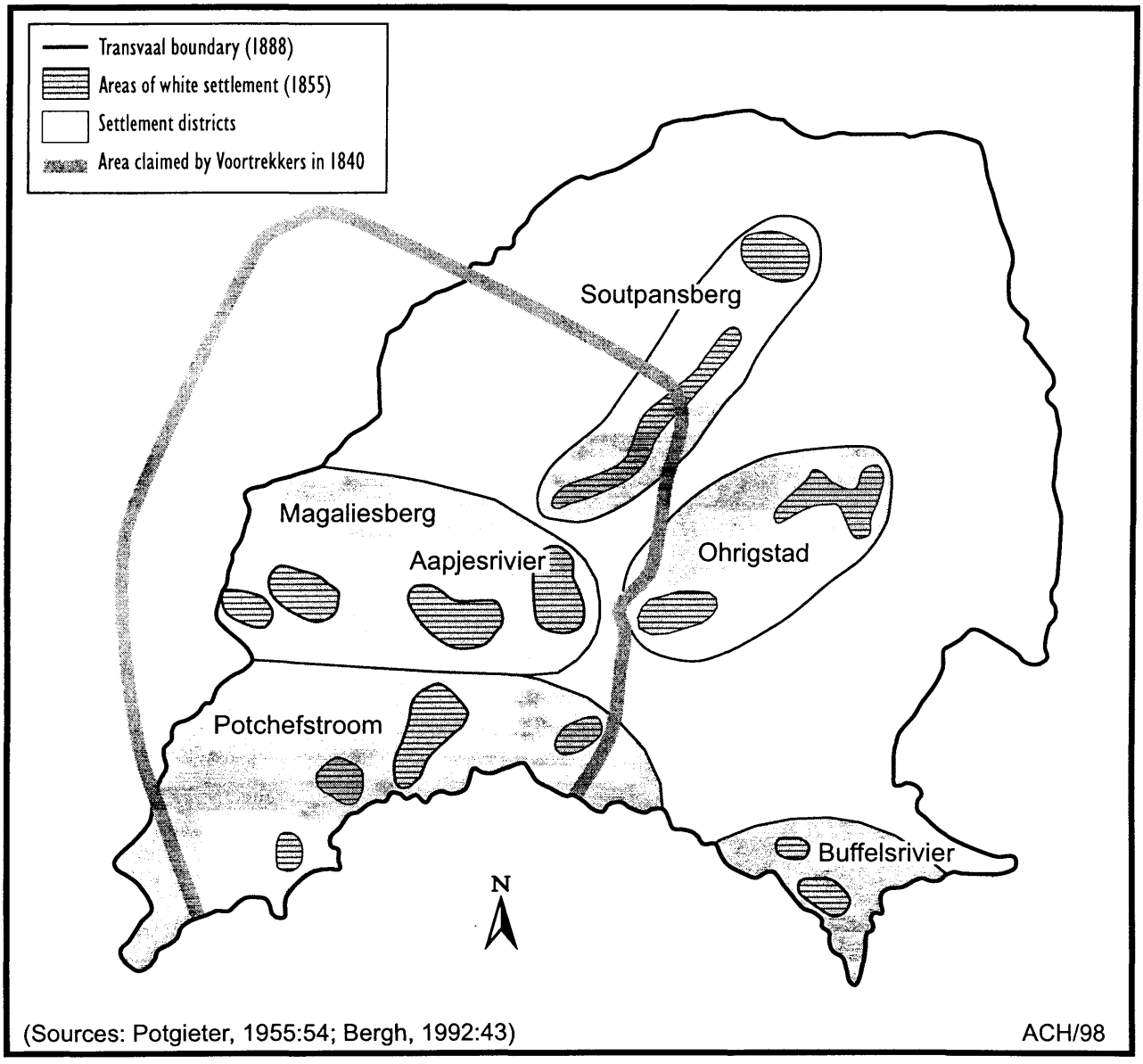
The principal goal of the Voortrekkers who ventured over the Vaal River was to establish their independence and security (Brookes, 1974; Thompson, 1982). These settlers regarded themselves as being subject to the Voortrekker Constitution of 1837 that united all Voortrekkers in Natal, the Orange River colony and the Transvaal. A Deputy Council (*Adjunkt Raad*) was formed in Potchefstroom that reported to the United National Council (*Verenigde Volksraad*) in Pietermaritzburg (Natal).

The area claimed by the Voortrekkers after the conquest of Mzilikazi (Fig. 3.2) was demarcated at a public meeting on 16 October 1840 held in Potchefstroom (Bergh, 1992). Initially the areas of Suikerbosrand, Schoonspruit, Mooirivier and Magaliesberg, all within the limits of the original claim of 1840, were the most popular locations for settlements but by 1855 settlements had been established beyond the originally claimed area (Fig. 3.2).

When the Voortrekkers in Natal became subjects of the British Crown in 1843, an independent Voortrekker federation was established north of the Vaal River. In

1844 the Thirty Three Articles were enacted as a set of judicial rules for the colonial state. Despite internal political rivalry the governing body known as the *Volksraad* (National Council) succeeded in negotiating the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the Transvaal in 1852 at the Sand River Convention. The agreement guaranteed the Transvalers "*... the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government*" (Thompson, 1982:421). The boundaries of the new colony were, however, not established.

FIGURE 3.2 THE OVER-VAAL VOORTREKKER COLONY, 1840-1855



(Sources: Potgieter, 1955:54; Bergh, 1992:43) ACH/98

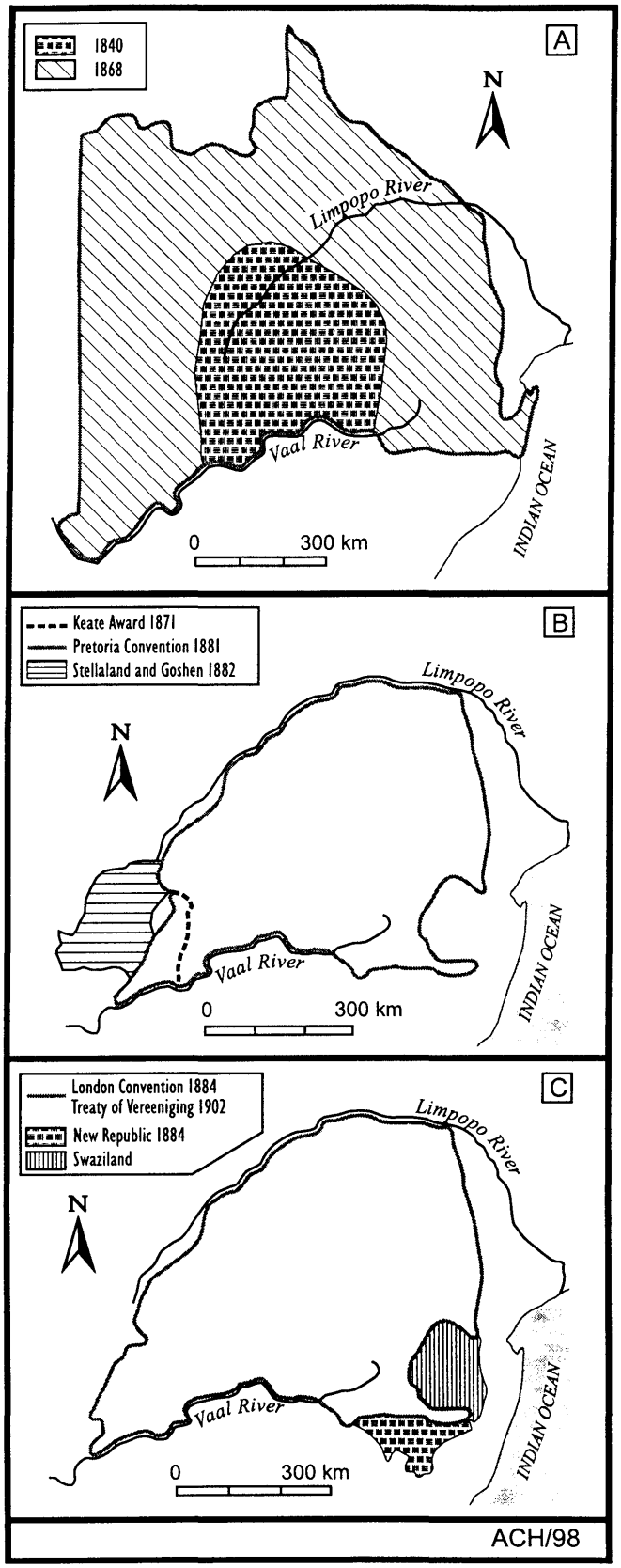
The Thirty Three Articles were transformed into a Draft Constitution (1853) and into a Final Constitution (1859). In September 1859 the *Volksraad* of the newly formed South African Republic (*Zuid Afrikaansche Republic, ZAR*), commonly known as the Transvaal, met in the new town of Pretoria for the first time. Constitutionally, a democratically elected President, presiding over an Executive Council, was to lead

government business in a unicameral *Volksraad* elected by white citizens, *burgers*. However, since the Republic was in a state of civil war from 1860, unity was established only in 1864 when M.W. Pretorius was elected president for the second time (Davenport, 1989).

The ZAR attempted to claim as much land as possible by continually expanding its borders. In 1868 President Pretorius declared the boundaries of the South African Republic (Fig. 3.3). However, Great Britain undermined the sovereignty of the colony[5] and the ZAR's land expansion programme was curbed. Encouraged by passionate appeals to take over the Republic, T. Shepstone annexed the area in April 1877 on behalf of the British Empire.

After two deputations to London as well as appeals to local British colonial officials, the Transvalers finally rebelled. By establishing a rebel government, defeating the British troops in the Transvaal and successfully warding off an offensive from Natal, Britain was forced to negotiate the peace with the Transvalers. The result was the restoration of basic rights in the form of 'suzerainty' at the Pretoria Convention, 1881 (Davenport, 1989). The Republic was to be known as the 'Transvaal State'. Although the

FIGURE 3.3 TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION OF THE TRANSVAAL, 1840-1910



5. These efforts included arming the natives, creating the opinion that the Transvaal state was incompetent to govern itself, and that the state was unjust and cruel to Africans and practised slavery (Van Biljon, 1947; Van Rooyen, 1950; Du Plessis, 1975).

Volksraad was reconstituted, Britain had a Resident in Pretoria in colonial command of the African tribes. Also, legislation concerning Africans was subject to his approval (Du Plessis, 1975). At the London Convention (1884) the Transvaal State, however, regained full independence and the name 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek' was restored.

War between the ZAR and Britain again broke out in 1899 and peace was only restored in May 1902 with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. Lord Milner became the Governor of the Transvaal supported by Lieutenant-Governor Lawley. An Executive Council took over from the military authority in June 1902. The Executive Council further comprised a Legislative Council and an Inter-Colonial Council, both consisting of British officials and nominees. In 1904 Milner proposed that the nominees be replaced by Transvaal electives. On this basis the Lyttelton Constitution providing for a legislative assembly of up to 35 white members, elected by whites only came into being in 1906. No elections were held under this constitution and in the same year the British parliament approved the principle of full 'responsible government' for the Transvaal. This came into effect in 1907 when the first post-war election was held based on the constitutional principles outlined by West Ridgeway. The electorate was restricted to whites. The Transvaal was governed on the basis of this constitution until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Davenport, 1989).

3.1.2.2 Stratification and Organization of Society

Afrikaner culture developed on biblical principles: it was assumed that cultural advancement was a sign of God's approval; that Afrikaners were superior to Africans intellectually and culturally, and therefore were a chosen people (Templin, 1984). As a result of their distorted Calvinist worldview the society in the Transvaal became deeply stratified (Fig. 3.4). Afrikaners qualified as proper citizens with complete economic, land and political rights. The early pioneers or Voortrekkers and Afrikaners who broke ties with the Cape Dutch Reformed Church and associated with the Hervormde and Gereformeerde denominations were perceived as representing a higher social order than other Afrikaners. After 1853, Hollanders and Portuguese also qualified for such rights. Although other foreigners were allowed to purchase land they did not qualify for full political rights. Africans and other natives[6] were disregarded and did not qualify for any political rights and had only limited and restricted access to land.

The Afrikaner view that natives were not worthy to be regarded as citizens or equal members of civilized society (Agar-Hamilton, 1928; Kistner, 1952; Van

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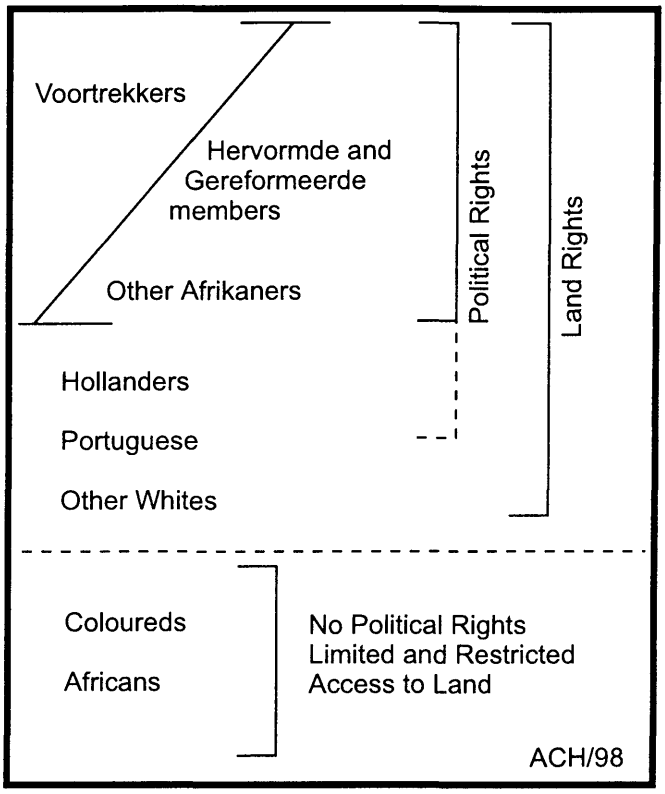
6. Up to 1913 the term 'natives' included all the indigenous non-white people of South Africa; the term 'Africans' is used to distinguish the bantu-speakers from other non-white 'natives'.

FIGURE 3.4 STRATIFICATION OF TRANSVAAL SOCIETY, 1840-1910



Jaarsveld, 1985) became legally entrenched: Article 6 of the Thirty Three Articles (1843) stipulated that "... *no bastards can take part in decisionmaking or governing practices*"; a *Volksraad* Resolution of 1 December 1853 affirmed that "... *bastards are excluded from the electoral process*"; Article 1 of the Draft Constitution of 1853 reaffirmed that "... *all coloured persons are excluded from burgher rights*"; and Article 9 of the Final Constitution of 1858 stated that "... *there will be no equality between coloureds and whites, neither in Church nor in State*".

After the defeat of Mzilikazi the Voortrekkers claimed to have liberated all Africans in the Transvaal colony and to be justified in treating them as vassals (Thompson, 1982). The peace and security offered by Afrikaner rule lured smaller tribes into surrendering their independence in return for the privilege of settling within the domain and under the protection of the colony (Agar-Hamilton, 1928). The dual need for territorial control and a constant supply of labour resulted in a strategy of gradual destruction of native independence and of social re-organization.

The colonial state's struggle for control of the native populations within its expanding boundaries included treaties with African chiefs (Agar-Hamilton, 1928; Van Biljon, 1947; Davenport, 1989), fictitious land deals (Delius, 1983; Van Jaarsveld, 1985), physical intimidation of and encroachment on African communities (Davenport, 1989; Coetzee, 1980), intervention in native politics (Thompson, 1982) and full-scale war (Pienaar, 1991). Military operations included campaigns against the Kwena, Ngwaketse and Rolong (1852), the Ndebele of the Waterberg (1864), the Venda (1867/8), the Pedi (1852, 1876-1878), and the Ndzundza Ndebele (1849, 1859-1865, 1882-1883). With the exception of the Venda the paramountcy of these tribes was shattered and the land divided (Coetzee, 1980; Delius, 1983; Van Jaarsveld, 1985). There were also border disputes with the Zulu (1865) and the Shangaan (1864/5) (Du Plessis, 1975).

In 1852 Pretorius delegated power to the commandant (senior civic officer) of each district to deal with the natives on behalf of the government "... *as justice, quietness and peace may require*" (Agar-Hamilton, 1928:73). Furthermore, in 1853

permission was given to the various commandants to subject the smaller tribes to a position of subservience, and to compel them to pay taxes, often in the form of labour. According to Government instructions each field cornet (junior civic officer) became responsible for ensuring that every African in his ward was either an employee in the service of a white person, or under the control of a recognized chief. The field cornet was also made responsible for the supervision of all African kraals situated within his ward, thus becoming a local agent of the government in its dealings with the tribes (Agar-Hamilton, 1928).

There were two reasons for the Government's decision to allocate demarcated land, to be known as locations, for communal occupation by Africans. First, thousands of African refugees had returned to their former territories after the power of the Matabele had been broken, accompanied by thousands of alien Africans whose communities had been disrupted either by the *difaqane* or by the Matabele (Agar-Hamilton, 1928; Du Plessis, 1975; Stals, 1977). Second, the labour requirements of the white farming community necessitated the re-organization of African communities into evenly distributed cluster settlements.

In terms of Government regulations (1858) each white farmer was allowed four African families per farm on his/her land as tenants. Those Africans who were not labour tenants on farms were assigned to locations, where they were administered by chiefs or headmen recognized by the Government. It was Government policy to have a location in each ward of each district, so that there would be a labour supply close to all white farming communities, and so that the African population could be divided into small controllable units.

The responsibility for overseeing the natives was gradually transferred from field cornets and commandants to local magistrates. During the period of annexation Shepstone had established a Department of Native Affairs and after retrocession (1881), a Superintendent of Native Affairs (later termed Superintendent of Natives) was appointed. *Law 4* of 1885 provided for commissioners to be appointed where the Government considered such a step necessary, with the *landdrost* (magistrate) serving in other districts. Ordinance 3 of 1902 stipulated the conditions of the administration of native affairs until 1910 (Brookes, 1974). Despite all the efforts to organize whites and Africans into two separate groups their geographical, economical and political positions were nevertheless becoming increasingly confused (Agar-Hamilton, 1928).

3.1.2.3 Colonization of Land

The Voortrekkers preferred to settle on unoccupied land (Potgieter, 1955) but soon learned that in many cases the best soil, grass and water had already been occupied by Africans. Despite a *Volksraad* Resolution (1853) and a Government Notice in 1869

(see Stals, 1985) the registration of land occupied by Africans or close to African settlements became a common Voortrekker practice (Delius, 1983; Stals, 1985; Van Jaarsveld, 1985; Bergh, 1995). In some cases tribes became the vassals of the Voortrekkers voluntarily following the devastation of the *difaquane* and the reign of Mzilikazi (Van Biljon, 1947; Bergh, 1979; Coetzee, 1980; Stals, 1985; Breutz, 1989). Thinly populated areas were simply claimed without the consent of the scattered African communities who offered no resistance. According to Brookes (1974:98) "*(a)n African might go to sleep in his tribal area and wake up as a squatter on a white man's farm.*" Larger communities such as those at Tsuaneng, Moretele and Embilaleni became the targets of encroaching colonists and these communities became unsettled (Bergh, 1979; Coetzee, 1980; Breutz, 1989; Van Vuuren, 1992).

Bergh (1992) points out that the procedure according to which whites could obtain farmland was only gradually refined. Specifications for the inspection of farms were stipulated in 1853 and revised in 1861 and 1869 (Jeppe & Kotze, 1887). These specifications stipulated the size, form and requirements with regard to water resources (Potgieter, 1955). At first, all males over the age of sixteen who had participated in the Great Trek were entitled to two farms. In 1851 it was decided that only those who had settled in the colony before April 1848 were entitled to this privilege, and in 1853 the cut-off date was changed to 1842 (Jeppe & Kotze, 1887). Other males over the age of sixteen were entitled to one farm only. In 1866 it was resolved that automatic entitlement to land would not apply to subsequent settlers and in 1868 and 1871 it was finally decided to close the allocation of land on the basis of burgher rights. Portuguese and Dutch foreigners could purchase land because they automatically qualified for burgher rights (Potgieter, 1955) but other foreigners, however, were required to purchase burgher rights after which they were entitled to purchase land.

Burghers selected farms and then provided a description of the farm to the local magistrate who noted the detail in a registration book and gave the claimant a copy. Claimed land then had to be inspected before a title and deed was issued (Delius, 1983). Since the registration of land entailed registration costs and annual land taxes, it was often delayed as long as possible. As a result, the registration of land claimed on the basis of burgher rights before 1871 continued into the 1890s (Davenport, 1989). The process of land administration and the issuing of deeds and titles regulated a system of 'possessory segregation' that extended the view of inequality between settlers and natives to the ownership, occupation and utilization of land (Brookes, 1974).

After the defeat of Mzilikazi, A.H. Potgieter allocated portions of land to certain tribes who had assisted the Voortrekkers during their campaign against the Matabele as well as to a number of returning tribes who became the subjects of the colonists

(Stals, 1977). These included the Hurutse of chief Moiloa, the Rolong of chief Moshette, the Kwena of chief Mmaselwane and the Fokeng of chief Mokgatlê. The farm Locatie was granted to Stuurman Omkatie in 1868 for service to the colonists (Stals, 1977).

In 1849 the United *Volksraad* (National Council) passed a resolution warning the chiefs of native tribes against entering the territory occupied by the colonist farmers without first obtaining permission from the local commandant (Agar-Hamilton, 1928). The principle that natives could not own land in the territory claimed by the colonists was entrenched in Article 297 of the Draft Constitution of 1855.

In December 1851 the colonial War Council instructed the field cornets to allocate land to the native tribes in their wards.[7] This became statutory in 1853 when the *Volksraad* instructed the commandants to allocate land to the tribes in their districts conditional on their good behaviour.[8] The land, however, remained the property of the state and Article 297 of the Draft Constitution of 1855 emphasized that "*(a)ll land assigned to Chiefs is granted to them for perpetual use, but not as their property*" (Stals, 1977:5). This principle was again emphasized by the instructions to the field cornets in 1858.[9]

During 1868 the colonial government was approached by Africans with a request to purchase land for the first time. The Executive Council proposed that in such an event title be transferred to the Government (Stals, 1977). In May 1869 the *Volksraad* appointed a commission to investigate and resolve the issue of registered landownership by natives. Then, in June 1869 the Government proclaimed that "... *all land accommodating large native settlements should be viewed as loan farms and must be inspected for, and registered on behalf of the Government*" (Stals, 1985:449). Despite various recommendations of the Executive Council (1868, 1870, 1872, 1873) with regard to the rights of non-white individuals, tribes, coloureds and Africans as future landowners the matter was not resolved. By September 1871 the commission, appointed in 1869, was no longer functioning and a new commission was appointed.[10] This Native Commission tabled its report in November 1871 and recommended that natives should be settled on government rather than private land. In 1873 the *Volksraad* commissioned the Executive Council to draft a bill with regard

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7. Decision by the War Council, Article 6, Rustenburg, 8 December 1851.

8. Decision by the *Volksraad*, Article 124, 1 December 1853.

9. Decision by the *Volksraad*, Resolution 19 of 1858.

10. Decision by the *Volksraad*, Article 28, 7 September 1871.

to the transfer of land to non-whites.[11] The proposed legislation (Bill 5 of 1874) published in the *Staat Courant* (Government Gazette) was met with strong public opposition (Stals, 1977) which forced the government to withdraw the proposed legislation and to cancel the Executive Council's brief.[12]

Two years later a newly appointed commission recommended the introduction of a location system (*Law 3* of 1876) in terms of which all land assigned to tribes was granted to them for use in perpetuity, but not as their property (Sullivan, 1928; Stals, 1985). President Burgers, however, expressed the view that Africans should be introduced to the concept of individual tenure and land ownership, a civilizing force, in his view.[13] The position was thus clear: while no law existed that prohibited non-whites from purchasing and owning land, landownership was not allowed since it would contravene the constitution (Stals, 1977).

The Government allowed missionaries and even ordinary citizens to purchase land on behalf of Africans. As early as 1856, for example, a number of white farmers in the Pretoria District bought the farm Boschplaas and portions of the farms Wijnandskraal and Witgatboom to settle the Bakgatla bagaMotsha of chief Moëpi in exchange for labour on their farms (Bergh, 1973). In some cases missionaries served as agents for African landowners. In the Pretoria District the Reverend Otto Sache, for example, bought the farms Klippan, Middelkop, Paayzynpan and a portion of Schilpadfontein in 1873 on behalf of the Bakgatla bagaMotsha of chief Andries Maubane. In other cases land owned by missionary societies became havens for landless Africans. In the Pretoria area these included the farms Kliprand and Buffelsdrift (the Wallmannsthal station) owned by the Berlin Mission Society and the farms Hoekfontein and Krelingspost (the Sjambok site) bought by H. Herman of the Hermansburg Mission Society.

The South African Republic was annexed to Great Britain in 1877 and Sir Theophilus Shepstone became the Administrator of the Transvaal. The Interim Government instituted a Department of Native Affairs and Henrique Shepstone became the Secretary for Native Affairs. The Interim Government declared that all existing legislation would remain in effect until revised (Stals, 1977). In August 1878 the first African owned farm was registered in the name of the Secretary for Native Affairs.

W.O. Lanyon, who replaced Shepstone as Administrator of the Transvaal in February 1879, believed that "... *the law that natives cannot hold land is repugnant*

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11. Decision by the *Volksraad*, Article 19, 23 May 1873.

12. Decision by the Volksraad, Article 149, 22 October 1874.

13. T.F. Burgers, *Memorandum omtrent de zaak der Naturellen*, nd.

to the letters Patent and British Law generally."[14] However, the Attorney General, C.G. Maasdorp, declared that the alteration or repeal of so fundamental a law would be contrary to both the letter and spirit of the annexation proclamation of April 1877.[15] He was supported by the Secretary for Native Affairs: "*I do not think that as yet the natives are sufficiently advanced in civilization to be allowed to hold land by individual title ...*"[16] Despite the outrage of land speculators and missionaries, the Interim Government appointed the Secretary of Native Affairs in 1880 as *ex officio* trustee of land bought by native tribes (Stals, 1977).

At the Pretoria Convention (1881) it was laid down that: "... *no future enactment specially affecting the interests of Natives shall have any force or effect in the said State without the consent of her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors through the British resident*."[17] The Convention also appointed a Native Location Commission[18] with the dual functions[19] of defining the boundaries of locations, and of arranging with, and pay compensation to, the owners of land granted in individual title, should such land be required for the purpose of a location. When the Transvaal regained its independence in 1881 the British Secretary for Native Affairs was replaced as trustee by the Native Location Commission: "*Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will in every case be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission ... in trust for such Natives*."[20] The Commission held its first meeting on 9 May 1882. Although many locations were demarcated, the locations of a number of tribes to whom land had been promised were never proclaimed (Brookes, 1974).

The London Convention of 1884 superseded the Pretoria Convention and reaffirmed the appointment of a Native Location Commission to demarcate locations (Sullivan, 1928). The London Convention (1884, Article 18) further stipulated that "*(a)ll transfers to the British Secretary for native Affairs in trust for natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs*". In January 1886 the Executive Council of the South African Republic passed a resolution to appoint the Superintendent of Natives as the trustee

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14. Minutes of W.O. Lanyon, 15 March 1879.

15. Minutes of C.G. Maasdorp, 28 March 1879.

16. Minutes of H.C. Shepstone, 8 July 1879.

17. Pretoria Convention, 1881, Article 3.

18. Pretoria Convention, 1881, Article 21.

19. Pretoria Convention, 1881, Article 22.

20. Pretoria Convention, 1881, Article 13.

in whose name all transfers on behalf of Africans were to be placed (Transvaal, 1904). The Commission tabled its first report in 1885 as a result of which eight locations were officially proclaimed (Van Biljon, 1947).

Law 4 of 1885 recognised the President as the Paramount Chief of all Africans. Commissioners were appointed over Africans in districts with large populations and magistrates in other areas (Brookes, 1974). The Native Location Commission continued to demarcate and allocate locations until the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899. By that date 22 Government locations had been proclaimed in the Transvaal comprising "... *8 656 square miles*" and accommodating 207 840 African people at a density of "... *24 per square mile*"[21] (South Africa, 1905). Squatting on white-owned land nevertheless became a major problem and *Law 11* of 1887, replaced by *Law 21* of 1895, was aimed at restricting this problem.

The intention of the Milner administration was to create a South African federation. At a Customs Conference held in Bloemfontein on 9 March, 1903 the following resolution was passed:

> "*(t)hat in view of the coming Federation of South African Colonies it is desirable that a South African Commission be constituted to gather accurate information on certain affairs relating to the Natives and Native administration and to offer recommendations to the several Governments concerned with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of Native policy.*"[22]

The Native Location Commission arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to safeguard the 'Europeans' of the country and recommended (South Africa, 1905):

(1) that purchase of land by Natives should in future be restricted to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment, and

(2) that purchase of land which could lead to tribal, communal or collective possession or occupation by Natives, should not be permitted.

In 1905 the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of *Tsewu versus the Registrar of Deeds* established the principle that a non-white could hold title to own land. The Governor-General of the newly formed Union of South Africa to delegate to the Minister of Native Affairs the administration of all such matters as were administered by any legally constituted Native Trust.[23] Despite all efforts to separate whites and non-whites territorially, the two groups were nevertheless linked geographically and economically (Agar-Hamilton, 1928). It was the aim of the *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*, to initiate a process of geographic segregation between the races of South Africa.

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21. One square mile = 2.59 km^2 or 259 ha.

22. South Africa, 1905, Annexure No. 1.

23. Government Notice No. 1601, 25 November 1912

3.2 RECONSTRUCTING THE IDENTITY OF LAND IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT AS AT 19 JUNE 1913

Building on the previous overview of the Transvaal colonial society and an understanding of land policies during the period between 1840 and 1913 the objective of this section of the study is to reconstruct the pattern of land occupation in the Pretoria Magisterial District as at 19 June 1913[24] and to establish its relevance in terms of the post-1994 land reform strategy in South Africa.

3.2.1 COLONIAL LAND POLICIES AND THE POST-1994 LAND REFORM STRATEGY

In South Africa a history of colonial conquest, dispossession, exploitation, and apartheid has created a situation where the black citizens, representing 80 percent of the population, own less than 14 percent of the land, and where 62 000 white farmers controlled 12 times as much land as more 14 million rural blacks (Davenport, 1990; Bundy, 1991; Kotze & Basson, 1994). The land question is without doubt one of the most pressing on the agenda of the movement towards political and economic empowerment through democratisation (ANC, 1991). Post-apartheid land reform aims to redress these anomalies (Latsky, 1993).

The most immediate issues concerning land reform in South Africa are 'restitution' and 'redistribution' (Hanekom, 1994), whilst tenure reform is to receive attention over the longer term. Restitution deals with past wrongs whereas redistribution enables disadvantaged people to participate in future in the acquisition and use of land (Beavon, 1993; Bromley, 1995).

The post-apartheid Government of National Unity passed the *Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994,* to redress the imbalance of land rights in South Africa. The preamble of this act states that it should

> "... *provide for the restitution of a right in land to a person or community dispossessed under or for the purpose of furthering the objects of any racially based discriminatory law*", and
>
> "... *promote the protection and advancement of persons, groups or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination, in order to promote their full and equal enjoyment of rights in land.*"

In terms of the *Restitution of Land Rights Act* (1994) a person or community is entitled to claim restitution of a right in land if the person or community:

(1) was dispossessed of a right in land by the state after 19 June 1913; and

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24. This date, 19 June 1913, represents the last day of the legality of colonial land measures; on 20 June 1913 the *Natives Land Act* (1913) replaced former native land legislation in the former white colonies of South Africa.

(2) can prove that the dispossession was an act of racial discrimination without just and equitable compensation.

According to the *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (South Africa, 1997) a land right can be a registered or unregistered interest; it is not limited to ownership rights; and it may include certain long term tenancy rights and other occupational rights. Hence, the land reform policy acknowledges the legitimacy of informal land rights, but at the same time, by way of provisions, makes it impossible to restitute on a significant scale. The notion of a 'right in land' is, in reality, merely a metaphor for land possession.

The restitution process involves the submission of a claim to a regional Land Claims Commission and mediation through negotiation or, if negotiations fail, submission to the Land Claims Court. The entire process of restitution depends heavily on a 'regressive research method' to confirm a right in land (read: *de jure* land possession) at some point in the past and to prove discriminatory dispossession of the land without just compensation.

Various objections have been raised to the basic conditions of land restitution in South Africa (Adams, 1993; Christopher, 1994; Bromley, 1995). More specifically, the limitation of claims to a specific date is the main concern for some (Beavon, 1993; South Africa, 1994; Christopher, 1995). Bergh (1995) and Feinberg (1995) question the feasibility of proving discriminatory dispossession in cases before 1948. Another concern is the focus on the restitution of *de jure* possession and the notion that land rights go beyond a system of title and deeds (Claassens, 1991; Parnell & Beavon, 1996).

Through a reconstruction of land possession and land occupation on a particular date this section of the study investigates the difference between a 'right in land' based on *de jure* possession and an 'identity in land' based on *de facto* land occupation. The pattern of *de jure* land possession and of *de facto* land occupation in the Pretoria Magisterial District as at 19 June 1913 is reconstructed as a case in point.

3.2.2 ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

After reconstructing the 1913 boundary of the Pretoria Magisterial District it was calculated that the area encompassed 16 905.25 km^2. The accuracy of this figure is confirmed by a 1911 Census Report (South Africa, 1913).[25] In accordance with the statutory procedure six white farms were claimed in this area by 1840: Derdepoort, Garsfontein, Onderstepoort, Tiegerpoort, Wonderboom and Zwavelpoort (Bergh, 1992). Some of these and other farms were inspected and registered in 1841 (Punt,

25. The Annexure to this report (Table XV, p. 62) gives the area of the Pretoria District in 1911 as 6 641 square miles, i.e. 17 200 km^2 ... a difference of 1.7 percent.

1958). Jeppe's Map of the Transvaal (Transvaal, 1899) indicates that only a small portion of the Pretoria District had not been properly surveyed and subdivided into farms by 1899.

While the *de jure* status of land can be established by a 'regressive research method', working backwards through time, a 'progressive research method', progressing forward through time, was rather used here since this method allows for the re-construction of statutory possessed land as well as land categories based on the *de facto* occupation of land. This involved a step-by-step reconstruction of land identity in terms of both land possession and land occupation from an analysis of documents held in the National Archives, the offices of the Surveyor-General, and the Registrar of Deeds in Pretoria. The progressive analytical procedure is presented in five stages.

A database of native owned and/or occupied farms including names, numbers and estimated size was compiled from a report by the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904) and organized in terms of land categories used in the report. Subsequent information was ordered and evaluated. After each stage of the investigation the database was revised and appropriately re-organized. Original land units were retained until the final phase, at which stage land units were converted to a standard metric land unit.

3.2.3 STAGE 1: REPORT BY THE COMMISSIONER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS, TRANSVAAL, 1904

The consequences of the inconsistent land policies of the Transvaal between 1840 and 1900 are reflected in a report of the Commissioner of Native Affairs (CNA) of the Transvaal (Transvaal, 1904). Land occupied by natives was classified into:

(1) *Government Locations*;
(2) *Private Farms Owned by Natives*;
(3) *Undefined*, i.e. unproclaimed, *Locations on Private Farms*; or
(4) *Undefined*, i.e. unproclaimed, *Locations on Crown Land*.

The category, '*Private Farms Owned by Natives*', was further subdivided into three categories:

(2.1) *Farms held in Trust by the Commissioner for Native Affairs, the title deeds of which were filed in the Native Affairs Department*;
(2.2) *Farms held in Trust principally by missionaries, the title deeds of which were filed in the Native Affairs Department*; and
(2.3) *Farms held in Trust principally by missionaries, the title deeds of which were not received by the Native Affairs Department*.

Despite numerous anomalies in this report, it serves as a primary database for the reconstruction of land identity (Table 3.1).

3.2.4 STAGE 2: PAPERS OF THE NATIVE LOCATION COMMISSION, 1905 TO 1907

Following the report and recommendations of an Inter-Colonial Commission in January 1905, the Native Location Commission (NLC) was appointed on 19 August 1905 to

(1) make recommendations as to the boundaries, where defined, of existing locations granted to native tribes;

(2) investigate claims to locations of tribes in respect of promises made to them by the previous Government, and to report on the extent, and place where such locations, if any, should be granted;

(3) investigate the claims, if any, of other tribes to locations within the terms of reference of the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 and to recommend where, and to what extent, such should be granted; and

(4) report on any questions arising out of these terms of reference.

TABLE 3.1 CATEGORIES OF LAND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT, 1900

GOVERNMENT LOCATIONS

The status of Government Location applied to land demarcated by the Native Location Commission (1884-1896), and were specifically set apart for the occupation of natives in communal tenure; land was held in trust by the Government. Three such locations in the Pretoria district were recognised in 1900:

(1) Mathibe's location (chief Sekitla/Swartbooi Mathibe),
(2) Maubane's location (chief Andries Maubane), and
(3) Sjambok's location (chief Moemise Motsipe).

Farm Name	Number and Portion	Location	Extent ±
Goedgewaagd	465 (S port. of NE port.)	Mathibe's	960 m. 425 rds.
Hoekfontein	394	Sjambok's	3 780 m. 300 rds.
Krelingspost	111 (unspecified port.)	Sjambok's	not given
Paaizynpan	1975	Maubane's	12 994 acres
Witgatboom	62 (unspecified port.)	Mathibe's	not given

PRIVATE LAND, HELD BY GOVERNMENT IN TRUST, DEEDS FILED IN NAD

Farm Name	Number and Portion	Extent ±
Boekenhoutskloof	146	4 222 acres
Boschbult	78	4 826 acres
Doornkraal	4 (W port.)	154 acres
Jakkalsdans	450 (SE half port.)	3 791 acres
Kafferskraal	323	1 494 acres
Klippan	331	10 440 acres
Middelkop	332	8 855 acres
Rhenosterdrift	375 (S port.)	1 946 acres
Wildebeesthoek	20 (unspecified port.)	1 059 acres
Wildebeestkuil	8	3 546 acres
Witgatboom	62 (unspecified port. of S port.)	9 020 acres

(continued)

(continued)

PRIVATE LAND, HELD BY CIVILIANS IN TRUST, DEEDS FILED IN NAD		
Farm Name	**Number and Portion**	**Extent ±**
Palmietfontein	190 (three ports.)	10 440 acres
Kaalzandbult	341	1 689 acres
PRIVATE LAND, HELD BY CIVILIANS IN TRUST, DEEDS NOT FILED IN NAD		
Farm Name	**Number and Portion**	**Extent ±**
Goedgewaagd	465 (W port.)	9 943 acres
Goedgewaagd	465 (N port. of NW port.)	not given
Haakdoornfontein	77 (unspecified port.)	not given
Kameelfontein	51 (SW port.)	2 389 acres
Magalieslaagte	376 (unspecified port.)	not given
Oskraal	437 (unspecified port.)	not given
Schilpadfontein	1082 (unspecified port.)	not given
Sjambokzynkraal	52 (NW port.)	2 421 acres
Syferfontein	310	10 788 acres
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON PRIVATE LAND OWNED BY WHITES		
Farm Name	**Number and Portion**	**Extent ±**
Boschplaats	507	6 333 acres
Buffelsdrift	337	7 986 acres
Bultfontein	472	17 560 acres
Edendale	458	4 338 acres
Garstfontein	428	6 333 acres
Kalkfontein	no number	7 600 acres
Kameelfontein	51 (N and E ports.)	4 708 acres
Klipdrift	227	4 222 acres
Leeuwkraal	312	6 333 acres
Leeuwkraal	396	10 838 acres
Modderfontein	46	5 488 acres
Riekertslaagte	511	11 753 acres
Rooifontein	378	6 333 acres
Sjambokzynkraal	52 (S and E ports.)	8 617 acres
Witpenskloof	563	6 333 acres
Wynandskraal	154	10 422 acres
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON GOVERNMENT LAND		
No cases reported in the Pretoria district		

Abbreviations		**Conversions**
m.	morgen	600 square roods = 1 morgen
NAD	Native Affairs Department	1.675 morgen = 1 hectare
port.	portion	2.4711 acres = 1 hectare
rds.	square roods	

The Commission consisted of H.W. Struben (chairman), E.H. Hogge and W.E. Kolbe. On 31 May 1907 the Commission completed its work.[26]

In general, the information gathered by the NLC confirms many particulars reported by the CNA (Transvaal) in 1904. Furthermore, the minutes of the NLC provide additional updated information and also clarify many ambiguities contained in the CNA

26. National Archive (Pretoria), Collection 492/06, File C27.

report. Only information that resulted in changes to or the expansion of the information in Table 3.1 are summarized below (Table 3.2).

By 1907 the title deeds of land previously believed to be held in trust for natives were found to be either filed at the Native Affairs Department or to be deeds held by whites or mission societies on their behalf. Hence, the sub-categorisation of land owned by natives introduced by the CNA (Transvaal, 1904) no longer applied. After changes to farm particulars were made, the information was re-organised in terms of the land categories at that stage:

(1) Defined Locations
  (1.a) Defined Locations on Government Land
  (1.b) Defined Locations on Private Land
(2) Private Land in Trust
(3) Undefined Locations
  (3.a) Undefined Locations on Private Land
  (3.b) Undefined Locations on Government Land.

TABLE 3.2 MAIN POINTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE NATIVE LOCATION COMMISSION (NLC), 1905-1907

1.	**Unclarified portion of Krelingspost 111**
(a)	The unclarified portion of the farm Krelingspost 111 proclaimed (Minute R. 1224/86) as part of the location of Moemise Motsipe (Sjambok) measured 910 morgen (m.) and nil square roods (rds.).
2.	**Corrections to the report of the CNA (1904)**
(a)	The total extent of Palmietfontein 190 (private land, held by civilians in trust, deeds filed in Native Affairs Department (NAD)) was established as 5 833 m. 97 rds. A small section of 10 m. 300 rds. remained in the possession of the Hermansburg Mission Society.
(b)	The size of Kaalzandbult 341 registered in the name of the Hermansburg Mission Society (private land, held by civilians in trust, deed filed in NAD) was established as 7 275 acres.
(c)	The sizes of the portions of land purchased by H. Kaiser of the Hermansburg Mission Society on behalf of the Kwena of Mamogale were the eastern portion of the farm Magalieslaagte 376 (494 m. 17 rds.) and the southeastern portion of Oskraal 437 (1 015 m. 436 rds.).
(d)	It was established that the portions of the farms Rhenosterdrift 375 (western portion of the southwestern portion, measuring 922 m. 488 rds.) and Wildebeestkuil 8 (western portion, measuring 1 680 m. 533 rds.), which were held in trust for Solomon Makapan and tribe by the CNA, were much smaller than previously indicated.
(e)	The unsurveyed farm Kalkfontein later became the farm Uitvlugt 523.
(f)	It became clear that the original farm Schilpadfontein comprised four sections. The southern and eastern section comprised Government land occupied with permission by Robert Moepi and tribe and was known as Moepi 548 (1 963 m. 416 rds.). The central section (Schilpadfontein 79, 1762 m. 141 rds.) was purchased by Maubane and tribe and held in trust for them from 1890. The north western section (Schilpadfontein 32) belonged to the Berlin Mission Society. The missionaries resided on the western section of this land while natives occupied the eastern section known as New Halle (804 m. 495 rds). This portion was therefore reclassified as an 'undefined location on private land'.
3.	**Reclassification of portions of Kameelfontein 51 and Sjambokzynkraal 52**
(a)	A dispute over the right to the eastern portion of Kameelfontein 51 (2 313 acres) and the central portion of Sjambokzynkraal 52 (3 116 m. 187 rds.), held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society, was resolved by a Supreme Court ruling (19 May 1905). The titles of the relevant portions of these two farms were then transferred to the CNA and became part of the Hebron location which already included the western portion of Kameelfontein 51 and the northwestern portion of Sjambokzynkraal 52. Another portion of Sjambokzynkraal 52 measuring 818 m. 9 rds. and a portion of Kameelfontein 51 measuring 55.4 acres remained land owned by private white owners.

(continued)

(continued)

4. Land dispute

One of the major tasks of the NLC in the Pretoria District was to deal with a land dispute between the Mosetla-Kgatla of Thipe (Hans Makapan) and the Hwaduba-Kgatla tribe of Swartbooi Mathibe, and with new land claims from both these tribes. The CNA (Transvaal, 1904) indicated that the Mosetla-Kgatla had purchased the farms Boschbult 78 and a portion of Goedgewaagd 465. It further mentioned that the pre-1900 Government of the Transvaal had granted a portion of Goedgewaagd 465 to the Hwaduba-Kgatla. Furthermore, the Hwaduba-Kgatla had purchased another portion of Goedgewaagd 465 and also occupied the southern portion of Witgatboom 62 which included a portion granted by the Government and a private portion purchased by the tribe. Both these tribes complained about encroachment by the other and both these tribes laid claim to the unregistered farm Bles bordering their lands.

(a) It was confirmed from the papers of the NLC (including a Blueprint [Land Affairs No. 1342/1907]) that the farm Boschbult 78 (2 286 m. 440 rds.) and a portion of Goedgewaagd 465 (3750 m. 48 rds.) were owned by the Mosetla-Kgatla of Hans Makapan. It was also established that the southern section of the remaining portion of Goedgewaagd 465 — which was later registered as part of the new farm Goedgewaagd 624 — was owned by the Government in trust for the Mosetla-Kgatla. This portion measured 750 morgen.

(b) The portions of Goedgewaagd 465 occupied by the Hwaduba-Kgatla of Swartbooi Mathibe comprised a Government portion of 960 m. 425 rds. bordering on Witgatboom 62, and a privately owned portion measuring 1 934 acres that later became part of Goedgewaagd 624.

(c) It was also established that the original farm Witgatboom 62 was subdivided into four portions: a northern section and three southern sections. The northern portion later became known as Witgatboom 623 and was owned and occupied by whites. The southern part of Witgatboom 62 comprised three portions: the western, central and eastern portions. According to the report by the CNA the western and central portions represented the Government owned and privately owned land of the Hwaduba-Kgatla, and the eastern portion was referred to as 'Makoer's portion'. It was subsequently established that the Hwaduba-Kgatla's land comprised the western portion granted by the Government (1 699 acres), a privately owned portion of 7 344 acres, as well as the eastern portion (Makoer's land) comprising 5 478 acres.

(d) The NLC established that the people of Hans Makapan and Swartbooi Mathibe resided on and utilized a portion of Government owned land known as the unregistered farm Bles. Their occupation of the land dated back to the 19th century and the Government had even ordered a line between the fields to prevent disputes between the two tribes. Chief Makapan had already applied for either the whole or a part of the farm in 1893. However, the land had been set aside for one of Sekukuni's chiefs (Pasuane), in 1894 a prisoner in Pretoria. After his release Pasuane forfeited his right to the land by returning to Sekhukuniland and Makapan renewed his application to the NLC in November 1906. To consolidate the land of Makapan's Mosetla-Kgatla Mr. Kolbe (15 April 1907) proposed that the relevant portion of Bles be transferred to the natives in exchange for the privately owned portion of Rhenosterdrift 375. The Sub-Native Commissioner expressed reservations about the proposal (10 May 1907). The Secretary for Native Affairs shared these reservations and no additional land was granted to either of the petitioning tribes. As a result of this decision both sections of the farm Bles (3 966 m. 554 rds.) were re-classified as Undefined Locations on Government Land.

5. Additional land category

Letters from the Native Commissioner (Central Division) to the Secretary of the NLC dated 10 January 1906 referring to the Hebron and Jericho Locations, and another dated 12 October 1905 referring to the Sjambok, Mathibe and Maubane Locations, imply that the status of location was not reserved for Government-owned land only. This has resulted in the introduction of 'Private Locations' as an additional land category at this stage of the research. Private location land was land owned by native tribes for the purpose of communal tenure and was officially recognised as such.

(a) The NLC confirmed the status of the farms Palmietfontein 190 and Kaalzandbult 341 purchased by the Bakwena under Mamogale as an official location known as the Jericho location.

(b) It became evident that the farms Schilpadfontein 1082 (portion), Klippan 331, Middelkop 332 and Paaizynpan 1975 were recognised as parts of Maubane's location despite only Paaizynpan being Government land.

(c) A section of the property of the Hwaduba-Kgatla comprising the southern portion of the north-eastern portion of Goedgewaagd 465 (already recognised as a Government location), the western portion of Witgatboom 62 (already recognised as a Government location) and the privately owned central portion of Witgatboom 62, was recognised as a location in its entirety from 1890.

(d) Blueprint 1342 dated March 1907 indicates the farm Boschbult 78 and the western portion of the original farm Goedgewaagd 465 as Makapan's, a location on private land. Although privately owned, this land had already been proclaimed as a location on 26 September 1890.

(continued)

(continued)

6.	**Recording of additional post-1900 events**
(a)	The NLC recorded the purchase of the north-western portion of the farm Elandsfontein 374 by the Mmakau-Kgatla of Moemise Motsipe (286 m. 114 rds.) in 1904. The title to this land was held in trust by the Government.
(b)	The Sub-Native Commissioner (Hammanskraal) reported that the occupants of the undefined location on Witpenskloof 563 moved to the farm Kwarrielaagte 356. Witpenskloof 563 was subsequently removed from the list of Undefined Locations on Private Land and replaced by Kwarrielaagte 356.

Abreviations		**Convertions**
m.	morgen	600 square roods = 1 morgen
NAD	Native Affairs Department	1.675 morgen = 1 hectare
rds.	square roods	2.4711 acres = 1 hectare

2.3.5 STAGE 3: SUB-NATIVE COMMISSIONERS' REPORTS

File C27 Volume 12 of Collection 492/06 in the National Archive (Pretoria) contains information supplied by Sub-Native Commissioners in response to a request by the NLC (Minute No. 308/06) to supply the Commission with information of farms in their districts with more than 20 natives living on them. These farms were referred to by the Native Land Commission (South Africa, 1916:Appendix IV) as "*... land owned and unoccupied by whites but occupied by blacks*".

A report of the Sub-Native Commissioner for the ward Pretoria dated 27 December 1906 and marked S.N.C.P. 1568/1906 lists 106 such farms. A report of the Sub-Native Commissioner for the ward Hammanskraal dated 11 January 1907 and marked H.K. 730/06 No. 47/07 indicates an additional 62 farms. Some of these references were already included under existing categories of the land classification and one farm (Rietfontein 24) and parts of another (Wonderboom 311) formed part of the proclaimed urban area of Pretoria. The remainder (a total of 148 items) was introduced into the classification framework as an additional category termed 'Other Occupied Land'. The sizes of these occupied farms were not recorded by the NLC and these details were extracted from registers in the offices of the Surveyor-General (Pretoria) or, in the absence of contemporary records, were calculated cartographically from Map M15, dated August 1923 and compiled and lithographed in the Surveyor-General's office, Pretoria.

3.2.6 STAGE 4: PURCHASE BY AND TRANSFER OF LAND TO NATIVES FROM 1905

The ruling by the Supreme Court in 1905 in the case of Tsewu *versus* the Registrar of Deeds enabling the complainant to acquire land in his own right (Transvaal, 1905), resulted in a growing tendency amongst natives to acquire land in individual or collective title without the appointment of a trustee (Transvaal, 1909). Accordingly,

this phase of research was aimed at identifying cases of land purchased by or transferred to natives in the Pretoria area between 1905 and 19 June 1913.

Information obtained from the offices of the Registrar of Deeds (Pretoria) was compared and integrated with the contemporary record of the then Department of Lands contained in two documents held in the National Archive (as part of the collection marked LDE 718.12473/3). One of these documents is accompanied by a letter dated 4 March 1913 and starts with the words: *Herewith lists of properties in the Transvaal Province registered in the names of natives as at 31st January 1913*. The other document is entitled *List of farms and portions of farms transferred to natives during the period 1st June, 1912, to 19th June, 1913*. There is some obvious overlap in the information contained in these two documents. It was found that this data correspond perfectly. The integrated information (Table 3.3) has also been verified by comparing it with the original mapped surveys recorded in the registers of the offices of the Surveyor-General (Pretoria).

TABLE 3.3 LAND TRANSFERS TO NATIVES IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT UP TO 19 JUNE 1913

FARM NAME	NO	PARTICULARS	EXTENT
Buffelsdrift	131	Portion known as Carlsdrift (1957 m. 267 rds.) purchased by George Makapan and tribe (deed 3086/1912). A portion of one of two equal portions of 1480 m. 388 rds. purchased by Bole Ananias and 29 others (deeds 7775-2809/1910).	2 430 m. 509 rds.
Elandsdoorn	225	Purchase of a 5/9 share in a portion (1000 m.) by Palledi Mathebe and tribe (deed 2986/1908). Donation of remaining 4/9 share to Mathebe and tribe (deed 2570/1913). Forty-one 2/189 shares transferred to individuals (deeds 2571-2611/1913).	1 000 m.
Elandsfontein	204	Mathias Loata and 12 others each purchased an undivided 7/780 share in the farm of 5335 m. 105 rds. (deeds 9145-9157/1906). In addition eleven of these individuals purchased an undivided 1/10 share (deed 4114/1913).	1 155 m. 572 rds.
Elandsfontein	374	Transfer of 2/9 share in NW portion of 1287 m. 514 rds. to Moemise Motsipe and tribe (deed 4002/1913).	286 m. 114 rds.
Haakdoornfontein	77	Portion purchased by Solomon Makapan and tribe (deed 2950/1909) adjacent to the trust land of Amos Mathibe and tribe.	1 000 m.
Honingnestkranz	121	Portion purchased by Jan Boyan Sitola (deed 1892/1910).	132 m. 48 rds.
Ida	324	Entire farm purchased by Moemise Motsipe and 82 others (deed 9160/1912).	255 m. 288 rds.
Kleinklipkop	44	Portion purchased by Samuel Motaung and Jan Ramfole (deed 2204/1913).	127 m. 166 rds.
Klipfontein	196	Portion (2700 m.) purchased by Edward Choane for his tribe (deed 4962/1912). Remaining extent (2702 m. 500 rds.) purchased by 36 other natives (deeds 4963-4998/1912).	5 402 m. 500 rds.

(continued)

(continued)

Klipspruit	291	Purchase of a 1/6 share in portion of 383 m. 134 rds. by Mbongo Mabena (deed 10827/1912).	63 m. 522 rds.
Koedoespoort	301	Portion purchased by Elias Loate and 79 others (deed 7319/1909).	1 873 m. 392 rds.
Krokodilkraal	61	Portion purchased by Madise Mpye and others (deed 9445/1912).	1 467 m. 97 rds.
Krokodilspruit	3	Portion purchased by Charlie Roseroka (deed 8287/1912).	127 m. 177 rds.
Kwarrielaagte	356	Purchase of 4/9 share in entire farm of 2619 m. 45 rds. by Palledi Mathebe and others (deeds 2070-2072/1910). Purchase of another 1/9 share by Palledi Mathebe (deed 5381/1910). Donation of the remaining 4/9 share to the tribe (deed 2570/1913) of which a portion was subdivided into forty-one 2/189 shares (deeds 2571-2611/1913).	2 619 m. 45 rds.
Leeuwkraal	414	Portion purchased by Josiah Bolibe and 45 others (deeds 1580-1625/1913).	919 m.
Tottie	493	Entire farm purchased by Moemise Motsipe and 82 others (deed 9160/1912).	108 m. 569 rds.
Tweefontein	529	Various purchases with regard to a certain portion with extent 2173 m. 336 rds.: Nicholas Mgoni 1/60 share (deed 3548/1911), James Mboro 1/40 share (deed 3549/1911), Matheus Tima 1/24 share (deed 3550/1911), Petrus Masango 1/24 share (deed 7129/1911), and Filemon Masako 1/168 share (deed 9153/1912).	284 m. 44 rds.
Uitvalgrond	376	Purchase by Izak Kgasi and 81 others of a share of 5347/5430 in a portion of 2537 m. 24 rds. (deeds 1899-1980/1912).	2 498 m. 157 rds.
Vandijkspruit	405	Purchase by Mbongo Mabena of a 1/13 share in a portion of 2083 m. (deed 10827/1912).	160 m. 138 rds.
Wilgekuil	80	Purchase of a portion of 1553 m. 64 rds. by Jacob Ntsie and 29 others (deed 8451/1910). Four of these partners resold their interests to Hetseron Loata and three others (deed 5658/1911).	1 553 m. 64 rds.

Abbreviations
m. morgen
rds. square roods

Conversions
600 square roods = 1 morgen
1.675 morgen = 1 hectare

Table 3.3 shows that land could be purchased by natives, subdivided among or repurchased by other natives, transferred to natives (in the case of land previously held in trust), and donated to groups (tribes); transactions either involved entire farms, portions of farms, or shares in farms or portions of farms. Furthermore, a single deed record could include different portions of a farm and even different farms. Table 3.3 indicates one case of trust land transferred in the names of their native owners, namely Elandsfontein 374 (portion). Also, a number of the purchases after 1905 involved land that was already occupied by natives.

The practice of registering land to be held in trust by the Government nevertheless continued and two such cases occurred between

1905 and 1913:

(1) a portion of the farm Goedgewaagd 465 (3 750 m. 48 rds.) previously held in trust by the Commissioner of Native Affairs for the Mosetla-Kgatla was originally registered as being held in trust for Hans Makapan; following his death the land was transferred by order of the Supreme Court to the Minister of Native Affairs in trust for the tribe (deed 1319/1910);

(2) the eastern section of a portion of Schilpadfontein 79 known as New Halle measuring 804 m. and 495 rds. and owned by the Berlin Mission Society, previously classified as an 'Undefined Location on Private Land', was purchased by Robert Moepi and tribe (deed 8695/1911) to be held in trust by the Minister of Native Affairs.

3.2.7 STAGE 5: FINAL ORDERING OF INFORMATION

The final land classification comprises seven categories. These have been ordered in terms of the security of tenure entailed by each:

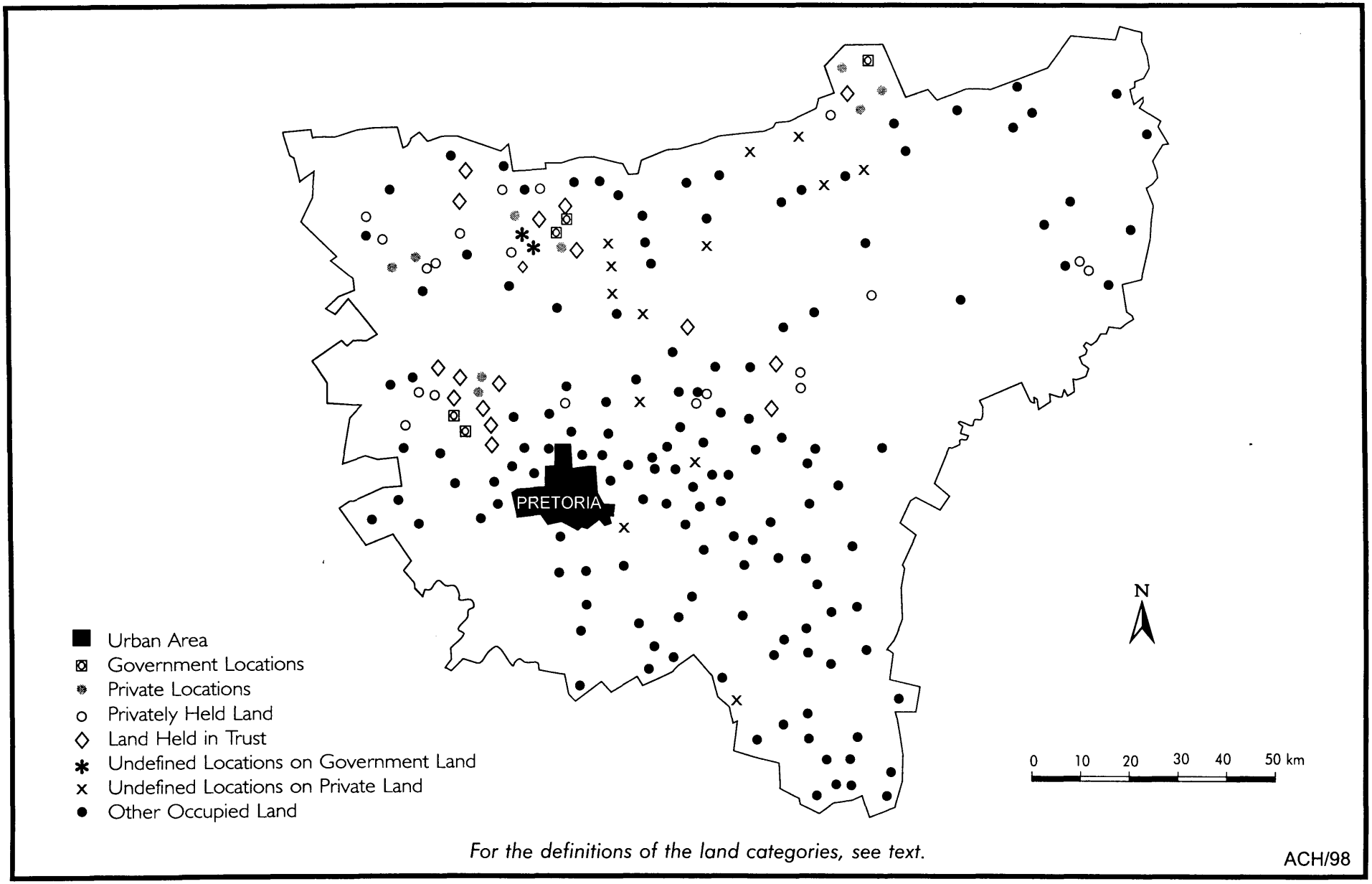
(1) Government Locations
(2) Private Locations
(3) Privately Held Land
(4) Land Held in Trust
(5) Undefined Locations on Government Land
(6) Undefined Locations on Private Land
(7) Other Occupied Land.

A particular portion of land has been classified as high in the above rank-order as possible, with land category (1) representing the highest possible rank and category (7) the lowest. Cases occur where one portion of a farm is classified as one particular type and a second portion as another. In cases where an entire farm was initially classified as 'Other Occupied Land' and a portion was later purchased by natives, the remainder of the farm has retained the initial classification since there is no indication that the purchased portion accommodated all the natives that resided on the farm. Data were finally re-ordered and each piece of information was again verified against all available records.

3.2.8 REPRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

Figure 3.5 indicates the locations of native occupied land and Table 3.4 provides further particulars of the land involved.

FIGURE 3.5 LOCATION OF LAND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT ON 19 JUNE 1913



For the definitions of the land categories, see text.

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TABLE 3.4 LAND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT ON 19 JUNE 1913

LAND CATEGORY Name * *De jure* occupied land	No.	Ha
GOVERNMENT LOCATIONS *		
Goedgewaagd	465	822.9
Hoekfontein	394	3 238.1
Krelingspost	111	779.4
Paaizynpan	1975	5 278.0
Witgatboom	62	687.6
Sub Total		**10 806.0**
PRIVATE LOCATIONS *		
Boschbult	78	1 958.7
Kaalzandbult	341	2 944.0
Kameelfontein	51	970.3
Klippan	331	4 235.2
Middelkop	332	3 596.2
Palmietfontein	190	4 996.3
Schilpadfontein	1082	3 191.4
Sjambokzynkraal	52	983.1
Witgatboom	62	2 972.1
Sub Total		**25 847.3**
PRIVATE LAND IN TRUST *		
Boekenhoutskloof	146	1 708.6
Doornkraal	4	57.5
Goedgewaagd	465	3 211.9
Goedgewaagd	624	1 425.1
Haakdoornfontein	77	2 344.5
Jakkalsdans	450	1 534.2
Kafferskraal	323	606.5
Kameelfontein	51	913.5
Magalieslaagte	376	423.2
Oskraal	437	870.0
Rhenosterdrift	375	790.4
Schilpadfontein	79	689.3
Sjambokzynkraal	52	2 669.2
Syferfontein	310	4 377.6
Wildebeesthoek	20	430.4
Wildebeestkuil	8	1 439.7
Witgatboom(Makoers)	62	2 216.9
Sub Total		**25 708.5**

LAND CATEGORY Name * *De jure* occupied land	No.	Ha
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON PRIVATE LAND		
Boschplaats	507	2 354.2
Buffelsdrift	337	3 241.4
Bultfontein	472	7 086.6
Edendale	458	1 755.6
Garstfontein	428	4 013.0
Kalkfontein(Uitvlugt)	523	2 731.0
Klipdrift	227	2 237.0
Leeuwkraal	312	4 427.5
Leeuwkraal	396	4 406.3
Modderfontein	46	2 129.0
Riekertslaagte	511	3 543.7
Rooifontein	378	4 412.7
Wynandskraal	154	4 201.2
Sub Total		**46 539.2**
PRIVATELY HELD LAND *		
Buffelsdrift	131	2 082.1
Elandsdoorn	225	856.5
Elandsfontein	204	990.1
Elandsfontein	374	245.1
Haakdoornfontein	77	856.5
Honingnestkranz	121	113.1
Ida	324	218.8
Kleinklipkop	44	109.0
Klipfontein	196	4 627.7
Klipspruit	291	54.7
Koedoespoort	301	1 604.8
Krokodilkraal	61	1 256.7
Krokodilspruit	3	109.0
Kwarrielaagte	356	2 243.3
Leeuwkraal	414	787.2
Tottie	493	93.3
Tweefontein	529	243.3
Uitvalgrond	376	2 173.1
Vandijkspruit	405	137.2
Wilgekuil	80	1 330.3
Sub Total		**20 131.8**

(continued)

(continued)

UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON GOVERNMENT LAND					
Bles (two sections)	unreg.	3 397.8			
				Sub Total	**3 397.8**
OTHER OCCUPIED LAND					
Hammanskraal Ward					
Allemansdrift	222	2 260.8	Kameelrivier	75	4 178.0
Bezuidenhoutskraal	510	3 425.2	Klipfontein	482	4 435.7
Boekenhoutkloof	255	3 495.0	Klipplaatdrift	266	2 834.7
Buffelsdrift	131	2 104.1	Kloppersbosch	516	3 305.7
Buffelspruit	253	5 397.8	Krokodilkraal	61	2 992.0
Bultfontein	293	5 483.6	Kromkuil	122	2 473.7
De Beersput	388	2 264.5	Leeuwkraal	414	3 414.7
De Langesdam	195	1 411.0	Leeuwkraal	435	1 746.1
De Wagendrift	453	4 174.3	Mamagalieskraal	413	5 319.1
De Witskraal	519	3 998.0	Onderstepoort	496	4 188.0
Doornfontein	247	586.4	Pankoppen	505	4 233.9
Doornpoort	506	3 924.2	Rooikop	509	4 169.6
Elandsfontein	204	3 579.6	Rust der Winter	508	3 010.0
Elandskraal	42	3 178.4	Stinkwater	585	5 107.1
Enkeldoorn	373	4 178.0	Tambotielaagte	364	2 351.9
Flinkzyndrift	119	4 648.5	Tweefontein	268	5 979.4
Haakdoornboom	370	4 403.9	Vaalboschbult	499	4 194.5
Hartebeestspruit	288	3 072.9	Walmansthal	116	3 038.0
Honingnestkrantz	121	4 062.0	Waterval	125	2 237.5
Kalkbank	112	1 702.8	Wolfhuiskraal	137	3 806.7
Kameelfontein	106	3 172.6	Zandfontein	26	3 406.8
Kameelpoort	278	6 771.0		**Sub Total**	**153 717.7**
OTHER OCCUPIED LAND					
Pretoria Ward					
Baviaanspoort	470	861.5	Randjesfontein	559	4 080.6
Beynespoort	520	3 123.7	Rhenosterfontein	290	3 053.8
Blesbokfontein	533	2 800.3	Rhenosterfontein	486	2 151.3
Bloempoort	562	5 826.8	Rietfontein	15	2 767.0
Boekenhoutkloof	263	1 456.4	Rietfontein	21	2 981.3
Boschkop	313	2 759.1	Rietfontein	89	2 160.1
Brakfontein	104	3 588.0	Rietfontein	114	2 516.0
Brandbach	574	2 451.1	Rietfontein	270	4 370.0
Broederstroom	163	3 315.0	Rietfontein	280	3 729.0
Cowenburg	16	1 711.0	Rietfontein	501	2 599.0
Cyferfontein	33	2 965.8	Rietkuil(Vaalbank)	460	3 564.7
De Kroon	420	1 581.0	Rietvallei	221	4 481.0
Derdepoort	469	1 408.4	Rietvlei	433	1 301.1
Diepsloot	262	4 076.9	Rustfontein	401	3 853.2

(continued)

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Donkerhoek	274	1 974.8	Scheerpoort	260	4 546.0
Doornkloof	431	837.3	Schietpoort	409	3 264.8
Doornkloof	449	5 373.8	Schurweberg	381	3 656.0
Doornkraal	4	4 680.1	Slagboom	513	4 621.4
Droogefontein	447	4 653.0	Steenkoolspruit	550	2 341.8
Dwarsfontein	145	3 243.8	The Willows	23	2 932.1
Elandsdoorn	225	5 625.8	Tweefontein	167	2 947.0
Elandsfontein	35	3 276.8	Tweefontein	303	5 726.7
Elandsfontein	452	5 215.7	Tweefontein	309	4 429.0
Elandshoek	74	2 181.3	Tweefontein	522	4 524.7
Franspoort	426	1 620.4	Uitzicht	586	3 042.1
Goedehoop	175	1 954.3	Vaalbank	542	3 373.6
Grootplaats(De Rust)	194	4 762.0	Valschspruit	103	3 272.0
Hartbeesthoek	524	3 364.8	Varkfontein	166	2 300.0
Hartebeestfontein	592	1 688.0	Vlakfontein	393	1 838.0
Hartebeestpoort	304	1 644.0	Vlakfontein	535	3 655.6
Hekpoort	430	2 901.8	Vlakplaats	10	2 101.5
Haverklip	14	2 936.0	Waaikraal	240	1 746.0
Kaalfontein	554	3 199.0	Waterval	50	3 522.1
Kafferskraal	406	1 623.5	Weilaagte	172	2 618.7
Kalkput	307	2 515.6	Welgelegen	544	3 846.0
Kameelkop	246	1 092.0	Witfontein	53	2 300.0
Katboschfontein	434	2 479.2	Witfontein	536	3 901.0
Kleinklipkop	441	80.8	Witklip	70	1 622.2
Kleinzonderhout	429	2 682.8	Witlipbank	425	3 906.0
Klipspruit	279	2 938.9	Witpoort	276	2 756.5
Koedoespoort	299	1 351.1	Wolvenfontein	468	2 839.8
Koffiespruit	541	3 093.4	Wolvenkraal	421	3 728.9
Leeuwfontein	320	1 171.4	Wonderboom	311	1 806.3
Leeuwkloof	150	2 060.2	Zandfontein	93	3 206.0
Lotteringspoort	9	5 450.0	Zesfontein	170	2 785.0
Middelbult	171	3 191.0	Zilkaatsnek	379	3 749.8
Mooiplaats	502	4 103.8	Zorgvliet	254	2 551.0
Moosriviersmond	134	2 781.0	Zuurfontein	369	3 189.7
Nooitgedacht	538	3 737.3	Zwartkop	476	6 485.0
Olifantsfontein	495	5 557.3	Zwartkoppies	289	2 740.6
Pienaarspoort	500	2 953.9	**Sub Total**		**309 401.9**
			Other occupied land **Sub Total**		**463 119.6**

SUMMARY

Extent of the Pretoria district:	**1 690 525.0 ha**
Extent of the rural component of the Pretoria district:	**1 671 381.0 ha**
Extent of land occupied by natives:	**595 550.2 ha**
Extent of *de jure* occupied land:	**82 493.6 ha**
Extent of other *de facto* occupied land:	**513 056.6 ha**

On 19 June 1913 the urban component (19 144 ha) represented only 1.1 percent of the entire Pretoria District of 1 690 525 ha whilst the remainder could be regarded as rural land. The 1911 population census (Table 3.5) indicates a total population of 157 444 people of which 35.1 percent were white and 64.9 percent were natives. The native population of 102 151 included a relatively small number of coloureds and Asians totalling 4 526 people who were largely urbanized. Just more than one third (38.8 percent) of whites actually resided in the rural areas compared to 68.1 percent of natives.[27] The figures indicate that, generally, each hectare of land in the Pretoria District accommodated approximately 0.03 white and 0.06 native persons, that is, twice more natives than whites.

TABLE 3.5 POPULATION OF THE PRETORIA DISTRICT, 1911

TOTALS		WHITES	NATIVES	Africans	Coloureds/Asians
Total	157 444	55 293	102 151	97 625	4 526
Urban	70 289	37 716	32 573	28 953	3 620
Rural	87 155	17 577	69 578	68 672	906

Extent of Pretoria District: 6 641 square miles (= 17 200 km^2)

Densities

Persons per square mile	Whites per square mile	Natives per square mile
23.71 (9.15/km^2)	8.33 (3.21/km^2)	15.38 (5.94/km^2)

Sources:
South Africa (1913: Schedule B, p.c/xxviii; Schedule C, p.c/xxxv; Annexure, Table xv, p.62)
South Africa (1918: Table 2, p.6)

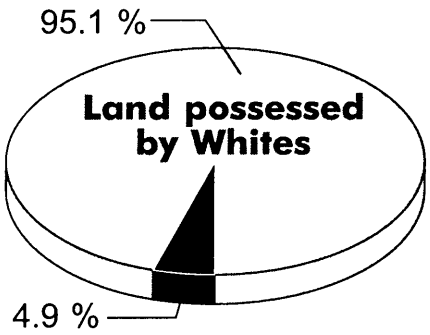
On the basis of 'land possession' (Fig. 3.6), only 4.9 percent of rural land in the Pretoria District on 19 June 1913, or 82 493.6 ha, was owned by natives, who comprised 79.8 percent of the rural population of 87 155 people, a ratio of 0.84 rural native persons per hectare of native rural land or about 1.2 ha per head. On the other hand, 95.1 percent of rural land, or 1 588 887.4 ha, was owned by whites who comprised only 20.2 percent of the rural population, a ratio of 0.01 rural white persons per hectare of white rural land or 90.4 ha per head. The division of rural land between natives and whites is further expressed by the *rural racial land ratio*[28] of 1:76.0.

27. The Beaumont Commission (South Africa, 1916: Appendix IV, p.7) put the African population at 102 000 of which 73 000 were believed to be living in the rural parts of the district.

28. The rural racial land ratio represents the ratio between hectares of native rural land per native person and hectares of white rural land per rural white person.

FIGURE 3.6 PERSPECTIVES ON THE RACIAL OCCUPATION OF LAND IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT ON 19 JUNE 1913

- **PRETORIA DISTRICT COMPRISED 1 690 525 Ha**
- **URBAN LAND COMPRISED 1.1 PERCENT OF THE PRETORIA DISTRICT**
- **RURAL LAND COMPRISED 1 671 381 Ha**

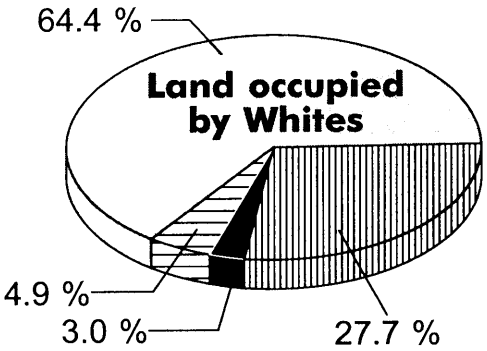


POSSESSION OF RURAL LAND

○ Government Locations	10 806.0 ha
○ Private Locations	25 847.3 ha
○ Privately Held Land	20 131.8 ha
○ Land Held in Trust	25 708.5 ha
Total	82 493.6 ha

DENSITIES

BLACKS	0.84 rural black persons per ha of black rural land: 1.2 ha per head
WHITES	0.01 rural white persons per ha of white rural land: 90.4 ha per head



OCCUPATION OF RURAL LAND

Potential land restitution claims by blacks

Statutory Claimed Land	82 493.6 ha
Undefined Locations	49 937.0 ha
Other Occupied Land	463 119.6 ha
Total	595 550.2 ha

DENSITIES

BLACKS	0.12 rural black persons per ha of black rural land: 8.4 ha per head
WHITES	0.02 rural white persons per ha of white rural land: 61.2 ha per head

For the definitions of the land categories, see text.

ACH/98

On the basis of 'land occupation', natives occupied 35.6 percent of the rural land, and whites 64.4 percent. This gives a ratio of 0.12 rural natives per hectare on native-occupied rural land, or 8.4 ha per head and a ratio of 0.02 white persons per hectare on white-occupied rural land, or 61.21 ha per head. On this basis the *rural racial land ratio* is 1:7.15. It must also be considered that all the land occupied by natives, as indicated, was occupied by them exclusively. On the other hand, most of the land occupied by whites was shared with share croppers, tenants and labourers. In this regard a report by the Native Land Commission (South Africa, 1916:Appendix IV) indicates that less than 21 000 natives in the Pretoria District resided on the land owned or exclusively occupied by them, and that about 72 percent of rural natives lived on land owned by resident whites.

3.3 RECONSIDERATION OF THE OBJECTIVE: COLONIZATION AND TERRITORIALITY IN THE PRETORIA DISTRICT, 1840 TO 1913

It has been shown in this chapter that the Euro-colonial view of the world and the realities of the process of colonization in South Africa provided the context for the land allocation policies superimposed on the communities in the Pretoria District by the colonial government of the Transvaal. Brookes (1974) believes that the whites of the Transvaal were not motivated by a lust for conquest, but by a passion for land. Although contemporary land reform programmes are seen as an attempt to redress some of the consequences of historical processes and anomalies of land occupation and ownership in South Africa (Latsky, 1993) it is clear that restitution measures such as the *Restitution of Land Rights Act* (1994) are misdirected. This research suggests two reasons why the rural restitution process will fail to balance rural land occupation: (1) it is clear that dispossession of land took place mainly during the 19th century, which means that the decision to consider land claims only after 19 June 1913 will prevent any real relief for landless Africans through the process of restitution; and (2) the favouring of proven land possessory rights over informal land rights is a major obstacle. Basing claims for land restitution on *de facto* occupation rather than on *de jure* possession substantially increases the number of potential claims as well as the extent of land.

SEGREGATION AND TERRITORIALITY IN THE PRETORIA AREA, 1910 TO 1947

CHAPTER 4

... a great deal of a theoretical nature
has been written about the South African state,
but little in the way of (quantitative) empirically based studies
S. Dubow

ABSTRACT

In this chapter spatiality is expressed in terms of the interaction between the simultaneous evolution of an Euro-colonial segregationist ideology, based on continuous shift between liberalist and fundamentalist views, and a racially biased land allocation strategy in South Africa between 1910 and 1947. The objective of the analysis was to conduct an empirical audit of rural land allocation and occupation in a defined Pretoria area based on race. A comparison of detailed de jure land records with a reconstruction of de facto land occupation as at 19 June 1913 provided the basis for a quantitative evaluation of subsequent land policies. It was found that the Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913 largely disregarded the reality of de facto land occupation by Africans; that the proposals of the Natives Land Commission (1913-1916) and the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee (1917-1918) perpetuated rather than relieved the critical situation of African landlessness, despite the liberal and enlightened attitude these bodies tried to portray; that the Department of Native Affairs succeeded in transferring significant portions of land to Africans during the 1920s in contravention of the minimalist approach of the fundamentalist Hertzog-government towards land allocation to Africans; and that South African governments between 1936 and 1947 made no significant effort to meet their obligations in terms of the Natives Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936. It is concluded that the application of land policies in the Pretoria area between 1910 and 1947 provides a strong moral basis for a land redistribution programme, but, at the same time, provides little evidence for land restitution in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994.

In this chapter the socio-spatial dialectic, and in particular the expression of communal identity by way of territoriality on a large geographical scale, is analyzed in terms of the allocation of rural land to Africans in the Pretoria area[1] in the period 1910 to 1948. This period of time represents the era of South African history that followed after the subordination of the indigenous peoples, the colonization of their land, and the resolution of the struggle for supremacy between the various white colonial factions on the Southern African sub-continent. It was a period in which the social, political and spatial organization of society was based on the principles of racial segregation as it was applied in most European colonies at the time.

The focus of this chapter is on the re-allocation of land to Africans in the Pretoria countryside against the background of attempts to define an ideology of social and spatial segregation in the South African context. In terms of the general aim of the study the specific objective of this chapter is to broadly contextualize and specifically exemplify the organization of rural land occupation in the Pretoria area between 1910 and 1947 in order to fascilitate understanding of the interaction between agency, that is both individual behaviour and social ideology, and structure, that is both the normative framework of policy/legislation and the spatial order of rural land occupation.

4.1 SPATIALITY: IDEOLOGY AND TERRITORIALITY

The first half of the 20th century in South Africa represents a search by successive white governments for a ideology that would allow it to assert white domination and at the same time to deal with the intensifying land conflict between blacks, particularly Africans, and whites (Duval, 1974). This period of social organization is often referred to as the 'era of segregation'. Although segregation between culturally different groups was regarded as a fundamental characteristic of colonial societies (Evans, 1911), it became a distorted and metamorphic ideology in the South African context. In contrast to many other European colonies such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America, the indigenous people of South Africa far outnumbered the colonists at the start of the 20th century (Christopher, 1994). As a result the aim of segregation was not only to socially separate different classes of society, but also to institutionalize the political and economical priorities of the small white community.

Although it is accepted that land policies in South Africa between 1910 and 1947 were based on the general principles of racial segregation, liberalist's and

1. The Pretoria area is defined in this chapter as the area between the Crocodile River and one of its branches, the Hennops River, in the west and the contiguity of the Wilge, Elands and Olifants Rivers in the east, and between the 25° 00' and 26° 00' southern parallels.

fundamentalist's differed in how these principles should be applied. The frequent shifting of policy as the one and then the other became the governing principle had critical impact on the land needs of rural Africans. It is hoped that this study can demonstrate that the segregation policies of successive South African governments between 1910 and 1947 did not reflect actual settlement patterns in the Pretoria area nor did it relieve landlessness amongst Africans[2], and it is aimed to relate this local history to current land reform processes in South Africa.

4.1.1 SEGREGATION: LIBERALIST AND FUNDAMENTALIST VIEWS

Segregation is "... *the act, process, or state of being separate or set apart ... (it) is a form of isolation which places limits or restrictions upon contact, communication, and social relations*" (Berry, 1965:199). As such, segregation is a consequence of a strongly developed collective consciousness, an ethnocentrism, which is a universal characteristic of societies and communities (Vail, 1989). Principally, segregation implies a segmental social organization based on an egalitarian view of human beings (Horton, 1975; Cohen, 1976) which, in itself, need not lead to interethnic conflict, ethnic stratification, coercion or discrimination (Noel, 1975). However, while egalitarian segmentation is quite common *between* political or geographical units it is seldom the case *within* such units. In reality segregation usually "... *involves unequal treatment, and it is commonly a condition forced upon one group by another*" (Berry, 1965:199).

The obvious prevalence of a hierarchial stratified order over an equitable segmented order in nature was also an established principle of society when the expansion of Europe commenced (Davenport, 1987). The commission to Christianize, economic needs and the urge to test new technology were the reasons behind the exploration and conquest of the unknown world. According to Hoernlé (1939:68), "*(t)he sheer vigour of this movement of expansion, continuing with increasing momentum through three centuries, begat inevitably a mood of unquestioning confidence in the superiority of Western civilization, and, by implication, in the superiority of the carriers of that civilization*." Based on the conviction of their superiority which was enhanced by emerging social Darwinist theories of an innate and permanent racial hierarchy, segregation became a condition for maintaining the colonists' political and economic institutions (Lieberson, 1975). At the same time their mission to civilize "... *envisaged a universal upward progression of 'primitive' peoples*

2. The land policies under consideration dealt specifically with 'natives' or black Africans, as this term was interpreted at the time. The term 'natives' is retained in authentic references, otherwise it is replaced by the term 'Africans'.

from a state of 'barbarousness'" (Dubow, 1989:8).

According to Van Biljon (1947), Cape colonial society saw itself as the custodian of Christianity and European civilization whilst the natives were seen as barbarians. The segregation of different cultures was, thus, regarded as a justifiable means of encouraging the development of Africans along the lines of their natural advance. Although society was hierarchial it allowed for close affective bonds between masters and slaves (Van den Berghe, 1965).

However, during the early 19th century the land conflict between whites and Africans intensified and segregation on the outskirts of the Cape colony bordered on crude racism. A split within the white society on the basis of ideology and ethnic perceptions was inevitable (Brookes, 1974). This split divided the white society into pro-Afrikaner and pro-English, and into core and frontier factions resulting in migration on a grand scale and the founding of new white colonies in South Africa.

Liberalist and fundamentalist views on ethnic relations emerged amongst whites.[3] However, while there were differences between these, it must be emphasized that both traditions were committed to white supremacy, the promotion of Christianity and the maintenance of Western civilization (Hoernlé, 1939; Brookes, 1974; Davenport, 1989).

The fundamentalist perspective on ethnic relations in South Africa was founded on the basic principles of the European mission to Christianize, particularly enhanced by the Calvinistic doctrine and distorted under frontier conditions (Templin, 1984). According to Hoernlé (1939:63) it evolved in a white community "... *struggling for self-preservation by domination against the members of a non-(w)hite race ... regarded as unassimilable on the threefold ground on being black, being pagan, and being uncivilized*." The fundamentalists viewed their mission as divine and their approach was inflexible (Ngubane, 1963). They believed in a definitive racial hierarchy in which they were an elect people called to rule. In addition they remorsed miscegenation, feared racial degeneration, and feared being engulfed by the native majority (Van Biljon, 1947; Van den Berghe, 1965; Thompson, 1990; Sparks 1990). The fundamentalist perspective underpinned the uncompromising segregation policies of the inland Dutch-Afrikaner colonies between 1840 and 1910. Between 1910 and 1947 this perspective also became the underlying principle of Hertzogism, a minimalist approach to accommodating non-whites in society and allocating land to them.

The liberalist tradition of the Cape Colony evolved in the early 19th century from British liberalism (see Eccleshall, 1986; Bellamy, 1990) and from the original European mission to Christianize, both strongly influenced by the growing humanist movement through the Aborigines Committee of the British House of Commons (Davenport,

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3. The 'liberalist' and 'fundamentalist' traditions are also referred to as the 'missionary' and 'colonist' perspectives; the terms 'trusteeship/guardianship' as opposed to 'mastership', and 'accommodationist' as opposed to 'minimalist' are also used.

1987). The humanist motto of 'freedom, liberty, and brotherhood', combined with a good deal of frontier realism, inspired Cape liberalism. In contrast to the rigid frontier pro-Afrikaner fundamentalists the urbanized pro-British Cape liberalists were able to distinguish between moral and economic necessities and "... *maintained a fairly flexible attitude, which continually adapted itself to the demands of a changing situation*" (Ngubane, 1963:19). According to Horton (1975) this perspective represents an egalitarian view of humanity within an elitist consensual framework: political or numerical minorities, though viewed as equals, are contained through socialization to dominant values.

During the second half of the 19th century the social ideologies and segregation policies of the various colonies in South Africa changed considerably as these colonies gradually moved towards a common perspective on racial issues. In the Cape Colony true liberalism gradually lost ground to a more fundamentalist form of paternalism (Bundy, 1979; Trapido, 1980; Lewson, 1983; Du Toit, 1987). This doctrine of paternalism became embedded in the concept of separatism and a system of trusteeship as soon as economic necessities started to override moral obligations. The *Glen Grey Act* of 1894 finally transformed Cape native land holdings into native reserves similar to those in the Transvaal. After the annexation of Natal to the Cape Colony in 1845, the system of trusteeship rapidly degraded under severe frontier conditions to the fundamentalist segregationist, often racist, position of the Shepstonian system (Sullivan, 1928; Welsch, 1973; Brookes, 1974). In the Transvaal the attitude towards Africans gradually became more accommodating without any compromise of fundamentalist principles (see Rogers, 1933; Stals, 1977). After the annexation of the Transvaal to Great Britain in 1881, the fundamentalist type Shepstonian doctrine of dominant segregation was incorporated into the already existing location system (Stals, 1985). At the same time the Orange Free State maintained a fundamentalist position by allocating only two native areas, with the rest of the native population "... *scattered over hundreds of white farms as labourers, kept indeed in strict subordination*" (Brookes, 1974:97).

With liberalism languishing and no longer the morally confident ideology it had been in 1830, and with fundamentalism becoming the accepted colonial paradigm (Evans, 1911), white South African ethnic and segregationist perspectives were by the end of the 19th century closer to one another than ever before. The evolution of segregation policies that emerged during the early 20th century need, nevertheless, to be understood in terms of these two marginally different but opposing ideological positions.

4.1.2 AUDIT OF TERRITORIAL SEGREGATION

Dubow (1989:10) points out that "... *a great deal of a theoretical nature (has been)*

written about the South African state, but little in the way of empirically based studies." In more recent years the volume of published material dealing with a *qualitative empirical* perspective has increased significantly. Such reports have usually used empirical evidence to analyze theoretical hypotheses and to evaluate related concepts and principles. By contrast, there are few published contributions dealing with *quantitative analytical* research, particularly research in a regional or locality setting which quantitatively evaluates the impact and outcomes of land policies

In this chapter, the analysis of the effect of government policies between 1910 and 1947 on access of Africans to land takes the form of a land audit of the Pretoria area and an evaluation of official land policies of the sucessive governments set against the reality of land occupation by Africans.

The study area, that is the Pretoria area, is defined in terms of social, political and economic functional interaction rather than in terms of administrative criteria. The region comprises the area between the Hennops and Crocodile Rivers in the west and the contiguity of the Wilge, Elands and Olifants Rivers in the east, and between the 25° 00′ and 26° 00′ southern parallels. This area includes most of the Pretoria Magisterial District as it existed in 1910, excluding only the southernmost sections closer to Johannesburg, but including additional peripheral portions of the districts of Groblersdal in the east, Rustenburg in the west, and Warmbaths in the north, areas in which the distribution and settlement of rural Africans was associated with that of the central area. The total extent of this area comprises 19 525.6 km^2, or 1 952 562.5 ha of which approximately one percent or 19 500 ha were proclaimed urban areas.

The analysis is based on a computed dataset of rural cadastral information and land occupation in the Pretoria area during the first half of the 20th century. A total of 802 undivided farm units accommodating a population between about 90 000 in 1910 and 250 000 in 1947 was considered. The location and demarcation of the relevant farm units were done with the aid of Jeppe's map series of the Transvaal (Transvaal, 1899) and Map 15, compiled by the office of the Surveyor-General (South Africa, 1923). The sizes of land units were determined from published sources including Sir Geoffrey Lagden's 1904 report in his capacity as Commissioner of Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904) and the text of the *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913,* and supplemented by various archival sources including the notes of the Native Location Commission, 1905-1907, as well as minutes and memoranda of the then Department of Lands and Department of Native Affairs kept in the National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria. The historical record was also compared with updated records of the current Department of Land Affairs. Differences between the historical and contemporary records were investigated before being reconciled. In a significant number of cases information was obtained from the original survey records in the office of the Surveyor-General, Pretoria. All reported statutory land transfers involving Africans were confirmed by consulting the original transfer and deed records in the office of the Registrar of Deeds, Pretoria.

4.2 LAND OCCUPATION AS AT 19 JUNE 1913

The quantitative analysis of the occupation of rural land in the Pretoria area by Africans starts with an investigation of native settlement on 19 June 1913, the date of publication in *Gazette Extraordinary No. 380* of the *Natives Land Act* (1913). The rural settlement pattern that was laid by the various colonial governments in South Africa during the 19th century was supposedly consolidated by the said act and formed the basis of segregationist land policies (Jeppe, 1970).

The colonization process in the Magaliesberg area, where the town of Pretoria was founded, started in the late-1830s, and by 1840 a number of white farms had been established (Bergh, 1992). The settlers superimposed their settlement in the *Aapies River* ward of the Magaliesberg District over the dispersed distribution pattern of the indigenous Kgatla, Kwena, Manala and other African communities (Potgieter, 1955). Since 1827 the local Africans were the vassals of the Matabele king Mzilikazi who invaded the area, and when the white settlers broke his power in 1837, forcing him to flee, the whites considered the local people as their subjects and laid claim to the land (Rasmussen, 1978; Van der Merwe, 1986; Bergh, 1992). African communities were controlled by force (see Delius, 1983; Van Jaarsveld, 1985; Davenport, 1989, Pienaar, 1991) while the land was re-divided among the white settlers through a system of land surveying and registration (Agar-Hamilton, 1928).

The *Grondwet* (constitution) of the South African Republic (*Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, ZAR*) was drafted in the 1850s[4] on the basis of Calvinist class divisions and ruled out any equality between whites and natives. The Republic was divided into districts and wards governed by local civic officers who also supervised native affairs in their areas. Natives were organized in terms of the labour requirements of the white farming community. Farmers could accommodate four native families per farm as tenants; those natives who were not labour tenants on farms were confined to locations indicated by the local civic officer, where they were administered by a chief or headman recognized by the government.

It was clearly stipulated by the constitution as well as in the *instructions* to local civic officers that land assigned to Africans was granted to them for *perpetual use*, but not as their *property* (Stals, 1977). A Department of Native Affairs was established and in 1880 the Secretary for Native Affairs, succeeded in 1886 by the Superintendant of Natives, became the *ex officio* trustee for land assigned to or purchased by Africans. However, such was the shortage of agricultural land among Africans that more and more white individuals, companies and societies started to act as trustees and landlords. In terms of *Law 3* of 1876 a Location Commission was

4. A constitution, originally drafted in 1853, was finalized in 1859.

established to define proper locations for rural Africans. By the year 1900, 22 locations were proclaimed in the South African Republic. At the same time squatting on other land was unlawful in terms of *Law 11* of 1887 and *Law 21* of 1895, but nevertheless became a widespread occurrence as whites leased land to Africans.

The uncertain status of land occupied by Africans in 1900 that resulted from the inconsisted land policies of the South African Republic was reported by the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904). An inter-colonial Native Affairs Commission (South Africa, 1905) recommended the continuation of a system of land trusteeship for Africans administered by the Government and the restriction of such land acquisitions to defined areas. This resulted in the appointment of an inter-colonial Native Location Commission (NLC) to investigate and clarify the status of land occupied by Africans between 1905 and 1907. The recommendations of the NLC with regard to the Transvaal, including the Pretoria area, were systematically approved by the Executive Council of the Transvaal between 1906 and 1908 (Jeppe, 1970). Land officially allocated to Africans before the unification of South Africa was reserved by the *South Africa Act* (1909) for the exclusive occupation of Africans under supervision of the State. However, the ruling in 1905, by the Supreme Court in the case of *Tsewu versus the Registrar of Deeds*, established the principle that an African could obtain title to land without restriction — a situation that continued until the introduction of the *Natives Land Act* (1913).

In an attempt to re-construct the occupation of rural land by Africans in the Pretoria area that extends beyond the boundaries of officially assigned land and other legal acquisitions a 'progressive' research method, studying changes in land occupation by moving forward in time to a date in history, 19 June 1913, was used. The main sources of information include published reports of the Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal (Transvaal, 1904) and of the South African Native Affairs Commission (South Africa, 1905). These published sources were supplemented by primary information from notes of the Native Location Commission (1905-1907) kept in the National Archives of South Africa in Pretoria (Collection 492/06, File C27, particularly Volumes 12 and 15), and historical records of the Department of Lands (particularly Collection LDE 718.12473/3) kept at the same institution. Further primary information was drawn from original farm records in the office of the Surveyor-General (Pretoria), and from original transfers and deeds in the office of the Registrar of Deeds in Pretoria. Finally, updated records of the Department of Land Affairs were used to confirm historical evidence where possible.

On 19 June 1913 official sources acknowledged six categories of land occupied by Africans:

(1) freehold land;

(2) trust land recognized as locations (including proclaimed government locations and recognized private locations);
(3) other land held in trust by either the Government or private trustees;
(4) unrecognized locations[5] on State land;
(5) unrecognized locations on private white-owned land; and
(6) land owned but unoccupied by whites and occupied by Africans.

This classification, of course, does not consider African labourers and tenants on white occupied farms.

Analysis based on the progressive research method, and in terms of the six officially recognized land categories, indicates rural land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area on 19 June 1913 totalling 592 590.8 ha including *de jure* occupied land to the extent of 84 452.9 ha, and other *de facto* occupied areas totalling 508 137.9 ha (Table 4.1). The classification of rural land occupied by Africans is explained in more detail in the text below.

1. **Freehold land** is land registered in the name of an individual African, a group of Africans, or an individual African on behalf of a group of Africans. The 21 African freehold land units in the study area totalled 22 005.4 ha.

2. **Trust land recognized as locations** included land units that were proclaimed before 1900 as government locations for communal occupation (these were the Makapan's, Maubane's, Sjambok's and Swartbooi's locations) and other units of trust land under communal occupation that were recognized as locations for administrative purposes (according to the papers of the Native Location Commission, 1905-1907) although not proclaimed as such and often held in trust by private representatives. Examples of such private locations in the Pretoria area included additional sections of the Makapan's, Maubane's, Sjambok's and Swartbooi's locations as well as the Hebron and Jericho locations. These recognized locations totalled 36 653.3 ha.

3. **Other land held in trust** is land units that were held in trust on behalf of Africans by a Government representative such as the Commissioner for Native Affairs if registered before 1910, and by the Minister of Native Affairs if registered after 1910 or, in a limited number of cases, by any white citizen such as a missionary or farmer, or by an institution such as a missionary society. The remaining extent of trust land, not recognized as locations, totalled 25 794.2 ha.

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5. The term 'unrecognized location' is used for land that was defined by the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904) as 'undefined locations', that is, locations that were acknowledged as *de facto* settlements without official approval.

4. **Unrecognized locations on State land** was a rare occurrence and only two such cases in the Pretoria area, the unregistered farm Bles and the farm Noodhulp 329, were reported, totalling 7 200.4 ha.

5. **Unrecognized locations on private white-owned land** were, on the other hand, a common occurrence and 38 cases encompassing 119 921.7 ha in the Pretoria area were analyzed.

6. **Land owned but unoccupied by whites and occupied by Africans** posed analytical problems. Although the existence of such land units was acknowledged by the Native Location Commission appointed in 1905, it only reported on acknowledged 'undefined locations'. The Natives Land Commission, on the other hand only classified 4 000 ha as land 'owned but unoccupied by whites and occupied by Africans' (South Africa, 1916a)[6], while it is certain that more land was involved. Among the notes of the Native Location Commission in the National Archives of South Africa two documents were found that contain information supplied by Sub-Native Commissioners in response to a request by the Native Location Commission (Minute No. 308/06) to supply the Commission with information of farms with more than 20 natives residing thereon. Although not specified, it is certain that these white-owned farms were only occupied by Africans. A total of 121 farm units in the study area were identified that were not included already in other categories of land occupied by Africans. The extent of these land units totalled 381 015.8 ha.

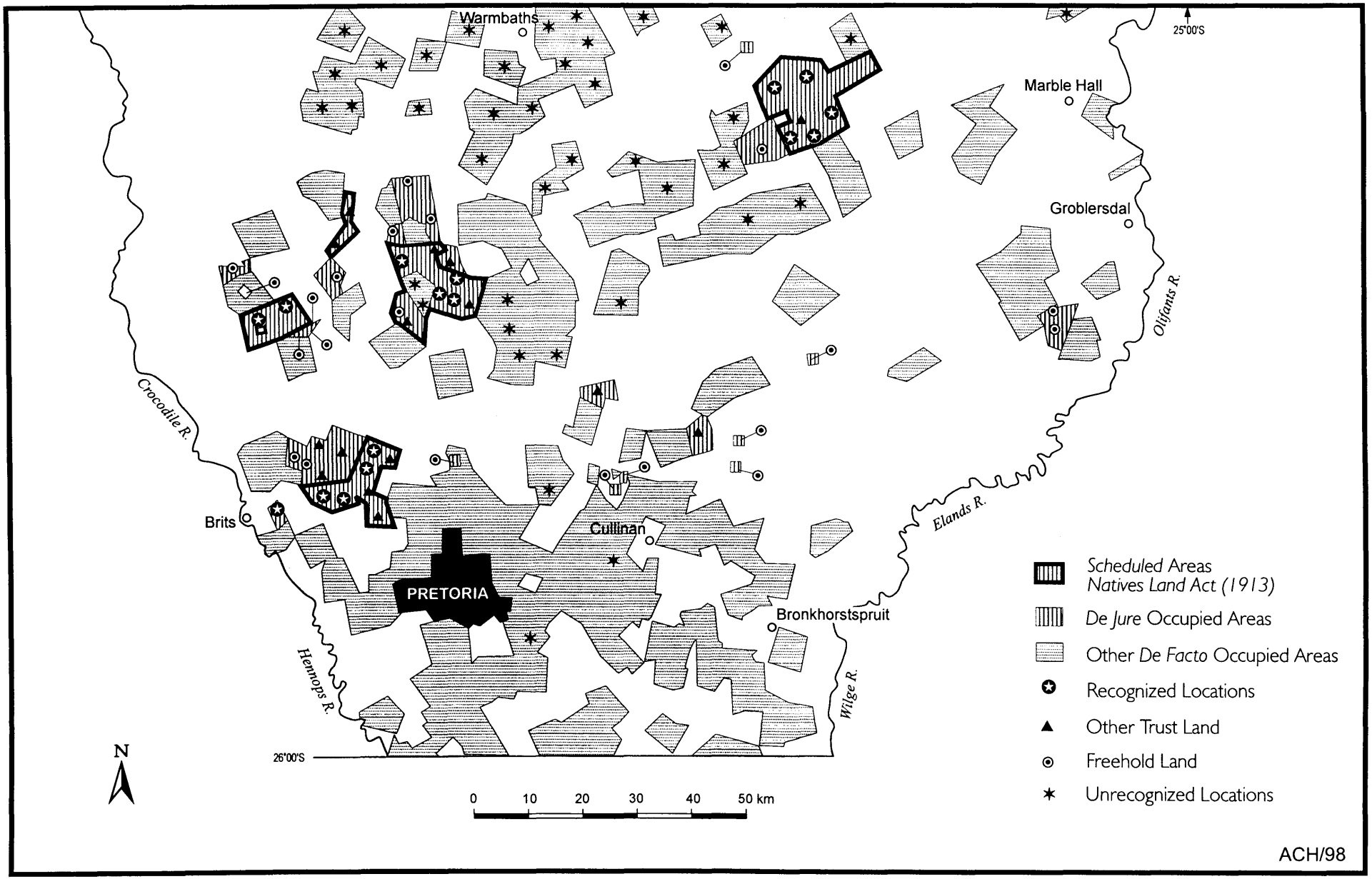
TABLE 4.1: RURAL LAND OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA* AS AT 19 JUNE 1913

***DE JURE* OCCUPIED LAND**	**84 452.9 ha**
Freehold land	22 005.4 ha
Trust land recognized as locations	36 653.3 ha
Other land held in trust	25 794.2 ha
OTHER *DE FACTO* OCCUPIED LAND	**508 137.9 ha**
Unrecognized locations on State land	7 200.4 ha
Unrecognized locations on private white-owned land	119 921.7 ha
Land owned but unoccupied by whites and occupied by Africans	381 015.8 ha
TOTAL	**592 590.8 ha**
* Extent of rural component of the defined Pretoria area: 1 933 062.5 ha	

Figure 4.1 presents the locations and extent of land occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area as at 19 June 1913, a complete account of which can be found in Table 4.18 at the end of this chapter. This settlement distribution provides a reference against which subsequent native land policies are considered.

6. Appendix 1, p. 7.

FIGURE 4.1 OCCUPATION OF LAND BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA AS AT 19 JUNE 1913



4.3 THE NATIVES LAND ACT: WINTER, 1913

The *Natives Land Act* (1913) was the most important of the early laws of the Union of South Africa to affect race relations. The main purpose of the Act was to provide a statutory basis for a policy of territorial separation. This was achieved through integrating various former colonial measures that applied to land occupation by Africans into a single land measure, and by confining the future expansion of land occupied by Africans to consolidated proclaimed areas.

4.3.1 PRELUDE, MOTIVES, STIPULATIONS AND REACTIONS

Following the Treaty of Vereeniging, which brought an end to the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, preparations for the integration of South African colonies brought African land and political issues to the fore. A report by the Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal colony (Transvaal, 1904) highlighted the disorganized state of land tenure by Africans and the general post-war economic crises as two main problems in this area.

Apart from occupying land in the reserves and land bought from whites, Africans occupied land registered in the name of whites as cash paying tenants, sharecroppers and labour tenants (Maasdorp, 1982; Bundy, 1989; Gilliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; Thompson, 1990). Many Africans also believed that the purpose of the war was to displace the whites on the land in their favour (Krikler, 1986). Whites urgently wanted to re-assert their racial suppremacy in both industry and agriculture (Gilliomee & Schlemmer, 1989; Bundy, 1990) and it was necessary to re-regulate African labour into the service of white industry and agriculture (Dubow, 1989).

In 1903 a South African Native Affairs Commission chaired by Sir Geofrey Lagden was appointed to make recommendations "... *with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of Native policy*" (South Africa, 1905:Annexure 1). The Commission's report envisaged the territorial separation of Africans and whites as a permanent, mandatory principle of land ownership. Consequently, a Native Location Commission, which operated between 1905 and 1907, was established in order to define and allocate African reserves. However, this process was undermined by an order of the Supreme Court permitting Africans to purchase land in freehold wherever they choose. In 1908 a *Native Occupation of Lands Bill* was tabled by the newly established Responsible Government in order to stop land transfers to Africans in freehold and to remove Africans from land owned by whites but not occupied by them. The blocking by this legislation by the British representative implied that it's re-

consideration became a priority after the formation of a Union of South Africa, which became independent from Britain, on 31 May 1910.

At the core of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) was a new perception of segregation, a compromise between 19th century liberalism and frontier fundamentalism, between the naivety of egalitarianism and the immorality of outright racial oppression (Evans, 1911). It was the view of Lord Milner when he became the Governor of the two former Afrikaner republics in 1902 that Africans needed and appreciated a just paternal government. Three years later the Native Affairs Commission (South Africa, 1905) expressed the belief that the differences between the whites and Africans were permanent and immutable, leaving no option but to separate the races and create African reserves (Burton, 1987; Wessels & Wentzel, 1989). According to Ashforth (1987:92-93), segregation at this stage embodied "*... a set of theoretical relations between land occupation and political rights and obligations; between territory and citizenship*." In 1908 a Departmental Native Commission in the Cape Colony openly referred to a policy of segregation (Van Biljon, 1947). According to Cell (1982), an organizing principle for white supremacy had been found and by 1910 segregation was seen as essential for the survival of whites (Sparks, 1990).

In 1910 the Union of South Africa was founded on a constitution (*South Africa Act*, 1909) that ensured white political, economic and social supremacy, and an election was held. General Louis Botha was requested by the British representative to form a government. Botha was considered to be "*... in all things moderate, kindly and reasonable*" (Brookes, 1974:203) and in forming the first Union of South Africa Government Botha carefully created a balance between fundamentalists and liberalists. It was the disturbance of this balance that played a major role in the passing of the *Natives Land Act* (1913).

Although liberals and fundamentalists agreed on the principle of segregation, there was concern amongst liberals and even moderate whites about the increasing landless position in which Africans found themselves. In this spirit a *Native Settlement and Squatters Registration Bill* was turned down by Parliament in 1911. According to Feinberg (1993) it was the militant behaviour of J.B.M. Hertzog, a fanatic fundamentalist, that threatened the stability of the Botha government and led to the drafting and promulgation of the *Natives Land Bill*. The Bill was generally considered as a strict measure, minimizing the land rights of Africans. Feinberg (1993) believes that it was only passed by Parliament as a compromise to Hertzog after he lost his ministerial portfolio in December 1912. At the time this piece of legislation was seen as a temporary land measure. The irony is that the *Natives Land Act* (1913) did not reconcile the liberal and fundamentalist factions in the Botha government, yet it was not repealed and became the cornerstone of subsequent segregationist land policies.

The South African Native National Congress was formed in 1912, mainly in opposition to the segregation policy. A delegation representing this organization had four interviews with J.W. Sauer, a Cape liberal who masterminded the *Natives Land Bill*, to protest against it, but the Bill was nevertheless gazetted on 19 June 1913.

In brief, the *Natives Land Act* (1913) made provision for

(1) *scheduled* areas for the exclusive ownership and occupation by Africans;

(2) a moratorium on any purchasing, hiring or other forms of land transactions between whites and Africans in the areas outside the *scheduled* reserves pending an enquiry by a commission; and

(3) the appointment of such a commission of enquiry into African land affairs.

Although the Government accepted that the land *scheduled* by the Act was inadequate (Claassens, 1989), it placed *immediate* restrictions on the freedom of Africans to purchase and lease land (Brookes, 1974). While the Act repealed the regulations concerning the number of Africans on whites farms, it stipulated that it was illegal for an African to be on white land exept as a hired servant. This either forced paying tenants, share-croppers and labour tenants off the land or turned them into payed labourers (Lemon, 1982).

The immediate effect of the Act on Africans was devastating, as recorded at the time by Plaatje (1982). The majority of rural Africans had no option but to become servants and labourers. According to Bundy (1989) rural Africans were not only dispossessed of land but were also deprived of the ability to provide for themselves. "*There is winter in the Natives Land Act...*", stated one witness before the Beaumont Commission (South Africa, 1916b:36).

4.3.2 ANALYSIS

The schedule to the *Natives Land Act* (1913) demarcated a total of 10 422 935 morgen,[7] i.e. 8 927 567.4 ha for the exclusive occupation of Africans,[8] including 59 121.4 ha in the Pretoria area (Table 4.2). A comparison between the land in the Pretoria area *scheduled* by the Act and the rural land in this area actually occupied by Africans (Figure 4.1) is made below.

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7. See van Biljon (1947:467).

8. The *scheduled* areas were extended by means of amendments to the *Natives Land Act* (1913) to a total of 9 190 010 ha (see Hattingh, 1976) without affecting the original size of the *scheduled* land in the Pretoria area.

1. **Recognized locations** — According to Lemon (1987) the areas reserved for African occupation by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) were basically those that had already been reserved as tribal land before 1910. In the Pretoria area nearly the entire extent of 36 653.3 ha of land recognised as locations before 1910, including both government and private locations, was incorporated into the *scheduled* areas (Table 4.3). The only exception was the farm Krelingspost 111, measuring 779.4 ha, which was granted as a location in 1886 by the Location Commission. The extent of recognized location land included in the schedule therefore totalled 35 873.9 ha.

TABLE 4.2: AREAS IN THE PRETORIA AREA ACCORDING TO THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913)

NAME[1]	FARM[2]	No.	morgen	sq. rds.	ha[3]
Makapan	Portion Rhenosterdrift	375	922	483	790.4
	Wildebeestkuil	8	1 680	533	1 439.7
	Boschbult	78	2 286	440	1 958.7
	Portion Goedgewaagd	465	3 750	48	3 212.0
	Portion Haakdoornfontein	77	1 000	0	856.5
	Portion Bles	549	20 901	378	1 790.7
			11 731	82	
Zwartbooi	Portion Witgaboom (Makaesi)	62	2 588	84	2 216.8
	Portion Haakdoornfontein	77	2 737	210	2 344.5
	Portion Witgatboom	62	4 272	455	3 659.8
	Portion Goedgewaagd	465	960	425	822.8
	Portion Bles	549	1 876	176	1 607.1
			12 435	150	
Mamogalie	Portion Kameelfontein	51	1 132	484	970.3
	Portion Kameelfontein	51	1 066	300	913.5
	Portion Kameelfontein	51	30	50	25.8
	Portion Sjambokzijnkraal	52	1 147	422	983.1
	Portion Sjambokzijnkraal	52	3 116	187	2 669.2
	Three portions Palmietfontein	190	5 833	97	4 996.3
	Kalzandbult	341	3 437	54	2 944.0
			15 763	394	
Sjambok	Hoekfontein	394	3 780	300	3 238.1
Moamisa	Kafferskraal	323	708	53	606.5
	Wildebeesthoek	20	502	328	430.4
			1 210	381	
Mabane	South East portion Schilpadfontein	79	1 762	141	1 509.4
	Portion Schilpadfontein	(New Halle)	804	495	689.3
	Klippan	331	4 944	383	4 235.2
	Middelkop	332	4 198	383	3 596.2
	Paaizijn-Pan	183	6 162	45	5 278.0
	Maepi	548	1 963	416	1 682.0
			19 836	21	
	Geelbekvlei (Waterberg)	345	4 267	216	3 655.1
			TOTAL		**59 121.4**

1. and 2. Original wording used
3. Conversion: 600 square roods = 1 morgen; and 1.1675 morgen = 1 ha

2. **Other trust land** — Of the total extent of 25 794.2 ha of non-location land held in trust 15 312.3 ha or 59.4 percent were included in the schedule of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) while 10 481.9 ha were excluded (Table 4.4). Of the total extent of land held in trust on behalf of the African owners, 16 963.9 ha or 66 percent were held in trust by the Government, 5 247.6 ha were held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society (HMS), while trusteeship of the HMS of a further 3 582.7 ha was disputed by the Government.[9] About 31 percent of the land to which the Government had been appointed trustee was not accommodated by the schedule and included portions of Goedgewaagd 624 and Uitvalgrond 376 bordering on the *scheduled* areas. While two farms, Kaalzandbult 341 and Palmietfontein 190, held in trust by the HMS and recognised as private locations were included in the schedule (see previous section) none of the non-location land held in trust by the HMS was included. Yet, the entire extent of land over which the Government and the missionaries disputed trusteeship was included into the *scheduled* areas.

TABLE 4.3: STATUS OF RECOGNIZED AFRICAN LOCATIONS IN THE PRETORIA AREA ACCORDING TO THE SCHEDULE OF THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913)

GOVERNMENT LOCATION LAND INCLUDED*			
Name	**No.**	**Date location granted**	**Ha**
Goedgewaagd	465	1885	822.9
Hoekfontein	394	1886	3 238.1
Paaizynpan	1 975	1886	5 278.0
Witgatboom	62	1885	687.6
		Sub-Total	**10 026.6**
* The farm Krelingspost 111 (779.4 ha), a part of the Government location of Moamise Motsipe (Sjambok) granted in 1886, was excluded from the schedule of the Act			
PRIVATE LOCATION LAND INCLUDED (No exclusion)			
Name	**No.**	**Trustee or land owner**	**Ha**
Boschbult	78	State	1 958.7
Kaalzandbult	341	HMS	2 944.0
Kameelfontein	51	State	970.3
Klippan	331	State	4 235.2
Middelkop	332	State	3 596.2
Palmietfontein	190	HMS	4 996.3
Schilpadfontein	79	State	1 509.4
Schilpadfontein	548	State	1 682.0
Sjambokzynkraal	52	State	983.1
Witgatboom	62	State	2 972.1
		Sub-Total	**25 847.3**
		TOTAL	**35 873.9**
HMS - Hermansburg Mission Society			

9. The Hermansburg Mission Society obtained the right to the relevant portions of the farms Kameelfontein 51 and Sjambokzynkraal 52 in the 19th century. Following a dispute over the right to the land, the Government took charge of it in 1908 on order from the Supreme Court. However, the mission society only forfeited its claim to the land in 1925 when it was transferred to the Minister of Native Affairs in trust for a group of Africans.

3. **Freehold land** — Of the 21 land units registered in the name of Africans on 19 June 1913 totalling 22 005.4 ha, only one unit, a portion of Haakdoornfontein 77 with an area of 856.5 ha, became part of the *scheduled* area (Table 4.5). This implies that more than 96 percent of African freehold areas was exempted by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) despite most of it being adjacent to or in close proximity of the demarcated *scheduled* areas.

TABLE 4.4: STATUS OF NON-LOCATION LAND HELD IN TRUST FOR AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA ACCORDING TO THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913)

FARM	No.	TRUSTEE	Ha
INCLUDED IN THE SCHEDULE			
Goedgewaagd	465	State	3 211.9
Haakdoornfontein	77	State	2 344.5
Kafferskraal	323	State	606.5
Kameelfontein	51	State / HMS	913.5
Rhenosterdrift	375	State	790.4
Schilpadfontein	32	State	689.3
Sjambokzynkraal	52	State / HMS	2 669.2
Wildebeestkuil	20	State	430.4
Wildebeestkuil	8	State	1 439.7
Witgatboom	62	State	2 216.9
		Sub-Total	**15 312.3**
EXCLUDED FROM THE SCHEDULE			
Boekenhoutskloof	146	State	1 708.6
De Hoop	1965	State	85.7
Doornkraal	4	State	57.5
Goedgewaagd	624	State	1 425.1
Jakkalsdans	450	State	1 534.2
Oskraal	437	HMS	870.0
Syferfontein	310	HMS	4 377.6
Uitvalgrond	376	State	423.2
		Sub-Total	**10 481.9**
		TOTAL	**25 794.2**

HMS - Hermansburg Mission Society

4. **Unrecognized locations** — Of the total of 40 unrecognized locations in the study area, comprising 127 122.1 ha, only the farm Bles 549 measuring 3 397.8 ha was included in the schedule. The exempted locations included the only other unrecognized location on Government land in the study area, the farm Noodhulp 329 with an area of 3 802.6 ha, which was located near the town of Warmbaths.

5. **Other *de facto* occupied land** — The extent of white owned farms under the *de facto* occupational control of Africans in the Pretoria area and not considered as unrecognized locations totalled 381 015.8 ha or 19.7 percent of the rural component of the Pretoria area. None of this land was included in the schedule of the *Natives Land Act* (1913).

TABLE 4.5: STATUS OF AFRICAN FREEHOLD LAND IN THE PRETORIA AREA ACCORDING TO THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913)

NAME	No.	Ha	NAME	No.	Ha
FREEHOLD LAND INCLUDED					
Haakdoornfontein	77	856.5	**Sub-Total**		856.5
FREEHOLD LAND EXCLUDED					
Buffelsdrift	131	2 082.1	Koedoespoort	301	1 604.8
Elandsdoorn	225	856.5	Krokodilkraal	61	1 256.7
Elandsfontein	204	990.1	Krokodilspruit	3	109.0
Elandsfontein	374	245.1	Kwarrielaagte	356	2 243.3
Haakdoornbult	3144	1 873.6	Leeuwkraal	414	787.2
Honingnestkranz	121	113.1	Tottie	493	93.3
Ida	324	218.8	Tweefontein	529	243.3
Kleinklipkop	44	109.0	Uitvalgrond	376	2 173.1
Klipfontein	196	4 627.7	Vandijkspruit	405	137.2
Klipspruit	291	54.7	Wilgekuil	80	1 330.3
			Sub Total		**21 148.9**
			TOTAL		**22 005.4**

4.3.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A summary of the status of rural land occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area according to the *Natives Land Act* (1913) is presented in Table 4.6. Its shows that the *scheduled* areas were an under-representation of more than a 1 000 percent compared to the rural land actually occupied by Africans at that stage! It meant that only 9.4 percent of the 592 590.8 ha occupied by Africans in the Pretoria was included in the schedule of the Act; the *scheduled* areas were also 25 334.9 ha smaller than the 84 452.9 ha that were legally owned by Africans on 19 June 1913.

TABLE 4.6: STATUS OF LAND OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA ACCORDING TO THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913)

SPECIFICATIONS		INCLUDED	EXCLUDED	TOTAL
Recognized Locations	***de jure* occupation**	35 873.9	779.4	36 653.3
Other Trust Land		15 312.3	10 481.9	25 794.2
Freehold Land		856.5	21 148.9	22 005.4
Sub Total		**52 042.7**	**32 410.2**	**84 452.9**
Unrecognized Location Land		3 397.8	123 724.3	127 122.1
Other Occupied Land		none	381 015.8	381 015.8
TOTAL		*** 55 440.5**	**537 150.3**	**592 590.8**

* Two additional portions of land not occupied by Africans were included in the *scheduled* areas: the unoccupied farm Geelbeksvlei measuring 3 655.1 ha and a portion of Kameelfontein 51 measuring 25.8 ha that was still occupied and claimed by the Hermansburg Mission Society

The big difference between the total size of the *scheduled* land and the *de facto* occupation of land by Africans in the Pretoria area resulted from two interpretations

that formed the basis of the *Natives Land Act* (1913). First, although forms of land tenure by Africans other than *de jure* occupation were acknowledged by the Government these were not recognized as statutory arrangements. In addition, the extent of *de facto* occupied land was either misappreciated or misrepresented by the Government; the Beaumont Commission (South Africa, 1916a) only regarded 4 025.7 ha of land in the Pretoria District, which comprised more than 80 percent of the study area, as unrecognized locations, that is land owned by whites but occupied by Africans. This analysis shows it to be 508 137.9 ha, a figure that is 126 times larger than the official estimate! Second, the difference in size between the *scheduled* area and the *de jure* occupation of rural land by Africans corresponds closely to the extent of land transferred in freehold since the ruling of the Supreme Court created this possibility in 1905. It is an established view that the white Government tried to stop the practise of freehold land transfers to Africans since 1905, through the unsuccessful *Native Settlement and Squatters Registration Bill* in 1908, and eventually succeeded through the *Natives Land Act* (1913). This research, however, also suggest that the white rulers tried to undo or neutralize freehold transfers to Africans between 1905 and 1913 by not including much of this land or compensating for it in the schedule to the Act.

The above analysis of land occupation in the Pretoria area provides support for the general statement of Christopher (1982:56-57) that the reserves *scheduled* by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) did not truly represent the African occupied areas in South Africa. The Act meant that the extent of land legally occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area was technically reduced from 592 590.8 ha, on 19 June 1913, to 91 531.6 ha the next day, an overnight reduction of six-and-a-half times. However, in reality the adding of 3 680.9 ha of *scheduled* land, the farm Geelbeksvlei 345 and a portion of Kameelfontein 51, to the land already occupied by Africans brought the total of *de facto* African occupied land on 20 June 1913 to 596 271.7 ha.

4.4 LIBERAL PATERNALISM

Section 1.(1) of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) emphasized that the demarcation of areas for African settlement by the Act, as well as the moratorium it placed on further land purchases by Africans outside the *scheduled* areas, were temporary arrangements pending an enquiry by a commission that was still to be appointed. There were also other reasons for an urgent revision of this land act.

The Act failed to bring about a common land policy for the four provinces, mainly because it contained clauses which made it largely inoperative in the Cape Province (Lemon, 1987). Moreover, it failed to divide the country into exclusively

white-owned and African-owned sections, as was envisaged by the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1905. The Act was also viewed as controversial by liberal whites and fiercely disputed by the South African Native National Congress who campaigned against the Act in Great Britain between 1914 and 1919.

In 1914 the alliance between the moderates and the conservatives in the ruling South African Party finally disintegrated (Davenport, 1989). Hertzog, who could no longer identify with Botha's attempts to facilitate reconciliation between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans, formed the National Party (Van Jaarsveld, 1976).

The rift between the liberals and fundamentalists gave Botha the opportunity to develop his own racial segregation policy based on liberal values. He realized that the land *scheduled* by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) was totally inadequate as a permanent home for the majority of the African population. Land would have to be added to the reserves if the policy of segregation was to succeed (Christopher, 1982; Platzky & Walker, 1985).

4.4.1 THE NATIVES LAND COMMISSION, 1913 TO 1916

The Natives Land Commission was appointed in August 1913 in terms of Section 2 of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) to report:

(1) "*(w)hat areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land*"; and

(2) "*(w)hat areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which persons other than Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land*" (South Africa, 1916a:Report, p.1).

It was further stipulated by the Act that the commission had until 20 June 1915 to proceed with and complete its enquiry and present its report and recommendations to finalize the land question. The commission had to submit with their report:

(1) "*... descriptions of the boundaries of any area which it proposes should be set apart*"; and

(2) "*... a map or maps showing every such area*" (South Africa, 1916a:Report, p.1).

The Commission was chaired by W.H. Beaumont and included S.W. Burger, W.R. Collins, W.E. Stanford, C. H. Wessels; R.S. Medford acted as secretary and A.E Gilfillan served temporarily as an assessor to the Commission. The operations of the Commission were severely disrupted by South Africa's involvement in the First World War and the period granted for the operations of the Commission was extended to 19 June 1916. In the meantime, the moderately liberal philosophy of the South African Party of Botha lost considerable ground to the fundamentalist, basically racist, view of the National Party of Hertzog, and after 1915 ruled without a clear majority in Parliament.

The Commission considered a great deal of documented information, visited

various localities, and took statements from both black and white members of the community. The Commission's report comprised two volumes (South Africa, 1916a; 1916b) and an executive Minute to Parliament by Beaumont (South Africa, 1916c). In his address to Parliament, Beaumont emphasized that the mandate of the Commission was limited to defining areas to be set aside for white and African occupation (South Africa, 1916c:1). On behalf of the Commission, Beaumont, while acknowledging the principle of the segregation of land for African occupation, emphasized that the *Natives Land Act* (1913) did not contemplate a complete or even partial segregation of the African people, a generally prevailing perception: "*The impracticability of such an idea makes it difficult to understand how it has come to be entertained. It probably owes its origin to the free use of the term segregation without any definite idea as to what is meant by that term*."

In delimiting the Union into two specific classes of land, areas "*... within which persons other than Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land*" and areas "*... within which Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land*" (South Africa, 1916a: Report, p.7), the Commission kept the following two points in view:

(1) the disturbance of existing lines of occupation as little as possible; and
(2) the delimitation, where practicable, of large native areas in preference to isolated and small areas.

Furthermore, the Commission recommended that:

(1) the existing rights of whites occupying land in demarcated African areas, either as owners *or tenants*, should not be interfered with;
(2) existing trading stations and trading rights within defined African areas should not be interfered with;
(3) areas *scheduled* under the *Natives Land Act* (1913) outside the new defined African areas should be protected as they were;
(4) the existing rights of Africans owning land privately outside the defined African areas, i.e. in white areas, should not be interfered with;
(5) Africans on white-owned land outside the defined African areas who were not required by the owner for farm or industrial purposes should be compelled to move; and
(6) mission lands should retain all the rights attached to them including African occupation as long as mission work was carried on, not permitting, however, the selling of land to Africans.

Although the Commission seriously contemplated regional population data and rural densities it was mainly concerned about the imbalance between actual rural land occupation patterns by Africans and the areas *scheduled* by the *Natives Land Act* (1913). The Commission found (Table 4.7) that Africans occupied 17 803 475 morgen

(15 249 246 ha) while the areas *scheduled* by the Act comprised 10 422 935 morgen (8 927 577 ha), indicating a deficit of about 7.4 million morgen (6.3 million ha). The deficit was particularly large in the Transvaal province where it totalled 3 358 909 ha, or 77.2 percent.

TABLE 4.7: EXTENT OF AREAS DEMARCATED FOR AFRICAN OCCUPATION IN THE PRETORIA AREA BY THE NATIVES LAND COMMISSION (1916) IN RELATION TO THE AREAS OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS IN 1913

AREA		ACTUAL OCCUPATION	*SCHEDULED* AREAS	DEFICIT	
Union of South Africa	m	17 803 475	10 422 935	7 380 540	
	ha	15 249 246	8 927 577	6 321 669	41.5 %
Cape Province	m	7 909 033	6 217 037	1 691 996	
	ha	6 774 340	5 325 091	1 449 223	21.4 %
Natal	m	4 579 402	2 972 312	1 607 090	
	ha	3 922 404	2 545 880	1 376 524	35.1 %
Orange Free State	m	234 222	74 290	159 932	
	ha	200 619	63 632	136 987	68.3 %
Transvaal	m	5 080 818	1 159 296	3 921 522	
	ha	4 351 883	992 974	3 358 909	77.2 %
Pretoria area	m	109 079	64 757	44 322	
	ha	93 430	55 466	37 963	40.6 %

Considering it as a final settlement, that is "*... that the land set apart for the natives shall be reasonably sufficient not only for their present requirements but for all time, so that future readjustments of land areas may not be necessary*" (South Africa, 1916c:4), the Commission recommended that a further 8 365 744 morgen (7 165 527 ha) be added to the *scheduled* areas. This brought the total extent available for African occupation to 18 788 679 morgen or 16 093 104.8 ha, an area 1.8 times larger than the *scheduled* areas demarcated by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) and 985 204 morgen (843 859 ha) or 5.5 percent larger than the land believed by the Commission to be already occupied by Africans.

Although the difference between the land believed occupied by Africans and the *scheduled* areas in the Pretoria area was not bigger than the Union average, the extent of land occupied per rural African, about 4.5 ha per individual, was below both the national average (5.8 ha) and the average for the Transvaal (6.7 ha), and a significant extension of the *scheduled* areas was not out of the order (South Africa, 1916a:Appendix IV, p. 9). Further evidence with regard to the Pretoria area indicated:

(1) widespread ignorance and distrust of the *Natives Land Act* (1913), particularly amongst Africans[10];

10. South Africa (1916b): Petty Chief Abram Mamagalie (p. 276), Headman Matheus Legoati (pp. 276-277), Native S.M. Makgatho (p. 284), Native E.H. Chake (p. 286), Native J.D. Makue (p. 286).

(2) a great deal of mistrust between white and African farmers[11];

(3) squatting of Africans on white owned land of alarming proportions to the east and south-east of Pretoria, mainly as a result of mining activities and land renting schemes practised by affluent whites and land companies[12];

(4) nearly complete landlessness amongst the Ndebele people east of Pretoria[13];

(5) a general need for and desire amongst Africans to acquire more land[14];

(6) urgent requests by some whites to accommodate Africans in the district rather than to remove them, based on an understanding of the importance of economic interaction between the races[15]; and

(7) the need to link the distribution of African land and population in the Pretoria District with African land and population in neighbouring districts.[16]

The two areas demarcated by the Commission in the Pretoria area were described as follows.

AREA No. 16 DISTRICT OF PRETORIA
Extent 263 187 morgen 527 square roods

Description:— From the north-western beacon of the farm Buffelspoort No. 330, District Pretoria, generally eastwards along the district boundary to the north-eastern beacon of the farm Zaagkuilfontein No. 518, thence generally south-eastwards, south-westwards, north-westwards along the boundaries of and including the following farms: Zaagkuilfontein No. 518, Meyersbult No. 613, Wynandskraal No. 154, Boschplaats No. 507, Leeuwkraal no. 396, Tweefontein No. 275, Sterkwater No. 213, Stinkwater No. 585, Bezuidenhoutskraal No. 517, Kromkuil No. 122, Klipgat No. 11, Klippan No. 54, Eerste Regt No. 464, Klipgat No. 555, Government Ground No. 115, Kameelfontein No. 51, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52, Kafferskraal No. 323, portion Wildebeesthoek No. 20, Kafferskraal No. 323, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52, Hoekfontein No. 394, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52, Syferfontein No. 310, Government Ground No. 115, Kleinfontein No. 7, Klipgat No. 525, Rietgat No. 526, Waterval No. 189, to the south-western beacon of the last mentioned farm, thence generally north-westwards along the district boundary to the place of beginning.

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11. South Africa (1916b): Mr. J van der Walt (p. 267), Regent Zakkies Mathibe (p. 276), Mr. A.K. Viljoen (p. 283), Mr. P.L. Uys (p. 283).

12. South Africa (1916b): Mr. J. van der Walt (p. 267).

13. South Africa (1916b): Mr. H. Rose-Innes (p. 272), Mr. W.A. King (p. 274), Chief Fene Mahlangu (p. 275), Chief Carl Kekana (pp. 275-276).

14. South Africa (1916b): Regent George Makapan (p. 275), Regent Zakkies Mathibe (p. 276).

15. South Africa (1916b): Senator A.D.W. Wolmarans (p. 269), Mr. H. Rose-Innes (p. 271), Mr. W.A. King (p. 274), Reverend H. Schloemann (p. 281).

16. South Africa (1916b): Senator A.D.W. Wolmarans (p. 269), Mr. Wessels and Colonel Stanford representing the Commission (p. 273).

AREA No. 17 DISTRICTS OF PRETORIA, WATERBERG AND MIDDELBURG
Extent 272 110 morgen 276 square roods

Description:— From the north-western beacon of the farm Pankoppen No. 505, District Pretoria, generally north-eastwards along the boundaries of and including the farms Pankoppen No. 505, Zandfontein No. 26, Bultfontein No. 472, to the north-western beacon of the farm Bultfontein No. 472, thence generally north-eastwards along the district boundary to the south-western beacon of the farm de Putten No. 2,150, Goedvooralles No. 1,719, Opgeruimd No.1,730, in District Waterberg; Mabaan's Location No. 32, District Pretoria, to its south-eastern beacon, thence generally north-eastwards and southwards along the Pretoria District boundary to the south-eastern beacon of the farm Rondavel No. 86, District Pretoria; thence generally southwards along the boundaries of and including the following farms: Rondavel No. 86, Marble Hall No. 248, Kleinklipput No. 596, Vaalfontein No. 415, Nooitgedacht No. 563, Kleinwater No. 273, to the south-eastern beacon of the last mentioned farm, District Pretoria; thence generally eastwards, southwards and westwards along the boundaries of and including the following farms in District Middelburg: Portion Leeuwkraal No. 248, Rhenosterkop No. 566, Rietkloof No. 509, Elandsplaats No. 118, Goedgedacht No. 194, Kameeldoorn No. 66, to the south-western beacon of last mentioned farm in District Middelburg; thence generally north-westwards along the boundaries of and including the following farms in District Pretoria: Buffelsfontein No. 259, Kwarrielaagte No. 356, Klipfontein No. 241, Uitzoek No. 250, Oude Stad van Maleeuw No. 564, Elandskrans No. 321, Kuilsrivier No. 12, Zondagsfontein No. 258, Kickvorschfontein No. 1, Goederede No. 348, Zoetmelksfontein No. 322, Klipplaatdrift No. 395, Pieterskraal No. 418, Wolvekraal No. 560, Koraanbult No. 117, Vaalbank No. 363, Riekertslaagte No. 511, Wynruit No. 590, Drooggegrond No. 598, Witlaagte No. 445, Bultfontein No. 472, Zandfontein No. 26, Pankoppen No. 506, to the place of beginning.

The two areas defined by the Beaumont Commission for exclusive African occupation in the Pretoria area included the five *scheduled* areas measuring 59 121.4 ha[17] demarcated by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) (Fig. 4.2), as well as vast quantities of land bordering on or surrounding the *scheduled* areas. According to its report, the total extent of Areas 16 and 17 demarcated by the Commission comprised 535 298.3 morgen (458 499.6 ha). However, a re-calculation of the total extent of the defined areas, based on confirmed cadastral information, indicates that it actually totalled 496 054.8 ha of which 15 675.2 ha were located east of the Olifants River and outside the study area (Table 4.8). The 480 379.6 ha demarcated by the Commission for African occupation in the Pretoria area represented eight times more land than was previously *scheduled*. The 198 013.1 ha defined in the northwestern Area 16 in addition to the already *scheduled* areas suggested that the new area was more than six times larger than the original *scheduled* areas. The northeastern Area 17 was now 12 times larger than the previous *scheduled* areas in this area with the addition of 238 920.3 ha, including 15 675.2 ha east of the Olifants River and outside the limits of the Pretoria area. The 480 379.6 ha demarcated within the Pretoria area is also five times more than the Commission's estimation of the extent of African occupied land in the Pretoria area, which was 109 079 morgen or 93 429.7 ha (Table 4.9).

17. The figure comprises 55 466.3 ha in the Pretoria District and 3 655.1 ha (the farm Geelbeksvlei 345) in the Waterberg District.

FIGURE 4.2 GOVERNMENT LAND MEASURES (1913-1918) IN RELATION TO LAND OCCUPATION BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA IN 1913

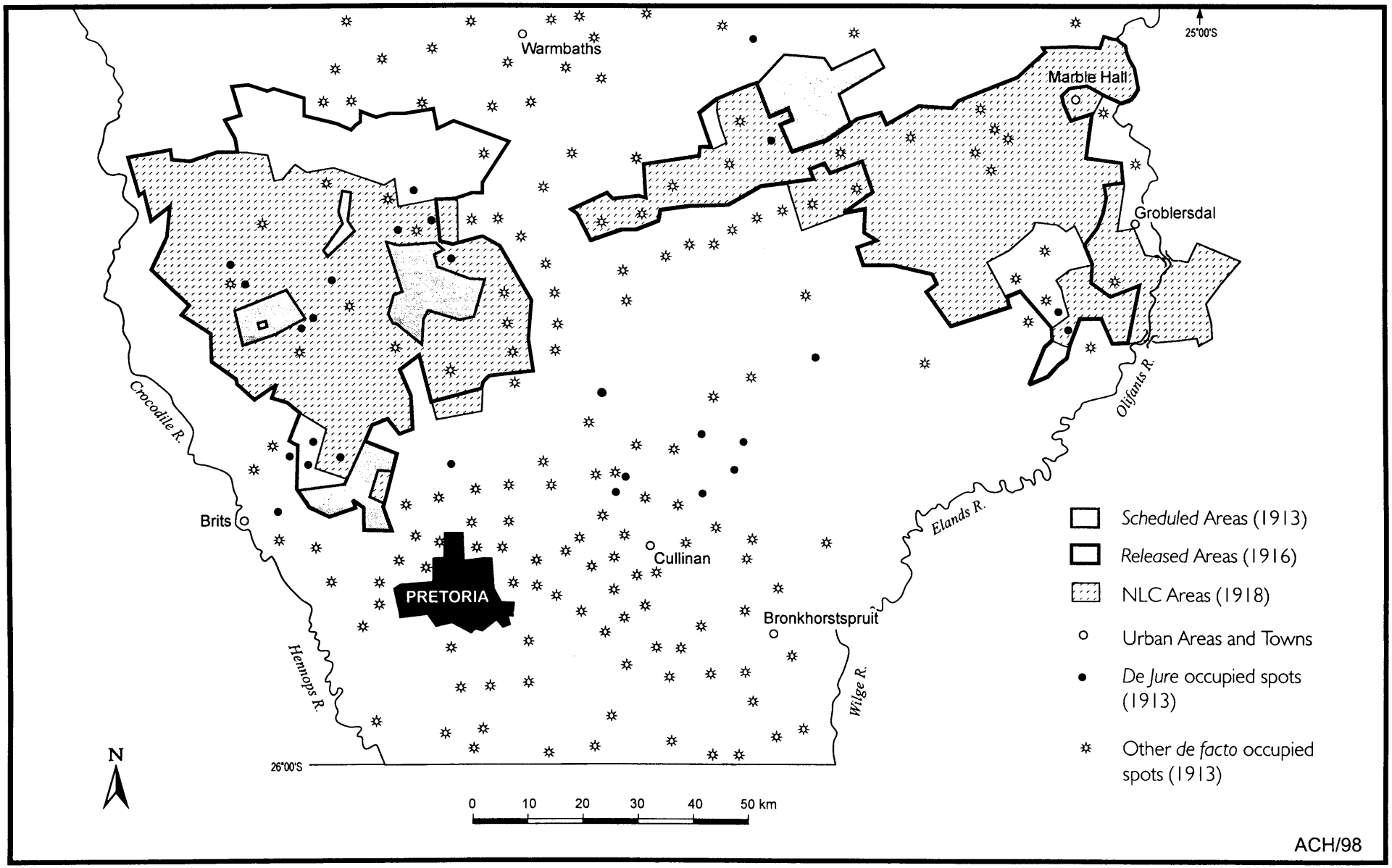

TABLE 4.8: EXTENT OF AREAS DEMARCATED FOR AFRICAN OCCUPATION IN THE PRETORIA AREA BY THE NATIVES LAND COMMISSION (1916) IN RELATION TO THE *SCHEDULED* AREAS (1913)

SPECIFICATIONS	EXTENT REPORTED			REVISED
	morgen and square roods		Ha	Ha
AREA No. 16 DISTRICT OF PRETORIA				
Extent of *scheduled* area	41 140 m.	407 sq. rds.	[1]35 238.1	38 476.2
Extent of additional area	222 047 m.	120 sq. rds.	190 190.4	198 013.1
Total extent of Area No. 16	263 187 m.	527 sq. rds.	225 428.5	236 489.3
1. The NLC mistakenly omitted the farm Hoekfontein 394 (3 780 m. 300 sq. rds., i.e. 3 238.1 ha) from the calculation; it was included in the description and map.				
AREA No. 17 DISTRICTS OF PRETORIA, WATERBERG AND MIDDELBURG				
Extent of *scheduled* area	27 572 m.	454 sq. rds.	[2]23 616.8	20 645.2
Extent of additional area	244 537 m.	422 sq. rds.	209 454.3	238 920.3
Total extent of Area No. 17	272 110 m.	276 sq. rds.	[3]233 071.1	[4]259 565.5
2. The NLC inadvertently included an unknown portion of 2 971.7 ha in the calculation.				
3. & 4. The comparative figures include 15 675.2 ha east of the Olifants River in the Middelburg District.				
SUMMARY				
Extent of *scheduled* areas in the Pretoria Functional Region				59 121.4
Total extent of NLC areas No. 16 and 17				496 054.8
Extent of NLC areas in the Pretoria Functional Region				480 379.6

At face value, the Beaumont Commission's recommendations for the Pretoria area were a bold move towards balancing land allocation to Africans with the reality of African land occupation. However, closer evaluation of the recommendations by the Commission provides a different perspective altogether. The data concerning land occupied by Africans were compiled by the Secretary and Assistent Secretary of the Commission, Mr Viljoen and Mr Hoffe, from "*... returns sent in by Magistrates and other officials and from the Census Returns of 1911*" (South Africa, 1916a:Report, p.3). While the general credibility of these figures (Table 4.8) was not investigated as part of this study, it is clear that the Commission's estimate of actual African land occupation in the Pretoria area was incorrect. According to the Commission the extent of land in the Pretoria area occupied by Africans did not exeed 93 430 ha (Table 4.9). It has already been shown (see Section 4.3) that the extent of land occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area, totalled at least 592 590.8 ha. Table 4.9 indicates that the two sets of data agree on the extent of *de jure* occupied land, 85 069.1 ha in the case of the Beaumont Commission and 84 452.9 ha according to the present study. In addition to *de jure* African occupied land of 85 069.1 ha, the Beaumont Commission indicates only 8 360.6 ha of land occupied by Africans in contrast to the 508 137.9 ha indicated by this study. The Commission indicates no land occupied by Africans in the category 'native reserves or locations' in spite of the existence of four proclaimed government locations and four officially recognized private locations, totalling 36 653.3 ha, and it can only be assumed that this land was included in the category of *de jure* 'native occupied farms'. The Commission does, however,

TABLE 4.9: COMPARATIVE FIGURES ON AFRICAN LAND OCCUPATION IN THE PRETORIA AREA, 1913-1916

REFERENCE	Native Reserves or Locations	Mission Lands and Mission Reserves	Undefined Locations and Land owned by Whites but occupied by Natives	Government Land occupied by Natives	Native owned Farms	Total extent Land under Native occupation
Beaumont Commission, 1916[1]	—	4 334.9 ha	4 025.7 ha	—	85 069.1 ha	**93 429.7 ha**
This study[2]	36 653.3 ha		500 937.5 ha	7 200.4 ha	47 799.6 ha	**592 590.8 ha**

1. South Africa (1916a:Vol 1 Appendix III, p. 7)
2. See Table 4.1

recognize some 4 334.9 ha as mission lands and mission reserves' but since the identity and location of this land is not known it is not clear whether this category represents *de jure* African land held in trust for them or some type of unrecognized occupation. Mission land held in trust for Africans was included by this study in the category of *de jure* 'native reserves or locations'. Other mission land occupied by Africans without permanent occupation right, such as the farm Buffelsdrift 337 at the Walmansthal mission station and the farm Nooitgedacht 458 at the Edendale mission station, were considered here as 'undefined locations . The Commission refers only to one land unit of 4 035.7 ha as an 'undefined location' and it is believed that this was the farm Garsfontein 428 on the eastern outskirt of the Pretoria urban area. In addition no cases of 'land owned by whites but occupied by natives' and 'government land occupied by natives' were reported by the Commission. In 1904 the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904) indicated that both sections of the unregistered government farm Bles as well as the entire government-owned farm Noodhulp 329 were occupied by Africans. This information was confirmed by the Native Location Commission (1905-1907) and in 1916 this was still the case. These unrecognized locations on government-owned land totalled 7 200.4 ha. In addition 38 other 'undefined locations' on private white-owned land, totalling 119 921.7 ha has been identified in this study and previously referred to (Table 4.1). By way of analyzing primary land records in the National Archives of South Africa (Collection 492/06, File C27, Volumes 12 and 15) it had been established that a large number

of land units qualified as 'land owned by whites but occupied by natives' which, after analysis, totalled 381 015.8 ha. This brings the total of land occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area in 1913 to 592 590.8 ha which is considerably more than the 93 429.7 ha suggested by the Beaumont Commission in 1916 (South Africa, 1916a).

The rejection of the Commision's estimate of land occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area is of particular significance. In the first place it means that the allocation of rural land to Africans in the area was not as generous as previously believed. Rather than eight times more than the land occupied by Africans (as the Commission believed), the areas defined by the Commission was, in reality, about 20 percent less than the land already occupied by Africans in the Pretoria area. Second, and of even greater significance, is the suggestion that the numerical foundation of the principle on which the Commission primarily based its rural land allocations — actual land occupation by Africans — was seriously flawed. Although the miscalculations by the Commission can partly be ascribed to ignorance and incorrect information provided by the Commission's informants, a great deal of established and confirmed land occupation features were in fact ignored by the Commission. Did the Commission deliberately try to misinform the Government and/or the public? Even if the Beaumont Commission did not attempt to spread misinformation through its report, the inaccuracy of its fundamental land allocating principle contradicts the liberal image which the Commission tried to portray.

In the final analysis, the proposals of the Natives Land Commission, while embodying a great deal of geographical consolidation, nevertheless disregarded actual *de facto* settlement patterns. Table 4.10 indicates that over 70 percent of the 596 271.7 ha of African occupied land in the Pretoria area[18] was excluded by the Beaumont Commission in demarcating its areas: only 61 percent of *de jure* occupied land was included while as much as 81 percent of other *de facto* occupied land was excluded. It is clear that the additional land proposed by the Commission to be allocate to Africans was some distance from the Pretoria metropole and did not include the potentially rich mining areas in the southeast. Clearly the Commission favoured whites with regard to proposed irrigation schemes such as the already proclaimed Hartebeestpoort irrigation scheme[19] in the southwest near the town of Brits and a

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18. This figure includes 592 590.8 ha occupied by Africans on 19 June 1913 and an additional 3 680.9 ha included by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) the next day, but it does not include other land acquisitions from 1913 to the submission of the Beaumont report in 1916.

19. The *Hartebeestpoort Irrigation Scheme (Crocodile River) Act, No. 32 of 1914,* was proclaimed in 1914. Section 13 of the Act made provision for the expropriation of African occupied areas declared as *scheduled* areas by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) subject to equivalent areas being set aside for such occupation by the Natives Land (Beaumont) Commission. Although no such expropriations took place in the Pretoria area, it prevented African owned areas such as Elandsfontein 374 from being included in the Beaumont areas.

TABLE 4.10 STATUS OF AFRICAN-OCCUPIED LAND IN THE PRETORIA AREA AS AT 20 JUNE 1913 ACCORDING TO THE NATIVES LAND COMMISSION (1916)

SPECIFICATIONS (Excluding farms east of the Olifants River)			*Scheduled* Areas	Non-*scheduled* *de jure* Occupied Land	Other *de facto* Occupied Land	Total African Occupied Land	Other Land not Owned or Occupied by Africans	TOTAL
AREA 16	**Included**	ha	38 476.2	12 909.3	44 873.6	**96 259.1**	140 230.2	**236 489.3**
(northwest)	**Excluded**	ha	none	9 405.6	186 733.7	**196 139.3**	not considered	
AREA 17	**Included**	ha	20 645.2	6 871.0	49 694.3	**77 210.5**	166 679.8	**243 890.3**
(northeast)	**Excluded**	ha	none	3 224.3	223 438.5	**226 662.8**	not considered	
TOTAL:	**Included**	ha	**59 121.4**	**19 780.3**	**94 567.9**	**173 469.6**	306 910.0	**480 379.6**
DEFINED AREAS	**Excluded**	ha	**none**	**12 629.9**	**410 172.2**	**422 802.1**	not considered	

Note: African occupied land totalled 596 271.7 ha on 20 June 1913. This included 592 590.8 ha occupied on 19 June 1913 and an additional 3 680.9 ha included by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) the next day.

planned Elands River irrigation scheme south of the town of Groblersdal.

The African areas recommended by the Commission, embodied in the schedule to the *Native Affairs Administration Bill* (1917), were disputed by whites (Lemon, 1987; Thompson, 1990). The fundamentalists in Parliament objected to the demarcation of more land to Africans (Dubow, 1989) and the Bill was referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee (S.C. 6A-'17). This Committee proposed that the Government appoint local land committees to conduct further investigation into exclusive land allocation to Africans and whites, and wherever necessary to revise the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission. At the same time an order of the Supreme Court in the case *Thompson and Stilwell versus Kama* implied that Section 1 of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) could no longer be applied in the Cape Province, necessitating an altogether new land act as a matter of urgency (Van Biljon, 1947).

4.4.2 THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL NATIVES LAND COMMITTEE, 1917 TO 1918

Following its failure to have the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission approved, the Government had no other option but to appoint the proposed local land committees — one each for the Cape Province, for Natal and for the Orange Free State, and two for the Transvaal (Jeppe, 1970). The Pretoria

area fell under the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee consisting of Mr. E. Stubbs (Chairman), Mr. J.C. Boltman (replacing Mr. T.J. Kleinenberg who declined the appointment) and Commandant Daniel Opperman (who withdrew after contracting malaria during the Committees's tour of inspection). The instructions issued to the Committees in *Government Notice* No. 1093 of 1917 were:

> "*To enquire further into and report*
> *(a)* *as to the suitability or otherwise of the areas included in the Schedule of the Native Affairs Administration Bill;*
> *(b)* *as to the adequacy or otherwise of those areas;*
> *(c)* *as to the desirability of setting apart other demarcated areas for inclusion in the Schedule in cases where the schedule areas appear to be unsuitable or inadequate;*
> *(d)* *as to the exclusion from the Schedule of such areas as are not required for the purpose of native areas;*
> *(e)* *as to the demarcation of areas—to which by reason of existing conditions of occupation by natives as well as non-natives it is not practicable to apply at present, or for some years to come, prohibitive measures affecting the purchase, hire, or other acquisition of land*" (South Africa, 1918:1).

Furthermore:

> "*In carrying out the terms of this reference the committees shall take into consideration,* inter alia, *the following points in arriving at a decision:—*
> *(1)* *The lines of actual and beneficial occupation of the land by natives or non-natives;*
> *(2)* *the provision of adequate land in native areas to meet the needs and present requirements of natives as judged by the present numbers in actual and beneficial occupation of land, together with an extent to meet future needs ...*" (South Africa, 1918:1).

The above instructions placed particular emphasis on the consideration of *de facto* African rural settlement patterns and the quality of land.

On 14 August 1917 the committees were briefed by F.S. Malan who stated: "*I wish it clearly to be understood that the policy (of segregation) embodied in the (Native Administration) Bill does not come within the scope of the Committees, and they must regard the policy as having been endorsed by Parliament*" (South Africa, 1918:22). The various Committees submitted their reports in 1918. They held different views about various aspects of native land policy and its application (Van Biljon, 1947). The local committees, particularly that representing the Orange Free State scaled down the Beaumont recommendations. The Committees recommended that 7 521 223 morgen, i.e. 6 442 161 ha, be added to the *scheduled* areas stipulated by the *Natives Land Act* (1913). This was 844 521 morgen or 723 358 ha less than was recommended by the Beaumont Commission in 1916.

It is clear that the land committees were not appointed to provide the Government with alternative proposals to that of the Beaumont Commission, but to re-evaluate the Commission's proposals as embodied in the *Native Affairs Administration Bill* of 1917. Yet, where the Beaumont Commission based its analyses

and land allocations on the actual land occupation by Africans relative to the *scheduled* areas demarcated in 1913, the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee used a different criterion. Although sensitive about *de facto* settlement paterns the Committee based its views on population figures and believed that "*... accommodation should be found for the whole of the rural population* (including squatters and labour tenants) *within native areas*" (South Africa, 1918:4). It believed that a solution should be found on the basis of a formula depicting population and a calculated average rural land requirement. For this purpose the Committee used the population figures compiled by the Beaumont Commission and did an investigation of African agricultural practises. This investigation indicated that, at the rate of stock increases between 1904 and 1911, the land required for the sustenance of African-owned large stock in the Union would be about one million hectare more than the entire extent of the areas proposed by the Beaumont Commission and provide for in the *Native Affairs Administration Bill* (1917). The Committee viewed such an increase in large stock as unsustainable and envisaged a shift from pastoral practises to the cultivation of crops. Based on this premise it calculated the average requirement in land of each African family of five persons as 18.25 morgen (15.6 ha), that is, 3.5 ha of arable land and just over 12 ha of pasture land.

After completion of its investigations in the Pretoria, the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee (South Africa, 1918) concluded that, in general,

(1) there was a shortage of productive arable land;
(2) there was an excess of land suitable only for grazing;
(3) no areas were provided to meet the needs of Africans resident in the highveld districts of the Transvaal.

The Committee demarcated two areas in the Pretoria area for exclusive occupation by Africans. These areas generally corresponded to those areas defined by the Beaumont Commission two years earlier. Beaumont Area 16 was replaced by a new Area 5 where, in order to raise the proportion of arable land, two farms (Sterkwater 213, and Zaagkuildrift 518) were excluded while 21 others (Oskraal 437 and Uitvalgrond 376 in the south and 19 farms in the Waterberg District forming a consolidated annexure) were added. In the northeast, Beaumont Area 17 was replaced by a new Area 4B in which all six farms east of the Olifants River, and outside the Pretoria study area, and a corridor of farms or sections of farms - nine in total - along the western bank of the same river were excluded to provide for the proposed Loskop irrigation scheme which was to benefit white farmers only. The Committee also excluded three additional farms (Allemansdrift 222, Riekertslaagte 511, and Vaalbank, 363) but added six others or portions thereof (Bloempoort 562, Elandsdoorn East 225, Strukje 380, Uitspanning 9, Waterkloof 285, and Witpenskloof 563). A complete description of the areas defined by the Committee is provided below.

AREA No. 4B (BEAUMONT AREA No. 17)

Description:—From the north-eastern beacon of Rooibokkop No. 491 in the Pretoria district generally in a southerly direction along the boundary of Area No 4 A, to the south-eastern beacon of the farm Rondavel No. 86, thence in an easterly and southerly direction along the boundaries of and including the farms Scherparabie No. 367, Uyskraal No. 415, to the Aloes river, to where it cuts the south-western boundary of the farm Oudestadvanmeleeuw No. 564, thence to the southern beacon of the last mentioned farm, thence in a direct line through the middle of the (farm) Uitzoek No. 250, to the northern beacon of the farm Klipfontein No. 241, thence generally in an easterly, northerly and westerly direction along the boundaries of and including the last mentioned farm, Buffelsfontein No. 259, Kwarrielaagte No. 356, Waterkloof No. 285, Kwarrielaagte No. 356, the eastern portion of Elandsdoorn No. 225, Uitspanning No. 9, Kikvorschfontein No. 1, Goederede No. 348, Zoetmelksfontein No. 322, Kliplaatdrift No. 395, Pieterskraal No. 418, Wolvenkraal No. 560, Koraanbult No. 117, Rhenosterkop No. 463, Bloedfontein No. 515, De Beersput No. 388, Troya No. 603, Rooikoppen No. 477, Meeruite No. 390, Droogegrond No. 598, Wetlaagte No. 445, Bultfontein No. 472, Zandfontein No. 26, Pankoppen No. 505, to the north-western beacon of the last mentioned farm, thence generally in a north-easterly direction along the boundary of the three last mentioned farms and the farm Rooifontein No. 378, and the Waterberg farms Kalkfontein No. 1489, Goedvooralles No. 1716, Opgeruimd No. 1730, to the north-eastern beacon of the last mentioned farm, thence in an easterly direction along the Pretoria-Waterberg boundary to the north-western beacon of the Waterberg district farm Geelbeksvlei No. 345, thence along the boundaries of and including the said farm to the district boundary, thence along the said district boundary in an easterly direction to the point of beginning.

AREA No. 5 (BEAUMONT AREA No. 16)

Description:—From the north-western beacon of the farm Paalkraal No. 311, in the Waterberg district, in an easterly direction along the boundaries of and including the Waterberg district farm Paalkraal aforesaid. Waterval, No. 1592, Ruigteslood No. 1003, Haakdoornlaagte No. 339, Slagteboom No. 1190, Transactie No. 99, Vogelstruispen No. 1696, Zwartboom No. 952, Doorndraai No. 2097, Syferkuil No. 1463, Rhenostervlei No. 1698, Uitval No. 1697, to the south-western beacon of the last mentioned farm, thence generally in a westerly and northerly direction along the boundaries of and including the Pretoria district farms Buffelsdrift No. 131, Goedverwacht No. 824, Mayersbult No. 613, Wynandskuil No. 154, Boschplaats No. 507, Michaelskraal No. 396, Leeuwkraal (unnumbered), Tweefontein No. 275, Pankopzynlaagte No. 345, Stinkwater No. 585, Bezuidenhoutskraal No. 517, Kromkuil No. 122, Klipgat No. 11, Klippan No. 54, Eersteregt No. 464, Klipgat No. 335, Government ground No. 115, Kameelfontein 51, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52, Kafferkraal No. 323, northern portion of Wildebeesthoek No. 20, Kafferkraal 323, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52, Hoekfontein No. 394, Magalieslaagte No. 7, Klipput No. 525, Rietgat No. 526, Waterval No. 189, to the Pretoria-Rustenburg district boundary, thence generally northward along the said boundary and the Rustenburg-Waterberg boundary to the point of beginning.

Apart from exclusive African and non-African areas, the Committee also demarcated two open or neutral areas, none of which are located within the Pretoria area although one (Area 4b) bordered on the northeastern Area 4B in the study area (Fig. 4.2, above).

Table 4.11 indicates the original measurements provided by the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee as well as the measurements as revised by this study through re-calculations and shows that an extension of the Beaumont area in the northwest and a reduction of the area in the northeast was proposed. On the whole, the total extent of *scheduled* areas was included by the Committee and the extent of the Beaumont areas in the Pretoria area was increased from 480 379.6 ha to 524 819.5 ha. This increase of nearly 9.3 percent was in contrast with the national trend

which showed a decline of 4.5 percent in the defined African areas following the recommendations of the local Natives Land Committees.

TABLE 4.11: EXTENT OF AREAS DEMARCATED FOR OCCUPATION BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA BY THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL NATIVES LAND COMMITTEE (1918) IN RELATION TO THE AREAS DEMARCATED BY THE NATIVES LAND COMMISSION (1916)

SPECIFICATIONS	EXTENT REPORTED		REVISED
	morgen	ha	ha
AREA 4B (NLC AREA 17) (including 15 675.2 ha east of the Olifants River)			
Extent of NLC area	272 110	233 071	259 565.5
Extent of additional area	20 579	17 626	19 588.6
Extent of excluded area	59 091	50 613	41 423.1
Total extent of new area	233 598	200 084	237 731.0
Extent of *scheduled* area (*Natives Land Act* (1913))			**20 645.2**
Extent of NLC area (1916)			**243 890.3**
Extent of ENLC area (1918)			**237 731.0**
AREA 5 (NLC AREA 16)			
Extent of NLC area	263 187	225 429	236 489.3
Extent of additional area	57 784	49 493	55 753.9
Extent of excluded area	6 558	5 617	5 154.7
Total extent of new area	314 416	269 307	287 088.5
Extent of *scheduled* area (*Natives Land Act* (1913))			**38 476.2**
Extent of NLC area (1916)			**236 489.3**
Extent of ENLC area (1918)			**287 088.5**
SUMMARY			
Extent of *scheduled* areas in the Pretoria area			**59 121.4**
Extent of NLC areas in the Pretoria area			**480 379.6**
Extent of ENLC areas in the Pretoria area			**524 819.5**

The recommendation of the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee showed a 9.3 percent increase of land defined for African occupation in the Pretoria area and was nearly nine times larger than the areas *scheduled* in 1913. In terms of the Committee's own criterion of 15.6 ha per family of five a minimum of 228 223 ha was required for the rural African population of 73 000 in the Pretoria area, signifying that the allocation by the Committee of 524 819.5 ha was more than dubble the required size. However, this is not an indication of the liberal generosity of the Committee but rather an indication of the invalidity of the criterion of land allocation used by the Committee. Moreover, the Committee should be critisized because its total allocation of land for African occupation equalled only about 88 percent of the extent of the land already occupied by Africans (Table 4.12). The geographical location of allocated land was a misrepresentation of existing settlement patterns. In the first place about 70 percent of land occupied by Africans at that stage were outside the Committee's demarcated areas, and second, no effort was made to allocate land for the landless Ndebele of the southeastern highveld in that area.

TABLE 4.12 STATUS OF AFRICAN-OCCUPIED LAND IN THE PRETORIA AREA AS AT 20 JUNE 1913 ACCORDING TO THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL NATIVES LAND COMMITTEE (1918)

SPECIFICATIONS			*Scheduled* Areas	Non-*scheduled* *de jure* Occupied Land	Other *de facto* Occupied Land	Total African Occupied Land	Other Land not Owned or Occupied by Africans	TOTAL
AREA 5 (northwest)	Included	ha	38 476.7	18 249.2	44 873.6	**101 599.0**	185 489.5	**287 088.5**
	Excluded	ha	none	4 065.7	186 733.7	**190 799.4**	not considered	
AREA 4B (northeast)	Included	ha	20 645.2	7 727.5	55 007.2	**83 379.9**	154 351.1	**237 731.0**
	Excluded	ha	none	2 367.8	218 125.6	**220 493.4**	not considered	
TOTAL: DEFINED AREAS	Included	ha	**59 121.4**	**25 976.7**	**99 880.8**	**184 978.9**	339 840.6	**524 819.5**
	Excluded	ha	**none**	**6 433.5**	**404 859.3**	**411 292.8**	not considered	

Note: African occupied land totalled 596 271.7 ha on 20 June 1913. This included 592 590.8 ha occupied on 19 June 1913 and an additional 3 680.9 ha included by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) the next day.

The areas demarcated for the accommodation of these Ndebele where in the north which were already claimed by other African groups.

4.4.3 DEDUCTION

Quantitative analysis of the areas allocated for occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area between 1913 and 1920, a period of liberal white government, revealed fairly large inaccuracies in the calcultions of the sizes of land units by both the Natives Land Commission (1913-1916) and the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee (1917-1918). At the time of their existence both bodies were considered as liberal institutions and the land allocated by them for African occupation were considered extremely generous to Africans when compared with the areas *scheduled* by the *Natives Land Act* (1913), and when evaluated in terms of the respective criteria and norms for land allocation to Africans used by these bodies. This study reveals the opposite. It has been shown that the norms used by the respective bodies for the allocation of land to Africans, actual land occupation by Africans in the case of the Beaumont Commission and land requirements per family by the Stubbs Committee, were miscalculated and misapplied by both these bodies. And, in final analysis, the proposals of neither body matched, in qualitative terms and in terms of actual location, the *de facto* situation of African land occupation in the Pretoria

area, even as it were on 20 June 1913. It is believed that the image of liberalism associated with the Beaumont Commission and the Stubbs Committee is undeserved. It is even suggested that these bodies deliberately misled both the Government and the public concerning the reality of African land occupation and requirements at the time. The liberal government of Botha was in a particularly knotty position being misled by its own-appointed institutions about the reality of African land occupation and requirements, and, at the same time, having its *Native Affairs Administration Bill* (1917) sabotaged by the racist fundamentalists in Parliament.

4.5 PATERNALISM AND TRUSTEESHIP

J.C. Smuts, who became Prime Minister in 1919 after the death of L. Botha, was an Afrikaner liberal and represented a 'small tradition' of liberalism that survived into the 20th century whilst the 'great tradition' fell victim to macro-economic forces (Trapido, 1980). At the same time Smuts was uncompromising in his support for total white supremacy as was demonstrated by the strict action taken by the Government during an African uprise about political and social rights at Bulhoek in 1921 (see Davenport, 1989).

Smuts embraced a benevolent as opposed to a dominatory aspect of paternalism (Van den Berghe, 1965) and labelled his brand of segregation and paternalism *trusteeship* (Smuts, 1942), an adaptation of classic liberal paternalism (see Hoernlé, 1939). The trusteeship type of segregation had the support of contemporary South African liberal intelectuals such as Edgar Brookes, Maurice Evans, C.T. Loram and J.D. Rheinallt Jones who saw this type of segregation as a compromise between unqualified repression and assimilation (Gilliomee & Schlemmer, 1989).

Despite being unable to proceed with the land segregation clauses in the *Native Affairs Administration Bill* of 1917, the Government implemented other aspects of its native policy through the *Native Affairs Act, No. 23 of 1920*. According to Dubow (1989), this Act represented the peak of liberal segregation in both its ideological and administrative forms. The Act introduced a system of Union-wide Native Conferences which began to meet annually, the first meeting held in Bloemfontein in 1922. But both the Government and the Africans soon became disillusioned with this institution. From the Government's point of view the Conferences were intended as sounding boards and safety valves for African opinion but it quickly became a radicalizing forces. African delegates, for their part, grew impatient at the failure of the Government to make the Conferences truly representative and to invest them with meaningful powers. A permanent Native Affairs Commission was also introduced to advise the Government but this simply became a political body reflecting the views of the Government.

According to Brookes (1974:204), Smuts' native policy was "*... eloquent, ambiguous, and in the end almost disastrous*." It failed to integrate Africans into the industrial economy. The African reserves continued to deteriorate during the 1920s as a result of an over concentration of people and livestock, and African farming gradually collapsed (Thompson, 1990).

An unprecedented upsurge in black political radicalism resulted in chronic labour shortages in the growing white capitalist agricultural sector. The status of what were to become *dual* or *open* and *released* areas remained ambiguous. Until 1936, when new land legislation was introduced, the acquisition of land by Africans was largely determined by the Department of Native Affairs (NAD). In 1922 the Native Affairs Commission (South Africa, 1922:16) declared: "*There appears to be no decision on the part of the Government, what should now, pending legislation, be regarded for practical purposes as Native areas*." Consequently the Cabinet made the following recommendation:

(1) "*If the land was situated in an area recommended by the Beaumont Commission for native occupation, and it appeared that the price or rent was reasonable, the Governor-General should be asked to approve of the transaction*"; and

(2) "*if the land was situated in an area recommended for Native occupation by the Beaumont Commission or by a Local Committee (but not by both) the proposed transaction might be submitted for approval after scrutiny, the likelihood of hardship resulting from a refusal being the deciding factor.*"[20]

The areas demarcated by the Beaumont Commission and, in particular, those indicated by the Land Committees, nevertheless, became the basis for the allocation of land to Africans outside the areas *scheduled* by the *Natives Land Act* (1913) (Jeppe, 1970). According to Dubow (1989:11-12), the NAD developed a bureaucratic ideology of 'sympathetic paternalism' and practised a pragmatic form of patriarchal rule: "*(T)he NAD was regarded as a benign, almost liberal, institution, which was distinctively 'sympathetic' towards the needs of Africans*", and "*... the NAD often appeared reluctant to act in an overtly repressive manner towards Africans*"; its "*... primary objective was to 'keep the balance' between black and white and to secure cohesion within the wider social fabric*." The Department was re-organised in 1923, and although the ethos of sympathetic paternalism gradually eroded, the 1920s represents a period during which the Department attempted to secure as much land as possible for lease or purchase by Africans.

Before 20 June 1913 Africans legally occupied 84 452.9 ha of land, according to official statutes, of which 22 005.4 ha had been acquired between 1905 and 1913. On 20 June 1913 a total of 52 042.7 ha of legally occupied land was included into the total of 59 121.4 ha of *scheduled* areas whilst 32 410.2 ha were excluded. From 1913 to 1920 a total of 19 283.5 ha were purchased by Africans which included 3 655.1 ha of the farm Geelbeksvlei 345 already demarcated as *scheduled* land in

20. Memorandum, Herbst Papers, BC79 D22.

1913 (Table 4.13). A further 68 257.2 ha were purchased from 1921 to 31 August 1936 and a portion of nine hectare of the farm Palmietfontein 190, until 1925 owned by the Hermansburg Mission Society, was transferred to the Government in trust for the Africans who occupied other portions of the farm. Nett land acquisitions between 1913 and 1936 included the already mentioned 83 885.6 ha purchased by Africans, 1 862.3 ha bought by the Government on behalf of Africans, and two sections of land, a portion of Bultfontein 472 measuring 1 781.4 ha and a portion of Elandsfontein 204 measuring 922.2 ha, which were bought by the Government in order to keep the African occupants on the land after it became clear that the Africans could not pay their bonds (see Feinberg, 1995). Thus, nett land acquisitions by Africans in the Pretoria area outside the *scheduled* areas from 20 June 1913 to 31 August 1936 totalled 88 451.5 ha. The transfer to the Government of a portion of nine hectares of the farm Palmietfontein 190 increased the *scheduled* area from 59 121.4 to 59 130.4 ha.

A number of re-registrations of land already owned by Africans also took place between 1913 and 1936 (Table 4.14). In the cases of Elandsdoorn 225, Elandsfontein 204, Haakdoornfontein 77 and Kwarrielaagte 356, such re-registrations took the form of dividing or else consolidating portions of land. In the case of Goedgewaagd 624 the land was re-registered in the name of the Government in trust for a tribal chief and it was re-registered after his death in trust for his widow and eventually in trust for the tribe. The Hermansburg Mission Society, which disputed ownership of certain portions of the farms Kameelfontein 51 and Sjambokzynkraal 52, eventually requested the Government to transfer the relevant portions of land to the Africans who occupied it with the exemption of one portion of Kameelfontein 51 measuring 25.8 ha. Other farms or portions of farms previously held by the Hermansburg Mission Society in trust for Africans were also transferred to the Government in trust for the African occupants (Kaalzandbult 341, Oskraal 437, Palmietfontein 190 and Syferfontein 310).

The only farms lost by Africans were a 113.1 ha portion of the farm Honingnestkranz 121 purchased in 1910 and re-sold to whites in 1929, the farm Zandfontein 26 which was purchased by Africans in 1927 but resold to a white person in 1934, and the above mentioned portion of Kameelfontein 51 of 25.8 ha which was excluded from the *scheduled* areas after its transfer to the Hermansburg Mission Society. This brought the extent of the *scheduled* areas in the Pretoria area on 30 August 1936 to 59 104.6 ha, and the extent of *de jure* occupied land outside the *scheduled* areas to 120 748.6 ha. The established pattern of *de facto* land occupation by Africans as at 19 June 1913 was certainly not representative any more in 1936 and, although unauthorized forms of tenancy on white-owned land continued, evidence to link this practise to particular farms on a truly representative scale could not be established for this date.

TABLE 4.13: STATUTORY LAND EXCHANGES INVOLVING AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA BETWEEN 1913 AND 1936: LAND ACQUISITIONS

FARM	No.	PARTICULARS	EXTENT ha
		LAND TITLE ACQUISITIONS	
*		**Already *scheduled* land (= Palmietfontein 190)**	
Bloedfontein	515	Registered in trust (deed 10109/1929)	5 230.3
Buffelsdoorns	185	Registered in freehold (deeds 8244/1914, 7922/1929) Registered in trust (deeds 7452/1918, 14338/1920, 7107/1924)	942.2 1 497.2
Bultfontein	293	Registered in freehold (deed 784/1925) Registered in trust (deed 4918/1924)	2 781.2 856.6
Como	326	Registered in freehold (8187/1927)	23.6
De Putten	2150	Registered in trust (deeds 6403, 8486/1925)	1 235.9
Doornkraal	4	Registered in freehold (deeds 7866/1933, 3955, 10817, 13108, 13733/1934, 7133, 14907/1936)	30.0
Elandsfontein	204	Undivided shares in portion B registered in trust (deeds 9378-9409/1913), then partitioned (deeds 4220-4252/1922) and re-registered in freehold (deeds 9378-9409/1923)	861.7
Elandsfontein	205	Registered in freehold (deed 3030/1927)	2 504.4
Elandsfontein	374	Registered in trust (deed 5262/1932)	242.6
* Geelbeksvlei	345	Registered in trust (deeds 9251/1916, 3244/1917)	3 655.1
Gertzynpan	12	Registered in trust (deed 6661/1926)	116.7
Gruysbank	514	Registered in freehold (12824/1934)	604.9
Haakdoornfontein	77	Registered in freehold (deed 1728/1936)	38.8
Haakdoornkraal	1734	Registered in freehold (deed 10720/1913)	2 996.5
Haakdoornlaagte	339	Registered in trust (deed 10282/1928)	2 029.4
Kalkbank	112	Registered in trust (deeds 1813/1925, 2335,8139/1929)	2 892.0
Kalkfontein	1483	Registered in trust (deeds 3458/1923, 545/1924, 2199/1925)	1 716.7
Klipfontein	482	Registered in trust (deeds 7838-7839/1932)	169.6
Klipsyfering	353	Registered in trust (deeds 5675/1926, 6207/1928)	1 526.6
Koedoespoort	301	Registered in freehold (deed 7793/1913)	1 604.8
Krokodilkraal	61	Registered in freehold (deeds 255/1929, 3750/1933)	1 225.9
Kuilsrivier	12	Registered in freehold (deed 12479/1921) Registered in trust (deeds 5090/1927, 2706/1928)	489.3 1 467.8
Leeuwkraal	396	Registered in trust (deeds 7775/1916, 1191/1919)	1 549.8
Leeuwkraal	414	Registered in freehold (deed 9447/1922)	1 050.1
Legkraal	188	Registered in freehold (deed 11770/1922)	840.7
Onverwacht	576	Registered in freehold (deed 2089/1916)	84.8
* Palmietfontein	190	Registered in trust (deed 10696/1925)	9.0
Pankoppen	505	Registered in freehold (deed 3388/1918), re-registered in trust (deed 1967/1920) Registered in trust (deed 1968/1920)	990.8 1 019.0
Rhenostervallei	1698	Registered in freehold (deed 8605/1922)	1 553.2
Roodekuil	206	Registered in freehold (deeds 784/1925)	2 207.0
Rooifontein	378	Registered in freehold (deeds 1380/1914, 8021/1914, 11055/1922) Registered in trust (deeds 2203/1921, 8190/1922, 6821/1924)	3 086.9 1 325.8
Rooikoppen	477	Registered in freehold (deed 8161/1925) Registered in trust (deeds 7049/1926, 12431/1926, 3604/1935, 14875/1935)	623.0 3 005.9
Rooikuil	224	Registered in trust (deed 4918/1924)	2 722.6
Schilpadfontein	32	Registered in trust (deed 2299/1923)	685.2
Serybult	900	Registered in freehold (deed 11109/1930)	3 024.8
Sjambokzynkraal	52	Registered in freehold (deeds 5241-5253/1921, 2242/1930)	700.6

(continued)

(continued)

FARM	No.	PARTICULARS	EXTENT ha
LAND TITLE ACQUISITIONS			
Syferpan	612	Registered in trust (deed 9058/1917)	769.8
Tambotielaagte	364	Registered in freehold (deed 14544/1934)	257.0
Toitskraal	421	Registered in freehold (deeds 6985/1923, 5675/1926, 2923-2924/1927, 1172/1931, 8502/1932, 8170/1935)	997.2
Tweefontein	275	Registered in trust (deeds 12418/1922, 4563/1924)	3 922.6
Tweefontein	529	Registered in freehold (deed 1844/1915)	77.6
Uitval	608	Registered in trust (deed 4918/1924)	1 661.3
Uitvalgrond	374	Registered in trust (deed 8974/1928)	685.2
Vangheining	1724	Registered in trust (deed 8593/1934)	3 445.2
Vlaklaagte	284	Registered in freehold (deeds 3076-3077, 6389, 6818-6819/1927) Registered in trust (deeds 3078-3079/1927, 3734/1931)	1 498.9 2 366.1
Vogelstruispan	740	Registered in trust (deeds 1601/1917, 1168/1921)	3 177.5
Vygeboschlaagte	168	Registered in trust (deed 55/1932)	838.6
Walmansthal	116	Registered in freehold (deeds 7800, 9117, 9118, 9570-9574, 9800, 9802-9805, 10317-10318, 11014, 11490, 12021, 12022, 12076, 12077, 13046, 14053, 14708/1936)	72.1
Weltevreden	512	Registered in trust deed 6152/1925)	1 753.0
Wildebeestkuil	8	Registered in trust (deed 11422/1927) Registered in freehold (deed 1098/1931)	933.4 251.1
Witlaagte	445	Registered in trust (deeds 10303/1924, 5255/1926) Registered in trust (deed 6809/1924), re-registered in freehold (deeds 769-777/1926) Registered in freehold (deed 5115/1926)	856.5 531.0 1 224.8
Wolvenkraal	560	Registered in freehold (deed 8008/1931	470.7
Wynandskraal	154	Registered in trust (deed 1952/1923)	541.1
		Total land acquisitions outside the *scheduled* areas	**83 885.6**
INDIRECT LAND ACQUISITIONS			
Buffelsdoorns	185	Purchased by the Government on behalf of the African occupants (deed 11440/1935)	334.3
Bultfontein	472	Registered in freehold (deed 9425/1921), facing foreclosure it was bought by Government on behalf of Africans (deed 5484/1923), donated to tribe (15195/1944)	1 781.4
Elandsfontein	204	Portion A registered in freehold (deed 1284/1926), foreclosed and bought by the Government on behalf of the African occupants (deed 3471/1929)	922.2
Flinkzyndrift	119	Purchased by the Government on behalf of the African occupants (deed 6964/1921)	457.0
Uitspanning	9	Portion purchased by the Government on behalf of the African occupants (deed 8354/1926)	214.1
Vaalboschsloot	102	Portions purchased by the Government on behalf of the African occupants (deeds 9057/1928, 413/1931)	856.9
		Total	**4 565.9**
		TOTAL LAND ACQUISITIONS OUTSIDE THE *SCHEDULED* AREAS	**88 451.5**

In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the Department of Native Affairs operated as a liberal paternalistic institution in spite of being under the direct control of a fundamentalist in J.B.M. Hertzog from 1924. The liberal stance of the NAD is reflected by its supervision of a significant increase in the extent of land registered in the possession of African occupation in the Pretoria area outside the *scheduled* areas from 32 410.2 ha on 20 June 1913 to 116 182.7 ha on 31 August 1936. In a mode of

sympathetic paternalism the Department also purchased 1 862.3 ha of land on behalf of Africans in need of land and, after foreclosure, purchased portions of the farms Bultfontein 472 and Elandsfontein 204 in order to allow Africans to stay on the land. The nett land acquisitions by Africans in the Pretoria area from 20 June 1913 to 31 August 1936 outside the *scheduled* areas totalled 88 451.5 ha and together with the 59 104.6 ha of *scheduled* land the strategy of liberal paternalism of the NAD brought the extent of land under *de jure* African occupation on 31 August 1936 to 179 853.2 ha.

TABLE 4.14 STATUTORY LAND EXCHANGES INVOLVING AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA BETWEEN 1913 AND 1936: RE-REGISTRATIONS AND TRANSFERS

FARM	No.	PARTICULARS	EXTENT ha
RE-REGISTRATIONS AND TRANSFERS			
Elandsdoorn	225	Portions registered in freehold consolidated and re-registered in trust (deed 3447/1921)	(856.5)
Elandsfontein	204	Portions C and D registered in undivided shares partitioned and re-registered (deeds 4253-4265/1922)	(990.1)
Goedgewaagd	624	Land registered in trust for African tribal chief re-registered in the name of his widow (deed 1279/1923), then transferred to the tribe (deed 11638/1926)	(1 425.1)
Haakdoornfontein	77	Portion held in freehold re-registered in trust (deed 805/1921) Another portion held in trust re-registered in trust (deed 201/1925)	(856.5) (2 344.6)
Honingnestkranz	121	Land held in freehold sold to a white (deed 11082/1924)	- 113.1
Kaalzandbult	341	Land held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society transferred to the African occupants (deed 10694/1925)	(2 944.0)
Kameelfontein	51	Hermansburg Mission Society repudiated its right to Portion B which was administered by the Government on behalf of the African occupants by an order of the Supreme Court (1908); re-registered in the name of the Minister of Native Affairs in trust for the occupants (deed 10693/1925)	(913.5)
Kwarrielaagte	356	Land held in freehold re-registered in trust (deeds 1186/1919, 3447/1921)	(2 243.3)
Oskraal	437	Land held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society transferred to the Government in trust for the African occupants (deed 10693/1925)	(870.0)
Palmietfontein	190	Land held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society transferred to the Government in trust for the African occupants (deed 10694/1925)	(4 996.3)
Sjambokzynkraal	52	Hermansburg Mission Society repudiated its right to Portion C which was administered by the Government on behalf of the African occupants by an order of the Supreme Court (1908); re-registered in the name of the Minister of Native Affairs in trust for the occupants (deed 10693/1925)	(983.0)
Syferfontein	310	Land held in trust by the Hermansburg Mission Society transferred to the Government in trust for the African occupants (deed 10693/1925)	(4 377.6)
Zandfontein	26	Registered in freehold (deed 9750/1927), sheriff's sale to a white (deed 14731/1934)	(3 406.8)

() No nett land gain or loss
\- Land loss

4.6 TERRITORIAL MINIMALISM

During the early 1920s, Smuts's South African Party lost considerable political ground and the general election of 1924 was won by the National Party in coalition with the Labour Party. J.B.M. Hertzog, the new Prime Minister, was both 'zealot' (Feinberg, 1993) and 'decent, logical, pragmatical' (Sparks, 1990). His immediate aims were to establish South Africa's sovereign independence within the British Commonwealth of nations, to restore the Afrikaners' national pride through economic and educational upliftment, and to affirm and consolidate the economic, educational and political superiority of the white race over the non-whites of South Africa.

Hertzog's native policy was built on the pillars of racial discrimination and segregation (Van den Berghe, 1965). His objectives were to renounce the remaining political rights of Africans and to limit the extent of land set aside for exclusive African occupation. His firm belief in a racial hierarchy was strengthened by the quasi-scientific refinement of social Darwinist theories, the growth of ethnological studies and doctrines such as that of Francis Galton's eugenics (Higham, 1975). His attempts to separate whites from non-whites socially included the *Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 11 of 1924*, the *Masters and Servants Law (Transvaal and Natal) Amendment Act, No. 26 of 1926*, the *Immorality Act, No. 5 of 1927*, the *Native Service Contract Act, No. 24 of 1932*, and eventually the *Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936*, which finally stripped Africans of their voting rights.

Hertzog, taking the portfolio of Native Affairs upon himself, re-organized the Native Affairs Department and aligned its policies with his minimalist view of African rights and territory. His *Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927*, adopted the essential repressive principles of the 19th century Shepstonian administrative system (Sullivan, 1928; Welsch, 1973, Platzky & Walker, 1985). In a speech at Smithfield in 1925, Hertzog indicated his intention to prepare legislation that would settle African land and political claims (Davenport, 1989). Shortly afterwards three Bills to this end were put before Parliament: the

(1) *Native Land Act Amendment Bill*, designed to fulfil the Governments obligations under the land Act of 1913;

(2) *Union Native Council Bill*, intended to establish an African Council to replace the Native Conference; and

(3) *Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill*, which sought to remove Cape Africans from the common voters role.

The *Native Land Act Amendment Bill* of 1926 scaled down the *scheduled* reserves of the 1913 Act from 9.6 million hectares to 8.6 million hectares, and decreased the areas to be made available for release to African buyers outside the reserves to 6 million hectares. The *Native Land Act Amendment Bill*, together with the other two

Bills, were withdrawn after the first reading and referred to the Parliamentary Select Committees. The *Union Native Council Bill* was consequently scrapped and the other two Bills only became law in 1936 after thorough revision.

In 1933 the Hertzog and Smuts parties formed a coalition that became the United South African National Party in 1934, with Hertzog leader and Smuts his deputy (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). This alliance was necessitated by a worldwide economic crisis. At this stage the differences between the liberalists and fundamentalists on the issue of racial segregation were purely superficial (Dubow, 1989). The 1932 Native Economic (Holloway) Commission (South Africa, 1932), emphasizing the deterioration of the environment in the African reserves, brought the growing crisis of African landlessness to the Government's attention.

In 1931 Heaton Nicholls, MP, proposed the idea of a Native Land Bank or Trust to the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee appointed to redraft the *Native Land* and *Native Representation Bills*. He emphasized trusteeship and cultural adaptation as the guiding principles of a segregationist native policy. The Committee completed its work in 1935 and proposed two Bills: the *Natives Representation Bill* and the *Native Trust and Land Bill*. Both Bills were enacted in 1936 despite extra-parliamentary objections.

The *Native Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936*, represented a fundamentalist view of racialism and a minimalist type of trusteeship. Section 1 (Chapter 1) of the Act acknowledged the *scheduled* areas by constituting the *Natives Land Act* (1913) as the principal Act that formed one Act together with the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936). Section 2 (Chapter 1) defined the concept of '*released* areas' that could be acquired by and transferred to a South African Native Trust and described such areas in its First Schedule. The merging of former native trusts and the establishing of a South African Native Trust was the topic of Chapter 2 whilst Chapter 3 dealt with the acquisition of land by the Trust. Regulations with regard to rural Africans outside the defined *scheduled* and *released* areas, including the registration of labour tenants and squatters, were detailed in Chapter 4.

The area set aside for African occupation by the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936) was just over 15.1 million hectares, 12.3 percent of the total surface of South Africa, and included 8.9 million hectares *scheduled* under the *Natives Land Act* (1913) and an additional 6.2 million hectares *released* areas. The *released* areas were largely placed adjacent to the *scheduled* areas and were designed to accommodate the population surplus of the existing reserves. According to Van Biljon (1946) only 51.4 million hectare, 42 percent of the total surface of South Africa, could be considered agriculturally productive and that, although the 15.1 million hectares of land allocated to Africans for their exclusive occupation was nearly entirely in this agriculturally productive region, the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936) stipulated that only 30 percent of the agriculturally productive area was accessible to Africans. In 1936 the

agriculturally productive parts of South Africa accommodated one African family of five members on every 13.7 ha of African occupied land and one white family of five persons on every 89.9 ha of white-owned land (Van Biljon, 1946).

The two *released* areas at Pretoria were demarcated as follows.

AREA No. 21 DISTRICTS OF PRETORIA, WATERBERG AND BRITS

Description:—The area falling within the following limits but excluding therefrom Makapan's, Zwartbooi's and Mamogalie's Locations as scheduled under Act No. 27 of 1913:—From the north-western beacon of the farm Paalkraal No. 311 generally in an easterly direction along the boundaries of and including the farms Paalkraal No. 311 aforesaid Waterval No. 647, Ruigtekloof No. 1003, Haakdoornlaagte No. 339, Slagtboom No. 190, Transactie no. 939, Vogelstruispan no. 740, Zwartboom No. 952, Doorndraai No. 1077, Syferkuil No. 473, Rhenostervalei No. 742, Uitval No. 741, to the south-western beacon of the last-named farm; thence generally in a south-easterly direction along the boundaries of and including the farms Haakdoornbult No. 344, Buffelsdrift No. 131, Goedgewaagd No. 624, Witgatboom No. 623, Wynandskuil No. 154, Boschplaats No. 507, and Leeuwkraal No. 396, to the south-eastern beacon of the last-named farm; thence generally south-westwards along the boundaries of and including the farms Leeuwkraal No. 396 aforesaid, Tweefontein No. 275, Zandkopzynlaagte No. 345, Stinkwater No. 585, Bezuidenhoutskraal No. 517, De Wig No. 362, Kromkuil No. 122, Klipgat No. 11, Klippan No. 54, Eersteregt No. 464, Klipgat No. 335, Tyne No. 115, Kameelfontein 51, Sjambokzynkraal No. 52 to the south-eastern beacon of the last-named farm; thence generally westwards and north-westwards along the boundaries of and including the farms Sjambokzynkraal No. 52 aforesaid, Uitvalgrond No. 76, Oskraal No. 437, Kleinfontein No. 7, Klipgat No. 52, Rietgat No. 15, Waterval No. 58, Tinnie No. 23, Rooinek No. 83, Vaalboschsloot No. 1, Roodekuil No. 2, Buffelsdraai No. 48 and Buffelspoort No. 3, to the north-western beacon of the last-named farm; thence generally eastwards and northwards along the boundaries and including the farms Buffelspoort No. 3 aforesaid, Buffelsdraai no. 48, De Mond van Blokspruit No. 4, Klipvoor No. 8, Ruigtepoort No. 1373 and Paalkraal No. 311 to the point of commencement.

AREA No. 22 DISTRICTS OF PRETORIA AND WATERBERG

Description:—The area falling within the following limits:
From the north-western beacon of the farm Pankoppen No. 505 generally in a north-easterly direction along the boundaries of and including the farms Pankoppen No. 505, Zandfontein No. 26, Bultfontein No. 472, Witlaagte No. 445, Rooifontein No. 378, Kalkfontein No. 570, De Putten No. 1127 and Opgeruimd No. 764, to the north-eastern beacon of the last named farm on the boundary of Mabane's Location; thence generally south-eastwards and north-eastwards along the boundary of but excluding the said Location to its south-eastern beacon; thence generally north-eastwards along the boundaries and including the farms Bloedfontein No. 515, Tweefontein No. 268, Witfontein No. 350, Klipsyfering No. 353, Tambotielaagte No. 364, Portion of Elandsdrift No. 483, Uyskraal No. 228, portion of Scherp Arabie No. 367 and portion of Rooibokkop No. 491 to the junction of the Elands and Olifants rivers; thence up the Elands river to the point where it intersects the southern boundary of the farm Toitskraal No. 421; thence along the boundaries of the following properties so as to include them: Valschfontein No. 432, the Native-owned portion of Kuilsrivier No. 12, Vlaklaagte No 284, the aforesaid portion of Kuilsrivier no. 12, Zondagsfontein no. 258, Uitspanning No. 9, Stukkie No. 380, Kwarrielaagte No. 356, Waterkloof No. 285, Kwarrielaagte No. 356 aforesaid, the eastern portion of Elandsdoorn No. 225, Uitspanning No. 9, Kikvorschfontein No. 1, Goederede No. 348, Zoetmelkfontein No. 322, Klipplaatdrift No. 395, Pieterskraal No. 418, Wolvenkraal No. 560, Koraanbult No. 117, Kameelrivier No. 231, Rhenosterkop No. 463, Bloedfontein No. 515, De Beersput No. 388, Troya No. 603, Rooikoppen No. 477, Wynruit No. 590, Droogegrond No. 598, Witlaagte No. 445, Bultfontein No. 472, Zandfontein No. 26 and Pankoppen No. 505 to the point of commencement.

Area 21 matched exactly the area defined by the Eastern Transvaal Native Land Committee in 1918 and measured 287 062.7 ha. However, the Hertzog government

in defining Area 22 reduced the size of the area set aside for African occupation considerably by excluding large portions of newly proclaimed irrigation land in the Groblersdal-Marble Hall region. The *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936) also ignored the growing concentration of African-owned land close to the northeastern periphery of the Pretoria metropole, significant portions of African-owned land near the Crocodile River and the Hartebeestpoort irrigation scheme, as well as an African concentration on the farm Klipfontein 482 on the northwestern boundary of the Pretoria municipal area (Fig. 4.3). On 31 August 1936, the date of the implementation of the Native *Trust and Land Act* (1936), the area set aside for eventual African occupation totalled 455 922.9 ha (Table 4.15).

TABLE 4.15 STATUS OF *SCHEDULED* AND AFRICAN-OWNED LAND IN THE PRETORIA AREA AS AT 31 AUGUST 1936 ACCORDING TO THE *NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT* (1936)

SPECIFICATIONS			*Scheduled* Areas	Non-*scheduled* *de jure* Occupied Land	Other *Released* Land	TOTAL
AREA 21	Included	ha	38 459.4	66 277.4	182 351.7	**287 088.5**
(northwest)	Excluded	ha	none	9 035.3	none	—
AREA 22	Included	ha	20 645.2	38 938.0	109 251.2	**168 834.4**
(northeast)	Excluded	ha	none	6 497.3	none	—
TOTAL:	Included	ha	**59 104.6**	**105 215.4**	**291 602.9**	**455 922.9**
AREAS	Excluded	ha	**none**	**15 532.6**	**none**	—

Although the newly defined areas for African occupation included the entire range of *scheduled* areas now measuring 59 104.6 ha[21] and an additional 396 818.3 ha of *released* land, the Act must be viewed as a minimalist measure. The new areas included 87.1 percent of the 120 748.6 ha of *de jure* African occupied land outside the *scheduled* areas in the Pretoria area in 1936 but did not take into account other forms of land tenancy. The 1936 population census of the Union of South Africa (South Africa, 1938)[22] shows an African rural population of 172 893 in the newly demarcated Magisterial Districts of Pretoria and Brits (these districts representing about 90 percent of the Pretoria study area) of which only 21 percent were living in *de jure* African areas while nearly 50 percent, 80 277 people, were living on farms owned by whites, companies or the Government.

Although the Hertzog-Smuts political coalition broke up in 1939 shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War the ruling liberal Smuts faction offered little to

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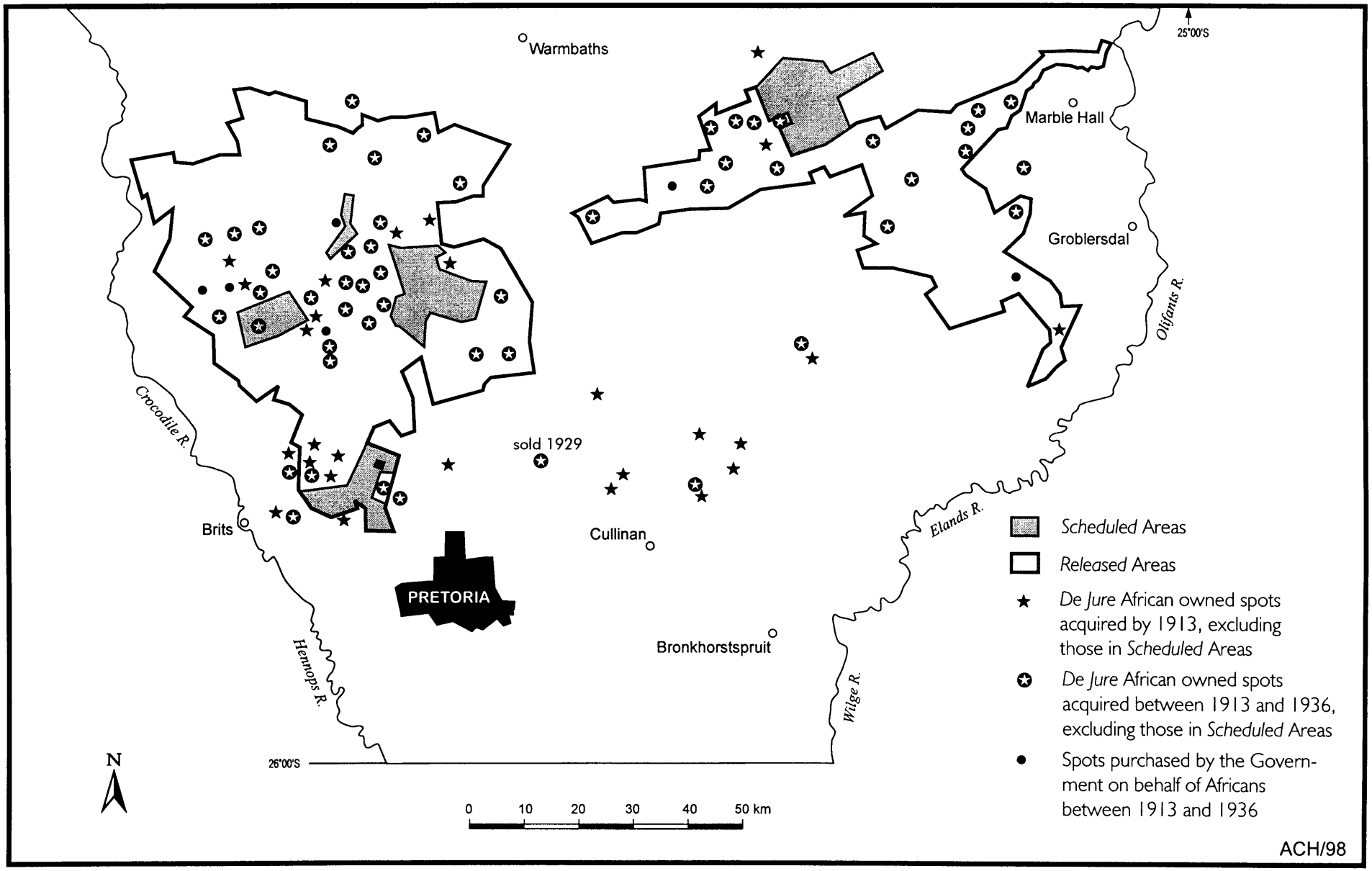
21. The original *scheduled* area of 59 121.4 ha now also included an additional portion of 9 ha of the farm Palmietfontein 190, while a portion of Kameelfontein 51, measuring 25.8 ha and owned by the Hermansburg Mission Society, was excluded from the *scheduled* areas.

22. Tables 7 and 13.

FIGURE 4.3 AREAS DEMARCATED FOR AFRICAN OCCUPATION IN THE PRETORIA AREA BY THE *NATIVES LAND ACT* (1913) AND THE *NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT* (1936) IN RELATION TO *DE JURE* LAND OCCUPATION BY AFRICANS



relieve the landless position of rural Africans. The reluctance of the white Government to accommodate Africans spatially was also reflected in the conservative attitude of the Department of Native Affair's Native Trust.

The *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936) (Section 10(1), Chapter 3) provided for a land quota of 6 209 858 ha to be acquired by the Trust, with the quota in the Transvaal not to exceed 4.3 million hectare. The quota did not include land which belonged to Africans or which had been set aside, *scheduled* or otherwise reserved for Africans before the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936), non-quota land, but included land vested in the Trust,[23] land acquired by the Trust and land transferred to Africans outside a *scheduled* African area and after the implementation of the Act (see Hattingh, 1976). It was stipulated (Section 10(2), Chapter 3), that:

> "*No land may be acquired by the Trust other than land—*
> *(a) within a scheduled native area; or*
> *(b) within a released area; or*
> *(c) adjoining land of which the trust or a native is the registered owner, which is situated in a scheduled native area or in a released area; or*
> *(d) adjoining land acquired by and transferred to the Trust under paragraph (c).*"

The Trust acquired 2 699 814.1 ha between 1936 and 1947 leaving just over 3.5 million hectare ha still to be acquired (South Africa, 1947). However, when it is considered that 47.5 percent of the land acquired by the Trust during the first decade of its existence represented land automatically vested in the Trust, it becomes clear that little progress was made.

Land that could be acquired by the Trust in specific districts or regions other than the provinces was not stipulated by the Act. However, the extent of the demarcated areas in such sub-areas or regions was used as a guide. The *released* land total in the Pretoria area, 455 922.9 ha, excluding 59 104.6 ha of *scheduled* land, comprised a total of 116 182.7 ha of non-quota African-owned land and 4 565.9 ha of non-quota otherwise reserved land (Table 4.16). The quota of land to be acquired by the newly established Native Land Trust in the Pretoria area therefore totalled 276 059.7 ha. In terms of the stipulations of the Act, 9 822.7 ha of unutilized state-owned quota land automatically became vested in the Trust. Between the implementation of the Act and 31 December 1947, shortly before apartheid became the new policy paradigm, the Trust acquired a further 95 949.9 ha in the Pretoria area for African occupation.

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23. The *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936) (Section 6, Chapter 2)
> "*... vested in the Trust—*
> *(a) all Crown land which has been reserved or set aside for the occupation of natives;*
> *(b) all Crown land within the scheduled native areas, and all Crown land within the released areas.*"

TABLE 4.16 STATUS OF AFRICAN-OWNED LAND IN THE PRETORIA AREA IN 1947 ACCORDING TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TRUST

NON-QUOTA LAND

* Located outside the demarcated *scheduled* and *released* areas

Non-Quota *Scheduled* Land

Name	No.	Ha	Name	No.	Ha
Bles	549	3 397.8	Paaizynpan	1975	5 278.0
Boschbult	78	1 958.7	Palmietfontein	190	5 005.3
Geelbeksvlei	345	3 655.1	Rhenosterdrift	375	790.4
Goedgewaagd	465	4 034.8	Schilpadfontein 32 (New Halle)		689.3
Haakdoornfontein	77	3 201.0	Schilpadfontein	79	1 509.4
Hoekfontein	394	3 238.1	Schilpadfontein 548 (Moepie)		1 682.0
Kaalzandbult	341	2 944.0	Sjambokzynkraal	52	3 652.3
Kafferskraal	323	606.5	Wildebeesthoek	20	430.4
Kameelfontein	51	1 883.8	Wildebeestkuil	8	1 439.7
Klippan	331	4 235.2	Witgatboom	62	5 876.6
Middelkop	332	3 596.2	**Total: Non-quota *Scheduled* Land**		**59 104.6**

Non-Quota African-owned or Reserved Land

Name	No.	Ha	Name	No.	Ha
Bloedfontein	515	5 230.3	Leeuwkraal	414	1 837.3
* Boekenhoutkloof	146	1 708.6	Legkraal	188	840.7
Buffelsdoorns	185	2 773.7	* Onverwacht	576	84.8
Buffelsdrift	131	2 082.1	Oskraal	437	870.0
Bultfontein	293	3 637.8	Pankoppen	505	2 009.8
Bultfontein	472	1 781.4	Rhenostervallei	1698	1 553.2
Como	326	23.6	Roodekuil	206	2 207.0
* De Hoop	1965	85.7	Rooifontein	378	4 412.7
De Putten	2150	1 235.9	Rooikoppen	477	3 628.9
* Doornkraal	4	87.5	Rooikuil	224	2 722.6
Elandsdoorn	225	856.5	Schilpadfontein	32	685.2
Elandsfontein	204	2 774.0	Serybult	900	3 024.8
Elandsfontein	205	2 504.4	Sjambokzynkraal	52	700.6
* Elandsfontein	374	487.7	Syferfontein	310	4 377.6
Flinkzyndrift	119	457.0	Syferpan	612	769.8
Gertzynpan	12	116.7	Tambotielaagte	364	257.0
Goedgewaagd	624	1 425.1	Toitskraal	421	997.2
Gruysbank	514	604.9	Tottie	493	93.3
Haakdoornbult	3144	1 873.6	Tweefontein	275	3 922.6
Haakdoornfontein	77	38.8	* Tweefontein	529	320.9
Haakdoornkraal	1734	2 996.5	Uitspanning	9	214.1
Haakdoornlaagte	339	2 029.4	Uitval	608	1 661.3
Ida	324	218.8	Uitvalgrond	376	3 281.5
* Jakkalsdans	450	1 534.2	Vaalboschsloot	102	856.9
Kalkbank	112	2 892.0	* Vandijkspruit	405	137.2
Kalkfontein	1483	1 716.7	* Vangheining	1724	3 445.2
* Kleinklipkop	44	109.0	* Vlaklaagte	284	3 865.0
Klipfontein	196	4 627.7	Vogelstruispan	740	3 177.5
* Klipfontein	482	169.6	Vygeboschlaagte	168	838.6
* Klipspruit	291	54.7	* Walmansthal	116	72.1
Klipsyfering	353	1 526.6	Weltevreden	512	1753.0
Koedoespoort	301	3 209.6	Wildebeestkuil	8	1 184.5
* Krelingspost	111	779.4	Wilgekuil	80	1 330.3
* Krokodilkraal	61	2 482.6	Witlaagte	445	2 612.3
* Krokodilspruit	3	109.0	Wolvenkraal	560	470.7
Kuilsrivier	12	1 957.1	Wynandskraal	154	541.1
Kwarrielaagte	356	2 243.3	**Land outside the demarcated areas**		**15 478.5**
Leeuwkraal	396	1 549.8	**Total: Non-quota African-owned Land**		**120 748.6**
			GRAND TOTAL: NON-QUOTA LAND		**179 853.2**

(continued)

(continued)

QUOTA LAND					
* Located outside the demarcated *scheduled* and *released* areas					
Quota Vested Land					
Name	No.	Ha	Name	No.	Ha
Beynespoort	250	1 548.2	Strukje	380	341.9
De Wig	362	235.4	Tyne	115	1 192.7
Houtblok	814	487.0	Uitspanning	9	336.5
Ruigtepoort	1373	3 413.6	Wynruit	990	462.3
Slagtboom	1190	1 805.1	**Total: Quota Vested Land**		**9 822.7**
Quota Acquired Land					
Name	No.	Ha	Name	No.	Ha
Bezuidenhoutskraal	517	607.7	* Riekertslaagte	551	1 159.4
Border	84	1 056.2	Rietgat	526	1 936.1
* Buffelsdrift	337	1 604.4	Roodekuil	206	2 209.7
Buffelspruit	253	5 397.8	Rooikuil	222?	3 297.9
Bultfontein	293	1 845.8	Tambotielaagte	977	2 540.1
Bultfontein	472	5 305.2	Tinnie	292	219.2
De Beersput	388	961.2	Uitspanning	9	4 806.4
De Grens	2234	1 084.7	Vaalboschsloot	102	3 992.1
De Mond van Blokspruit		2 214.0	* Vlakplaats	2115	849.5
De Putten	1757	3 019.2	Vygeboschlaagte	168	199.0
* Elandsdoorn	225	5 624.1	Walkraal	377	1 381.6
Elandsfontein	204	1 290.6	* Walmansthal	377	2 482.4
Flinkzyndrift	119	457.0	Waterkloof	285	903.6
Gertzynpan	12	249.3	Welgelegen	1722	1 704.8
Haakdoornfontein	77	615.8	Wildebeestkuil	8	235.8
Kalkbank	112	499.1	Winterveld Agric Holdings		6 961.2
Kikvorschfontein	1	5 899.2	Witgatboom	623	2 480.9
Kleinfontein	7	1 531.1	Wolvenkraal	560	235.4
Klipdraai	473	3 489.7	Wynandskraal	154	1 521.3
Klipgat	525	1 312.7	Wynruit	990	39.0
Klipvoor	98	1 793.9	* Zamekomst	2181	1 936.7
Kromkuil	122	2 473.7	Zoetmelksfontein	322	1 571.3
Leeuwkraal	396	2 112.8	**Land outside the demarcated areas**		**13 656.5**
Rhenosterkop	463	2 841.3	**Total: Quota Acquired Land**		**95 949.9**
			GRAND TOTAL: QUOTA LAND		**105 772.6**
SUMMARY					
			TOTAL: DEMARCATED AREAS		**455 922.9**
			Total: Attained Areas		**275 803.1**
			Outside the demarcated areas		29 135.0
			Still to be attained at end 1947		**180 119.8**

Thus, the Native Land Trust managed to acquire only 38.3 percent of available quota land in the Pretoria area during the first decade of its existence of which nearly four percent represented State-owned land vested in the Trust. This reflects a reluctance on the part of Government to properly implement even the minimalist land policies it had introduced in 1936. It is also significant that 15 478.5 ha or nearly 13 percent of African owned or reserved land were located outside the demarcated areas in 1936. Between 1936 and 1947 an additional 13 656.5 ha outside the demarcated areas were acquired by Africans bringing it to 29 135.0 ha or 6.4 percent of the demarcated areas. The implication of this was that, in terms of the stipulations of the *Natives Trust and Land Act* (1936), 6.4 percent less land could be acquired within the demarcated

areas to sustain balance of the available land quota. It soon became clear that most of the African-owned land outside the demarcated areas were considered by the Government as badly situated areas or black spots (Fig 4.4).

In 1947 a number of such black spots already existed in the Pretoria area. A large conglomerate of blacks spots were located on the northeastern periphery of the Pretoria metropolitan area and included large settlements at Walmansthal-Buffelsdrift, Boekenhoutkloof and Jakkalsdans as well as smaller settlements at Kleinklipkop-Krokodilspruit, Doornkraal-Onverwacht and Tweefontein. African-owned land outside the demarcated areas but bordering on the demarcated areas, such as De Hoop and Vangheining in the Warmbaths region, were generally not considered as poorly situated areas. Similar areas bordering or close to the demarcated areas, however, posed problems for the Government's land policy in certain areas. In the southwest the Krokodilspruit and Elandsfontein spots were jeopordising the development of the Hartebeestpoort irrigation scheme. In the same region the Krelingspost and Klipfontein settlements were located in areas earmarked for white industrial development. In the northeast the Vlaklaagte settlement, although close to a demarcated area, was located within the limits of the Loskop commercial farming irrigation scheme. After 1948 it became Government policy to convince Africans owning land outside the demarcated areas to sell the land and to relocate voluntarily to the demarcated areas. In most cases, however, African-owned land had to be expropriated and the occupant forcibly removed and relocated as part of a co-ordinated black spot clearance programme (see Platzky & Walker, 1985).

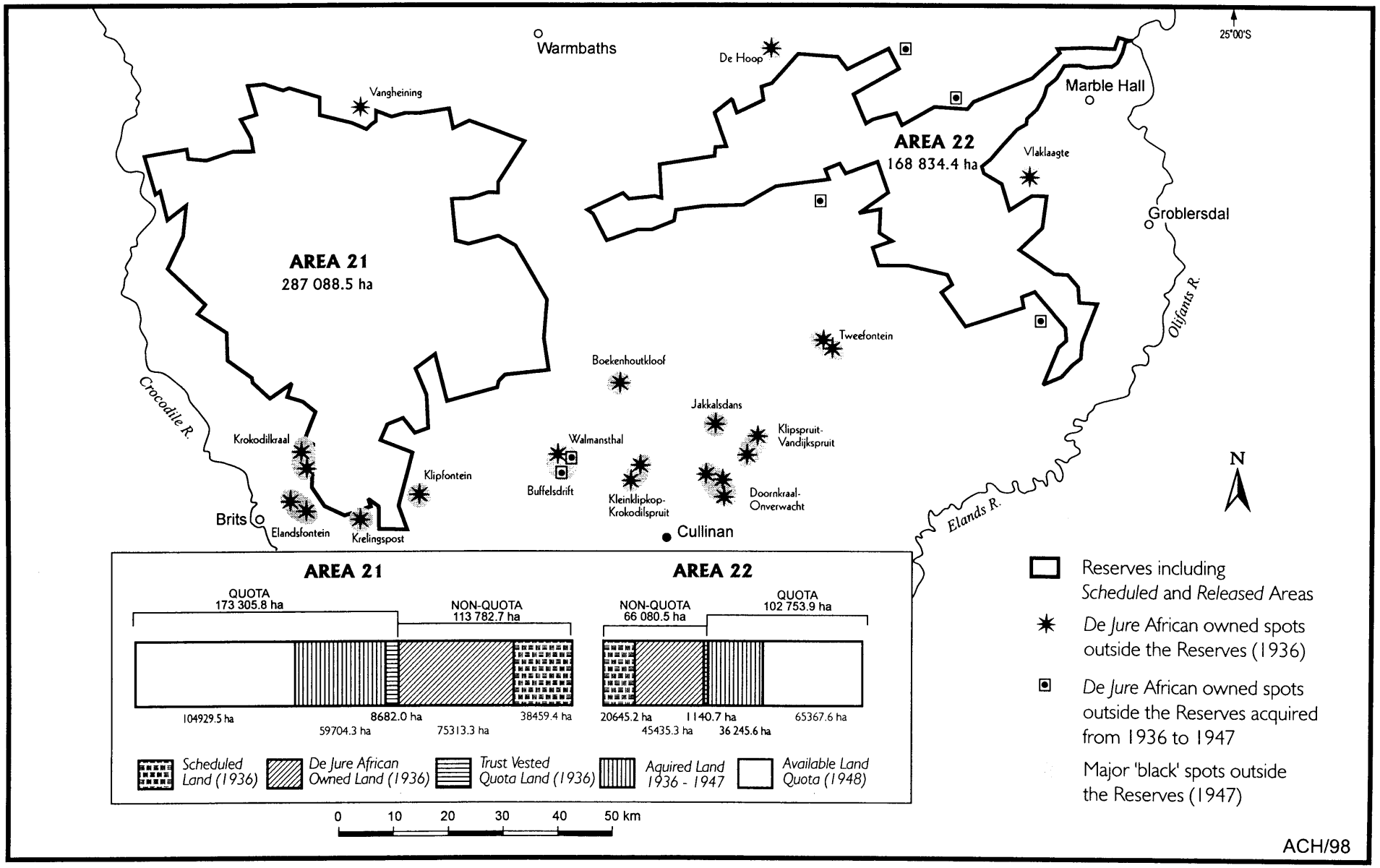
Finally, the disregard that the post-1936 minimalist land policy of the Government had for African landlessness is demonstrated by the 1951 national population census (South Africa, 1955)[24] which showed an African rural population in the re-defined magisterial districts of Pretoria, Brits, Bronkhorstspruit and Warmbaths of 219 392 of which only 19 percent lived in the designated African areas while 43.7 percent lived on white occupied farms and another 8 762 people or four percent of the rural population lived on otherwise unoccupied farms.

4.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

An empical approach was followed to evaluate South African land policies concerning Africans between 1910 and 1947 in the context of variable interpretations of the segregationist ideological paradigm of the time. It was found that the meso-changes of South African politics between fundamentalism — a view of stratified racial

24. Tables 6 and 11c.

FIGURE 4.4 STATUS OF LAND IN 1947 ACCORDING TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TRUST IN RELATION TO THE *SCHEDULED* AND *RELEASED* AREAS (1936) AND *DE JURE* AFRICAN LAND OCCUPATION OUTSIDE THE RESERVES



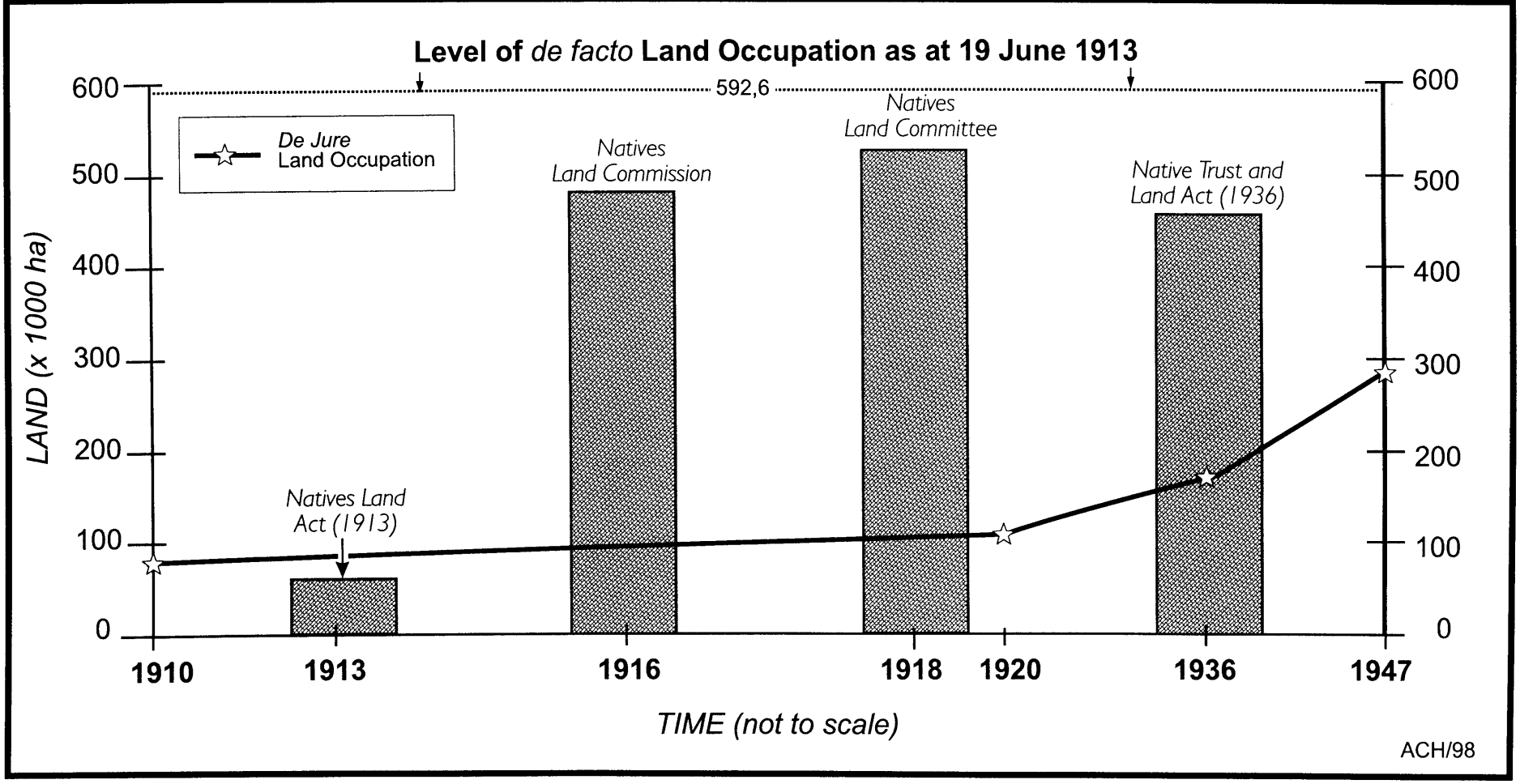
segregation and an approach of minimalist land allocation to Africans — and liberalism — a view of unstratified segregation and a sympathetic yet paternalistic approach to land allocation to Africans — did little to address the reality of African landlessness. However, the immensity of the extent thereof only becomes clear when a quantitative approach is followed such as has been demonstrated by this detailed land audit, albeit on a relative small spatial scale.

Table 4.17 represents a summary of the audit of land occupation by and land allocation to Africans in the defined Pretoria area from about 1910 to 1947. It shows the *Natives Land Act* (1913) as a conservative measure that not even reflected *de jure* land occupation in the Pretoria area at that stage. The land proposals by the Natives Land Commission in 1916 and the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee were, in relation to the *Natives Land Act* (1913), clearly liberal measures reflecting the liberal paternalism of the Botha and Smuts Governments. On the other hand Hertzog's conservatism eventually reduced land allocation to Africans by means of the minimalist *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936). The table also shows that although the land proposals of the liberal era of Government between 1910 and 1923 reflected the political stance, *de jure* land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area only marginally increased by 26.9 percent from 84 452.9 ha in 1913 to 107 160.0 ha in 1920. On the other hand *de jure* land occupation by Africans then dramatically increased during the years of Hertzog's conservative Government, a situation that is explained by the continuation of a liberal ethos that survived in the Department of Natives Affairs during the 1920s and 1930s despite native affairs being Hertzog's ministerial portfolio. It also shows the reluctance between 1936 and 1947 of the Native Land Trust to implement even the minimalist measures proposed by the Government in 1936, an indication of how the Department of Native Affairs had been transformed from a liberal institution in the early 1920s to a conservative bureaucratic institution in the 1940s. Finally, the table shows that neither the various land measures nor the reality of *de jure* land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area matched the level of *de facto* land occupation by Africans as it was at 1913.

The above findings provide quantitative proof for views previously based on less accurate empirical methods. In addition, the quantitative approach adopted during this research unveiled a number of previously unknown aspects that should be reiterated. First, the analysis confirmed the precise and accurate measurements of the *Natives Land Act* (1913) and, on the other hand, it uncovered severe miscalculations by the Natives Land Commission (1916) and the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee (1918). Second, the Natives Land Commission and the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee were previously perceived as if they had been enlightened institutions because of their liberal land proposals and, seemingly, scientific approaches. This research has proved that the method and calculations of both bodies as invalid and

TABLE 4.17 OVERVIEW OF AFRICAN LAND OCCUPATION IN THE PRETORIA AREA AND GOVERNMENT LAND MEASURES FOR THIS AREA (1910-1947)

MEASURE		NATIVES LAND ACT (1913)	NATIVES LAND COMMISSION (1916)	NATIVES LAND COMMITTEE (1918)	NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT (1936)
Extent AREA 1 (NW)	ha	38 476.2	236 489.3	287 088.5	287 088.5
Extent AREA 2 (NE)	ha	20 645.2	243 890.3	237 731.0	168 834.4
Total Extent	ha	59 121.4	480 379.6	524 819.5	455 922.9



inaccurate. The Stubbs Committee's based its land allocation on a criterion of a minimum of 15.6 ha of land per family of five which, in the Pretoria area, resulted in a land allocation for occupation to Africans which was 22 percent less than the land already occupied by them. The Beaumont Commission, on the other hand, based its land allocations on the guiding principle of *de facto* land occupation. The Commission calculated the extent of *de facto* land occupation in the Pretoria area as 93 429.7 ha and then, generiously, demarcated 480 379.6 ha for eventual African occupation. This research, based on primary archival information, has re-established the actual extent of *de facto* land occupation by Africans at that stage as 592 590.8 ha or more than six times more as calculated by the Commission. Based on these findings the as yet undisputed liberal stances of both the Beaumont Commission and the Stubbs Committee are rejected by this research.The re-establishing of a more representative level of *de facto* land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area as at 1913 is, probably, the single-most important result of the adoption of a quantitative approach to the study of land policy application in the context of this study. This finding has added an additional dimension to the study of land allocation policy and allowed for the evaluation of all other measures in a new way.

Finally, apart from the conceptual and empirical exploration by this case study it is also of value and relevance to contemporary land reform processes in South Africa. In the first place it is clear that there is little, if any, ground for rural land restitution of dispossessed *de jure* owned land in terms of the *Restitution of Land Rights Act* (1994) in the Pretoria area based on events between 19 June 1913 and 31 August 1936. This deduction is based on the quantitative empirical record established by this case study which provide support to the view expressed by Feinberg (1995) that the sympathetic paternalism practised by the Native Affairs Department during the 1920s protected the *de jure* land rights of Africans and that no case of expropriation of *de jure* African-owned rural land before 1940 has been uncovered in relation to the Pretoria area to date.

On the other hand, the study has shown that the area under *de facto* African control through occupation was much larger in extent than reflected by the historical statutory land record as well as official representations of such non-statutory land occupations such as those by the Commissioner of Native Affairs (Transvaal, 1904) and the Natives Land (Beaumont) Commission (South Africa, 1916a). Particular attempts had been made by the respective segregationist Governments to ignore African land occupation closer to the Pretoria area and in the prospective mining areas. If the focus of land restitution moves towards the restitution of informal land rights, as is suggested by the *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (South Africa, 1997) ownership to thousands of hectares of land in the Pretoria area can be disputed.

Third, although a right to presently highly developed agricultural and urban land

in the Pretoria area based on informal settlement patterns and verbal evidence might prove difficult to restitute, the distribution of African rural settlement indicated by this study provides strong support for a progressive programme of affirmative land re-distribution to Africans in addition to a programme of land restitution and post-apartheid tenure reform.

It can be concluded that this research has proved that a quantitative approach to the study social issues, in addition to and in support of qualitative empirical procedures, is of unquestionable value to the process of social reform in South Africa because it provides substance to value-laden principles.

4.8 RECONSIDERATION OF THE OBJECTIVE: IDEOLOGY AND TERRITORIALITY

The aim of this chapter was to contextualize, exemplify and understand racial territorial organization in the Pretoria area from about 1910 to 1947. Historically it represented an era that followed fragmented colonial rule in South Africa and preceded the comprehensive separation of races during the apartheid era that followed.

The research has shown that the racial land policies implemented in South Africa between 1910 and 1947 must be understood in the context of a quest by the white regime for a national racial policy that could settle African land claims and, at the same time, ensure white political, social and economic dominance in a stratified society. Based on an ideology of segregation as its basic organizing principle the social and land policies of consequtive white governments fluctuated between rigid fundamental and liberal racialism. The changing ideological views directly affected land policy with almost immediate effect on the lives of ordinary people.

TABLE 4.18 SUMMARY: RURAL LAND OCCUPATION BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA AREA AS AT 19 JUNE 1913

Land units outside the demarcated Pretoria magisterial district indicated by an asterisk '*'; land units occupied by Africans within the Pretoria magisterial district but outside the study area are indicated in Table 4.19.

LAND CATEGORY					
Name	**No.**	**Ha**	**Name**	**No.**	**Ha**
FREEHOLD LAND					
Buffelsdrift	131	2082.1	Koedoespoort	301	1604.8
Elandsdoorn	225	856.5	Krokodilkraal	61	1256.7
Elandsfontein	204	990.1	Krokodilspruit	3	109.0
Elandsfontein	374	245.1	Kwarrielaagte	356	2243.3
* Haakdoornbult	3144	1873.6	Leeuwkraal	414	787.2
Haakdoornfontein	77	856.5	Tottie	493	93.3
Honingnestkranz	121	113.1	Tweefontein	529	243.3
Ida	324	218.8	Uitvalgrond	376	2173.1
Kleinklipkop	44	109.0	Vandijkspruit	405	137.2
Klipfontein	196	4627.7	Wilgekuil	80	1330.3
Klipspruit	291	54.7		**Sub Total**	**22005.4**
TRUST LAND RECOGNISED AS LOCATIONS					
Boschbult	78	1958.7	Paaizynpan	1975	5278.0
Goedgewaagd	465	822.9	Palmietfontein	190	4996.3
Hoekfontein	394	3238.1	Schilpadfontein	79	1509.4
Kaalzandbult	341	2944.0	Schilpadfontein	548	1682.0
Kameelfontein	51	970.3	Sjambokzynkraal	52	983.1
Klippan	331	4235.2	Witgatboom (a)	62	687.6
Krelingspost	111	779.4	Witgatboom (b)	62	2972.1
Middelkop	332	3596.2		**Sub Total**	**36653.3**
OTHER LAND HELD IN TRUST					
Boekenhoutskloof	146	1708.6	Rhenosterdrift	375	790.4
* De Hoop	1965	85.7	Schilpadfontein	32	689.3
Doornkraal	4	57.5	Sjambokzynkraal	52	2669.2
Goedgewaagd	465	3211.9	Syferfontein	310	4377.6
Goedgewaagd	624	1425.1	Uitvalgrond	376	423.2
Haakdoornfontein	77	2344.5	Wildebeesthoek	20	430.4
Jakkalsdans	450	1534.2	Wildebeestkuil	8	1439.7
Kafferskraal	323	606.5	Witgatboom	62	2216.9
Kameelfontein	51	913.5			
Oskraal	437	870.0		**Sub Total**	**25794.2**

(continued)

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LAND CATEGORY					
Name	**No.**	**Ha**	**Name**	**No.**	**Ha**
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON GOVERNMENT LAND					
Bles (two sections	unreg.	3397.8	* Noodhulp	329	3802.6
				Sub Total	**7200.4**
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON PRIVATE WHITE LAND					
Boschplaats	507	2354.2	Leeuwkraal	312	4427.5
Buffelsdrift	337	3241.4	Leeuwkraal	396	4406.3
* Buiskop	1532	3373.8	* Merinovlakte	1756	3001.3
Bultfontein	472	7086.6	Nooitgedacht	458	1755.6
* Cyferkuil	1463	3772.6	Riekertslaagte	551	3543.7
* De Kuil	1973	2454.1	* Rietgat	340	3075.7
* De Putten	2150	3288.1	* Riffontein	1831	1623.3
* Droogelaagte	1800	3238.4	* Roodekuil	1728	4145.7
* Droogesloot	2130	4935.3	Rooifontein	378	4412.7
* Elsieskraal	1924	1879.4	* Turffontein	1995	4341.6
Garstfontein	428	4023.0	* Tweefontein	1553	5393.8
* Grootfontein	2131	3203.6	* Tweefontein	1554	1797.9
Kalkfontein	523	2731.0	* Vaalboschbult	1971	2276.8
Klipdrift	227	2237.0	* Vangheining	1724	3445.2
* Klippan	1993	2828.4	* Worcester	1723	1467.5
* Klippoortje	337	3075.7	Wynandskraal	154	4201.2
* Langkuil	1802	4694.0	* Zoetfontein	2153	2990.7
* Leeuwdoorns	2225	1882.5	* Zwartkloof	2126	3316.1
				Sub Total	**119 921.7**
LAND OWNED BUT UNOCCUPIED BY WHITES AND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES					
Allemansdrift	222	2260.8	De Beersput	388	2264.5
Baviaanspoort	470	861.5	De Kroon	420	1581.0
Beynespoort	520	3123.7	De Langesdam	195	1411.0
Bezuidenhoutskraal	510	3425.2	Derdepoort	469	1408.4
Blesbokfontein	533	2800.3	De Wagendrift	453	4174.3
Bloempoort	562	5826.8	De Witskraal	519	3998.0
Boekenhoutkloof	255	3495.0	Diepsloot	262	4076.9
Boekenhoutkloof	263	1456.4	Donkerhoek	274	1974.8
Boschkop	313	2759.1	Doornfontein	247	586.4
Brakfontein	104	3588.0	Doornkloof	431	837.3
Brandbach	574	2451.1	Doornkloof	449	5373.8
Buffelsdrift	131	2104.1	Doornkraal	4	4680.1
Buffelspruit	253	5397.8	Doornpoort	506	3924.2
Bultfontein	293	5483.6	Elandsdoorn East	225	2356.2

(continued)

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LAND CATEGORY					
Name	**No.**	**Ha**	**Name**	**No.**	**Ha**
LAND OWNED BUT UNOCCUPIED BY WHITES AND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES (Continued)					
Elandsdoorn West	225	3269.6	Mooiplaats	502	4103.8
Elandsfontein	35	3276.8	Moosriviersmond	134	2781.0
Elandsfontein	204	3579.6	Nooitgedacht	538	3737.3
Elandsfontein	452	5215.7	Olifantsfontein	495	5557.3
Elandshoek	74	2181.3	Onderstepoort	496	4188.0
Elandskraal	42	3178.4	Pankoppen	505	4233.9
Enkeldoorn	373	4178.0	Pienaarspoort	500	2953.9
Flinkzyndrift	119	4648.5	Randjesfontein	559	4080.6
Franspoort	426	1620.4	Rhenosterfontein	290	3053.8
Haakdoornboom	370	4403.9	Rhenosterfontein	486	2151.3
Hartbeesthoek	524	3364.8	Rietfontein	21	2981.3
Hartebeestfontein	592	1688.0	Rietfontein	89	2160.1
Hartebeestpoort	304	1644.0	Rietfontein	114	2516.0
Hartebeestspruit	288	3072.9	Rietfontein	270	4370.0
Honingnestkranz	121	4062.0	Rietfontein	280	3729.0
Kaalfontein	554	3199.0	Rietfontein	501	2599.0
Kafferskraal	406	1623.5	Rietvallei	221	4481.0
Kalkbank	112	1702.8	Rietvlei	433	1301.1
Kalkput	307	2515.6	Rooikop	509	4169.6
Kameelfontein	106	3172.6	Rust der Winter	508	3010.0
Kameelkop	246	1092.0	Rustfontein	401	3853.2
Kameelpoort	278	6771.0	Schietpoort	409	3264.8
Kameelrivier	75	4178.0	Schurweberg	381	3656.0
Kleinklipkop	441	80.8	Slagboom North West	513	1880.9
Kleinzonderhout	429	2682.8	Slagboom South East	513	2740.5
Klipfontein	482	4435.7	Stinkwater	585	5107.1
Klipplaatdrift	266	2834.7	Tambotielaagte	364	2351.9
Klipspruit	279	2938.9	The Willows	23	2932.1
Kloppersbosch	516	3305.7	Toitskraal North West	421	1473.6
Koedoespoort	299	1351.1	Toitskraal South East	421	2255.3
Krokodilkraal	61	2992.0	Tweefontein	268	5979.4
Kromkuil	122	2473.7	Tweefontein	303	5726.7
Leeuwfontein	320	1171.4	Tweefontein	309	4429.0
Leeuwkloof	150	2060.2	Tweefontein	522	4524.7
Leeuwkraal	414	3414.7	Uitspanning	9	5450.0
Leeuwkraal	435	1746.1	Uitzicht	586	3042.1
Mamagalieskraal	413	5319.1	Vaalbank	542	3373.6

(continued)

(continued)

LAND CATEGORY					
Name	**No.**	**Ha**	**Name**	**No.**	**Ha**
LAND OWNED BUT UNOCCUPIED BY WHITES AND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES (Continued)					
Vaalboschbult	499	4194.5	Wolfhuiskraal	137	3806.7
Valschspruit	103	3272.0	Wonderboom	311	1806.3
Vlakfontein	393	1838.0	Zandfontein	26	3406.8
Vlakfontein	535	3655.6	Zandfontein	93	3206.0
Waaikraal	240	1746.0	Zilkaatsnek	379	3749.8
Walmansthal	116	3038.0	Zorgvliet	254	2551.0
Waterval	125	2237.5	Zwartkop	476	6485.0
Witfontein	53	2300.0	Zwartkoppies	289	2740.6
Witfontein	536	3901.0			
Witpoort	276	2756.5		**Sub Total**	**381 015.8**
TOTAL RURAL LAND OCCUPATION BY AFRICANS					**592 590.8**

TABLE 4.19 ADDITIONAL LAND OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS IN THE PRETORIA MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT (OUTSIDE THE STUDY AREA) AS AT 19 JUNE 1913

LAND CATEGORY					
Name	**No.**	**Ha**	**Name**	**No.**	**Ha**
UNDEFINED LOCATIONS ON PRIVATE WHITE OWNED LAND					
Modderfontein	46	2129.0			
				Total	**2129.0**
LAND OWNED BUT UNOCCUPIED BY WHITES AND OCCUPIED BY NATIVES (Continued)					
Broederstroom	163	3315.0	Scheerpoort	260	4546.0
Cowenburg	16	1711.0	Steenkoolspruit	550	2341.8
Cyferfontein	33	2965.8	Tweefontein	167	2947.0
Droogefontein	447	4653.0	Varkfontein	166	2300.0
Dwarsfontein	145	3243.8	Vlakplaats	10	2101.5
Goedehoop	175	1954.3	Waterval	50	3522.1
Grootplaas	194	4762.0	Weilaagte	172	2618.7
Hekpoort	430	2901.8	Welgelegen	544	3846.0
Haverklip	14	2936.0	Witklip	70	1622.2
Katboschfontein	434	2479.2	Witklipbank	425	3906.0
Koffiespruit	541	3093.4	Wolvenfontein	468	2839.8
Middelbult	171	3191.0	Zesfontein	170	2785.0
Rietfontein	15	2767.0	Zuurfontein	369	3189.7
Rietkuil	460	3564.7		**Sub Total**	**82 103.8**

FROM RACIAL SEGREGATION TO REGIONAL COMPLEXITY: APARTHEID PLANNING IN THE PRETORIA REGION, 1940 TO 1994

CHAPTER 5

(a)lthough taken by the idea ...

A. Sparks

(t)he apartheid system (did not)
sprang full-blown from the heads
of Afrikaner nationalists

H. Giliomee & L. Schlemmer

ABSTRACT

This chapter presents an analysis of apartheid spatial constructs in the Pretoria region in the context of the evolution of the national ethno-political ideology of apartheid. After consideration of the rationale of apartheid ideology, and an explanation of the purpose of new regionalism as an approach of the study of an area, an analysis of the spatial dimensions of the built environment in the Pretoria region before 1940, and from 1940 to 1990 is presented. Aspects such as apartheid town planning, peri-urban industrial location, the establishment of the Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele homelands and a multiple urban settlement system are emphasized. Particular attention is given to the progression from a simplistic apartheid planning strategy to a complex separated development framework, and from an orientation of ethnic nationalism to a regional administrative functionalism. The focus shifts form an analysis of the collapse of the separate development strategy and the consequences of urban disfunctionality to regional events after 1990. These include a survey of public opinion on the desegregation of urban amenties and the demarcation of new provincial boundaries. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the spatial prospects and development challenges of the Pretoria region. The opinion is expressed that the spatial inheritance of the era of apartheid planning will continue to disfigure the Pretoria region for many years to come.

The apartheid system, which became official policy in South Africa in 1948, evolved, from about 1940, from the interaction between an abstract ideological construct and a pragmatic spatial planning strategy. As such it presents an ideal opportunity for the study of the structure-agency dialectic. This chapter focuses on the period between 1940 and 1994, the apartheid era of South Africa's history. It aims to analyse apartheid spatial constructs in the Pretoria region[1] by way of example, in the context of the evolving national ethno-political ideology in order to try to understand the complexity of structure-agency interaction on a regional scale. Both the Pretoria urban centre and its rural hinterland have been taken into consideration with particular emphasis on the creation of peripheral African homelands and their interaction with white controlled urban cores.

5.1 SPATIALITY: TOWARDS A NEW-STYLE REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

At its zenith the South African ethno-spatial separate development strategy was considered "*... a remarkably bold exercise in the spatial reorganization of a society*" (Smith, 1976:1). From the time of the institutionalization, in 1948, of apartheid[2] — a system of racial stratification and segregation — it became clear that the broad acceptance and eventual political, social and economic success of this strategy would depend on the ability of government to establish harmonious, independent and self-sustaining African territories outside or on the periphery of white areas (Platzky & Walker, 1985).

The plan to partition South Africa into separate ethnic homelands evolved over time (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989). The complexity of the most basic homeland blueprint was compounded not only by social, spatial and economic realities but also by the irrationality, bias and mistakes of the architecs of apartheid. At its peak, in about 1980, the homeland system was barely functional and the range of interim

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1. The spatial definition of the Pretoria region is based on the concept of a functional region with its focus on the city of Pretoria; broadly speaking it comprises the area between the Hennops and Crocodile Rivers in the west, the contiguity of the Wilge, Elands and Olifants Rivers in the east and between the 25° 00' and 26° 00' southern parallels.

2. Thompson (1990:190) states: "*At the heart of the apartheid system were four ideas. First, the population of South Africa comprised four 'racial groups' — white, coloured, Indian, and African — each with its own inherent culture. Second, whites, as the civilized race, were entitled to have absolute control over the state. Third, white interests should prevail over black interests; the state was not obliged to provide equal facilities for the subordinate races. Fourth, the white racial group formed a single nation, with Afrikaans- and English-speaking components, while Africans belonged to several (eventually ten) distinct nations or potential nations — a formula that made the white nation the largest in the country.*"

measures that was later enforced to counter the broad collapse of the drive towards ethnic nationalism and the political sabotage of separationist ideology eventually turned South Africa into a dysfunctional spatiality. Although the abolition of apartheid in the early 1990s, and the inception of democracy in 1994, sought to re-integrate the country, the immediate result was limited to the political sphere whilst the spatial, social, and economic legacies of apartheid continued to the present time to disfigure the structural landscape.

The Pretoria region, is an example of separate development taken to its most extreme (Hattingh & Horn, 1991). In 1990 the region encompassed a white controlled component that was part of the Republic of South Africa, an independent African homeland with a strong ethnic based character, a self-governing African homeland caught in a conflict between the notions of ethnic nationalism and pan-African radicalism, and an urban network which included common areas, racially segregated inner-city areas and peripheral new towns, other partly integrated neighbourhoods, displaced industries and African towns, and uncontrolled sprawling informal settlements. The Pretoria region further accommodated a highly dysfunctional labour system based on racial divisions, long-distance commuting and circular migration.

Although there is information on the spatial framework and functioning of the Pretoria region, it is often unreliable, and, without exception, is topical, dealing with issues such as urbanization, labour, transport, administration etc., or is micro-areal in focus. There is no integrated evaluation of the spatial functioning of the Pretoria area on a truly regional scale that captures the overall complexity of this regional system and that could serve as a basis for regional planning, administration and development.

5.1.1 GUIDING PRINCIPLE

Three classical views on the rationale of apartheid ideology are considered in order to arrive at a principle that will guide the understanding of the apartheid system.

The *fundamentalist* tradition emphasizes ethnicity, nationalism and self-determination as the essence of apartheid. The fundamentalists see "*... territorial and social separation as the only way of preserving inter-racial harmony and the cultural integrity of each group*" (Smith, 1983:31). The conceptual, theoretical and moral basis of this position was laid down by Afrikaner intellectuals in a co-authored publication titled *Righteous Racial Apartheid* (Cronje *et al.*, 1947), and was further developed by, amongst others, Roodie & Venter (1959) and Roodie (1969). The fundamentalist view is firmly based on the concept of pluralism, but, as Van den Berghe (1965) points out, this view often confuses aspects of cultural and social pluralism because of an obsession with self-determination.

The *structuralist* tradition bases its understanding of apartheid ideology on capitalist exploitation of a subordinate class by a superordinate elite. The structuralists stress the inter-dependence of South Africa's political and economic systems, and in particular the way in which apartheid produced, reproduced and promoted capitalist interests. This is a rationale supported by Wolpe (1972), O'Meara (1983), Lipton (1985) other 'revisionists'. But to portray whites as the capitalists and Africans as the proletariat is, according to Van den Berghe (1965), a grossly distorted oversimplification.

The *liberalist* tradition emphasises racial discrimination as the main element of the apartheid strategy but with regard to the economic perspective of apartheid maintains an intermediate position that is often difficult to distinguish from either the fundamentalist or structuralist rationales. While some liberalists, tending towards the structuralist thesis, believe that racial discrimination is supportive to capitalist growth (e.g. Perlman, 1982), others (e.g. Horwitz, 1967; Johnson, 1976) maintain that racial discrimination is a counteractive intrusion upon the capitalist economic system.

It is clear that the apartheid ideology is not based on a simplistic guiding principle. To the relative simplicity of a racial and economic rationale should be added a multiplicity of individual perspectives and conscious and sub-conscious rationalizations. The perspective in this study is based on the understanding of an unequal pluralism which distinguishes between race as the primary dividing principle and class as a secondary dividing principle. It is further believed that the promotion of self-interest in terms of the various categories of race and class is the overriding conscious rationale for 20th century South African social history, but that the rationalizing of this concept, in order to live by it as either subordinate and superordinate sections of society, often resulted in superficial rationalizations such as the establishment of righteous apartheid moralisms and the formation of ethnic nationalisms suppressing the true motives of apartheid to a subconscious position.

5.1.2 AN APPROACH BASED ON REGIONAL UNDERSTANDING

An approach is adopted in this chapter of the study which "*... treat(s) people as agents, places as contexts, and causality as an iteractive process of fast-moving actions and slower moving structures of interaction*" (Thrift, 1991:456). This approach is aimed at understanding regions as constituted out of multiple and overlapping processes wider than the region, rather than in terms of the region itself, and to present it in a fully theorized way (Massey, 1978; Soja, 1985; Gilbert, 1988; Pudup, 1988; Taylor, 1988; Warf, 1988; Thrift, 1990).

The challenge of the regional approach is not only about investigating context and causality, and about relating global and national trends to what is happening in the

real world of local regions (McQuillan, 1991), but about the representation thereof (Gregory, 1996). Cloke *et al*. (1991:198) warn that the "*... manner in which we represent our findings does not itself impose too much order or too little awareness of the difference upon the complex and even chaotic human reality beyond*." Presenting in written form the complexity and multiplicity of the region is particularly problematic given that writing is inherently sequential whilst the geographies of the region to be presented are inherently simultaneous (Cloke *et al*., 1991).

The main choice, in deciding on the organization of the presentation of the context and causality of a region, is between chronology and topicality. It was decided to present the context and causality of the Pretoria region in the form of a chronological narrative, an unfolding history of contexts, causes and effects. Also, it was decided to provide this linear presentation with some topical structure, risking the imposition of order and the disregarding of connectivity, but avoiding the risk of mistaking a lack of order and structure for integrated thought. While often transgressing the strict order of time, the topicality of this presentation does not compromize the overall progressivity of its chronology.

5.2 A HISTORY OF STRATIFICATION AND SEGREGATION

Since apartheid ideology and spatial planning developed from a history of social stratification and spatial segregation, it is necessary to consider briefly the pre-apartheid ideology and spatial pattern.

5.2.1 SEGREGATIONIST IDEOLOGY

The pre-apartheid human history of South Africa is one of evolution, immigration, absorbtion and displacement. Social stratification and territoriality played a major role in the social ordering of the country. Stratification was determined by class, which was primarily determined by culture. The Middle Stone Age hunter-gatherers included Acheul-types on the central highlands and Sangoan varieties on the north-eastern lowlands (Mason, 1969). About 3 000 years ago the Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers were confronted by a new emerging culture of herders, the Khoikoi whose lifestyle had developed with the importation of sheep, goats and cattle and from the arrival of foreign people and their herds (Barnard, 1992). Soon a mosaic of communities developed on the central plateau shared between the egalitarian hunter-gatherers and the accumulative herders. The Khoikoi eventually emerged as the politically dominant

group and large numbers of hunter-gatherers became the vassals of the Khoikoi.

About 1 000 years later the first Early Iron Age Bantu speaking people moved into the region along the north-eastern lowlands (Huffman, 1979). Gradually their number grew with new arrivals from an already overpopulated central Africa, and their growing herds of cattle, improved iron technology and stone architecture soon threatened the last pockets of free hunter-gatherers who increasingly became wedged between the central Khoikoi and the eastern Bantu (Mason, 1986). By the time Europeans began to colonize southern Africa in the 17th century the Khoikoi had become the dominant group in the central and southern parts of the country and the Bantu had become the dominant group in the north-eastern and eastern parts, with sporadic conflict in the narrow interface between these herding communities. Small bands of free hunter-gatherers survived in the marginal areas of the northern and western deserts as well as in the more inaccessible parts of the eastern mountains of the country while the rest were vassals of the two dominant pastoralist societies.

The pattern of stratification and segregation became more complicated with the arrival in 1652 of Dutch settlers, employees of the Dutch East India Company. Their first contact with indigenous peoples was with the Khoikoi with whom they began to trade and interact socially. In 1688 the colonial population was increased with the arrival of a group of French Huguenots. The emergence of a new social class of colonial trekboers and freeburghers and the constant extension of colonized land brought colonial society into direct conflict with the territorial interests of the Khoikoi and the Bantu (Thompson, 1990). The result was strict social stratification and territorial segregation.

Based on the broad Calvinistic differentiation between Christians and heathens, distorted by interests of self-preservation, a social perspective based on strict territorial segregation and racial hierarchy developed on the colonial frontier (Moodie, 1975). This divisions together with an increasing demand for land, not only brought the colonists into conflict with the Bantu and the Khoikoi but also increased tension between the Bantu and the Khoikoi.

The British, replacing the Dutch as the colonial authority of the Cape of Good Hope, brought with them an ethnic philanthropism which favoured harmonious relationships with the Bantu and Khoikoi, and which marginalised both Cape Dutch and British settlers, who were engaged in a struggle for survival on the colonial frontiers (Davenport, 1989). This marginalization led to hundreds of Cape Dutch families breaking away from the Cape Colony in the years between 1833 and 1840 and establishing a number of separate inland republics in the heart of Bantu-occupied territory. The establishment of these republics and the subordination of the indigenous occupants of the colonized areas coincided with the collapse of the Late Iron Age social system. This period of social disorder, the *difaqane*, was the result of drought,

overpopulation, political unrest and disruptive colonial influences (Davenport, 1989)

In keeping with neo-Calvinist belief of the inferiority of heathens, the indigenous peoples in the Dutch-Afrikaner colonies had no political rights and were allowed only limited and restricted access to land, in both urban and rural areas (Van Biljon, 1947; Brookes, 1974). In the British colonies philanthropism was gradually replaced by liberalism in which economic and frontier realities soon overrode moralism and resulted in a paternalistic form of trusteeship (Hoernlé, 1939; Davenport, 1987).

After Swaziland, Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Bechuanaland (now Botswana) became British protectorates the British Crown amalgamated the rest of southern Africa in 1910 under an all-white government. Although non-whites, i.e. Africans, coloureds and Indians, outnumbered the whites, the whites dominated the political structures and processes, imposing a hierarchical and segregated social order. In the years between 1910 and 1940 the segregation model which directed the development of the social order of South Africa was loosely based on the eugenic anthropological view of the then international colonial community (Evans, 1911; Higham, 1975) but slowly becomming more racist over the years (Van den Berghe, 1965).

The white rulers followed a three-tier strategy to ensure their political dominance and to secure their economic privileges. First, a determined campaign was launched to minimize non-white political power. Non-whites did not qualify for the vote, except in the Cape Province (formerly the Cape Colony), and no non-white could be elected to Parliament. The *Native Affairs Act, No. 23 of 1920*, introduced a system of union-wide Native Conferences, a forum that was supposed to provide a substitute for direct political representation. Eventually, in 1936 the last remaining non-whites were removed from the Parliamentary voters role.

Second, attempts were made to segregate urban residential areas on a white/non-white basis and to regulate urbanization and urban social interaction on a racial basis. The *Native (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1923*, arrising out of the report of the Stallard Commission (Transvaal, 1922), introduced measures to curb non-white influx into urban areas and to achieve racial residential segregation. Racial control in the urban areas was also indirectly supported by a compendium of other legislation.

Third, a land programme was introduced primarily to consolidate 19th century rural African locations; secondarily, to reduce and limit the number of Africans who occupied white-owned rural land as non-labour tenants, leaseholders or sharecroppers, and to settle African rural land claims. These objectives were achieved through the *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*, and the *Native Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936*. Apart from land already legally owned, Africans were not allowed to acquire land, either in perpetuity or leasehold except in the *scheduled* areas proclaimed by the 1913 Act and in *released* areas proclaimed by the 1936 Act.

In addition to using race to divide and rule the Government also introduced a

system of tribalism to administer Africans.[3] A tribe, according to the Native Affairs Commission (South Africa, 1905:41), is "*... a community or collection of Natives forming a political and social organisation under the government, control, and leadership of a Chief who is the centre of the national or tribal life ... He is sometimes the Chief of a congeries of tribes and then is known as Paramount or Supreme Chief, or he may be the head of a single tribe composed of a number of families usually members of the same clan or using the same totem.*" Although cases of ownership of land by individual rural Africans occurred, the Government, between 1910 and 1940, became more and more committed to the principle of communal land occupation on a tribal basis (South Africa, 1916; Rogers, 1933; Van Biljon, 1947; South Africa, 1949; Dubow, 1989).

5.2.2 THE PRETORIA REGION, 1940

By the early 1940s the cultural morphology of the Pretoria region was a mirror of pre-colonial history, colonial re-organization, and early 20th century segregation policies (Fig. 5.1).

The region had had more than a million years of hominid development before Early Iron Age Bantu-speakers joined a variety of Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers as occupants of the region in about 400 AD (Mason, 1969). From 1200 further groups of Iron Age Bantu-speaking herders from equatorial Africa, representing the Kgatla and Kwena lineages of a large Sotho culture, arrived in the region and then dispersed mainly from the Mabyanamatshwaana nucleus (Breutz, 1989). In about 1600 a large Nguni Bantu-speaking group, the Ndebele, also settled in the region and then dispersed from the KwaMnyamana centre (Van Vuuren, 1992). By the year 1800 numerous Sotho and Nguni communities, comprising close on 100 000 individuals had cultivated and grazed the land, built extensive towns with stone and had established a flourishing trade network with other populated regions (Mason, 1986).

At the peak of the *difaqane* the region was invaded by the marauding army of Mzilikazi, who had defected from the Zulu kingdom on the east coast of southern Africa in 1821 (Rasmussen, 1978). Mzilikazi and his followers established a life-style of parasitic-pastoralism, invading a region, subjugating the inhabitants and raiding their resources before moving to another region, taking many of the younger generation along as soldiers, slaves and herders while killing the adults and infants. Between 1827 and 1832 he established many towns in the region of present-day Pretoria.

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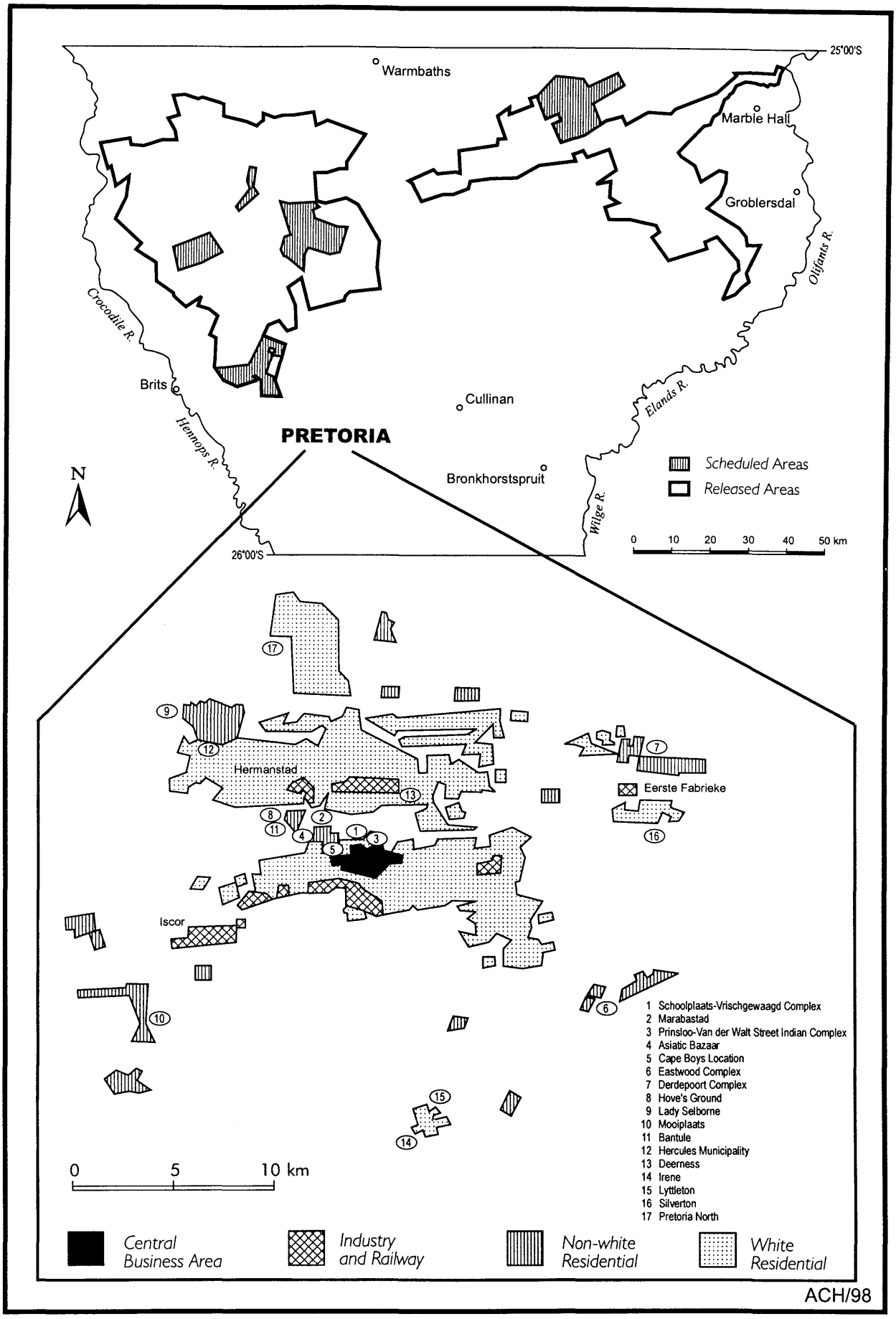
3. Tribalism as the basic principle of traditional African social organization is discussed in general terms by, amongst others, Stow (1905); Van Warmelo (1935); Schapera (1937, 1956); Molema (1963); Thompson (1969); Hammond-Tooke (1974); Breutz (1995); and in specific terms by, amongst others, Schapera (1952); Coertze (1987); and Breutz (1991).

FIGURE 5.1 SEGREGATION PLANNING IN THE PRETORIA REGION, 1940



Although Mzilikazi moved westward in 1832, his control over the area continued until the arrival of a party of white trekkers. After brief skirmishes, the white trekkers and groups of Mzilikazi's native opponents re-organized and drove him and his followers over the Limpopo River after a battle of nine days (Van der Merwe, 1986).

By 1845 a number of settler farms have been established along the rivers and streams and in the valleys of the Magaliesberg, named after a native chief, Mogale, who lived on its northern slopes (Bergh, 1992). Large numbers of native refugees started to return to their former territory and while initially the relationship between the white settlers and the natives was that of protector-protege, the relationship soon became one of master-servant.

Already in 1853 it had been suggested by the settler leaders of the northern Dutch-Afrikaner colonies that the settlement in the Magaliesberg should become the seat of the settler's National Council (*Volksraad*) because of its central location, and in 1854 a new congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*) was established and the construction of the church commenced two years later. The congregation was named Pretoria Philadelphia in honour of the trek leader Andries Pretorius. Pretoria was declared a town in 1855 and became the seat of the government of the South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*) in 1860. At that stage (1860), 80 white families were living in the town. By 1880 the population had increased to about 3 700 white residents (Engelbrecht, 1955).

From 1858 the town was administered according to a standard set of town regulations that applied to all towns in the South African Republic. A town plan laying out the first erven was drawn up in 1859. Apart from the church square, the town also included a market square, a government building, a prison and a number of commercial properties, including a bank, shops, a farmers co-operative, mills, hotels and entertainment enterprises, and a cemetery. A Pretoria Town Council was established in 1877 (Allen, 1971).

Native servants resided either in detached single quarters on the properties of their employees or at the facilities of the Berlin Mission Society which was established in 1867 at Schoolplaats on the northern fringe of the town (Moolman, 1969). A year later this private facility was extended by the purchase of an adjacent piece of land, Vrischgewaagd. In total the Schoolplaats-Vrischgewaagd complex comprised 95 erven on 19.7 ha. The premises of the Berlin Mission Society soon became overcrowded and in 1888 an additional 67 erven were demarcated nearby. This area, Marabastad, was left under the supervision of a native headman and soon developed into an informal village.

Numbers of coloureds settled in Pretoria during the 19th century, residing either on white premises or staying at Schoolplaats. Indians also settled in Pretoria, the first family, that of M.W. Joosub, settling in Pretoria in 1878 and opening a store in 1883.

The Indian traders that followed clustered between Prinsloo and Van der Walt Streets on the northeastern periphery of the town and a Mosque was erected shortly after 1887 close to the centre of town. However, in terms of *Law 3* of 1885 no Indian could enjoy citizenship of the South African Republic nor own property. The Act did, however, allow for areas to be allocated for Indian occupation (Ball, 1968) and in 1889 an Asiatic Bazaar of 25.7 ha was laid out a small distance south of Marabastad. A small Cape Boys Location was also laid out at the same time and in the same area.

After the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) Pretoria was placed under military rule and administered by a Provisional Town Council. An independent local government was, however, re-instituted in 1903. In the years immediately after the war there was large-scale urbanization and a number of squatter settlements sprang up in and around Pretoria. Within the town limits the area between Marabastad and the Asiatic Bazaar soon became an unsurveyed settlement. Outside the town limits large informal settlements sprang up at Eastwood, Highlands and Newlands (the Eastwood-complex), Eersterust,[4] Derdepoort, and Riverside (the Derdepoort-complex), Hove's Ground, Lady Selborne, and Mooiplaats.

In 1905 the squatter area between Marabastad and the Asiatic Bazaar was surveyed and proclaimed as a location, comprising 18.8 ha. A resurvey of Marabastad in 1905 showed it to be unsuitable for housing and an alternative housing project was launched in 1912 on municipal land just south of the informal settlement at Hove's Ground. The new settlement became popularly known as Newclare and eventually had 294 rental houses. The white owner of Hove's Ground had, in the meantime sold the land to an African consortium but, in 1917, the municipality purchased the land when the new owners could not meet their bond requirements. In 1922 Hove's Ground, although remaining an informal housing settlement, was surveyed and linked to the municipal rental housing scheme at Newclare that was now known officially as Bantule (Coertze, 1969).

Marabastad, including the Cape Boys Location, and Bantule, including Hove's Ground, were proclaimed official locations in terms of the *Natives (Urban) Areas Act* (1923). In 1926 the population of the three major locations comprised 1 106 at Schoolplaats, 2 953 at Bantule and 3 328 at Marabastad (Coertze, 1969). In 1926 the Schoolplaats site was purchased from the Berlin Mission Society by the municipality and its population settled at Bantule shortly after 1930. Non-whites were also allowed to purchase and own land freehold in Lady Selborne, a suburb proclaimed in 1905 in the Hercules Municipality, an arrangement that had been approved by the Minister of Native Affairs in 1923 when Lady Selborne had been reproclaimed as a location (Ball,

4. The informal settlement of Eersterust must not be confused with the township Eersterus that was developed as a Coloured group area in 1958 on more or less the same site.

1968). Lady Selborne consisted of 472 erven on about 257 ha and another 36 erven in the adjoining predominantly white township of Claremont; in 1936 it accommodated about 9 000 people. Uncontrolled concentrations of Africans nevertheless grew at the main railway station and on industrial sites.

The white population increased considerably after 1910, when Pretoria became the administrative capital of the Union of South Africa. Soon the urban area consisted of a number of independent municipalities including Pretoria, Hercules, Deerness and dormitory towns such as Irene, Lyttelton, Silverton and Pretoria North (Engelbrecht, 1955; Kritzinger, 1980; Kotze, 1985; Davenport, 1991). Apart from Pretoria Central, a total of 50 suburbs were proclaimed by 1940. Moderately large industrial complexes developed from 1928 west of Pretoria at the site of the national Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), in the east at Eerste Fabrieke next to the Pretoria-Lourenco Marques railway line (from 1882), and at Hermanstad (from 1892) in the Hercules Municipality.

According to Olivier & Hattingh (1985) the city of Pretoria in the 1940s displayed the following characteristics:

(1) a fragmented socio-economically stratified white residential space;
(2) segregated non-white residential areas located relatively close to employment;
(3) small non-white domestic quarters for individuals or families on white-owned erven; and
(4) non-white informal settlements on the urban periphery.

From the start Pretoria had an organic relationship with its rural hinterland. According to the population census of 1911 (South Africa, 1913), the Pretoria Magisterial District, which covered the largest part of the Pretoria region at that stage, had a population of 157 444, including 55 293 whites, 97 625 Africans, and 4 526 Indians and coloureds. While most, a total of 37 716, lived in the urban areas, in Pretoria and in small service centres such as Brits, Bronkhortspruit and Groblersdal, and the mining town of Cullinan, most Africans, a total of 68 672, lived in the rural areas.

A Location Commission had, in the 1890s, demarcated and allocated a number of rural locations for African occupation, to be held in trust by the Government on their behalf, including the locations of Motsipe, Maubane, Mamogalie, Mathipe, and Makapan. These areas, comprising in total 59 121.4 ha, had been declared *scheduled* areas in terms of the *Natives Land Act* (1913). The areas designated for exclusive African occupation were extended by the *Natives Trust and Land Act* (1936) with the declaration of additional *released* areas. In total, the *scheduled* and *released* areas in 1940 comprised 455 922.9 ha or 23.6 percent of the rural component of the Pretoria region of 1 933 000 ha, much of which had yet to be purchased by the Native Trust for African rural settlement. In addition, 15 532.6 ha outside the demarcated areas

and which had been purchased legally by Africans before the passing of the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936)were occupied by Africans (see Chapter 4).

5.3 A CHOICE BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND SEPARATION

The decade from 1940 brought about drastic political changes in South Africa. It was clear that the system of social and political organization founded on colonial paternalism had failed. Attempting to find a solution the superordinate white society was confronted with a choice between the integration and radical separation of racial groups, a choice in which two factors played a crucial role: the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the social, particularly urban, problems that coincided with the Second World War (1939-1945).

5.3.1 AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND THE NOTION OF ETHNIC NATIONHOOD

It is generally believed (e.g. Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989) that the notion of ethnic nationalism, along with a segregationist world-view (Van den Berghe, 1965; Moodie, 1975; Templin, 1984) and self-centred capitalist-industrial motives (De Kiewiet, 1957; Horwitz, 1967; Wolpe, 1972; O'Meara, 1983; Lipton, 1985), was crucial to the development of the apartheid ideology.

Whilst the notion of race has a genetic basis, the notion of ethnicity is based on both genetic and cultural commonalities (Dwyer, 1996). The dual basis of ethnic identity as being based on a innate quality as well as subjectively chosen factors is emphasized by, amongst others, Yetman & Steel (1975), De Vos & Rommanucci-Ross (1982), Schaeffer & Lamm (1986), and Giddens (1989).

The idea of a common ethnic identity can become so strong that it may develop into a notion of nationhood, that is a common national identity which may transcend territorial boundaries. A statehood, on the other hand, is an expression of territorial self-determination which may include different nations and often includes different ethnic groups. The notion of ethnic nationalism is therefore a composite national identity that finds expression in ethnic territorial self-determination.

A segregationist and capitalist orientation was the foremost characteristic of the white society and ensured an exclusive common loyalty, yet it was the formation of an indigenous white Afrikaner identity that laid the foundation the later development of various ethnic nationalisms in South African society. In spite of their self-imposed

segregation, territorially and socially, from the indigenous people, the white colonists in southern Africa became ethnically consciousness only at the beginning of the 19th century when Great Britain gained political control of the Cape Colony and launched an affirmative Anglicization programme. The conflict between the Dutch-Afrikaners on the colonial frontier and the British rulers on issues of politics including racial policy, economics, and culture came to a head in the 1830s when scores of frontier people, farmers and townsmen alike, migrated to the interior and proclaimed a number of independent colonies where the upholding of their Christian-Calvinist values and their Dutch-Afrikaner culture became the deciding factor in their history. Those Dutch-Afrikaners who remained under British rule continued their cultural-political struggle. The periodical *De Zuid-Afrikaan* became their mouthpiece and in 1876 S.J. du Toit, who called himself 'a true Afrikaner', founded the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Fellowship of True Afrikaners), its purpose "*... to stand for our language, our nation and our land*" (Raidt, nd:210). However, despite these sincere attempts to establish an Afrikaner identity (Van Jaarsveld, 1961) Afrikaner ethnicity failed to sustain momentum as a result of: "*... first, continuing British imperial hegemony; second, deepening class cleavages within the Dutch-Afrikaner group; and, third, intense inter-state rivalry between the Cape Colony and Transvaal*" (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:37).

According to Dubow (1991) the traumatic experience of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) provided the vital stimulus for the development of Afrikaner nationalism as a mass movement. The war deepened the rift between Afrikaner and English societies in South Africa and after the declaration of peace in 1902, cultural hostilities between the interim British regime and Afrikaner groupings such as the *Het Volk* (The Nation) Party continued (Davenport, 1966). The post-war programme to denationalize the Afrikaners, a programme known as Milnerism, and specific attempts by the first two Prime Ministers of the Union of South Africa, L. Botha and J.C. Smuts, both moderates, to reconcile Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites in South Africa and to normalize relationships with Great Britain through a 'forgive and forget' approach, partly suppressed the resurgence of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness until the 1920s. However, when J.B.M. Hertzog, an Afrikaner zealot, became Prime Minister in 1924 a phase of fanatic Afrikaner ethnic consciousness and nationalism began (O'Meara, 1983, 1996; Dubow, 1991). Hertzog believed that the ultimate aim of Afrikaner nationalism was to establish complete sovereign independence from Great Britain (Sparks, 1990), and to achieve this, he tried to ensure the Afrikaner's economic and political dominance.

While Hertzog's National Party Government Afrikanerized every state institution, the secret *Broederbond* (brotherhood), founded in 1918, steered an economic and cultural revolution in the name of Afrikaner nationalism through a range of front

organizations (Thompson, 1990). Young intellectuals such as N Diederichs (Diederichs, 1935) influenced by the philosophy of nationality of the Romanticists defined the Afrikaner *Volksgeist* (spirit of a people). Then, in 1938, to mobilize the Afrikaner nation, a re-enactment of the Great Trek, a break-away of the Cape Dutch colonists from British rule, was staged. This symbolic event, suggested by Henning Klopper, co-founder of the *Broederbond*, co-ordinated by the *Broederbond*, sponsored by the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereenigings* (FAK),[5] and organized by the *Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereeniging* (ATKV),[6] eventually became a 'sacred happening'. On arrival in Pretoria in 1938, a century after the original inland migration by the *Voortrekker* pioneers, Afrikaner leaders pledging unity and swearing allegiance to the Afrikaner national cause, laid the foundations of the Voortrekker Monument, which was inaugurated in 1949 (Saunders, 1988). The National Party won the general election in 1948, and Afrikaner nationalism reached its zenith in 1961 with the declaration, by the Verwoerd Government, of a completely sovereign Republic of South Africa.

Over the next decades the Afrikaner's self-image was continuously fed by cultural-political organizations such as the FAK, ATKV and the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*,[7] the *Rapportryers Korps*,[8] and kept morally in tact by the Dutch Reformed Church and other religious Afrikaner denominations. Eventually a credo of Afrikanership was published to guide ordinary Afrikaners (Treurnicht, 1975) while it was clear that the elite had already achieved the status of super Afrikaner through the *Broederbond*.

5.3.2 GROWING WHITE INSECURITY

From 1934 South Africa was governed by the United South African Nationalist Party, formed by the fusion of the National Party of J.B.M. Hertzog and the South African Party of J.C. Smuts (Davenport, 1989). In 1936 this Government unilaterally disenfranchised Africans of any direct Parliamentary representation in exchange for the extension of the African reserves. In 1939 differences of opinion on South Africa's involvement in the Second World War between the fundamentalist and liberalist factions of the government resulted in the resignation of Hertzog and his followers from the governing party. While Smuts, in his capacity as Prime Minister, concentrated

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5. Federation of Afrikaner cultural organizations.

6. Afrikaans language and cultural organization.

7. South African academy for science and art.

8. Dispatch-rider corps.

on the war and other international affairs, the domestic segregation policy rapidly disintegrated during the 1940s. Conditions in the reserves continued to deteriorate (Lewsen, 1988) and brought indigenous African societies to a point of collapse (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989). In 1946 a mineworkers' strike expressed growing opposition to low wages and the influx control measures of the *Natives Urban Areas (Consolidation) Act No. 25 of 1945*, and the poverty of the non-white population was brought to the Government's notice by the Smit Committee (South Africa, 1942). By 1947 the reserves could accommodate only about half of the African population (Lewsen, 1988). The liberals no longer supported the idea of trusteeship, intended to preserve an indigenous African culture on the point of collapse (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989). Already in 1942 Smuts had suggested a "*... retreat from segregation*" and had declared that "*... segregation has fallen on evil days*" (Saunders, 1988:360), but had failed to provide an alternative. The paradoxical position of the Government on racial policy continued until 1948 when the Fagan Commission (South Africa, 1948), appointed by the Government, rejected racial integration but regarded complete segregation as totally impracticle in view of the environmental deterioration of the African reserves.

In 1934, shortly after the fusion of the Hertzog and Smuts parties, D.F. Malan formed the *Gesuiwerde* (Purified) National Party. This party viewed itself as the custodian of the Afrikaner national spirit (Sparks, 1990) and protector of post-depression poor white communities, the great majority of which were Afrikaners. At the same time a number of young Afrikaner intellectuals travelled to pre-war Europe to study. In Holland, Afrikaner theology students were influenced by the neo-Calvinism of Abraham Cuypers, and in Germany social science students by neo-nationalism (Sparks, 1990). These Afrikaner intelligentsia and theologians returned to South Africa with a new messianic idealism: to restructure the country in such a way as to preserve the national identity of the Afrikaner and all other nations in the country.

In 1935 the Dutch Reformed Church, the main Afrikaner church body, declared its support for a separatist policy based on the Cuyperian principle of 'own sovereignty in an own sphere', acknowledging that nations are 'ordinances of creation' (Moodie, 1975) and providing theological justification for the developing apartheid ideology. In the same year, N. Diederichs, who had studied in Germany, distributed a pamphlet defining the concepts of nation and nationalism (Diederichs, 1935). In his view nationalism comprised an action-orientated system of ideas, according to which the highest political loyalty is owed to the nation, and the principal objective that of national self-determination. Afrikaner cultural nationalism was further sparked by the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938. Growing nationalism found political expression when Hertzog resigned as Prime Minister in 1939 and, with his followers, joined the Purified Nationalists to form the *Herenigde* (Reunited) National Party (HNP) shortly after. Indirectly supported by a number of peripheral groups, the Afrikaner

mainstream, led by D.F. Malan, focused its attention on Afrikaner nationalist ideals and on the racial issue (Dubow, 1991; Brits, 1994).

According to Giliomee & Schlemmer (1989) the main concern of the HNP was the undermining of white political control and Western civilization in South Africa by the rapid industrial integration of Africans. In response to growing opposition, the Government enacted the *Natives Urban Areas (Consolidation) Act* (1945), the purpose of its Section 10 being to regulate the movement of Africans to the city. In preparation for the 1948 election Malans' HNP appointed a team headed by Paul Sauer to investigate and formulate a new native policy. In 1947 the Sauer Committee concluded that South Africa could either progress towards equality between non-white and white communities or towards complete separation, the latter option preferred since it would protect the whites and ensure the development of Africans in their own areas (Sparks, 1990). Based on the Sauer Committee's advice, Malan branded ordinary segregation policies as 'fencing off' and dismissed them as negative racism. As an alternative, he proposed a progressive approach and called it positive *apartheid*, a term already used in 1929 (Van den Berghe, 1965). With the aid of the *Broederbond* and theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Nationalists worked out their positions on every possible aspect until they had drafted a total policy.

Although the main strands of thought, according to Sparks (1990:182), were "*... the concept of separate nations, to save the Afrikaner 'nation' from being swamped and to protect its members from black economic competition; and the more crudely racist belief in black genetic inferiority and the need to preserve the 'blood purity' of the white race*", positive apartheid was intended to eliminate white domination, and to establish equitable geographical partitioning. The policy guaranteed the character of each racial group, and the opportunity for all groups to develop their own areas into self-sustaining ethnic units. The Nationalists believed that their policy offered a better formula for dealing with the explosive forces within the South African society than partial segregation or integration (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989).

The final touches to pre-election apartheid policy was applied by an academic, G. Cronje (Coetzee, 1991). In *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag* (A Home for Posterity), he declared segregation a negative policy because it would leave the African races within the white sociopolitical structure where they could never develop their own culture and nationhood, and called for complete radical partitioning, that is, positive apartheid (Cronje, 1945). The aim was to divide the country into separate racial nation-states: a large white state that would have all the harbours; and three or four ethnically grouped African areas that would include the territories of the British protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. A coloured nation with its own coloured government should develop as a separate community in its own living areas. Indians should be repatriated to India since it was never the intention that they should stay

permanently. In *Afrika Sonder die Asiaat* (Africa Without the Asian), Cronje defended his radical view of Indians in South Africa (Cronje, 1946). As co-author of *Regverdige Rasse-Apartheid* (Righteous Racial-Apartheid) he emphasized the overall ethical position of the policy (Cronje *et al.*, 1947), and, finally, in *Voogdyskap en Apartheid* (Guardianship and Apartheid) he defended the moral basis of apartheid (Cronje, 1948).

A general election was called in 1948 and the HNP won by a narrow margin.

5.4 CRUDE APARTHEID

According to Giliomee & Schlemmer (1989:1) "*... (t)he apartheid system was not a unique set of ideas and practices that sprang full-blown from the heads of Afrikaner nationalists*," but a system that developed over time. During the various phases of apartheid government from 1948, the emphasis gradually shifted from the micro-scale to the macro scale (Van den Bergh, 1965). The first phase of apartheid policy, termed crude apartheid by Moolman (1970), is described by him as simply a pragmatic interim measure without any particular long-term objective. Section 5.4 considers the early apartheid policy framework and its application in the Pretoria region.

5.4.1 EARLY APARTHEID POLICY FRAMEWORK

Early apartheid policy, emphasizing the preservation of white political power and of white interests and privilege, was a radical alternative to the main principles of liberalism of equal political rights and social justice (Giliomee, 1987). While academics such as Olivier (1954) and Rhoodie & Venter (1959) refined early apartheid ideology, politicians followed a more pragmatic approach. According to Davenport (1989:371) Prime Minister D.F. Malan had little interest in native policy and interpreted apartheid "*... as not much more than a reaffirmation of traditional segregationism, with the emphasis to be placed on 'differentiation' rather than 'discrimination'*." With Banstustan policy[9] little more than a vague notion in 1948 (Platzky & Walker, 1985) attention focused, first, on the social segregation of races and, second, on the segregation of urban spaces. At the same time the further political marginalization of the non-white races continued unrelentlessly.

The first group of apartheid laws was aimed at controlling social interaction between race groups. These measures included the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949*, the *Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950*, and the

9. The creation of segregated, independent homelands for Africans.

Immorality Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1950. Public contact between the races was further regulated by the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953*. A racial ID card was introduced and from 1953 at least 100 000 arrests in terms of section 10 (pass law) transgressions were made each year. This figure increased to about 200 000 in the early 1980s (Western, 1985).

With the four official racial groups, whites, Africans, coloureds and Asians (later Indians), officially defined, the government proceeded to eliminate the political participation of non-white groups in matters of government. The Natives' Representatives Council was abolished in 1951 and the system of African representation in Parliament by whites was abolished in 1959. Coloured people were eventually removed from the common voters roll in 1957. They were then represented in Parliament by whites until 1969 when a Coloured Persons' Representative Council was established. The *Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, No. 28 of 1946*, was removed from the statute book soon after the Malan Government took power in 1948. Indians were regarded as rightful South African citizens for the first time only in 1964 when a nominated South African Indian Council was established (Davenport, 1989).

However, the biggest spatial impact of early apartheid policy was on the urban areas of South Africa. In terms of the original grand apartheid plan, Cronje (1945) envisaged a two stage process comprising, first, local segregation and, second, total separation. He believed that it would take some time to achieve total separation, perhaps a generation, and therefore, an interim emergency programme of radical local segregation was deemed necessary.

Conditions prevailing in the 1940s epitomize the inconsistency of pre-apartheid urban policy. In 1942, the Smit Committee, after assessing urban conditions, pleaded for easier access to the city for Africans. In contrast, the Smuts Government, in spite of its liberal world-view, was forced by conditions resulting from rapid African urbanization during the Second World War (1939-1945) to take a stand against rapid urban influx. The *Natives Urban Areas (Consolidation) Act* (1945) regulated urban development, with Section 10 in particular controlling entry to the city. The Fagan Commission, appointed by the liberal government but reporting only after the change of government in 1948, regarded complete segregation as totally impracticable, and the system of migrant labour as socially and economically undesirable, and recommended the stabilization of African labour in the towns by encouraging workers to settle with their families in urban areas (South Africa, 1948).

Based on its apartheid ideology, the new Nationalist government, however, preferred the option of radical racial separation in the urban areas based on the recommendations of the party's pre-election Sauer Committee. The new Government viewed urban Africans merely as temporary sojourners. Moreover, it believed that races must be physically segregated to avoid conflict and competition. Each racial

group should have its own areas and there develop its own culture according to its own way of life.

The *Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950*, formed the basis of urban re-organization. Supported by the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (1953) and other apartheid laws, the programme envisaged the segregation of residential areas, trade areas, transport services, recreation and public amenities, job reservation, etc.

Soon, the idea of an ideal apartheid city had formed (Fig. 5.2) and local urban municipalities competed with one another to reconstruct the cities accordingly. In reality the apartheid city structure that came into being deviated in some respects from the ideal that was envisaged (Fig. 5.3). According to Davies (1981) it showed the following characteristics:

(1) a dominant white central business district and a segregated Indian and coloured business area;
(2) white-owned industrial sectors which functioned as communal working areas and at the same time served as buffers between segregated areas;
(3) strongly segregated residential areas separated by buffer zones;
(4) a concentration of non-whites with a lower than average income on the urban periphery and on the borders of African reserves close to industries.

The influx of Africans into urban areas was also strictly controlled through a network of labour recruitment bureaus in the African reserves and through the amendment of the *Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952*, of the original Section 10 urban entrance stipulations. The *Group Areas Development Act, No. 69 of 1955*, which was incorporated into the *Community Development Act, No. 3 of 1966*, established a Group Areas Development Board (replacing the Land Tenure Advisory Board) which became part of the Department of Community Development in 1961. Its main task was to provide housing for non-white urban dwellers. The provision of new housing was accompanied by strict prevention of squatting, mostly in terms of the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, No. 52 of 1951*.

It is estimated that about 1.5 million South Africans were moved as a result of group areas proclamations and urban replanning schemes (Platzky & Walker, 1985). By 1984 the removals included 84 000 coloured families, 40 000 Indian families and only 2 400 white families. A total of 914 688 ha were declared Group Areas from 1953 to 1989, most of it before 1970 (Christopher, 1991). Although high segregation ratios were attained in the majority of urban areas, no model apartheid city emerged (Christopher, 1989). It is clear that ideal apartheid was impossible to implement in practice (Christopher, 1990) and from the beginning the state was required to subsidize non-white public transport systems heavily in order to make the apartheid city functional (Khosa, 1990).

FIGURE 5.2 MODEL FOR IDEAL APARTHEID CITY PLANNING

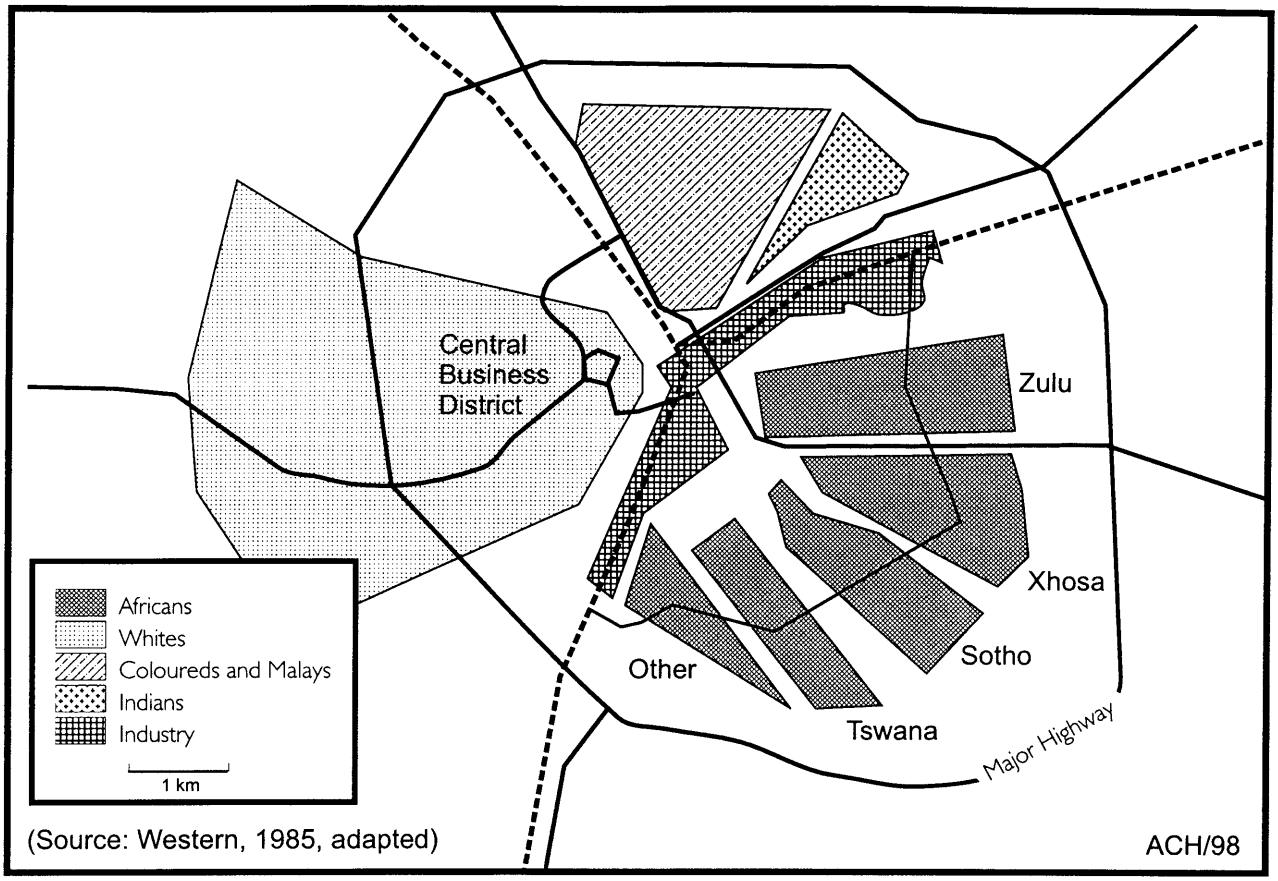
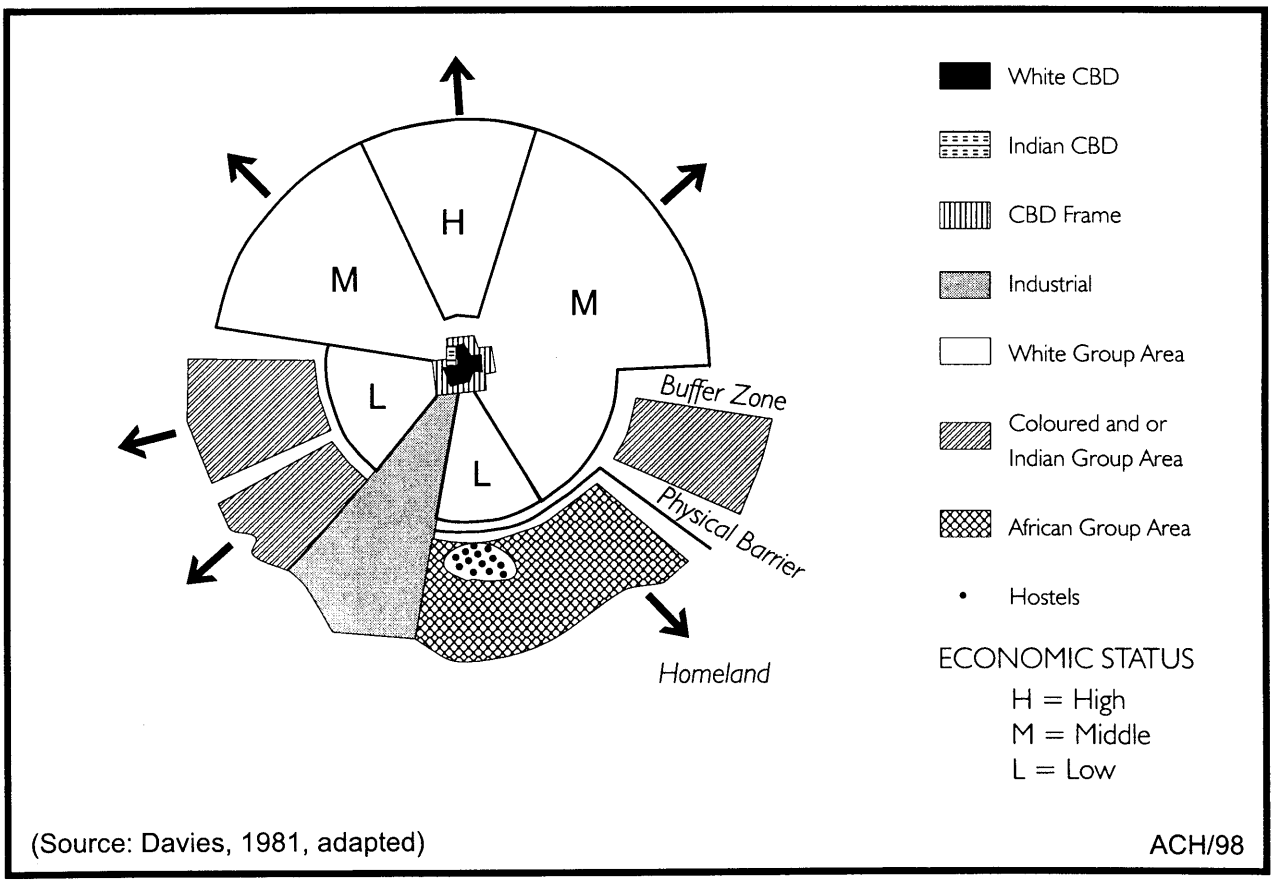


FIGURE 5.3 REAL APARTHEID CITY MODEL, 1970



5.4.2 EARLY APARTHEID PLANNING IN PRETORIA

The implementation of early-apartheid urban planning policies in Pretoria is well recorded and this interpretation draws mainly from the following sources: Junod (1955); Louw (1959); Ball (1968); Coertze (1969); Moolman (1969); Olivier & Hattingh (1985) and Hattingh & Horn (1991).

Apartheid-style urban planning and re-planning started in the late 1930s. Economic depression and drought forced many rural people, including African women, to the cities and towns of South Africa (Smit & Booysen, 1981). In 1938 there were 35 930 Africans living within the city limits of Pretoria and many more living on white-owned land just outside the city limits. The population of Marabastad Location numbered 4 649, with an average 18 persons per dwelling. In Bantule Location the average density was 10 persons per dwelling. The condition of dwellings, sanitation and services was particularly poor in Marabastad and Hove's Ground, the informal part of Bantule. Moreover, there was growing concern about deteriorating living conditions in peri-urban informal settlements, such as that at Eastwood, Derdepoort and Mooiplaats, identified by the Thornton Committee (South Africa, 1939).

From the early 1930s the white City Council of Pretoria (CCP) had been considering alternative housing for the rapidly increasing African population of the city. Three attempts to develop new townships west of the city had failed due to the opposition of the white farming community and the reluctance of the Minister of Native Affairs to approve the use of productive farming land outside the city limits for township development. In 1936, the CCP proclaimed a township for Africans of about 400 ha on its western townland, with the ISCOR iron and steel works separating the township and the closest white suburbs. After first approving the name Motsemoholo, meaning 'large town', the CCP changed it to Atteridgeville in 1940 in honour of one of its councillors. Erven, of which a total of 5 800 were surveyed, each measured 975 m^2. Three thousand houses of brick with steel frames, each with indoor flush toilet, were planned, using nine different housing designs. The original plan also made provision for 16 primary schools, three secondary schools, an administrative complex, churches, sports facilities and a clinic. Building started in 1939. Thirteen years later (1952) a total of 1 532 houses had been erected and there were four primary schools, a secondary school and a library already operating. A three-bedroom house served as library.

According to Junod (1955:77), conditions in Marabastad made removal of its residents imperative: "*... going from home to home, one could fully appreciate the impact of squalor, dirt, poverty and promiscuity on young and old in the bantu family, used as it was to a very strict division of sexes and strict rules of behaviour*." The clearance of Marabastad and removals to Atteridgeville started in June 1940, the CCP having purchased the 414 houses in Marabastad for a nominal fee. People were

systematically relocated by the Council and depopulated areas in Marabastad were demolished immediately. In 1950 all but one residential block of 2.3 ha had been deproclaimed.

By 1944 a total of 464 Indian families, resided in 191 dilapidated dwellings, had requested the CCP for better residential accommodation than that in the Bazaar. The CCP envisaged to relocate the Indian population to a peri-urban location in the long run.

In 1946, the CCP decided to remove the population of the informal Hove's Ground portion of Bantule to Atteridgeville as soon as Marabastad was cleared. The plan was to redevelop that portion of Bantule and to relocate the coloured population occupying 188 dwellings in the Cape Boys Location adjacent to Marabastad at that stage. However, these schemes were put on hold in 1949, as were all other township development initiatives, to await from the new Government its urban apartheid policy following the National Party's victory in the national election the previous year.

From 1948 the integration of the existing town planning scheme for Pretoria (*Transvaal Proclamation 146*, 1944) with apartheid urban policies became a priority. In 1952 the population of the Pretoria municipal area numbered 231 710 and the African population in informal urban settlements on the city limits totalled a further 80 340. The municipal population had more than doubled in the decade and a half since 1936 and the African population, in particular, was growing at a rate of more than 13 percent per annum. The Group Areas Board, however, considered the replanning of Pretoria only in 1956 and issued its first proclamations with regard to the city a year later.

In the meantime the CCP had appointed the Nel Committee to advise it on the regional planning of residential areas for natives in the Pretoria area (Coertze, 1969). The Committee made the following recommendations:

(1) the deproclamation of the remaining parts of Marabastad and Bantule and removal of the people to Atteridgeville;
(2) the extension of Atteridgeville;
(3) the clearance of peri-urban squatter settlements at Eastwood, Eersterus, Highlands Riverside, and Mooiplaats;
(4) the establishment of an new location at Vlakfontein, east of Pretoria;
(5) the establishment of another location northwest of Pretoria on the farm Klipfontein; and
(6) the establishment of a regional location, Thembisa, between Pretoria and Kempton Park.

The CCP's first response, in 1953, was to extend Atteridgeville, by deproclaiming the undeveloped white township of Saulsville, an area of 390 ha, and consolidating it with Atteridgeville, the 478 surveyed erven bringing the total of erven in the greater township to 6 278. The new portion, Saulsville, was divided into ethnic zones and

new residents were allocated houses on the basis of their home language. A process was also started to re-organize the settled population of Atteridgeville on the same basis. The population of Atteridgeville-Saulsville increased to 10 000 in 1955 and to 45 196 in 1960. The majority of the population, 57 percent, spoke Sotho-languages, 21.6 percent spoke Nguni-languages, 21.2 percent was Shangaan-speaking and 7 percent was Venda-speaking. By 1970 a total of 9 550 houses were built and occupied.

Another major African township development, prior to the issue by the Group Areas Board of its proclamations for Pretoria was the establishment of Vlakfontein/Mamelodi. The CCP had bought 2 031 ha of the farm Vlakfontein northeast of the city before 1949. In 1952 the Urban Areas Commissioner and the Peri-Urban Health Board began to draw up plans for new African townships. A township with 30 000 regular erven was proclaimed in 1953 and the building of houses started in the same year. Most houses had four rooms with a total area of 146 m^2. Following the proposals of the Moolman Commission of 1955 it was decided in 1956 to extend Mamelodi in an easterly direction (Coertze, 1969). By 1960 a total of 49 930 people were accommodated in 7 553 detached houses.

Marabastad was finally deproclaimed in 1955 after the last 735 people, representing 138 families, had been removed to Atteridgeville. Hove's Ground was also finally cleared in 1955 and the relocation of the residents from Bantule to Atteridgeville started immediately and continued until 1959 when Bantule was deproclaimed.

The long-awaited Pretoria hearing of the Group Areas Board (GAB) commenced in June 1956. The GAB Committee concluded that the township of Atteridgeville-Saulsville, originally proclaimed in terms of the *Natives (Urban Areas) Act* (1923), and the township of Mamelodi, proclaimed in terms of the *Natives Urban Areas (Consolidation) Act* (1945), complied with the regulations of early apartheid urban planning policy and they deemed it unnecessary to reproclaim them as African group areas.

However, the Committee was extremely concerned about a number of other issues. Its first concern was with the number and distribution of informal settlements on the urban periphery of Pretoria, which were now illegal in terms of new apartheid anti-squatting laws: the Derdepoort complex including the settlements of Eersterus and Riverside which were starting to merge spatially with the low-income white suburb of East Lynne; the Eastwood complex with concentrations in Eastwood, Highlands and in Newlands close to the high-income white suburb of Waterkloof; and the Mooiplaats complex south of Atteridgeville not very far from the white township of Claudius. The population figures of these settlements in 1952, before relocations started in 1954, and shortly thereafter (1955) are presented in Table 5.1

TABLE 5.1 POPULATIONS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AT PRETORIA IN 1952 AND 1955

SETTLEMENTS	1952	1955
Eastwood	10 928	9 231
Eersterust	13 444	10 473
Highlands	4 848	2 108
Mooiplaats	20 909	
Newlands		223
Riverside	9 709	915
	TOTAL 59 838	**TOTAL 22 950**
Sources:	Coertze (1969)	Moolman (1969)

A second concern of the GAB Committee was the existence of Lady Selborne township, comprised of 436 freehold erven in Lady Selborne itself, 36 erven in Claremont and four in Booysens, originally proclaimed in 1905. By 1951 the population of this township included 48 Europeans, 241 Asians, 993 Coloureds and 32 529 Africans (Junod, 1955), and was estimated by the GAB, in 1956, to total 48 000. Because approval for settlement in Lady Selborne had been granted by the Hercules local authority under Section 9(2) of the *Natives (Urban Areas) Act* (1923), Lady Selborne could not simply be deproclaimed. Residents were given the assurance, in 1954, by the Native Affairs Department, that the township would remain unaffected by apartheid policies (Ball, 1969). The Government, determined in its efforts to deproclaim Lady Selborne as a multiracial township, however, removed the legal obstacles by enacting the *Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 29 of 1956*.

A third major concern of the GAB Committee was the coloured population in the Cape Boys Location and other uncontrolled settlements[10], the Indian population at the Bazaar and the integration of the Chinese population[11] into the white sectors of the city. The GAB's first response was to proclaim Derdepoort a coloured area (*Proclamation 334*, 1957); in terms of the amended *Group Areas Act, No. 57 of 1957*, the coloured group included Cape coloureds, Malay, Indian and Chinese. However, *Proclamation 150* of 1958 changed the definition of races and in terms of this proclamation: group areas were proclaimed for whites, Indians and coloureds, but not for Chinese; Lady Selborne was proclaimed a white group area; a section of Derdepoort, renamed Eersterus, became the coloured group area; and Laudium on a portion of Claudius, became the Indian group area. *Proclamation 44* of 1961 allocated

10. In 1956 the coloured population, including Malays, numbered 5 340: 1 368 in the Cape Boys Location and central areas; 1 723 in Lady Selborne; 1 310 in Claremont; 504 in Highlands and 400 in Riverside.

11. In 1956 the Chinese population in Pretoria numbered 517. They owned 110 businesses in the city. A Chinese school was established in Boom Street in the central area in 1934.

25 morgen (29.2 ha) north of Laudium for Chinese occupation. In 1967, after unsuccesful attempts to segregate the Chinese population, the GAB gave notice of their intention to deproclaim the Chinese portion of Laudium and to reproclaim it for Indian ownership. The Bazaar in Marabastad was allocated for Indian trading but residential use was excluded by *Proclamation 254* of 1965.

Most of the informal settlements at Eersterust and Riverside were cleared by 1960. Eastwood, Highlands and Newlands were cleared later. Mooiplaats was finally demolished in 1960 which left 1 800 people homeless. Despite its proclamation as a white group area, special amendments to the *Group Areas Act* (1957) was required in 1961 (*Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 23 of 1961*) to make possible evictions from Lady Selborne. According to Perlman (1982), the population of Lady Selborne was reduced between 1965 and 1967 from 54 000 people to 378 families (± 2 000 people). It was only in 1968 that the last squatters from Eersterust and the last residents of Lady Selborne were removed.

After a total of 23 500 new dwellings had been built for the non-white groups in the new non-white townships of Pretoria between 1951 and 1969, the extension of these townships was suspended on order of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. From 1969, houses in these townships could only be leased from the City Council since no private home-ownership was allowed. According to Olivier & Hattingh (1985), the Pretoria urban structure in 1970 conformed largely to Davies's (1981) realistic apartheid city model (Fig 5.3), a substantial deviation from the envisaged ideal apartheid city (Fig 5.4).

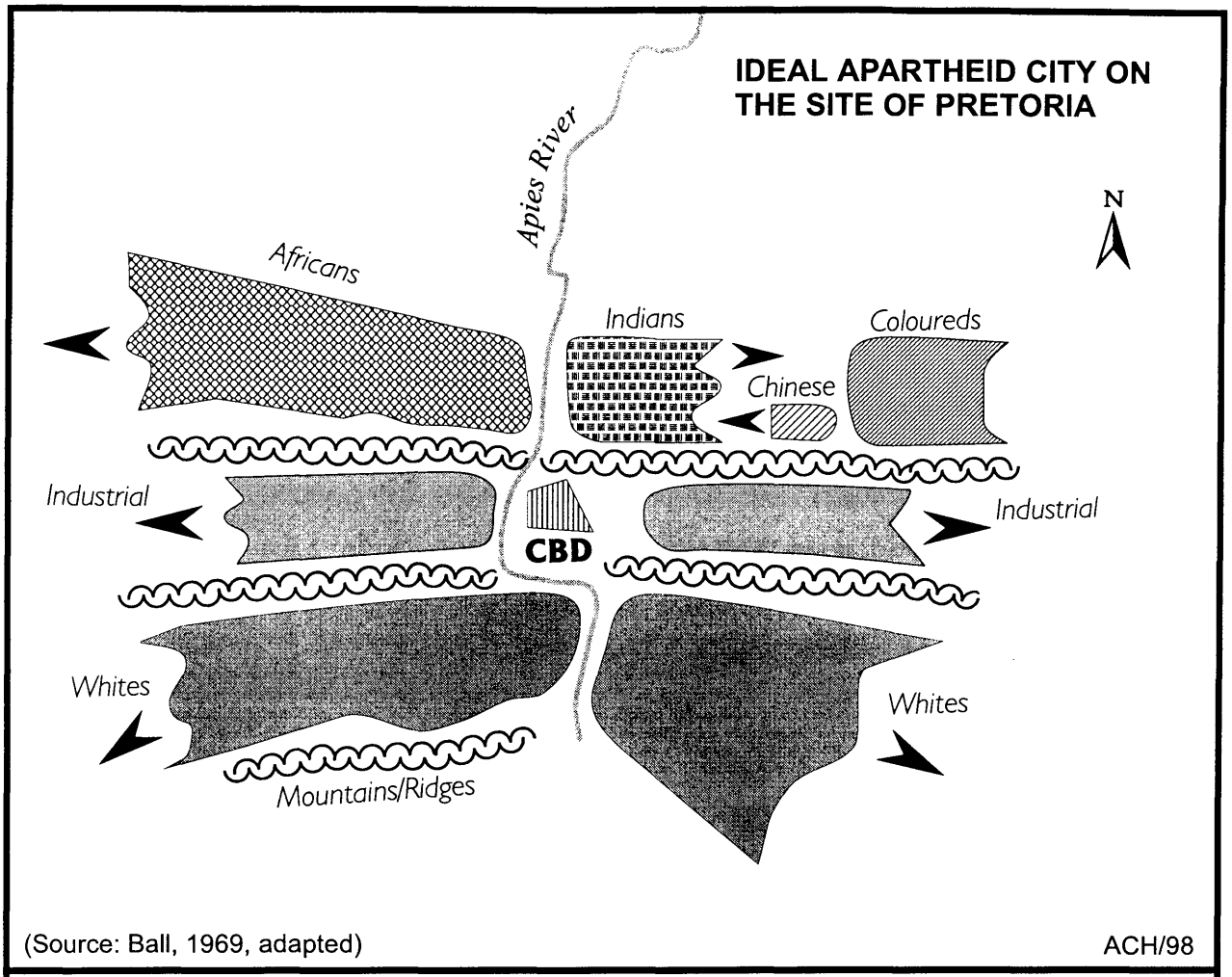
5.5 SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND ETHNIC INDEPENDENCE

According to Cronje (1945), urban segregation was a short-term emergency strategy to deal with an interim *de facto* problem. From the beginning of apartheid government it was clear that the ultimate test for apartheid ideology would be its ability to achieve total territorial segregation on a grand scale. It took the apartheid planners more than two decades to develop the idea of total racial separation from a vague notion in 1948 into a practical separate development strategy in the 1970s.

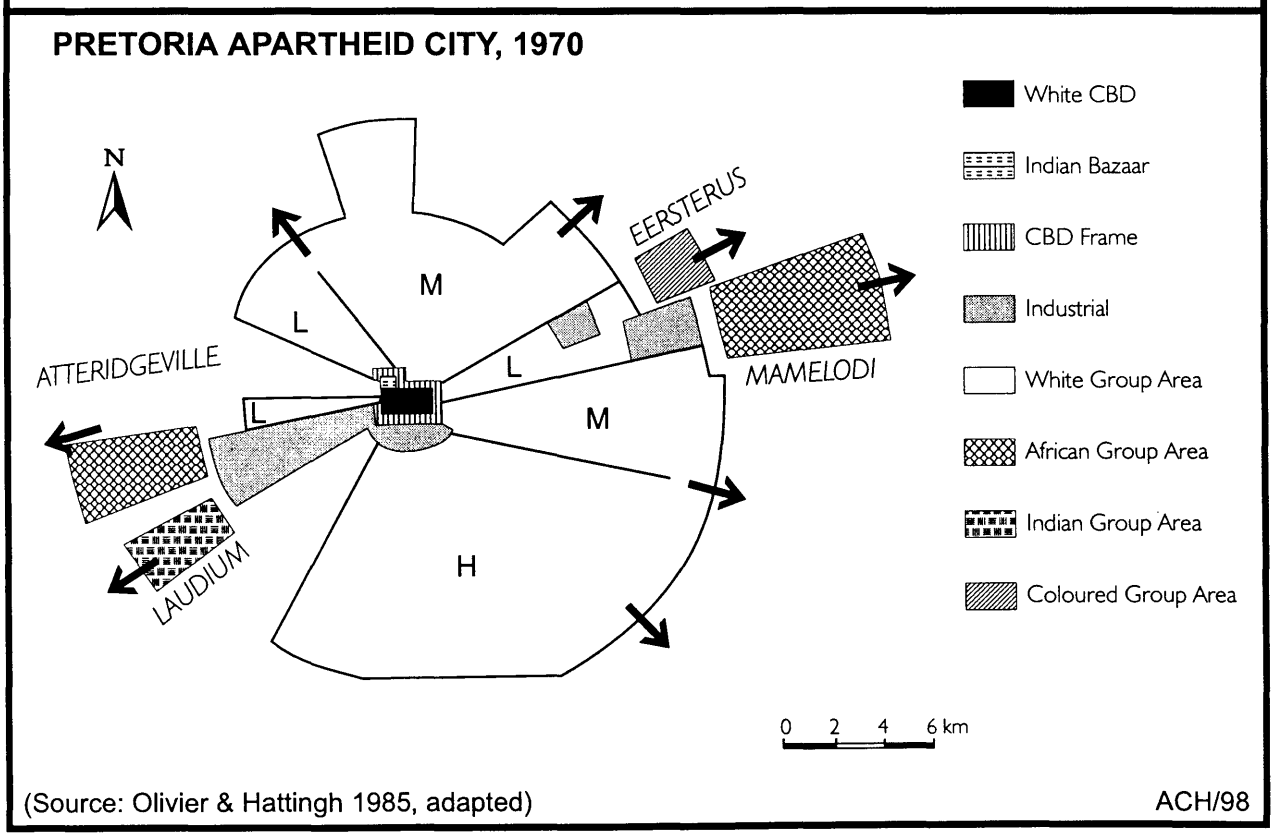
5.5.1 FOUNDATION OF A GREAT REFORMATION

Neither Dr D.F. Malan, the first post-1948 Prime Minister, nor J.G. Strijdom, his successor, had any real vision of the second and most important phase of the apartheid strategy, namely how to deal with the racial issue in terms of territory,

FIGURE 5.4 PRETORIA: IDEAL APARTHEID CITY MODEL AND ACTUAL CITY PLAN, 1970



(Source: Ball, 1969, adapted) ACH/98



(Source: Olivier & Hattingh 1985, adapted) ACH/98

politics and economy on a grand scale. They did, however, share the belief that the territorial solution of the 'native question' was somehow linked to the three British protectorates, Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Basutholand (now Lesotho) and Swaziland. Already in 1948 and again in 1951 and 1954, first Malan and then Strijdom, had hinted at the incorporation of the protectorates into South Africa.

Incorporating South Africa's Africans into the British Protectorates was a fundamental principle of the Tomlinson Commission (South Africa, 1955). This Commission's report represented the most important effort by the Government to put its ideology into practice on a large scale. The Commission was appointed in November 1950 following a plea by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E.G. Jansen, to conduct an inquiry into, and to report on, a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the African areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with African culture and based on effective socio-economic planning. The Commission completed its work in 1954 and its report, comprising 51 chapters, was published before the first Parliamentary session of 1955 (South Africa, 1955). It noted the deteriorating conditions of the African reserves which in 1955 were able to sustain the needs of only about 50 percent of their populations, and that it would require a massive cash injection simply to stabilize them. The Commission replaced the term apartheid with 'separate development' and 'native' with 'Bantu'. It rejected the principle of racial integration believing that the solution was to aim for communities in separate areas where each would enjoy an opportunity for development and fulfilment. The Commission believed that separate development was the key to the development of African communities and envisaged a home territory for each of the large ethnic groups in South Africa. Seven large African ethnic groups were acknowledged at this stage: Pedi (= North Sotho), Southeast Nguni, South Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, Venda-Tsonga, and Zulu. The Commission proposed the expansion and consolidation of the African areas into these seven ethnic blocks (Fig. 5.5), envisaging the eventual incorporation of three of these into the neighbouring British Protectorates. The Commission was of the view that these ethnic blocks could be developed into self-sustaining units supporting about 14 million people, if the following conditions were met:

(1) improved marketing methods for African farmers, better agricultural credit facilities, better farm planning, stabilization of tenure, and limited privatization and land accumulation;

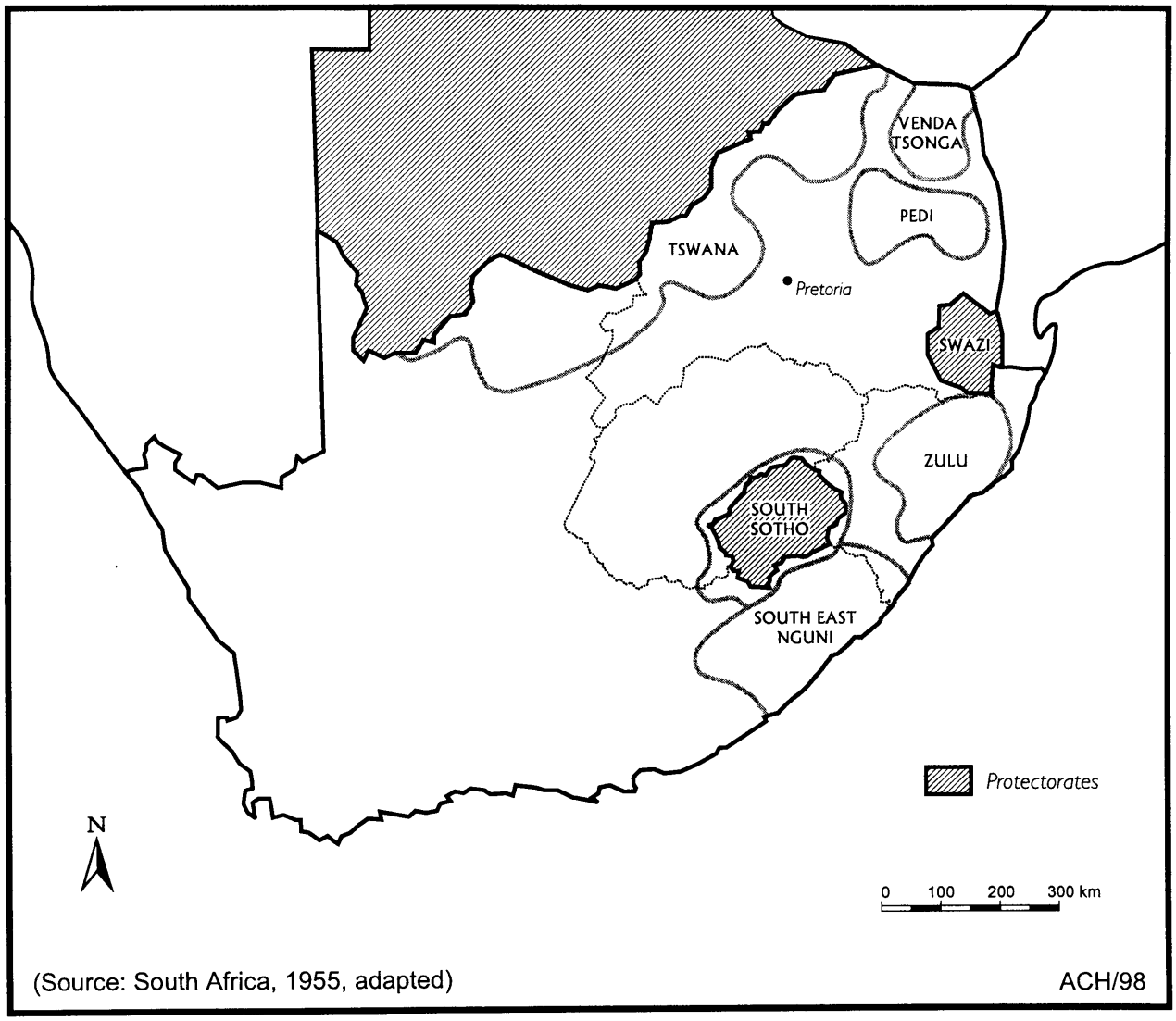
(2) decentralized industrial development on the borders of the African areas and industrial development inside the African areas supported by development corporations; and

(3) inspired town development and rapid urbanization inside the African areas.

Although the Government accepted the Commission's proposals in broad terms it was

reluctant to consider some of the conditions and, particularly, was not prepared to commit itself to extensive Government expenditure for the development of the reserves. Non-white South Africans, in the meantime, had embarked on a massive defiance campaign and in 1955 adopted a Freedom Charter (Aeschliman, 1986). A year later a conference of the Interdominational African Ministers Federation rejected the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission in total.

FIGURE 5.5 TOMLINSON COMMISSION'S PROPOSALS FOR CONSOLIDATED AFRICAN HOMELANDS, 1955



(Source: South Africa, 1955, adapted) ACH/98

While the idea of merging major segments of South Africa's African population with the British Protectorates gradually faded, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, who had replaced Dr. Jansen as Minister of Native Affairs shortly before the Tomlinson Commission embarked on its enquiry, diverted Government attention away from the Commission and its proposals and systematically laid the foundation of the 'great reformation' that he envisaged. Verwoerd, described by Sparks (1990:192) as "*... intelligent, obsessive, and doctrinaire*," pursued what he called a 'single constructive plan'. This plan focused

on four areas: education, urban influx control, African representation and administration, and the ideal of African reserves.

The *Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953*, placed all African schools under the control of the Department of Bantu Affairs and laid down a syllabus "*... geared to what the Government considered African education to be*" (Davenport, 1989:374). This Act was followed by the *Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959*, leading to the segregation of tertiary education.

Influx of Africans into the cities was controlled by a number of Acts: *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act* (1951), which prevented Africans from occupying any private or public land without the permission of the relevant local white authorities; the *Native Laws Amendment Act* (1952), which revised the Section 10 qualifications for residing in urban areas; and the *Native Resettlement Act, No. 19 of 1954*. These urban influx control measures were supported by migrant labour bureaus and the *Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952*.

The *Natives Authorities Act, No. 61 of 1951*, abolished the Native Representative Council and established decentralized institutions of local African government, including tribal, regional and territorial authorities.

To address the levels of social distress in, and environmental degradation of the reserves, Verwoerd set up an inter-departmental committee to investigate the feasibility of locating industries near, but not inside, the reserves. At the same time settlement patterns and agricultural systems in the reserves were being transformed by the mandatory reduction of stock, fencing of lands and re-construction of agricultural villages by way of 'betterment planning', a modernization programme that had begun in the 1940s (South Africa, 1949).

By 1958, when he became Prime Minister, Verwoerd believed that 'the solid and sound foundation of a great reformation' had been laid and he was anxious to give definition to the total separation component of the apartheid strategy. Despite the warnings of the British Prime Minister, Harold MacMillan, in his 1960 speech on 'the winds of change' in Africa, despite the adoption of resolutions by the United Nations condemning South Africa's racist policies, despite a major uprising by Africans in the township of Sharpeville which left 69 dead and 200 wounded, and despite an assassination attempt on him, Verwoerd continued undeterred. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammerskold, again tried to persuade the Government to modify its policy to no avail, and in March 1961, Verwoerd informed the Commonwealth Conference that South Africa was to become an independent Republic but that it wished to remain within the Commonwealth of Nations. The outrage that followed against the racial policies of the country subsequently forced South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth. South Africa became a Republic on 31 May 1961 and, according to Van Jaarsveld (1976), to Verwoerd this meant the end of the political and constitutional struggle for Afrikaner nationalism; he had a 'new vision' and

he was determined to put the second phase of the grand sociopolitical theory of apartheid into practice.

5.5.2 A NEW VISION

During the first decade of apartheid rule, Afrikaner intellectuals such as N.J.J. Olivier (Olivier, 1954), and N.J. Rhoodie and H.J. Venter (Rhoodie & Venter, 1959) played a major role in developing and revising the concept of apartheid in the minds of Afrikaners. As a quasi-scientific institution, the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) increasingly argued the case for a radical segregation of the races and for the creation of national homelands for Africans in which, it was believed, they would find political, economic and cultural expression (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989). Whilst rejecting the principle of racial discrimination, the Dutch Reformed Church produced moral grounds for the support of a policy of the differentiation of peoples (Kinghorn, 1986). It increasingly became the view of Afrikaners that Africans were not inferior, merely that they were different. Based on their own experience of achieving complete national independence, the Afrikaners felt obliged to give to non-whites the independence they demanded for themselves (Sparks, 1990). Furthermore, it was believed that Africans are not a single people, but are divided by language, culture and tradition into several peoples or nations that should have the opportunity to develop in their own areas into self-sustaining ethnic units. This sacred mission would be complete only when the other nations and communities had accepted complete independence. And this could be achieved without sacrificing the position of whites in a core society where Africans would then be temporary sojourners.

The *Bantu Investment Corporation Act, No. 34 of 1959*, enabled the Government to form a national homeland Development Corporation and to finance individual African entrepreneurs. The *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, No. 46 of 1959*, abolished all African representation in Parliament and made provision for the restructuring of the Bantu Authorities system on the basis of Territorial Authorities for each of the national units. Systematically a system of tribal authorities, regional authorities and territorial authorities was created by the Department of Bantu Affairs. The programme aimed at giving Africans progressively more control of their own homelands. A measure of self-government was conferred on the Transkei in 1959. In addition it was envisaged that small areas with limited self-government would be allocated to the Indians and coloureds along the same lines as the Bantu homelands (Van den Berghe, 1965).

Verwoerd advocated his 'new vision', announcing that the Bantustans (homelands) could advance toward self-government and ultimately even full independence. The Government launched its first five-year plan for development of the

homelands in 1961. This mainly involved a programme of homeland urbanization and the development of industries on the borders of the homelands. A major step towards ideal apartheid was the conferring of self-governance without full independence to the first homeland through the *Transkei Constitution Act, No. 48 of 1963*.

The assassination of Verwoerd in September 1966 and his replacement as Prime Minister by B.J. Vorster, the former Minister of Justice, brought about an immediate change of policy. The term 'apartheid', with its negative connotations, was replaced by the term 'separate development' to deflect international criticism and to mobilize the white electorate (Duval, 1974; Schrire, 1982).

It also led to the belief that the second phase of the redirection of energy to develop the homelands, in the apartheid plan had fallen behind schedule: by 1966 less than 45 000 new jobs for Africans had been created in the border areas and the homelands combined, a slower rate of progress in ten years than the Tomlinson Commission required in one to make viable self-sustaining homelands (Davenport, 1989)! The *Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act, No. 88 of 1967*, declared the most developed industrial areas of South Africa 'controlled' areas in which further industrial expansion and the employment of Africans in new enterprises were refused or reduced in scale in order to enhance industrial decentralization in the direction of the homelands. In addition, the Government abandoned an earlier policy that had limited industrial development to the homeland border areas, and offered to develop industries inside the homelands by white entrepreneurs who were prepared to operate on an agency basis and without acquiring ownership of land. It also accelerated the development of towns in the homelands. These actions started a second five-year economic development plan.

Against this background the application of the separate development strategy in the Pretoria region is considered below.

5.5.3 SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Three factors in particular played a major role in the development of the homelands in the Pretoria area before the first of these became independent: the creation of large homeland towns; forced relocations to the homelands; and industrial development policies.

5.5.3.1 Homeland Towns

In 1960 there were only three settlements in the homelands that qualified as towns: Zwelitsha in the Eastern Cape region, Umlazi near the city of Durban and Temba some

50 km north of Pretoria. This can be accounted for by official opposition to the development of towns in the African reserves, shown for example in the report of the Young-Barrett Commission published in 1935 when the independence of the reserves was not a consideration (Wessels & Wentzel, 1989). However, homeland urbanization, strongly recommended by the Tomlinson Commission (South Africa, 1955), became a development priority with Verwoerd's announcement that the homelands would be steered towards becoming self-sustaining units. This urbanization resulted in 66 homeland towns, accommodating 595 000 people, developing country-wide by 1970. This figure represented only 11.7 percent of the total urban African population of 4.5 million and only 8.3 percent of the total homeland population at that stage (Smit & Booysen, 1977). However, by June 1976 there were 86 proclaimed towns in the homelands, with a combined total of 130 000 houses and a population of 984 000.

The development of homeland towns was co-ordinated by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (later the Department of Cooperation and Development) in terms of *Proclamation R293* of 1962 (and amendments) with the South African Development Trust as corporate body. In order to facilitate relocation to homeland towns, people who moved there were assured that they would not forfeit their Section 10 qualifications.

Temba, the only town in the homelands near Pretoria, was considered too far from the city to attract African urban residents and in 1961 a new town, GaRankuwa, was proclaimed on the site of a former peri-urban African settlement adjacent to the railway line between Rustenburg and the city. Under the administration of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development 2 109 houses were built by 1965, and 7 668 at 1972, accommodating 73 900 people in 1975.

In 1963, a decision was taken to 'freeze' new housing in Atteridgeville and to confine any further expansion to Mamelodi. According to the CCP, 3 119 of the 53 000 Africans in Lady Selborne and 1 100 in Eastwood did not qualify for municipal housing since they were Tswana and would have to be removed to the Tswana homeland (**Pretoria News**, 1965). There are grounds to believe that this was a state strategy to use GaRankuwa to displace as many Africans as far as possible, constitutionally and physically, from the urban area of Pretoria. People in Lady Selborne were simply moved out, block by block, first to Mamelodi and when that was full to GaRankuwa (Perlman, 1982).

In *General Circular 27* of 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development declared that no new extensions to black townships in white areas could be effected without the prior approval of the Department. The circular also encouraged local authorities to provide accommodation for Africans in neighbouring homeland towns, that had been proclaimed mainly after 1962. Consequently, extensions of

African residential areas were suspended in cities such as Pretoria and from 1 January 1968 leasehold tenure agreements with Africans in urban areas were cancelled. The introduction of 22 Bantu Administration Boards gave momentum to the participation of city councils in the provision of family housing in homeland towns. The Boards took over the administrative function of non-white townships from local authorities and, while permitting greater mobility for non-white workers, allowed better control of the movement of non-whites on a regional basis. These arrangements reinforced the notion of impermanence of Africans in white towns and cities, and introduced the idea of 'place prosperity', i.e. 'the desire to stay were you are', into apartheid ideology.

By 1969 it was clear that the policy of ethnic segregation was causing serious overcrowding in the Pretoria townships: according to Perlman (1982), there was a shortage of 1 280 houses in Atteridgeville and 5 529 in Mamelodi. Non-Tswana families, because they did not qualify for houses in GaRankuwa and Temba, resorted to fast growing informal settlements on tribal and private African-owned land such as Ramakgodi and Winterveld just inside the homelands. The decison was thus taken to develop Mabopane on the site of Boekenhoutfontein, a rudimentary town with about 1 1000 two-roomed houses, set up in the early 1960s to accommodate people displaced from black spots such as Walmansthal and Boekenhoutkloof.

In 1969 the CCP entered into an agreement with the South African Development Trust, which provided the funds, to act as agents for the development of Mabopane. The development was controlled by a joint committee of the CCP and the Department Bantu Administration and Development. Housing was provided for Tswana in the western sections of the new township and for non-Tswana in the eastern sections. Between 1969 and 1973, 4 414 houses were built in Mabopane West and 1 218 in Mabopane East. In 1971, Bantu Administration Boards took over the administrative function of black townships from local authorities, permitting greater mobility for African workers and allowing control on a regional basis. Thus in 1973, the Central Transvaal Administration Board took over as the development agent of Mabopane (Smit & Booysen, 1977). By 1976 there were 6 997 houses in Mabopane, a figure which increased to 8 002 in November 1981. In 1976, when Bophuthatswana became an independent homeland, the eastern non-Tswana section of Mabopane was excluded from the homeland. It was renamed Soshanguve,[12] placed under the management of the Department of Cooperation and Development and administered by a Bantu Commissioner.

By 1980 three aspects of homeland urbanization were prominent. First, the artificial nature of homeland urbanization in terms of skew distribution, and dysfunctional composition (Smit & Booysen, 1981). Second, the provision of family

12. Soshanguve: So = Sotho, (s)ha = Shangaan, (n)gu = Nguni, and (v)e = Venda.

housing just inside homeland borders that led to accelerated migration from the heartland of the homelands to these towns (Smit, 1969). Third, the functioning of the dual city spatial pattern that developed and which was dependent on the commuting of Africans on a daily basis to and from the white core city (Olivier & Booysen, 1983).

5.5.3.2 Influx Control and Relocations

Apart from the humiliation of racial classification and the trauma of group areas zoning, territorial influx control and racially based forced removals and relocations was one of the negative aspects of apartheid (Desmond, 1970; Maré, 1980; Kane-Berman, 1981; Surplus Peoples Project, 1983; Platzky & Walker, 1985; Murray & O'Regan, 1990). As Schrire (1982:132) puts it: "*The arbitrary expulsion of blacks from the common areas has inflicted more human suffering, hardship and despair on those affected than almost any other apartheid measure*."

General Circular 25 of 1967 of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development stated: "*It is accepted Government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labour here. As soon as they become, for one reason or another, no longer fit to work or superfluous in the labour market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory of the national unit where they fit ethnically if they were not born and bred in the homeland*". Although prosecutions under influx control regulations gradually declined and were stopped altogetehr in the late 1980s,[13] an average of 100 000 people were charged annually over four decades, meaning a total of about four million people were prosecuted under the pass laws (Thompson, 1990).

Between 1967 and 1977, the zenith of apartheid, an average of 500 000 people were charged annually in terms of influx control transgressions (Schrire, 1982). According to the Surplus Peoples Project (1983), 46 296 people (more than 90 percent of them males) were charged in 1978, 44 874 in 1979 and 13 961 in 1980, for influx control transgressions in the Pretoria area, giving an indication of the extent of this type of prosecution in the study area.

Forced removals and relocations from white controlled areas resulted mainly from the application of the *Group Areas Act* (1950, 1966), the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act* (1951), the *Native Laws Amendment Act* (1952), the *Trespass Act, No. 6 of 1959*, and the *Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1964*. Table 5.2 indicates that more than three and a half million people were affected in this way between 1960 and 1983, when the forced removal programme was halted.

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13. Direct influx control in South Africa was stopped by the *Abolition of Influx Control Act, No. 68 of 1986*.

TABLE 5.2 FORCED REMOVALS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1960-1983

CATEGORY	Province				TOTAL ('000)
	CAPE	NATAL	OFS	TVL	
Farms	179 000	300 000	250 000	400 000	1 129.0
Black Spots and Consolidation	59 000	115 000	40 000	400 000	614.0
Urban	203 000	17 000	160 000	350 000	730.0
Informal Settlements	62 000	see urban	50 000	-	112.0
Group Areas	409 000	295 000	14 000	142 400	860.4
Infrastructure and Strategic	80 000	18 500	-	5 000	103.5
Totals ('000)	871.0	745.5	514.0	1 297.4	3 548.9
Source: Platzky & Walker (1985:10)					

It is difficult to determine how many people were affected by forced removals and relocations in the Pretoria area because information is sketchy and overlapping. Figure 5.6, nevertheless, provides a visual impression of the removals.

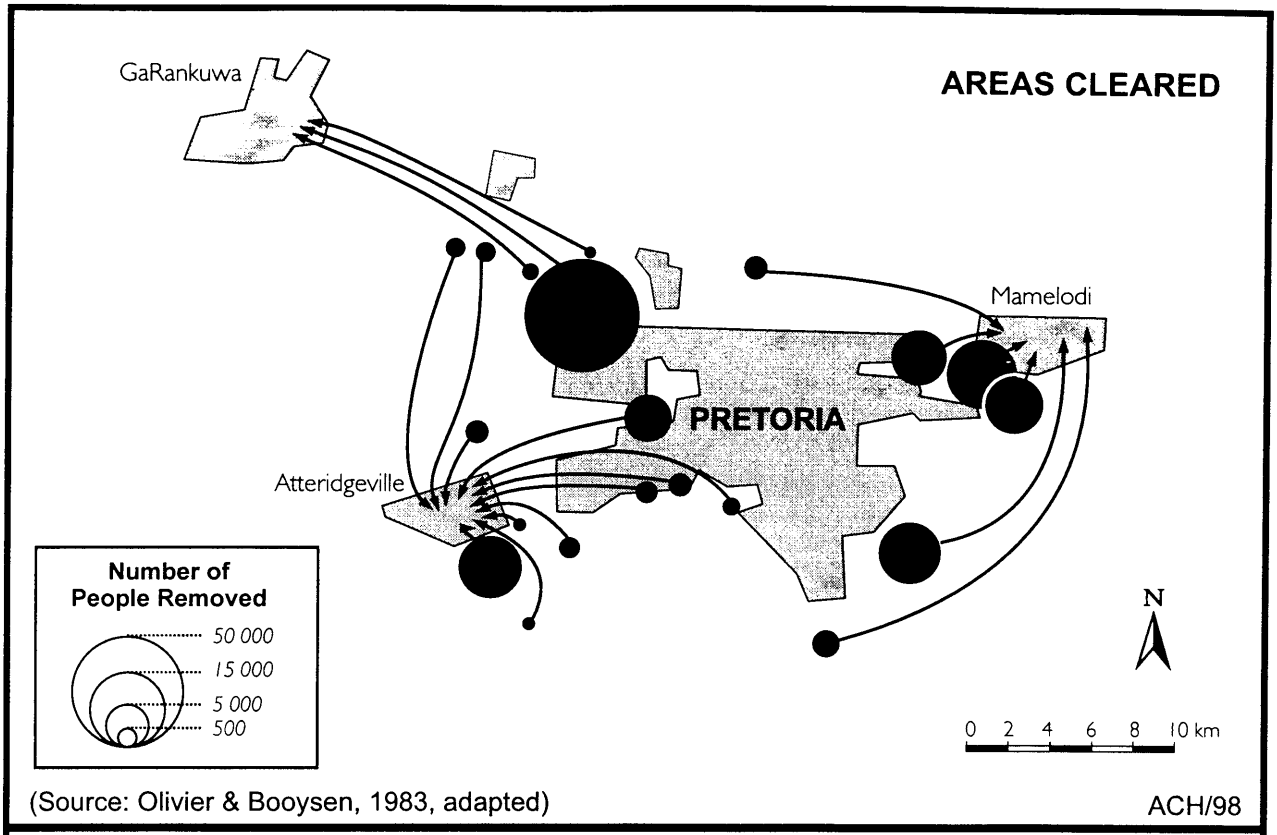
Hattingh (1975) estimates that about 155 000 people in the Pretoria area had been forcibly removed and relocated by 1975. The data presented in Table 5.3, compiled mainly from reports by the Surplus Peoples Project (1983), suggests, however, that the figure for forced removals and relocations in the Pretoria region before 1985 are much higher.

It is important to note that forced removals and relocations coincided with, and contributed to, the process of homeland urbanization and largely determined policies of industrial decentralization aimed at developing the homelands (Perlman, 1982).

5.5.3.3 Industrial Decentralization and Homeland Development

All over the world the spontaneous development of economic spatial imbalances has necessitated measures to redirect economic forces towards a more equitable distribution of activities and welfare. However, in the case of South Africa, industrial decentralization played a major role in the racial-space strategy of the apartheid state. Economic decentralization interacted with programmes of influx control in white areas, homeland urbanization and development, and forced removals and relocations (Smit & Booysen, 1977). Two distinct phases of industrial development preceding homeland independence can be distinguished: one of border industry development, i.e. just *outside* the homelands, and one of industrial development *inside* the homelands.

FIGURE 5.6 FORCED REMOVALS IN THE PRETORIA REGION, 1950-1970



(Source: Olivier & Booysen, 1983, adapted)

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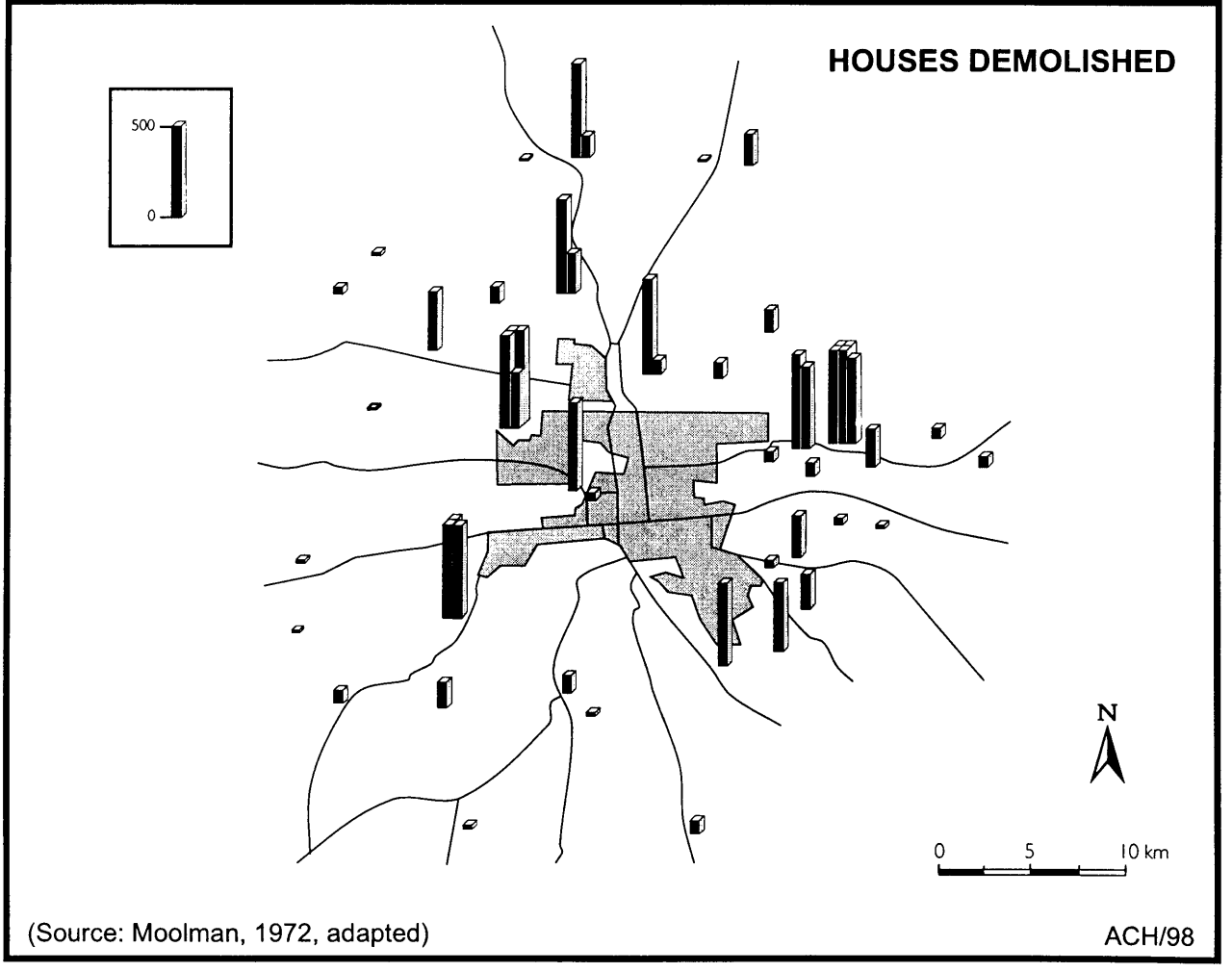

(Source: Moolman, 1972, adapted)

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TABLE 5.3 CONFIRMED FORCED REMOVALS AND RELOCATIONS IN THE PRETORIA REGION UP TO 1985

REMOVED FROM	RELOCATED AT	PEOPLE
Lady Selborne	GaRankuwa Mamelodi Ramakgodi Winterveld	50 000
Derdepoort Eersterust Riverside	Mamelodi Stinkwater	23 000
Eastwood Highlands Newlands	Mamelodi	11 000
Bantule Marabastad	Atteridgeville	6 000
Mooiplaats	Atteridgeville	12 000
Rietvlei		1 800
Wonderboom		3 200
Walmansthal Boekenhoutkloof	Moretele district Stinkwater	65 000 3 936
White Farms	Bophuthatswana	20 000
White Farms Urban Areas	KwaNdebele	100 000
Bophuthatswana	KwaNdebele	50 000
Source: Surplus Peoples Project (1983)		

The Verwoerd Government, believing that industrial development should be confined to the white areas bordering on the homelands, rejected the recommendations of the 1955 Tomlinson Commission. In 1960 Verwoerd issued a statement defining a border area as "*... localities or regions near the Bantu areas, in which industrial development takes place, through European initiative and control*" (South Africa, 1960:60.). An industrial decentralization zone bordering on the homelands not exceeding 48 km, was declared. The statement further announced the appointment of a permanent committee for industrial location and proclaimed measures to lure industries to eight targeted border areas.

It was believed initially that the lure of cheaper transport, power, water and housing for workers would attract industries to areas bordering the homelands. By 1964 less than 45 000 new jobs for Africans had been created in the border areas and the homelands and the Government, realizing that the difficulty of attracting industry

had been underestimated, tried to speed up industrial decentralization by offering significant tax incentives and other concessions (Davenport, 1989). In response, the *Bantu Investment Corporation Act* (1959) was extended by the *Bantu Homelands Development Corporations Act, No. 86 of 1965*, in terms of which specific homeland development corporations, such as the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation, could be formed to replace the former Bantu Development Corporation. This limited type of industrial decentralization to the homeland borders was further supported by the *Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act* (1967) which banned the employment in certain proclaimed controlled areas such as the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region of more African workers, than were already employed on 18 January 1968. By 1970, 150 applications for extensions and 134 applications for new developments in the PWV were turned down (Steyn, 1977).

Labour zoning, i.e. preference for a particular ethnic group, was practised particularly by those Administration Boards closer to the homelands. The clear aim of the strategy was to prevent the further migration of rural Africans to the industrial areas in the white heartland and to promote a type of industrial decentralisation that enhanced apartheid policy without damaging economic growth in the core areas (Steyn, 1977).

In 1960, the area north of Pretoria between the city and the Tswana homeland was one of eight border areas identified for industrial decentralization. To advise the Government on the details of the planned decentralization schemes, an advisory committee under the chairmanship of Prof. J.H. Moolman, a former member of the Tomlinson Commission, was formed. The Committee, identifying initially three possible sites, eventually recommended the Rosslyn site along the railway line between Pretoria and Rustenburg (National Resources Development Council, 1961). This site was close to the planned town of GaRankuwa on the farm Uitvalgrond where the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was planning to move people from Lady Selborne, Eersterust and other urban locations. But, according to the Committee, the planned 800 erven in GaRankuwa were too few for the purpose of industrial development and recommended at least 12 000 erven and it proposed further urban development on the farm Klipfontein, 5 km from the proposed industrial site.

Rosslyn was established in 1962 and the first factories erected the same year. In 1964 the Industrial Development Corporation started to rent out completed buildings and the purchase of permanent sites by investors commenced in 1965. By 1970 there were 9 300 industrial workers employed in Rosslyn of whom most were Africans from the Odi 1 and Moretele Districts.

Two years before, in 1968, the Odi-Moretele border industrial complex had been extended, with the establishment of additional industries a little further to the west at the white town of Brits and also along to the railway line between Pretoria and Rustenburg. The establishment of this new industrial complex coincided with the

establishment of Mothutlung, a new African town, nearby in the Odi 1 District (Smit & Booysen, 1977). A total of 125 industrial sites were laid out on land belonging to the Brits Town Council and in 1970 some 26 industries were operating at Brits (Steyn, 1977).

In 1969 the second phase of industrial decentralization and homeland development began with industrial development on sites *inside* the homelands on an agency basis. The national Bantu Development Corporation assisted with the provision of infrastructure at these locations, something that did not apply at other industrial locations outside the homelands, such as Brits and Rosslyn, because it was envisaged that African entrepreneurs would eventually take over control of these industries. Concessions to industries at Rosslyn was halted in 1970 in an attempt to persuade entrepreneurs to establish and invest in industries further away from the homeland borders and inside the homeland. Babelegi, near the town of Temba in the Moretele District of the Tswana homeland north of Pretoria, was one of the most important of these industrial schemes inside the homelands. It was established in 1970 whith the demarcation of 102 industrial sites on 176 ha.

A White Paper on the decentralization of industries (South Africa, 1971) lifted the restrictions imposed by the *Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act* (1967) for the Cape Peninsula, Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and the Durban-Pinetown regions on the employment of Africans. The White Paper also established a Board for the Decentralization of Industries and a Growth Point Committee, the latter to be under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Department of Planning and the Environment. In addition, an Industrial Development Corporation was established. Further concessions were also introduced to lure investors to the more remote industrial sites in the homelands. By March 1974, 107 industries employing 10 857 workers had been established inside the homelands. At that stage the Decentralization Board aimed to create 15 000 new job opportunities per annum.

In 1975 the *National Physical Development Plan* (NPDP) was announced (South Africa, 1975). Although the plan was primarily a 'rational' consideration of the regional economy and settlement pattern in white South Africa, it introduced a new set of development concepts such as growth points, growth poles, and development axes that increasingly influenced homeland industrial development. A total of 38 development regions were demarcated. In the Pretoria region, Babelegi was classified as a 'main' (=primary) growth point inside a homeland (of which there were only four in the entire country), Brits became a main growth point in the border area, and Marble Hall and Groblersdal became 'other' (=secondary) growth points in border areas (Steyn, 1977). The city of Pretoria fell at the intersection of two development axes. A primary development axis stretched from Babelegi in the north to the Vaal River in the south, and a secondary development axis stretched from Brits in the west via Rosslyn to Bronkhortspruit in the east.

Not withstanding the fact that there were 84 operating industries in Rosslyn, 32 in Brits, and 55 in Babelegi, with a combined work force of 27 577, 86 percent of which were African (Steyn, 1977), there was, nevertheless, a great deal of scepticism about government policy: Best (1971:329) stated that "*... the border industries scheme is politically rather than economically motivated,*" and the **Financial Mail** (1973:67) declared that "*... we delude ourselves if we think decentralisation is working*." The homeland industrial development programme never gained momentum and most of the special investment concessions were repealed by 1978. A new macro-regional development plan was launched in 1982, one of its goals being to revitalize industrial growth in the homelands.[14]

5.5.4 HOMELAND INDEPENDENCE

The work that was started in the Department of Native Affairs in the 1920s to divide the South African population into nations on the basis of language resulted in the Tomlinson Commission (South Africa, 1955) identifing seven such nations: Pedi, Southeast Nguni, South Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, Venda-Tsonga, and Zulu. By the late 1960s eight nations had been officially recognized, namely the North Sotho (including the Pedi), South Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga-Shangaan, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Recognition of the Southern Ndebele as a separate nation in the 1970s eventually led to the recognition, officially, of nine African nations in South Africa.

The *Bantu Homeland Citizen Act, No. 26 of 1970*, declared all Africans in South Africa, including Africans in the common areas, citizens of a homeland and forfeited all their possible political rights in the rest of the country (Platzky & Walker, 1985).

The fact that the Government was sincere in its commitment to homeland development, even if its ultimate aim was to achieve white domination, persuaded some of its opponents to consider the idea of separate development in a positive light. Some African leaders began to see in the homeland policy an opportunity for immediate progress to a final, perhaps different solution to racial conflict in the country (Brookes, 1974). At the same time white liberals sought autonomy for the homelands and their incorporation into a future South African Federation (Degenaar, 1987).

Conferring independence to the homelands encompassed a two-step process: first, the establishment of self-government and, second, the conferring of full independence. The *Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971*, based on the *Transkei Constitution Act* (1963), allowed the Government to grant self-government, but not full independence, to each of the homelands by proclamation. The Act further

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14. See further sections of this chapter.

provided for the establishment of legislative assemblies and executive bodies in the homelands and outlined the powers and obligations of these authorities.

Whilst the first homelands became self-governing territories the process was immediately thrown into turmoil by disputes between the South African and homeland governments over territorial consolidation, and by conflicting homeland land claims. In June 1972 the South African Government published a set of consolidation proposals. In general, the plans were met by fierce criticism from white farmers who, in terms of the proposals would have to sell their land, and by homeland governments complaining that they were to receive too little land.

According to the Government proposals for the Pretoria region the eastern Tswana homeland districts of Mathanjana and Mdutjana were to be returned to South Africa in exchange for the enlargement and consolidation of the Tswana territories in the west. In response, the Tswana Territorial Authority issued its own consolidation proposals claiming a wide consolidated zone of land from Mathanjana and Mdutjana in the east to the Limpopo in the west, including the white-owned Hammanskraal-Warmbaths and the Brits-Thabazimbi corridors (Hattingh, 1973). In April 1973 the South African Government's proposals were revised and subsequently amended before they were submitted to Parliament for approval in 1975: these final proposals consolidated the Tswana homeland from 19 to six sections, serving to reduce the homelands from 112 fragments to 35.

The enacted consolidation scheme was not received enthusiastically: it was clear that separate development had failed to fulfil its promise of consolidating homeland. The scheme had also required the resettlement of one million people including 175 000 African families. Most importantly it had not resolved conflicting land claims: the Southern Ndebele of the Nebo District complained because they were placed under the jurisdiction of the North Sotho (Lebowa) authority while the Southern Ndebele of Mdutjana complained because they were incorporated into the Tswana homeland (Bophuthatswana). Moreover, the Lebowa Government repeated its claim to settlements such as Mabopane, Temba, Ramakgodi and Winterveld in the Odi and Moretele Districts of Bophuthatswana, which it called 'international' settlements on the basis of their multi-ethnic population composition as a result of previous forced relocations.

When widespread political unrest broke out amongst Africans in South Africa in 1976, the white Government urged the homelands to take independence. Between 1976 and 1981 four homelands became fully independent: Transkei (Xhosa) in 1976, Bophuthatswana (Tswana) in 1977, Venda (Venda) in 1979, and Ciskei (Xhosa) in 1981. Other homelands which became self-governing states but which never progressed to full independence were Lebowa (North Sotho) in 1972, Gazankulu (Tsonga-Shangaan) in 1973, Qwaqwa (South Sotho) in 1974, Kwazulu (Zulu) in 1977, Kangwane (Swazi) in 1977, and KwaNdebele (Southern Ndebele) in 1981.

5.6 AN INDEPENDENT BOPHUTHATSWANA

Bophuthatswana was the South African homeland for the Tswana-speaking people. It was the second homeland to accept political independence and in time became the most affluent of the homelands due to rich mineral deposits and prosperous casino developments. At independence the homeland comprised seven unconsolidated land units totalling 40 330 km^2, two of these areas in the Pretoria region: the Odi-Moretele complex, comprising the districts of Odi 1 and Moretele 1, and the Moretele 2 complex, comprising mainly the former Mathanjana District.

The following discussion, wich focuses on the period prior to 1985, considers the political creation of a unique ethnic identity for the Tswana, the political evolution of Bophuthatswana, the territorial definition of the two Tswana complexes in the Pretoria region, and a brief overview of the infrastructure and populations of the two areas.

5.6.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY

Although the Bophuthatswana homeland was established to foster Tswana ethnic nationalism, ethnically this homeland was the most heterogenous of all the homelands (Malan & Hattingh, 1975). Despite the Tswana representing only 67 percent of a total population of one million in 1970 (Smit, 1977), the issue of political and social discrimination against the non-Tswana dominated events in Bophuthatswana until the re-incorporation of the homelands into South Africa in 1994.

The Tswana represent the western division of the great Sotho culture that established itself in southern Africa about 1 000 years ago and that occupied the entire central plateau, replacing and absorbing the Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age communities in the area (Schapera, 1953; Mason, 1986).

The Sotho arrived in successive waves. The first were the Kgalagadi, Fokeng and Hoja, followed by the Thlaping and Rolong which together formed the core of the South Sotho that settled south of the Vaal River (Lye & Murray, 1980). The next group of Sotho migrants were the Hurutshe, Kgatla and Kwena who share a long common history (Coertze, 1987).

The Kgatla were the first to separate from the main body, at Rathateng near the Limpopo River, settling in the Waterberg (Pistorius, 1992) while the Hurutshe-Kwena group continued along the banks of the Crocodile River settling at Mabyanamatshwaana (between Brits and GaRankuwa) under the leadership of Mogale (Breutz, 1989). Mogale and the five chiefs who succeeded him ruled from this location over the entire Oori region (Sotho name for the Crocodile River basin) between 1350

and 1470 (Breutz, 1953).

About 1450/80 the Hurutshe separated from the main body and settled west of the Crocodile River (Maritz, 1976). While the Kwena dispersed locally from the Mabyanamatshwaana nucleus and settled both east and west of the Crocodile River. The Kgatla reached the area shortly afterwards and, settling on the banks of the Moretele River, continued their close association with the Kwena. Together these groups represent the core of the western Tswana (Breutz, 1989).

The Kwena and Kgatla soon occupied the ranges and plains between the Crocodile River in the west and the Olifants River in the east. They built enormous stone megasites which they occupied in large numbers during affluent times and dispersed into smaller groups during times of social and economic hardship (Mason, 1986). Over time the Kgatla and Kwena developed close economic and political relationships with their neighbours who were the North Sotho in the north, the South Sotho in the south, and the Pedi (Sotho) in the east (Horn, 1996). During the 17th century the Kgatla and Kwena were joined by the Ndebele of Msi, a group of Nguni, who had broken away from the coastal Nguni. Several Ndebele groups, such as the Manala and the Hwaduba, settled amidst the Tswana and some were even absorbed by the Tswana (Coetzee, 1980).

In the early 19th century the traditional system of African subsistence collapsed mainly as a result of overpopulation, drought and a shortage of land. This traumatic event, the *difaqane*, transformed organized communities and societies into disorganized bands that attacked one another at random in a struggle for survival.

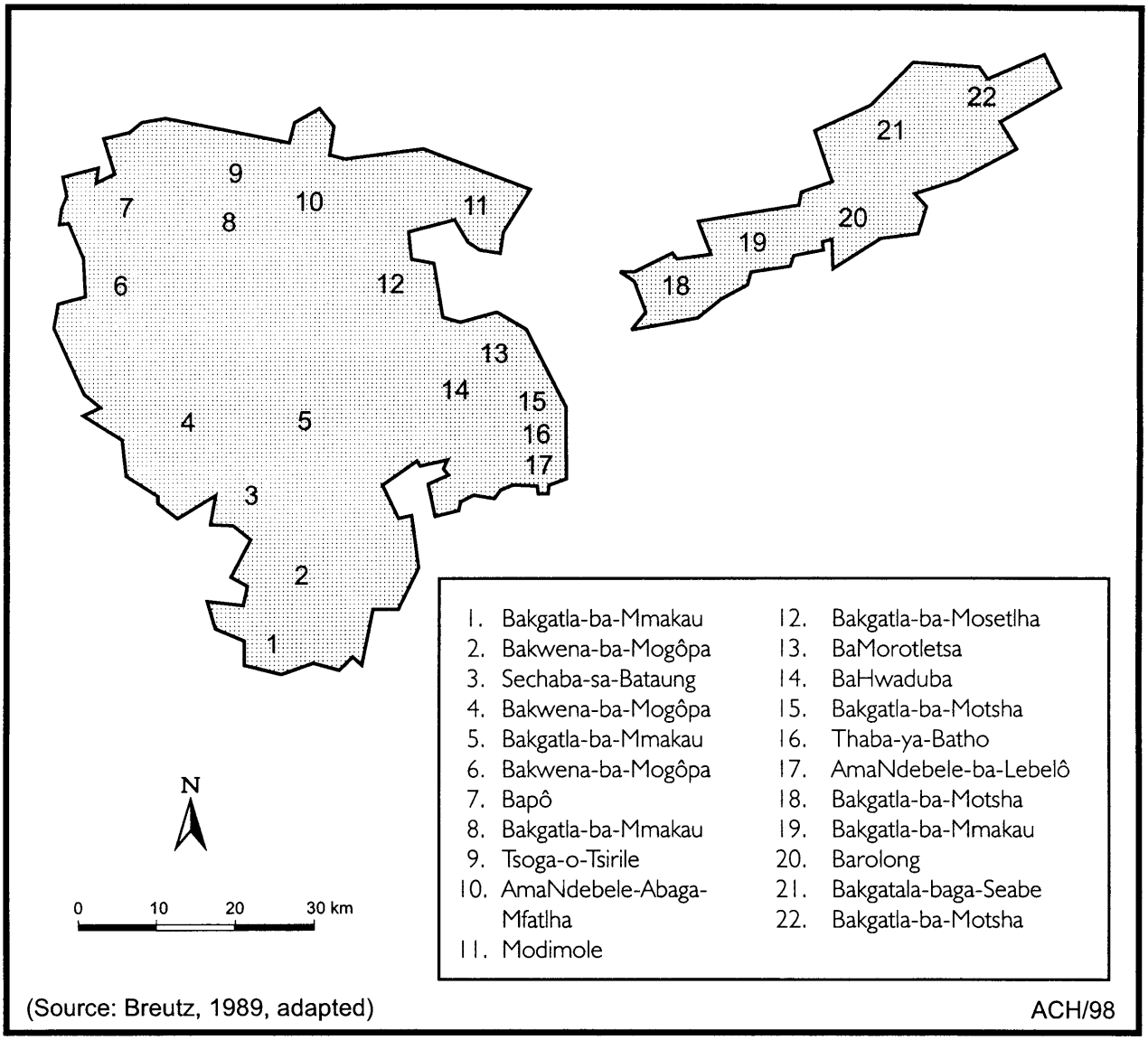
This period of anarchy started in about 1818 on the east coast of southern Africa and spread from there inland. In 1822 the Pedi attacked the occupants of the Magaliesberg area and in 1823 raiding bands of Mzilikazi invaded the Magaliesberg region and, after establishing rule, occupied the area until 1827. Mzilikazi stripped the area of its biological and cultural resources and left it largely depopulated and socially disorganized (Rasmussen, 1978).

While the Tswana and Ndebele were struggling to re-organize and re-establish control, their land was colonized by white settlers between the years 1840 and 1860 (Potgieter, 1955; Bergh, 1992). The Africans were driven from the area or forced to live on small, overpopulated pockets of land known initially as locations and later as reserves, or to become tenants and labourers on white farms without any land rights of their own (Stals, 1977).

The original locations were incorporated into the *scheduled* areas of the *Natives Land Act* (1913). These *scheduled* areas were extended and consolidated in 1936 with the addition of certain *released* areas in terms of the *Native Trust and Land Act* (1936). After 1936 the boundaries of the reserves were continually revised by way of Government proclamation.

The distribution of the Tswana tribes in the Odi-Moretele and Moretele 2 complexes in 1980 is indicated in Figure 5.7. It should be remembered that, although tribal classifications in South Africa were largely based on historical African divisions, many tribes were created by state-employed ethnologists for purely administrative purposes (Dubow, 1989).

FIGURE 5.7 TSWANA TRIBES IN THE PRETORIA REGION, LATE 20th CENTURY



(Source: Breutz, 1989, adapted) ACH/98

Apart from the traditional dominance of the Tswana and the Ndebele in the Pretoria region, the establishment from 1962 of large urban homeland towns such as GaRankuwa, Mabopane, Mothuthlung, and Temba, and the forced removal and relocation of non-whites from the white areas resulted in large numbers of other Africans living in the areas. The multi-ethnic population, on the one hand, and the pro-Tswana ethnic bias of the Bophuthatswana Government delayed and complicated independence and caused political unrest in the Pretoria region from the late 1970s.

In 1977, the Bophuthatswana authorities objected to the incorporation into the would-be Republic of Bophuthatswana of Winterveld, an informal settlement with a mostly non-Tswana population of about 100 000 people, and the nearby formal town of Mabopane with its large multi-ethnic contingent (Hattingh & Horn, 1991; Horn *et al.*, 1992). The dispute was resolved with the appointment of the Development Bank of Southern Africa as the development agent of the Winterveld settlement, and the exclusion of Mabopane East from the homeland. Mabopane East was renamed Soshanguve (**So**tho, **Sha**ngaan, **Ngu**ni, and **Ve**nda), and was planned with ethnic zones to accommodate the non-Tswana element of the Mabopane population (Smit, 1977; Smit & Booysen, 1981).

At independence it was stipulated that the non-Tswana in Bophuthatswana would be entitled to full political and economic rights, but that ownership of land would be restricted to Tswana citizens. Those non-Tswana who where forcibly relocated to towns such as GaRankuwa and Mabopane after having forfeited their land rights in Lady Selborne in the late 1960s, as well as other non-Tswana in Bophuthatswana immediately forfeited the land rights they had previously been granted in the homeland. Deprived of their land rights, these people then moved to informal settlements such as Winterveld and Ramakgodi where they became tenants on Tswana tribal land and private Tswana smallholdings (Perlman, 1982). Victimization of the non-Tswana continued throughout the 1980s and raids by Bophuthatswana police and security forces on their homes and settlements became a regular event, after which many non-Tswana would cross the border to South Africa temporarily before returning when calm had been restored.

After the establishment of the KwaNdebele homeland in the eastern part of the Pretoria region many urban Ndebele left Bophuthatswana to resettle in their own homeland. In spite of the exodus of non-Tswana an official population census in the mid-1980s (Bophuthatswana, 1985) revealed that Tswana represented only 45 percent of the population of the Tswana Districts in the Pretoria region and less than eight percent of the population of informal settlements such as Winterveld.

5.6.2 POLITICAL EVOLUTION

After becoming subjects of Mzilikazi in 1823 and then in 1840 losing their independence to the white colonial settlers, the people of the Tswana reserves in the Pretoria region had no direct part in the government of the land and enjoyed no political rights. The *Native Affairs Act* (1920) made provision for the establishment of Local Councils, with limited powers, comprising both elected and nominated members. The *Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927*, acknowledged traditionally appointed

tribal chiefs for administrative purposes, and the Department of Native Affairs established an ethnological division to identify and register tribes for this purpose (Dubow, 1989). However, by 1948, no such Councils had been established in any of the Tswana areas (Maritz, 1976). In the meantime, the *Natives Representatives Act, No. 12 of 1936*, established a Council of white senators to represent Africans politically. Africans in each province could elect one senator to the Natives Representative Council. This Council was eventually abolished in 1959.

The *Bantu Authorities Act* (1951) established Tribal Authorities with extended powers and responsibilities. These authorities comprised a traditional authority and a number of members nominated by the local Bantu Commissioner. The *Bantu Laws Amendment Act* (1964) abolished the nomination of members and defined a Tribal Authority as an African tribal authority appointed according to tribal customs.

On 21 April 1961 the Tswana Territorial Authority was established by *Government Notice* (*GN*) 585 of 1961. T.R Pilane was elected chairman and L. Mangope vice-chairman. Pilane wanted self-government as soon as possible while Mangope wanted to prolong the process. Two political streams, largely on tribal lines, developed in the Tswana territory.

In addition to a Territorial Authority, the *Bantu Authorities Act* (1951) made provision for the establishment of Regional Authorities apart from the already existing Tribal and Community Authorities. The role and functions of the Regional, Tribal and Community Authorities differed, the one having no authority over the other. In 1961 the Tswana Territorial Authority comprised eight Regional, 72 Tribal, and four Community Authorities. By 1968, two Regional, 17 Tribal, and four Community Authorities, indicated below, had been established in the Pretoria region.

1. Odi Regional Authority[1]

(1) *Bakgatla ba Mmakau* Tribal Authority[2]
(2) *Setchaba sa Bataung* (South-Sotho) Tribal Authority[3]
(3) *Bapô ba Mogale* Tribal Authority[4]
(4) *Bakwena ba Mogôpa* Tribal Authority[5]

2. Bakgatla-Ndebele Regional Authority (Moretele)[6]

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1. *GN* 555/1971
2. *GN* 842/1960
3. *GN* 1015/1961
4. *GN* 1659/1968
5. *GN* 605/1970
6. *GN* 23/1960; *GN* 825/1969

(1) *Barôlong* (South Sotho) Tribal Authority[7]
(2) *AmaNdebele ba Lebêlô* Tribal Authority[8]
(3) *Bakgatla ba Mosetlha* Tribal Authority[9]
(4) *Bahwaduba* (Ndebele) Tribal Authority[10]
(5) *Bakgatla ba Mmakau* Tribal Authority[11]
(6) *Bakgatla ba Motsha* Tribal Authority[12]
(7) *Bakgatla ba Mphe Batho* Tribal Authority[13]
(8) *AmaNdebele-aba-ga-Mfatlha* Tribal Authority[14]
(9) *Vuka-u-Zenzela* Tribal Authority,[15] renamed *'Tsoga-o-Tsirile* Tribal Authority
(10) *Bakgatla ba Motsha* Tribal Authority[16]
(11) *Modimole* Community Authority[17]
(12) *Thaba ya Batho* Community Authority[18]
(13) *Ba Moreteletsa* Community Authority[19]
(14) *Litho-Ndebele-Ndzundza* Tribal Authority[20]
(15) *Winterveld* Community Authority[21]
(16) *Bakgatla ba Seabe* Tribal Authority[22]
(17) *AmaNdebele-aba-ga-Manala* Tribal Authority[23]

The *Government Proclamation* (*GP*) R141 of 1968 laid down new roles for the Regional, Tribal, and, Community Authorities, to improve administration. The powers of the Territorial Authority was extended in the same year and on 14 October 1968

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7. *GN* 220/1957; *GN* 644/1965
8. *GN* 788/1957; *GN* 98/1966
9. *GN* 788/1957; *GN* 98/1966
10. *GN* 953/1958; *GN* 1621/1965; *GN* 2021/1966
11. *GN* 1727/1958
12. *GN* 333/1959; *GN* 1621/1965; *GN* 1021/1966
13. *GN* 868/1959
14. *GN* 1381/1959; *GN* 1357/1964
15. *GN* 1339/1962
16. *GN* 1743/1965; *GN* 2020/1966
17. *GN* 61/1966
18. *GN* 69/1966
19. *GN* 2019/1966
20. *GN* 2084/1966
21. *GN* 817/1967; *GN* 1452/1968
22. *GN* 1954/1967
23. *GN* 1467/1967

an Executive Council, chaired by L. Mangope, was introduced.

On 1 May 1971 the Tswana homeland received limited (phase 1) self-government. At the same time the Territorial Authority was replaced by a Legislative Assembly and a new Executive Council. Another step towards political autonomy was taken on 1 June 1972 when the Legislative Assembly became the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly, and the Executive Council became the Cabinet by *GP* R131 of 1972. In terms of the *Constitutional Proclamation* (*GP* R131/1972) the Constitutional Assembly comprised 48 members nominated by the Regional and Tribal Authorities and 24 popularly elected members.

The Legislative Assembly immediately petitioned the South African Government to become a full self-governing state. In anticipation of greater autonomy, two political parties were formed, the Seoposengwe (Unity) Party (SP) headed by T. Pilane, and the Bophuthatswana National Party (BNP) of L. Mangope.

Both leaders saw the policy of separate development as an opportunity to develop their people and their area. The major difference between them was that Mangope strove for an ethnically homogenous Bophuthatswana for the Tswana in which other ethnic groups would enjoy political rights but would not be allowed to own enterprises or land. Pilane, on the other hand, believed in a broad multi-ethnic African nationalism as a fundamental principle of the new state (Breytenbach, 1974).

Elections took place on 4 October 1972. Every person over 18 with Tswana citizenship (based on residence) or Tswana nationals (inside or outside the homeland) qualified to vote. The BNP won 10 of the 12 wards, winning 20 of the 24 freely elected seats in Parliament. The multi-ethnic election ward of Odi, in the Pretoria region, was one of the two wards the BNP failed to secure a majority. Mangope was elected as Chief Minister, after which members of his Cabinet were nominated. In the second half of 1972 national symbols such as a flag and anthem were introduced.

Bophuthatswana in 1972 comprised 19 unconsolidated territories covering a total of 3 754 018 ha. The dispute between the South African Government and the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly over the consolidation of the homeland delayed the political development process for some time. In 1973 the South African Government initiated discussion on the territorial consolidation of the homeland with preliminary consolidation proposals. These were rejected by Bophuthatswana, which made counterclaims. The South African Government revised its position by tabling semi-final proposals, which were again rejected by the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly. In 1974 the South African Government held a conference in Pretoria with the homeland leaders on various aspects of forthcoming independence and a year later, in 1975, the South African Parliament unilaterally adopted a final pre-independence consolidation plan (Maritz, 1976; Platzky & Walker, 1985).

Progress towards independence was also hampered by the Lebowa Legislative

Assembly's claim to the Moretele 2 complex and its bid for co-authority over the multi-ethnic towns and settlements of GaRankuwa, Mabopane, Ramakgodi, and Winterveld. Mangope, promoting a policy of ethnic purity and privilege, tried to mobilize the rural population through their traditional leaders against the non-Tswana, but, in 1974, shortly after the Pretoria conference between the South African Government and the homeland leaders, the influential chief Esther Kekane of the *AmaNdebele ba Lebêlô* withdrew her support for Mangope. Thereafter the increasingly cosmopolitan Odi-Moretele complex posed a continuous political threat to the Mangope Government. Although the towns of the Odi-Moretele complex remained under the jurisdiction of Bophuthatswana, Moretele 2 only became part of Bophuthatswana in 1979.

On the eve of the independence of Bophuthatswana, Mangope threatened to abort the plan unless the multi-ethnic settlements of Mabopane East and Winterveld were excluded from the homeland. The crisis was only resolved after concessions by both parties. Mabopane East was excluded from Bophuthatswana while Winterveld was retained after the South African Government made a committment to develop the area.

On 7 December 1977, the Republic of Bophuthatswana became independent under the *Bophuthatswana Constitution Act* (1977). Bophuthatswana was to be governed by a Cabinet of Ministers and a National Assembly consisting of 48 regional representatives, 48 elected citizens, and six members appointed by the President. Mangope became the first President and retained this position until 1994.

5.6.3 TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION AND POPULATION OVERVIEW

On 19 June 1913 the *Natives Land Act* (1913) *scheduled* two areas in the Pretoria region for African occupation which included the locations of Makapan, Mamogale, Maubane, Sjambok, and Swartbooi, which had been demarcated in the 19th century. Following appeals by the Natives Land Commission (South Africa, 1916) and the Eastern Transvaal Native Land Committee (South Africa, 1918), these two areas were renamed Area 21 and Area 22 and extended by the *Native Trust and Land Act*'s (1936) *released* areas.

The *scheduled* areas of 1913 and the *released* areas of 1936 were not demarcated for the exclusive occupation by any specific African ethnic group, and when the Tomlinson Commission (South Africa, 1955) proposed its seven mono-ethnic African homelands the two existing African trust areas in the Pretoria region were not

included in the Tswana homeland, or any other homeland. The two trust areas were retained by the South African Development Trust and their borders regularly altered as stipulated by way of Government proclamations.

When Bophuthatswana became independent on 7 December 1977 the districts of Odi 1 and Moretele 1 (the former Area 21), as described in *GN* 801 of 1977 as amended by *GN* 874 of 1977, became part of the territory of the new Bophuthatswana. The Moretele 2 complex remained part of the Republic of South Africa after both Bophuthatswana and Lebowa laid claim to the area. Certain parts of Area 22, the Moutse areas mainly occupied by North Sotho, had already been transferred to the Lebowa Territorial Authority (*GP* R156/1971, *GP* R224/1972, and *GN* 1389/1973). The District of Mathanjana, including several Ndebele settlements, was proclaimed in 1977 (*GN* 874/1977), but only became part of Bophuthatswana two years later (*GP* R130/1979), after it was redefined (*GN* 1408/1979) to exclude certain Ndebele-occupied portions.

After 1979 only minor changes were made to the boundaries of the two sections of Bophuthatswana in the Pretoria region, the most important being the inclusion of part of the original farm Hammanskraal by *GP* R137 of 1987, and the farms Lochness, Tower and Worcester into the Moretele 1 district by *GP* R98 of 1989, as well as sections of the farm Rietgat into the same district by the same proclamation.

The boundaries of the two homeland areas in the Pretoria region that were governed by Bophuthatswana to 1994 are indicated in Figure 5.8

A number of major settlements developed in the Bophuthatswana Districts in the Pretoria region: the planned towns of GaRankuwa, Mabopane, Mothutlung, Temba-Kudube; the historical centres of Makapanstad-Mathibestad-Swartbooistad, Maranjane, and Mmathelhake; semi-developed dense settlements such as GaMokone and Klippan; and the informal settlements of Winterveld and Ramakgodi.

Demographic information for these settlements is scarce and official accounts (e.g. Bophuthatswana, 1985) are unreliable.[24] The researcher had to depend on the limited survey information of Datakonsult (1989), Louis Hale Associates (1990), Development Bank of Southern Africa (1991; 1993), Human Sciences Research Council (1994), Horn (1997), and secondary sources (e.g. Horn, 1991; 1993; Horn & Crankshaw, 1994). According to these sources the population of the Odi-Moretele complex is about 1 100 000. This figure includes the urban populations of GaRankuwa (62 000), Mabopane (60 000), Mothutlung (15 000), Temba (55 000); the semi-urban populations of Winterveld (220 000), Makapanstad-Mathibestad-Swartbooistad (240 000) and of other informal urban settlements (500 000).

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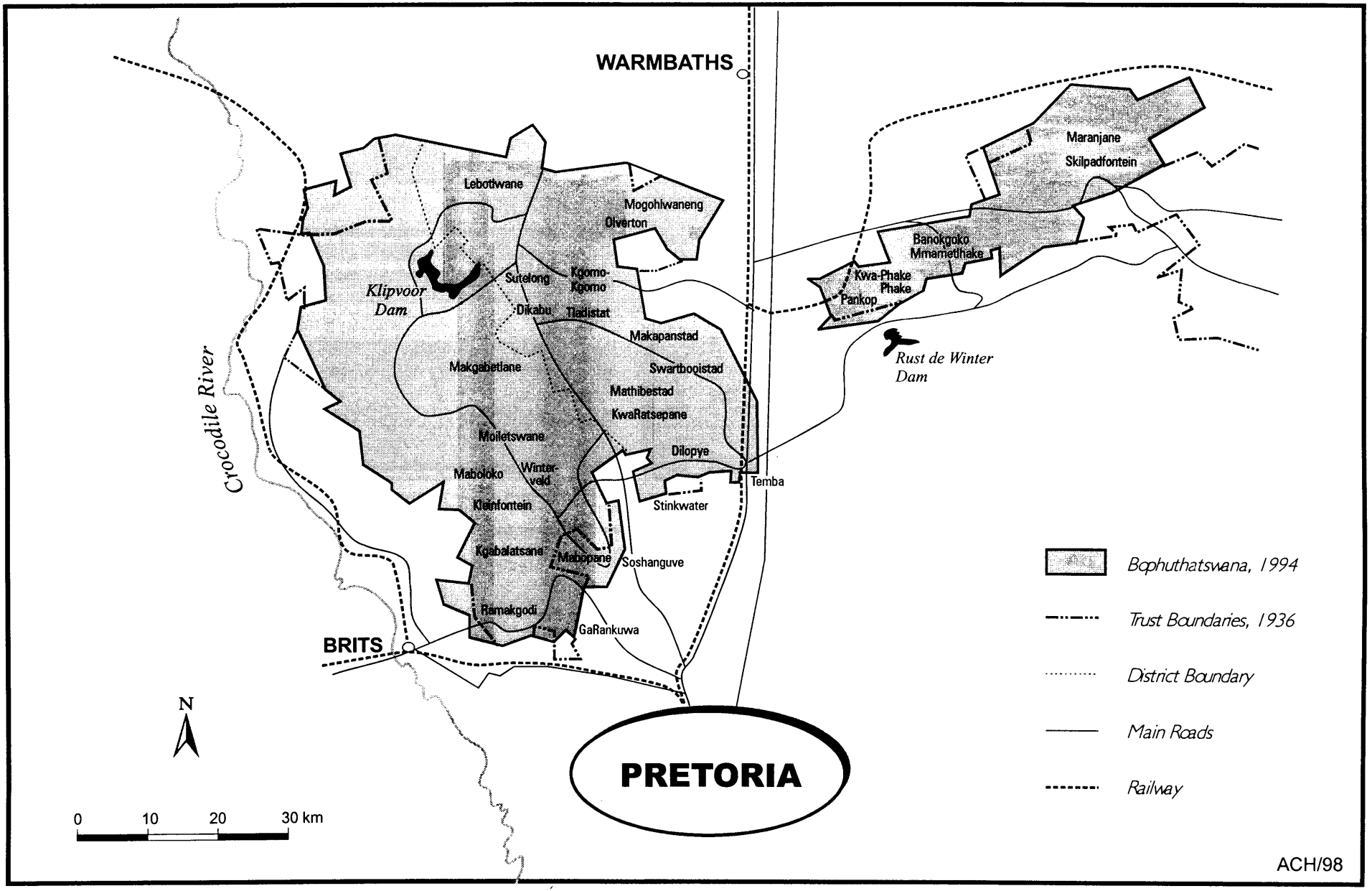
24. Results of the 1996 national census in South Africa were not available as yet at the submission of this thesis.

FIGURE 5.8 BOPHUTHATSWANA: BOUNDARIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE, 1994



5.7 SELF-GOVERNING KWANDEBELE

The Ndebele were not recognized by the South African Government as a separate African ethnic group until the 1970s. The creation of a common ethnic identity amongst the Ndebele, the territorial dispersion of the Ndebele, and the consolidation of territory proved to be the ultimate test of the apartheid policy of ethnic nationalism and separate development.

5.7.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY

The Ndebele have often been assigned a minor position in the broad ethnological considerations of, for example, Schapera (1937) and Hammond-Tooke (1974). However, more specific authorities on the anthropological and political history of the Ndebele include Fourie (1921), Van Warmelo (1930), Coetzee (1980), and Van Vuuren (1983; 1992), who are well supported by Van Coller (1942), Bergh (1973), Van Jaarsveld (1985), Delius (1983), Jonas (1989) and Pienaar (1991).

The Ndebele of the Pretoria region are Nguni in origin, which they share with the Swazi, Xhosa, and Zulu of the east coast of southern Africa. It is believed that the Ndebele group broke away from the Nguni column in about 1500, and by 1550 were at a location known in their folklore as Emhlangeni ('by the reeds'), about 60 km southwest of the modern-day city of Pretoria. In about 1585 Mafana became their ruler. Mafana's successor was Mhlanga, who was followed by his first son, Musi. In about 1610 the Ndebele migrated to the KwaMnyamana site, just north of modern-day Pretoria, where they established their capital, Emnyameni ('place of the black hills') and lived in close association with the Kgatla, Kwena, and some North Sotho tribes who were already established in the area. Musi's sons included Manala and Ndzundza.

Shortly after Musi's death, the Ndebele divided into two major and a number of smaller groups. The largest group, under Ndzundza, migrated to the east and crossed the Olifants River while the group under Manala remained in the Pretoria area. A smaller group, the Hwaduba, settled along the Moretele River and were largely absorbed by the Kgatla, a Tswana group. Other small factions were absorbed by the North Sotho tribes whilst yet others developed their own identity, the Northern Ndebele.

5.7.1.1 The Ndzundza

After the split of the Ndebele of Musi, the Ndzundza initially settled at KwaSimkulu, east of the Olifants River, where they lived between 1636 and 1688 under the

leadership of Ndzundza and three successors. The Ndzundza then moved north and dispersed widely, using KwaMaza as their centre from where 13 chiefs ruled between 1688 and about 1830. It is in this area that they were first attacked by the Matabele of Mzilikazi during the *difaqane* and thereafter frequently harassed by the Matabele until 1832. The Ndzundza then moved to the inaccessible KoNomtjharhelo, an area of about 36 000 ha whith their capital Erholweni in the centre.

Mabhoko was chief of the Ndzundza at this location when the first white settlers arrived in the area in 1845. The Ndzundza sought peace with the white settlers but the uncompromising policies of the South African Republic (ZAR) left them no option but to resort to armed resistance, in which they were often assisted by the Manala Ndebele and the North Sotho. The land conflict and class struggle between the Ndzundza and the settlers that followed included major armed confrontations in 1849 and 1863-64, and full-scale war in 1882-83 (Bonner, 1983; Van Jaarsveld, 1985; Stals, 1985; Pienaar, 1991). A special settler task force, dubbed the *undermining commission*, besieged the Ndzundza in 1882 and forced them to surrender through starvation, the systematic demolition of caves and hideouts, and bribing of the Manala and North Sotho to end their support for the Ndundza. In 1883 the entire leadership core of the Ndzundza, including supreme Chief Nyabela and his Pedi ally, Mampuru, was imprisoned.

The ZAR confiscated the entire 36 000 ha of Ndzundza land and redistributed it among those settlers who had taken part in the war and in the capture of Nyabela. As a result the Ndzundza, unlike the other tribes in the Pretoria region, were not allocated any locations by the Location Commission of the ZAR. The majority of Ndzundza were *booked in* — a form of official forced labour — with the white farmers. As prisoners of war, their movements and other activities were controlled. Some Ndundza managed to find refuge with the Manala Ndebele, who had retained their limited freedom under the laws of the ZAR. Others became urban squatters in and around Pretoria.

While Nyabela was in prison in Pretoria, a number of Ndzundza, headed by Fene Mahlangu, settled at KwaMkhina (Derdepoort) on the outskirts of Pretoria. Here Nyabela joined them after his release from prison in 1899, until his death in 1902. Fene then became supreme Chief of the Ndzundza while the other main contender for the position, Madzidze, moved to the Nebo District east of the Olifants River. In about 1904 the main body of Ndebele relocated to KwaHlanga, where Fene died in 1922 without being able to reclaim any land.

However, in 1923 the Ndzundza, now headed by Mayisha Mabhogo, bought the farm Weltevreden which was renamed KwaSimuyembiwa. In 1969 the *Ndzundza (Mabhogo)* Tribal Authority was established at KwaSimunyembiwa. It became a Regional Authority in 1974 (*GP* R123/1974) and was included into the Ndebele

Territorial Authority in 1977 (*GP* R2021/1977).

By 1942 the descendants of Madzidze already occupied eight farms in the Nebo District. They were later acknowledged by the Government as the *Ndzunza of Nebo* tribe with an own tribal authority (*GN* 1139/1957). This tribal authority became the Nebo Regional Authority in 1962 (*GN* 287/1962) and was included in the Lebowa Territorial Authority (*GP* R1247/1962) as part of the North Sotho homeland.

In 1923, a community of 100 Ndzundza and 26 non-Ndebele bought a portion of the farm Kalkfontein in what was to become the Moretele 2 area. In 1924 Feleni Mahlangu and 28 others, including 13 non-Ndebele, bought another portion of the farm. In 1925 Feleni Mahlangu and 19 others, including seven non-Ndebele, bought yet another portion of the same farm. At one stage more than 200 non-Ndebele were living on the land by leasing the occupational right from the owners. As a result of political strife among the Ndzundza and the Kgatla, who then represented a majority, the portion first bought in 1923 was considered as tribal land under the *Ndzundza* Tribal Authority and the *Pungutsha* Community Authority was established in 1977 for the remainder of Kalkfontein (*GN* 767/1977). Those portions of Kalkfontein bought in 1924 and 1925 were excluded from Bophuthatswana before Bophuthatswana became independent in December 1977, and the *Pungutsha* community became part of the *Mnyamana* Territorial Authority (*GP* R871/1977).

Another group of Ndzundza bought two portions of the farm Witlaagte in 1926. Although the group also included many non-Ndzundza and despite the farm being in a traditional Kgatla area, the *Litho-Ndebele-Ndzundza* Tribal Authority, proclaimed in *GN* 2084 of 1966, did not become part of Bophuthatswana in 1977 as it was included in the *Mnyamana* Regional Authority (*GP* R61/1977).

5.7.1.2 The Manala

About five years after the split of the Ndebele, the Manala faction moved from KwaMnyamana to a new location known as Ezotshaneni where they lived from 1677 to 1717, a period during which Manala was succeeded by Nsele. Thereafter they established a new nearby settlement, Embilaleni, and lived there between 1717 and 1747. Later a new centre, KoNonduna, was established in the same area. Between 1822 and 1825 many Manala were either killed or absorbed by the Matabele of Mzilikazi, who occupied their area at that time. Approximately at the time that the white settlers arrived (1840), the Manala divided into three factions: the Manala of Makerane, the Silamba and the Mgibe.

The Manala of Makerane lived in the highveld area southeast of Pretoria, then moved to the farm Enkeldoornoog. In 1979 the *Manala (Makerane)* Tribal Authority was proclaimed with its centre at Enkeldoornoog.

The Manala of Mgibe numbered about 400 in the 1860s and had their centre at KoMrimitsha, east of the Olifants River. In 1986 a *Manala (Mgibe)* Tribal Authority was proclaimed with its centre on the farm Tweefontein in KwaNdebele.

The Manala of Silamba remained at the established settlement at KoNonduna. After 1860 this group of about 300 was forced off their land by white settlers and eventually settled at the Walmansthal complex of the Berlin Mission Society in 1873. Here, at KoMjekeke, the main body stayed until 1926 while others lived on the farms Jakkalsdans, Klipsruit, and Van Dijkspruit for a brief period. In 1926 some also settled on the farm Roodekoppies. In 1967 the *Manala (Silamba)* Tribal Authority was instituted and their tribal land defined as the farms Roodekoppies, Troya, and Allemansdrift (*GN* 1467/1967).

5.7.1.3 The Hwaduba

The third major Ndebele group, the Hwaduba, resided at many sites north of modern-day Pretoria, including GaRaletsoku, KwaDubeng, Mohalaube, and Mmametlhake. They eventually settled on the farms Witgatboom and Goedgewaagd where a location was proclaimed for them in the 19th century. The *Hwaduba* Tribal Authority was instituted by Government Notice 953 of 1958, and redefined by *GN* 1621 of 1965. In 1960 it became part of the *Bakgatla-Ndebele* Regional Authority (*GN* 23/1960) and, because of the location of its territory, was incorporated into the *Tswana* Territorial Authority (*GP* R585/1961).

5.7.2 POLITICAL EVOLUTION

The Beaumont Commission (South Africa, 1916) and particularly the Eastern Transvaal Natives Land Committee (South Africa, 1918), made sincere pleas for official recognition by the state of the Ndebele. Soon thereafter, in 1919, the Ndzundza and Manala National Association was formed. Although a number of Ndebele tribal and community authorities were instituted in terms of the *Bantu Authorities Act* (1951), the *Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act* (1959) did not recognize the Ndebele as an ethnic group. This meant that the Ndebele did not qualify for their own separate homeland. It was mainly after this decision that Ndebele such as S.S. Skosana and K.D. Mtsweni started to organize the Ndebele factions into a political unit (McCaul, 1987). The Ndebele Ethnic Group was formed and became the Transvaal National Ndebele Organization (TNNO) in 1967.

The TNNO aimed at (1) Ndebele ethnic and political unity, (2) the recognition of Musi as common ancestor, (3) self-determination for the Ndebele, and (4) official

demarcation of the land of the North and South Ndebele (Coetzee, 1980). Although the TNNO was mainly an urban organization it was in constant contact with traditional leaders such as David Mabhoko of the Ndzundza, and believed that their goals could be achieved through the traditional leaders. In 1968 the Mamelodi Conference was held to which all the tribal leaders of both South and North Ndebele were invited. Present were David Mabhoko of the Ndzundza, William Mabhena of the Manala, and Johannes Kekana of the Kekana of Zebediela. The TNNO came to the following decisions: (1) to unify the Ndebele, 2) to request an own area for the Ndebele, (3) to liberate themselves from the authorities of both Bophuthatswana and Lebowa. This meeting was followed by the Temba Conference in 1969. Because of the ethnic heterogeneity of the TNNO the Government, at that stage, believed that it was an anti-homeland lobby rather than an organization seeking to promote the interests of the Ndebele people.

It soon became apparent that there were differences of opinion among the various Ndebele represented in the TNNO. The *Nebo* Regional Authority, part of the *Lebowa* Territorial Authority since 1962 (*GP* R1247/1962) was reluctant to sacrifice its relative political autonomy for the cause of a united Ndebele state. So, too, and for the same reasons were the Ndebele represented by the *Bakgatla-Ndebele* Regional Authority, reconstituted in 1969 (*GN* 825/1969). It was also clear that the Northern and Southern Ndebele had different political agendas and were not interested in sharing a common homeland. Nor were the Manala of William Mabhena interested in moving to a common homeland that did not include the land they were occupying at that stage, west of the Olifants River. Nor were the Ndzundza willing to move unless it was to the traditional KoNomtjharhelo area east of the Olifants River.

A homeland for the South Ndebele was proclaimed in August 1972 and a Territorial Authority in October 1973. In October 1979 the first Legislative Assembly was instituted and in August 1980 KwaNdebele became a self-governing territory. The first election for a national government was held in November 1984. S.S. Skosana was elected as Chief Minister, supported by a Legislative Assembly of 79 members of which 16 were selected and 63 designated.

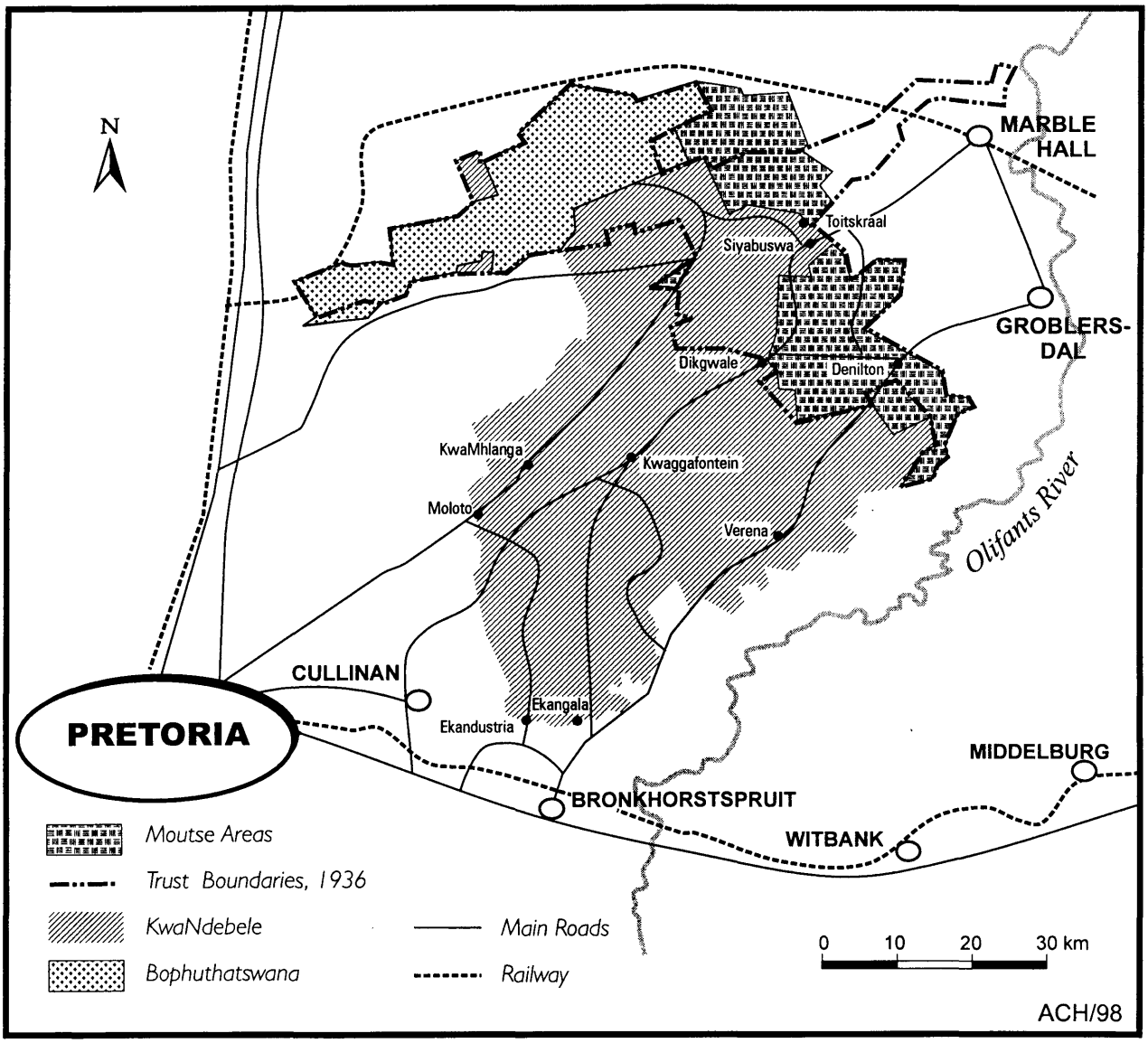
By 1985, tension was growing over a number of issues including relations between the political elite and the traditional leaders, the ethnic policies of the homeland, the incorporation of North Sotho occupied areas, and the issue of whether or not to accept independence.

5.7.3 TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION AND POPULATION OVERVIEW

Although a homeland for the Southern Ndebele was proclaimed in 1972, its territorial

demarcation remained problematic right up to its re-incorporation into South Africa in 1994. When the KwaNdebele homeland was proclaimed in 1972, the land of the Ndebele of Nebo had already been proclaimed as part of the Lebowa homeland, and the land of the Ndebele of the Moretele 1 District was already part of the Tswana homeland. In 1975, the consolidation plan of the South African Government envisaged the Moretele 2 District under the future authority of KwaNdebele. However, when the territory of the homeland of KwaNdebele was defined officially for the first time in 1979 (*GN* 205/1979) the Nebo District was not included, nor were certain portions of land in the Moretele 2 District (see *GN* 14/1979). Further area amendments include *GP* R59 of 1981, and *GN* 107 of 1981. After the declaration of KwaNdebele as Self-Governing Territory (*GP* R60/1981), the area was redefined in total (*GN* 1515/1981), and again amended soon after (*GN* 128/1982). At the time of the first general election in 1984, the homeland comprised the areas of Mdutjana 1, 2 and 3 and Mkobola, a total of 98 745 ha. (Fig 5.9).

FIGURE 5.9 KWANDEBELE: BOUNDARIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE, 1994



A capital and industrial centre, Siyabuswa, was established in 1975. Ten years later it had 43 mostly undeveloped industrial sites despite the efforts of the KwaNdebele National Development Corporation, established in 1982. A second industrial town, Ekandustria, was established in 1982, with a nearby multi-ethnic town, Ekangala. In 1986, a new capital was established at KwaMhlanga. Other large, yet undeveloped, towns include Elandsdoorn and Vaalbank.

The population of KwaNdebele increased from a few thousand in 1972 to about 250 000 in 1985 at an average annual increase of 13.5 percent (South Africa, 1988)[25], approximately 55 percent having come from white farms, 29 percent from Bophuthatswana, 8 percent from urban areas. About 11 percent of the population resided in Siyabuswa, Elandsdoorn and Vaalbank (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1991) and despite the lack of a true urban character it had a density of 272 persons per km^2. The total population in 1991, after the exclusion of the Moutse areas, was believed to be 314 601, with 50.7 percent in the district of Mkobola and 49.3 percent in Mdutjana (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1991). The Highveld District Council (1997) claims that the 1994-population of KwaNdebele, with the inclusion of the Moutse areas, was in the order of 550 000.

5.8 COLLAPSE OF A REGIONAL CONSTELLATION

By 1978, the apartheid state was facing a crisis: the independent homelands were not recognized by any foreign government, the economic integration of the country was failing, and the rulers of the homelands were corrupt, inefficient and authoritarian, and becoming an embarrassment to the South African Government (Thompson, 1990). What followed was the transformation of a collection of separate developing homelands into a regional constellation of states, a strategy that represented a desperate attempt to secure white social dominance in the region, but which resulted in the inevitable collapse of the apartheid state.

5.8.1 A REGIONAL CONSTELLATION

A Government scandal concerning the unauthorized spending of state money by the Department of Information under the Vorster Government, resulted in the resignations of the State President, B.J. Vorster, and the Minister of Information, C.P. Mulder. P.W. Botha, who became Prime Minister in 1978 and who could be described as intelligent,

25. Figures, disputed by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (1987), which claimed a population in the order of 400 000.

determined, hot-tempered, and domineering (Davenport, 1989), soon announced a comprehensive plan to guide South Africa into the future. The main features of this plan were: acceptance of a multinational society and the existence of minority groups; the greatest possible degree of consolidation of the African national homelands; abolition of certain discriminatory measures; the creation of a constellation of South African states; and the promotion of a free-enterprise system (South Africa, 1986a). In 1981 a President's Council, an advisory body, was established and organized into committees dealing with constitutional, economic, planning, science, and community relations matters.

Already in 1977 a Cabinet Committee had produced proposals for a new constitutional dispensation that would accommodate coloureds, Indians and whites without jeopardising the interests and sovereignty of the whites. The revision of constitutional stipulations on parliamentary representation became a priority for the Botha Government and in 1982 the Prime Minister proposed the following developments:

(1) an executive President with extensive powers;
(2) a three-chamber Parliament to accommodate coloured, Indian and white segments of the population in different parliamentary houses;
(3) a Cabinet representing the three population groups represented in Parliament;
(4) a President's council with elected and nominated members, with a legislative role as well as an advisory function; and
(5) an approach to regional and local government to optimise decentralization of funds and responsibility.

On 15 January 1985, after much deliberation with coloureds and Indians, Botha, in his role as State President, opened the new multiracial Tricameral Parliament of South Africa.

While constitutional changes were in progress, Botha embarked on the establishing a constellation of South African states. To this end the South African Government tried to re-establish *détente* with African neighbouring states, and Botha visited the African homelands of South Africa to hold talks on developmental problems and matters of mutual concern. Then, in November 1979 the Prime Minister convened a meeting of leading businessmen in Johannesburg, the Carlton conference, in a step to involve the private business sector in devising and implementing a total strategy for development and stability in South Africa. Two years later, in November 1981, the Government announced its strategy for the future development of South Africa, the Good Hope Plan, in Cape Town. The plan entailed a regional development and industrial decentralization process in which South Africa and the homelands were separated into eight (later nine) development regions.

The regional constellation of the Good Hope strategy was supported by balanced economic incentives designed to ensure both growth in the economic centres and development in the remote areas of South Africa, as well as the establishment of a Small Business Development Corporation and a Development Bank of Southern Africa. In the various regions a number of urban growth centres, deconcentration points, industrial development points, and 'other' development points were identified.

The Pretoria Metropolitan District, the Odi 1, Moretele 1 and 2 Districts in Bophuthatswana, and KwaNdebele (together with Johannesburg, the Witwatersrand, Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark and Sasolburg) formed development Region H. The implication of this decision was that, with the exclusion of the Moutse and Groblersdal Districts in the northeast, the entire Pretoria functional region, as defined in this study, was integrated into a single co-ordinated developmental framework.

The Pretoria metropolitan core was defined an urban growth centre, whilst Brits and Bronkhorstspruit/Ekangala were deconcentration points in terms of this strategy. The industrial development points in the Pretoria region were Babelegi and GaRankuwa as well as an unidentified location in KwaNdebele (South Africa, 1981). When a revised version of this plan was announced in 1985, the industrial development point inside KwaNdebele was still not identified (South Africa, 1985a).

5.8.2 A DYSFUNCTIONAL MULTIPLE CITY SYSTEM

Although the majority of South African cities and towns continued to represent the relative simplicity of the early-apartheid-city urban structure, Davies (1981) points out that the processes of homeland urbanization and border industry development changed and complicated the structures of those cities close to homelands. Moolman (1972) related the urban form of those cities with homeland components to the dual city concept, but Olivier & Hattingh (1985), believing that this city structure was more complex than the dual centre concept, suggested and used the term 'separate city system'. According to Olivier & Hattingh (1985) the separate city system was characterized by:

(1) an apartheid urban core with a white-dominated component, and separate coloured and/or Indian and/or African townships;

(2) one or more African towns and semi-urban informal settlements inside the borders of the homelands;

(3) a comprehensive commuter system that interconnects the various structural components of the urban system; and

(4) one or more border industries and/or decentralized border industries in the white urban periphery, as well as decentralized industrial areas in the homelands.

More recently, Hattingh & Horn (1991) preferred the term 'multiple city system' which included an array of components (see Fig 5.10).

1. In the Republic of South Africa:
   (1) the white-controlled municipalities of Akasia, Pretoria and Verwoerdburg (now Centurion), each a near-complete replica of the Western multiple nuclei-urban model, with a combined population of about 600 000 of which nearly 85 percent were whites;
   (2) Atteridgeville (with a population of 115 000) and Mamelodi (200 000), peripheral African townships separated from the white controlled areas by industrial and transport buffer zones;
   (3) a decentralized coloured township (Eersterus, 23 000) and a decentralized Indian township (Laudium, 21 000);
   (4) a huge border industry at Rosslyn and a decentralized border industry at Brits;
   (5) two decentralized multi-ethnic African townships on the homeland borders, one at Soshanguve (107 000) and one at Ekangala (10 000); and
   (6) a number of lower-order white-controlled central place towns at Brits, Bronkhorstspruit, Hammanskraal and Cullinan.

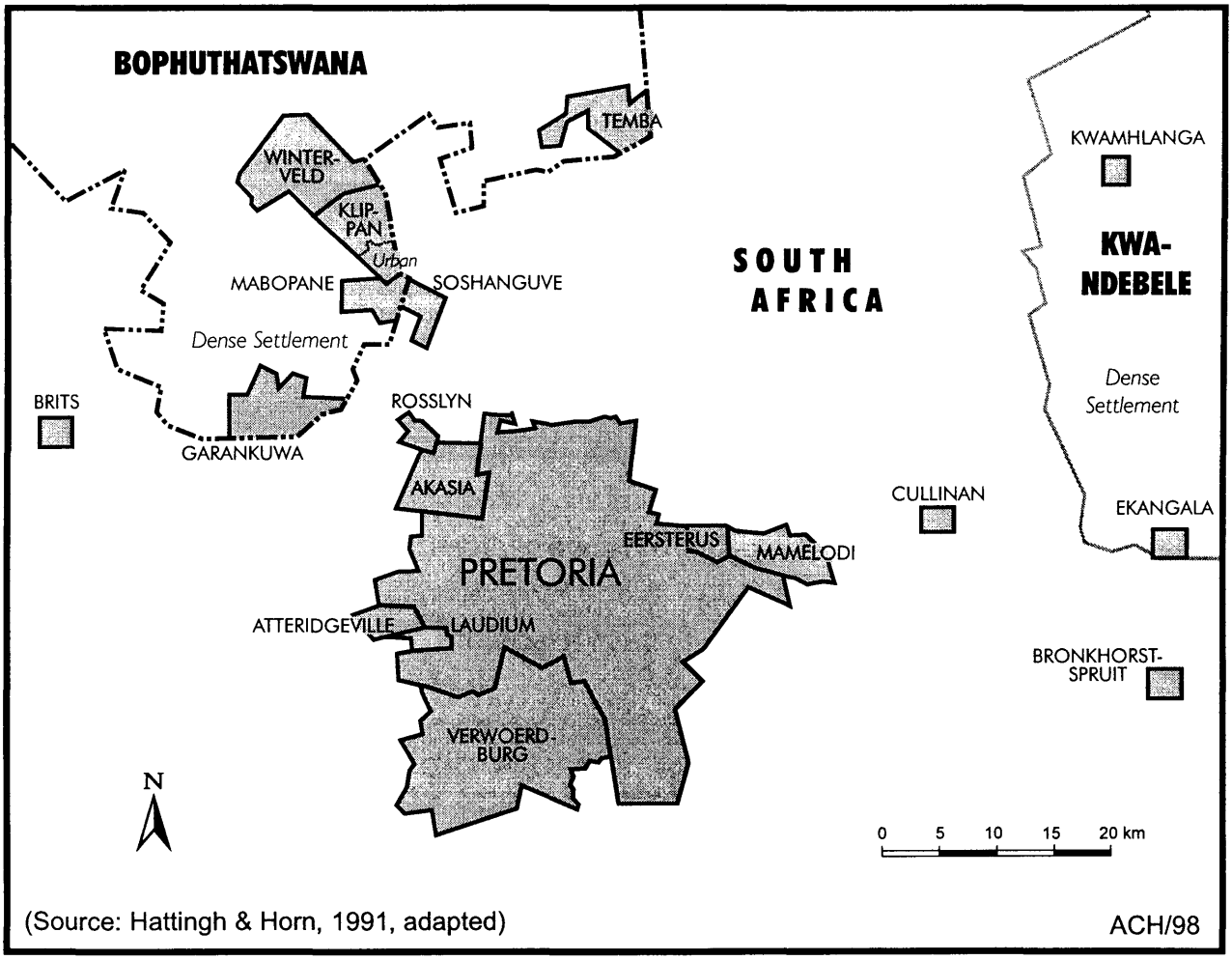
2. In the independent homeland of Bophuthatswana:
   (1) a decentralized industrial area at Babelegi;
   (2) mono-functional residential towns at GaRankuwa (100 000), Mabopane (96 000), Mothutlung (12 000), and Temba (23 000);
   (3) large semi-urban informal settlements such as Winterveld (200 000); and
   (4) a network of dense semi-rural settlements, some as far as 70 km from the metropolitan core, with a combined population of 300 000.

3. In the self-governing homeland of KwaNdebele:
   (1) a decentralized industrial growth point at Ekandustria;
   (2) semi-developed large towns at Elandsdoorn, Kwaggafontein, Vaalbank at some distance from the metropolitan core, with a combined population of about 30 000; and
   (3) a network of dense, undeveloped informal settlements, some 120 km from the Pretoria metropolitan core, with a combined population of about 300 000.

The main feature of this multiple urban system, the dysfunctionality of population

deconcentration in a system of concentrated economic activities, is illustrated by the extent, cost and effect on lives of the commuter system that kept the urban structure from collapsing. In 1984 there was 2.1 million urban African commuters in South Africa of whom 600 000 crossed the homeland borders on a daily basis (South Africa, 1985b). At that stage the annual cost of the commuter transport system totalled R 2 000 million, or more than R 1 000 per commuter per annum of which the Government subsidised almost half. About 20 percent of commuters (a total of 400 000) travelled a distance of more than 30 km per day, spending between 3.5 and 7 hours per day travelling to and from their place of employment. The other 80 percent of commuters travelled an average of 2.5 hours per day between their homes and their work places.

FIGURE 5.10 THE PRETORIA MULTIPLE CITY SYSTEM, 1990



(Source: Hattingh & Horn, 1991, adapted)

ACH/98

In 1977 the number of daily bus commuters from Bophuthatswana to Pretoria was 68 200, with rail commuters totalling 17 000. By the early 1980s the number of daily commuters from Bophuthatswana totalled 104 000; and more than 450 buses travelled to the Pretoria city centre during the morning peak hours (Olivier & Booysen, 1983). At the same time a fleet of 330 buses and 530 registered combi-taxis

transported close to 40 000 commuters daily from and to KwaNdebele.

The average travelling distance in one direction per day in the Pretoria region was 52 km, well above the national average of 34 km. The Pretoria region commuter system, requiring a 58 percent transport subsidy, was the most costly in the country and the annual subsidy of R740 per commuter per annum was the largest in the country. The Pretoria region also received 15 percent of the total national transport subsidy but generated only 8 percent of the total national number of subsidised trips (Clark *et al.*, 1988). The irony of the situation was that the annual transport subsidy required to maintain the position of KwaNdebele in the multiple city system was twice the total budget of this homeland (Pienaar, 1991).

According to (Clark *et al.*, 1988), the Pretoria region also fared poorly in comparison with international standardized commuter service standards. In 92 percent of buses in the Pretoria region there were more than 6 standees per bus. Personal incomes spent on travel fares were 45.1 percent compared with the international average of 5.1 percent! A mean one-way travel time of 106 minutes meant that 65 percent of commuters in Pretoria exceeded the recommended maximum of 76 minutes. The number of transfers, total transfer time and transfer waiting time also exceeded international standards by far. On average the home-end walk in the Pretoria region took 34 minutes compared with the international standard of 16 minutes; the work-end walk took 32 minutes compared with the standard 16 minutes. Moreover, transport schedules were not always convenient for commuters, and often commuters spent the night at a transfer point such as Belle Omre station (Hattingh & Horn, 1991). One-way travel times from homeland towns to Pretoria varied from 104 minutes from Mabopane, 113 minutes from GaRankuwa, and 170 minutes from Temba to over 180 minutes from Vaalbank and Elandsdoorn (Morris, 1983). Table 5b.1 gives an indication of the effect commuting had on the daily lives of commuters in the Pretoria region.

TABLE 5.3 THE IMPACT OF LONG DISTANCE COMMUTING ON THE ACTIVITIES OF COMMUTERS IN THE PRETORIA REGION

SUB - REGION	Hours per Day			
	S	W	T	D
Odi-Moretele	7.37	7.51	5.17	3.15
Moretele 2	6.49	7.57	7.19	1.55
KwaNdebele	7.20	7.52	6.41	2.07

S - sleeping
W - working
T - travelling (one way)
D - discretion time

(Source: Fourie & Morris, 1986)

In the late 1970s the Wiehan Commission made proposals to the Government to

increase the mobility of the labour force, leading the Riekert Commission to suggest the relaxing of urban influx control and a process of increased but orderly urbanization of Africans (Mabin, 1991). Although the government was reluctant to relax influx control measures (Lemon, 1989) it had to react to the growing housing needs and deteriorating conditions in the townships of the core city.

In many of the townships community organizations and street committees, commonly referred to as civic associations or civics, had been forming from the mid-1970s. The initial aim of these organizations was to look after the common interests of the communities they represented, but the civics became increasingly political and by 1983 were mobilized into broad militancy against the apartheid state (Shubane, 1991). The state reacted with a WHAM strategy, to 'win the hearts and minds' of the revolutionary masses through urban reform (Swilling, 1991). Although the *Black Local Authorities Act, No. 102 of 1982*, provided for the institution of democratically elected local authorities in the townships these bodies were perceived as apartheid structures by township residents (Shubane, 1991), and were met with widespread antagonism by people in the townships.

In Pretoria, the Mamelodi Black Local Authority represented less than a third of eligible voters and held little authority when it finally capitulated in 1990. The people of Atteridgeville, on the other hand, rejected the idea of a representative BLA from the beginning and this township was governed by a representative of the City Council of Pretoria (CCP) who served as Administrator of this township on behalf of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

The promulgation of the *Black Communities Development Act, No. 4 of 1984*, and the *Cooperation and Development Amendment Act, No. 91 of 1985*, increased the mobility of Africans by relaxing Section 10 urban influx control stipulations. These Acts also provided for privately co-ordinated housing schemes in the townships. Later in the same year a President's Council committee approved the idea of increased, yet orderly, urbanization (South Africa, 1985b). *Orderly urbanization* soon became state policy (South Africa, 1986a) and resulted in the *Abolition of Influx Control Act* (1986) providing for the repeal of the *Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act* (1945) and numbers of other laws related to influx control. A system of Regional Services Councils was introduced (*Regional Services Councils Act, No. 109 of 1985*) to co-ordinate development on regional basis (see Humphries, 1991).

The extension of Atteridgeville with its 10 000 formal houses, 4 000 shacks, 11 500 hostel beds and an estimated housing shortage of 3 000, by an additional 1 500 ha was announced in 1988 (Horn, 1994). Although officially proclaimed in 1989, the development of the 2 500 erven did not start until January 1991, at which stage the housing shortage had increased to 5 000. Mamelodi, with 17 000 formal houses, 16 000 shacks, 11 000 hostel beds and a housing shortage of 5 000, was

also extended with the development of several new suburbs. In Mamelodi Gardens, proclaimed in 1985, the first 200 sites were handed over to the developers in June 1988 and the first 128 houses were delivered to their new owners in December of that same year. Also in December 1988 two more developments, Mahuba Valley and Moretele View, were proclaimed, followed by the suburbs of Ikayeng, Khutsong, Phumlamgashi, Sundown Village and Sun Valley.

The coloured township, Eersterus, and the Indian township, Laudium, were not extended, the plan of the white authorities being to provide completely new additional townships for these groups at other locations. In the case of Indians, approval was granted in 1989 for the development of Lotus Gardens, a 4 000-erven suburb on a vacant section of land north of Atteridgeville and west of the white suburb of Danville. Although the first phase of sub-economic houses was completed in December 1990, the Laudium Management Committee withdrew its support for the scheme and the second phase of development was postponed indefinitely. Following instructions by the Group Areas Board to proclaim a new town for the coloured community in the east of Pretoria, several white action committees were formed to protest against such developments in the proximity of their neighbourhoods. It was nevertheless announced in June 1989 that a new coloured town, Nellmapius, would be developed on the farm Swartkoppies east of Pretoria. Due to problems encountered with the deproclamation and reproclamation of the land, the development of the township did not commence until June 1991.

The *orderly urbanization* strategy also encompassed the establishment of self-help development schemes in the white controlled common areas of South Africa. Apart from the formal suburbs proclaimed in Mamelodi, the Mamelodi black local authority also demarcated 700 unserviced sites for temporary informal settlement. However, this settlement, Mandela Village, became a semi-permanent establishment. Then, in August 1986 the Government proposed a large new township with 45 000 housing plots and a capacity of 300 000 people in the area of Diepsloot, southwest of Pretoria and north of the cities of Sandton, Randburg and Roodepoort. A Green Belt Action Group was formed by the owners and occupants of white smallholdings in proximity of the proposed scheme. In spite of this opposition, the servicing of Diepsloot sites started in 1990.

In the long run the overall erosion of apartheid in the urban centres became inevitable (Lemon, 1989; Simon, 1989). In the mid-1970s exceptions had to be made to strict racial separation effected by the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (1953) to accommodate the growing number of international visitors and officials in 'international', i.e. multi-racial hotels, restaurants, sports and recreation facilities. These adaptive changes (Davies, 1986) soon became incremental changes effecting the entire urban system (Simon, 1989). Increasing multi-racial social contact led to the

repeal of the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* (1949) and Section 16 of the *Immorality Act* (1950) in 1985, immediately allowing mixed marriages.

In 1966, Section 19 of the *Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966*, allowed for the proclamation of group areas for a specific purpose (e.g. trading), rather than for the ownership or occupation by a specific racial group. By 1983 there were 23 open, that is racially desegregated, trading areas throughout the country. Group area prosecution of traders had been suspended in 1978 and in 1984 Section 19 was amended to allow for the proclamation of *free trading areas*. By 1988 a total of 90 CBD's had free trading zones and at least one free trading zone, in Port Elizabeth, was outside the CBD (Bähr & Jürgens, 1991). In November 1989 the Boksburg CBD became the first entire central business district to become a free trading area (**Pretoria News**, 1989a). The CCP, in July 1986, proposed to the Transvaal Provincial Administration that two sections of the Asiatic Bazaar in Marabastad, an area near the Pretoria Station, and a semi-industrial area in Pretoria West — but not the Indian trade area in Prinsloo Street and any other areas — become open trade areas. Only in 1988 did the Group Areas Board investigate the possible opening of these areas as well as the northern border area of the CBD which included portion of the Prinsloo Street Indian properties (**Pretoria News**, 1989b). On 31 January 1990 the core of the Pretoria CBD, the Asiatic Bazaar and a number of suburban shopping malls were declared open business areas (**Pretoria News**, 1990a).

The result was that significantly large pockets of integrated residential settlements or grey areas, came into being in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth (Rogerson, 1989), followed later by other large cities (Hart, 1989; Rule, 1989; Lemon, 1991; Bähr & Jürgens, 1993; Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994). *De facto* mixing became commonplace in Indian and coloured areas (Cameron, 1991) and soon spread particularly to the more affluent white urban areas (Pirie, 1987). The Attorney General of the Transvaal consequently announced that it had become impossible to institute prosecutions in terms of group areas transgressions.

With urban apartheid on the brink of collapse, the Government introduced the concept of open residential areas with its *Free Settlement Areas Act, No. 102 of 1988*, as supplemented by the *Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Act, No. 103 of 1989*. With these measures the Government accepted the reality of integrated areas where there was no realistic chance of implementing or re-implementing segregation "*... while keeping the number of such 'open' areas to a minimum and enhancing maintenance of Group area purity elsewhere*" (Simon, 1989:197). The possibility of some open residential areas was, therefore, balanced by the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act, No. 104 of 1988*, laws which were intended to protect non-integrated group areas. The first free settlement areas were proclaimed in 1989 and by the end of 1990 a total of 54 free settlement

applications had been lodged with the Free Settlement Areas Board (Cloete, 1991). In December 1990 it was announced that the disputed development of Diepsloot, southwest of Pretoria, would proceed by way of free settlement area proclamation. Other sites in the Pretoria region that were considered for free settlement development amidst public protest include Mooikloof east of the city, Bronkfontein, Country View, The Reeds and Olievenhoutsbosch south of the city, and Zandfontein west of the city (Horn, 1994).

This leads to the conclusion that the urban apartheid system was in state of disorganization when events on the regional level of Pretoria led to the final breakdown of apartheid as a macro-spatial separate development strategy.

5.8.3 REGIONAL DISINTEGRATION

By the time the first homelands had achieved the status of independent territories in the South African constellation of states, the separate development programme was already under threat from the inability to maintain a constant tempo of homeland development, from the opposition of the international community to give diplomatic credibility to the homelands, from the general financial and political mismanagement of homeland governments, and from various local regional matters. Relations between the South African Government and the homeland governments, and among the homelands became more and more complex, inevitably leading to their breakdown. Within the course of a decade, by 1989, the South African constellation of separate developing homeland states was facing grand collapse.

5.8.3.1 Bophuthatswana: Model Apartheid State

It is ironic that, on a multi-national level, the first crack in the grand apartheid strategy was caused by the state of Bophuthatswana's obsession with becoming the model apartheid homeland at a time when the preservation of the apartheid system required flexibility and pragmatism. The divorce between Bophuthatswana and the rest of South Africa centred on two issues: (1) the unresolved question of territorial consolidation, and (2) the Bophuthatswana Government's policy of ethnic intolerance.

In 1979, the proposed socio-economic revival on the basis of the recommendations of the Riekert and Wiehan commissions gave P.W. Botha, as new Prime Minister, the incentive for pressing on with the territorial consolidation of the homelands (Davenport, 1989). The task was assigned to Mr Hennie van der Walt, Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs. At various stages the Van der Walt Commission's consolidation proposals were released, starting with the plans for Venda

in 1982 and the Bophuthatswana consolidation plan in June 1983 (Platzky & Walker, 1985). The Government hedged on whether to incorporate the Brits or the Zeerust corridor into Bophuthatswana. With strong National Party support in the Brits area, it was decided to incorporate the farms of the already alienated Conservative Party supporters around Zeerust. Bophuthatswana's President Mangope was, in any case, not impressed by the consolidation proposals, which resulted in a breakdown in ties between Mmabatho and Pretoria.

President Mangope and his government was known for its policy of ethnic bias. When, in the mid-1980s, the South African Government altered its grand apartheid strategy from one based on ethnic territorial nationalism to one of functional regional administration, the Bophuthatswana government continued on its chosen path of ethnic discrimination. The Bophuthatswana authorities combined direct force with a range of more indirect pressures to drive out non-Tswana people in the homeland. According to Platzky & Walker (1985:185) at that stage "*(t)here have been vicious raids and arrests of those without correct Tswana papers; Tswana is the only medium of instruction allowed in schools; non-Tswana people are refused work permits and pensions; tensions between land owners and non-Tswana tenants are manipulated so that the tenants will be evicted.*" Extracts from newspaper reports indicate that Bophuthatswana's programme of ethnic cleansing continued throughout the 1980s (Table 5.4) and more than 200 000 people were forced to leave the Odi-Moretele complex during this period to seek shelter elsewhere (Platzky & Walker, 1985).

TABLE 5.4 NEWSPAPER REPORTS ON THE ETHNIC CLEANSING PROGRAMME IN THE ODI-MORETELE DISTRICTS DURING THE 1980s

Rand Daily Mail (1978): **Big black trek under way** *Hundreds of non-Tswana families were yesterday leaving the Klipgat area of BophuthaTswana after the deadline for their eviction had passed. The BophuthaTswana government had declared them illegal settlers, even though most had been living in the area for some years, and ordered them to leave.*
Sunday Mirror (1984): **'Tswana cops unleash reign of terror'** *Men and women are allegedly arrested, fined and imprisoned because they are not Tswana speaking. Others flee into the veld as dawn raids continue. Hundreds of children at the Morogong squatter camp face a bleak future because they are not Tswanas.*

5.8.3.2 The KwaNdebele-Moutse Issue

During the 1980s an important shift in Government ideology and development policy took place that predicted the demise of the separate development strategy. The conscientious application by the Mangope regime of tight ethnic exclusivity in

Bophuthatswana increasingly became an international embarrassment for the South African Government. In addition, it became clear to the South African apartheid strategists that any form of ethnic narrow mindedness would undermine their primary aim with the KwaNdebele homeland, namely the separation from South Africa of a large contingent of politically unaccommodated Africans. Therefore there was a gradual change in Government opinion and policy from a position of morally justified obsession with ethnic nationalism to a pragmatic territorial functionalism.

The changing position of the South African Government on separate development policy first became clear with the incorporation of the town of Ekangala into KwaNdebele. After the proclamation of Ekandustria as an industrial growth point near the apartheid town of Bronkhorstspruit and its African township, Zithobeni, the East Rand Development Board developed an ethnically zoned *Proclamation R293* town, Ekangala, at the new industrial point. In 1983 it was announced that Ekangala was to be incorporated into KwaNdebele. This decision immediately resulted in social and political unrest in the area, even more so when the residents of Ekangala were placed under the tribal authority of chief Makhoko's traditional Ndzundza Ndebele representatives. Despite the objection of the majority of non-Ndebele in Ekangala the methodical incorporation of parts of Ekangala and Ekandustria into KwaNdebele was effected by *GP*'s R138 of 1987; R170 of 1987; *GN* 550 of 1987; and finally by *GP* R154 of 1989.

An even more drastic break with the former policy of ethnic nationalism was effected with the incorporation into the KwaNdebele homeland of three North Sotho communities to create a consolidated territory. Moutse comprised three separate pockets of land in the KwaNdebele heartland with a total area of 66 000 ha, the smallest of the areas, Moutse 2 comprising only 400 ha. Historically a Kgatla and North Sotho area, Moutse communities such as the Ntwane of the farm Kwarrielaagte had been living on the land since the beginning of the 19th century. When the Ndzundza of Mabhoko bought the farm Weltevreden in 1922 it was with the permission and on the advice of the Ntwane chief. The North Sotho and Ndebele maintained good relationships in pre-apartheid years and interethnic co-operation continued despite the introduction of two different representative bodies, the *Ndzundza (Mabhogo)* Tribal Authority and the *Bantoane* Tribal Authority, for the different ethnic groups in the area. In 1980 the three Moutse areas accommodated a population of 75 452 of which 44.4 percent were North Sotho, 12.8 percent Southern Ndebele, and 11.6 percent Northern Ndebele.

When the North Sotho homeland, Lebowa, became a self-governing territory in 1972 the areas of Moutse 1, 2 and 3 were included (*GP* R224/1972). Moutse 1, the nearest of the Moutse areas, was separated from the rest of Lebowa by a 30-km corridor of white-owned farms east of the Olifants River. The idea of a homeland for

the Southern Ndebele was conceived for the first time in 1972. The mixed presence of North Sotho and Ndebele in the region of the Olifants River prompted the South African Government to suggest political cohesion or amalgamation in one form or another with either Bophuthatswana or Lebowa (South Africa, 1989). In the meantime the Moutse Districts were re-defined as part of Lebowa by *GN* 1389 of 1973.

However, in 1975 a comprehensive plan for land consolidation that could serve as the basis for negotiations on the political future of KwaNdebele as a homeland for the Ndebele proposed the inclusion of the Moutse Districts into this would-be homeland. In 1977, when KwaNdebele became a self-governing territory, Lebowa became involved in tri-partite negotiations on the territorial position of the Moutse areas. At this time the South African Government started to use the Moutse issue as a tool to push the Lebowa Government towards accepting full independence from South Africa, something which the Lebowa Government seemed reluctant to do. On 1 November 1980 the Moutse Districts, although remaining an electoral ward of Lebowa, were excluded from Lebowa by the South African Government and placed in trust with the Department of Co-operation and Development. This decision was ratified by the Commission of Co-Operation and Development in 1982 and Lebowa, still refusing to accept the decision, appealed to President P.W. Botha.

After visiting the Moutse areas on 18 November 1983, and further discussions between himself, Lebowa and KwaNdebele Botha declared: "*... the dispute was primarily between Lebowa and KwaNdebele and (he) suggested that the two national states resolve the issue in bilateral negotiations under an independent chairman nominated by the South African government*" (South Africa, 1989:14). Following preliminary meetings between the chief ministers of Lebowa and KwaNdebele in December 1983, wide-ranging discussions between the relevant ministers, cabinets and other government officials took place in January and February 1984. Discussions between Lebowa and KwaNdebele, however, soon ended in a deadlock. Crisis discussions between a South African representative and the two chief ministers brought no solution.

Following KwaNdebele's decision to request independence the South African Government decided to implement its original consolidation plan which meant that the Moutse Districts were no longer part of the Lebowa homeland. On announcing its decision on 12 October 1984, Dr G. van N Viljoen promised compensatory land to Lebowa, the farms Immerpan and Saliesloot, east of the Olifants River. By February 1985, some 200 North Sotho families from Moutse had left the respective areas or had given notice of their intention to move to Saliesloot and Immerpan.

On appeal from the Lebowa Government and certain community leaders in Moutse, the South African Government granted a reprieve for further negotiations between parties concerned. KwaNdebele representatives emphasized that the Moutse areas were close to Siyabuswa, former capital and largest town of KwaNdebele, whilst

being more than 100 km from Lebowakgomo, capital of Lebowa. On the other hand, the Lebowa Government saw the exclusion of the Moutse areas as a loss of territory and of political status. Lebowa proposed a referendum to test the will of the people of Moutse on the issue. No referendum took place but it was reported (South Africa, 1989) that at that stage the population totalled 124 590 of which 56 percent were North Sotho, with strong pro-Lebowa sentiments, 39 percent Ndebele, with pro-KwaNdebele sentiments, and the remaining 5 percent Tswana. Despite further talks between the State President and the Chief Ministers on 14 August 1985, the original land consolidation proposals were ratified by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, J.C. Heunis, on 25 September 1985. The Moutse Districts were officially declared part of KwaNdebele by *GP* R227 of 1985. According to Dugard (1988:37): "*... the answer seemed obvious to Pretoria: remove Moutse, which is adjacent to KwaNdebele, from Lebowa as a punishment for Lebowa's failure to take independence or to show any interest in independence, and give Moutse to KwaNdebele as a reward for its decision to take independence*."

With their incorporation into KwaNdebele on 1 January 1986, the Moutse Districts ceased to be an electoral ward of Lebowa and the KwaNdebele Government guaranteed the residents of the Moutse Districts full civic and political rights as citizens of KwaNdebele when and if they chose to become citizens of this homeland. The KwaNdebele Government also announced that instruction in schools, where appropriate would remain Pedi or North Sotho, and that there would be no discrimination with regard to trading licences. In addition the Moutse Districts would have more representatives in the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly than they had had in Lebowa.

But the true intentions of the KwaNdebele Government became clear soon enough. One night in November 1985 a total of 380 North Sotho residents from the Moutse Districts were severely assaulted in the Siyabuswa community hall.

There was an about turn when the Appellate Division of Supreme Court of South Africa, in the case *Mathebe versus the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Government of KwaNdebele and the Government of Lebowa*, in March 1988 declared invalid *GP* R227 of 1985, which had authorized the incorporation of the Moutse areas into KwaNdebele. According to the judgement "*... the vast Majority of Moutse's population do not want to be incorporated into KwaNdebele*" (South Africa, 1989:3). Judge Groskopff further concluded that the decision to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele "*... was taken not with the aim of promoting the political development of the population of Moutse within the context of their people, but rather with a view to facilitating administration, which would necessarily entail most of them being subject to a foreign people*" (South Africa, 1989:7). Further, the judgement made clear that the exclusion of the Moutse Districts from Lebowa was in accordance with an act of Parliament and, therefore, could not be invalidated by the court, whilst

the incorporation of the areas into KwaNdebele was effected by proclamation, a procedure that could be invalidated by the court.

In June 1988 the South African Government appointed a one-man Commission of Inquiry, in the person of Judge F.L.H. Rumpff, to advise on relevant constitutional issues and on the political future of the Moutse areas. The Rumpff Commission recommended the eventual incorporation of the Moutse areas into KwaNdebele but that it be delayed until political calm was restored in the area, when the situation should be reconsidered (South Africa, 1989).

While the Moutse issue played a major role in the political destabilization of the state of KwaNdebele it played an even bigger role in the erosion of the ideology of ethnic-based separate development. By 1986 it was clear that circumstances prevailing in the Moutse Districts called for a new approach to regional development and government, and the apartheid Government's main concern regarding the Moutse issue shifted from that of separate ethnic development to that of effective local and regional government (South Africa, 1989).

Dugard (1989), supported by Van Zyl Slabbert (1989), observed that the incorporation of the Moutse areas into KwaNdebele was completely contrary to the spirit and letter of the separate development strategy and concluded that the government was clearly trying to move away from the Verwoerdian vision of separate development towards some sort of principle of administrative convenience.

In the view of Mr B.H. Viljoen, Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, the Moutse issue brought South Africa to the end of the road as far as ethnic consolidation was concerned (Viljoen, 1989).

5.8.3.3 The Liberation of KwaNdebele

The ultimate battle for the liberation of the people of KwaNdebele from apartheid was fought on the political front. The political history of this homeland from about 1983 is one of struggles and changing allegiances with the main protagonists the traditional leaders, the KwaNdebele Government, the KwaNdebele youth, and the Mbokodo movement. The liberation of KwaNdebele being a part of contemporary history that still has to be thoroughly recorded, this brief overview has been pieced together from the limited sources available which include: McCaul (1987); Lawyers for Human Rights (1988); South Africa (1989); Pienaar (1991); Van Vuuren (1992).

Until about 1983 the establishment of the KwaNdebele homeland was a common cause of the rural Africans in the northeastern parts of the Pretoria region, driven by a shared Ndebele nationalism. However, ethnic diversity and the crises developing around the political futures of the town of Ekangala and the Moutse Districts brought differences of opinion on political issues to the fore. Gradually a rift

developed between the KwaNdebele Government headed by S.S. (Simon) Skosana as Chief Minister, N.N. (Piet) Ntuli as Minister of the Interior and S. (Solly) Mahlangu in his role as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and the traditional leaders. The politicians argued that since only a small portion of KwaNdebele was tribal land they, as politicians, had more authority over the people than the tribal leaders of the area. After becoming chairman of the *Ndzundza* Tribal Authority in 1983, the dynamic Prince James Mahlangu wasted no time in confronting the politicians about alleged secret deals between themselves and certain developers on the licensing and rights to build casinos in the homeland. The political leaders were also accused of having lost interest in traditional cultural events. Quite soon a general situation of *we, the people, and they, the politicians*, emerged with the people refering to the politicians as the Siyabuswa (centre of government) people or as the *amabenzi*, 'they who drive around Mercedes-Benz cars'. While S.S. Skosana and the Legislative Assembly acted with determination to bring about the political independence of KwaNdebele, the people gradually lost interest in the idea, as a result of the Ekangala and the Moutse disputes.

In 1985 the politicians established the Mbokodo (meaning 'grinding stone'), a supposed peacekeeping force based on the model of the Inkatha cultural movement of the Zulu people, and with about 800 members. With Skosana as president of Mbokodo and Piet Ntuli as vice-president, Mbokodo soon became nothing more than an extension of the pro-government KwaNdebele police force. Amongst other deeds, the secret Mbokodo assaulted 380 non-Ndebele in the Siyabuswa community hall in November 1985 after it had been announced by the South African Government that the Moutse Districts were to become part of KwaNdebele on 1 January 1986.

In the light of declining support amongst the people of KwaNdebele for the KwaNdebele Government and its goal of political independence, the South African Government announced on 4 April 1986 that the KwaNdebele centre of government was to move from the North Sotho dominated Siyabuswa site to KwaMhlanga in the southwest border area of the homeland. Soon afterwards, on 8 May 1986, it was also announced by President P.W. Botha that KwaNdebele would become independent on 11 December 1986.

In early April 1986 the Mbokodo and the KwaNdebele police started on a campaign of intimidation of school children to reject the authority of the traditional leaders and to express their support for the planned independence of KwaNdebele. It was also rumoured that the South African secret police was becoming more and more involved in the activities of the Mbokodo movement. At short notice Chief Mabhoko of the Ndzundza in response to the actions of the Mbokodo called a meeting of his people on 12 April 1986 which was attended by about 20 000 including two members of Parliament. On behalf of the Royal House, Chief Mabhoko pleaded with the Mbokodo to stop their activities. Backed by the Royal House, the KwaNdebele youth formed the KwaNdebele Youth Congress (Kwayo) and the Mapoch Youth Association

on 14 April.

The conflict between the politicians and the people came to a head when, Jacob Skosana, who had been searching for his child believed to have been abducted by the Mbokodo, was killed by Mbokodo members on 18 April. Chaos erupted at his funeral. Then, on 14 May 1986 a young boy died when a mass meeting at the Royal House was banned at short notice and people forcibly dispersed by the police. This was the spur for the KwaNdebele youth to organize themselves politically. Clearly the conflict had changed from that between the politicians and the Royal House to that between the politicians and the youth. Prince James Mahlangu, second son of Chief Mabhoko, became the idol of the youth and many considered him their leader.

General violence and unrest erupted in KwaNdebele and in June 1986 a state of emergency in KwaNdebele was proclaimed by President Botha. Many politicians and members of Mbokodo and their families were forced to leave the homeland. In a strange sequence of events, Piet Ntuli was assassinated by way of a car bomb, many believe at the hands of the South African secret police. A number of Mbokodo members broke their ties with the movement and asked the Royal House for forgiveness. Among them was Solly Mahlangu, Speaker of Parliament who, on 12 August 1986 during an ordinary session of Parliament, introduced an issue that was not on the agenda for the day. He announced on that day that the people of KwaNdebele did not want independence from South Africa and want the Mbokodo movement to be banned.

The events of 12 August 1986 had a major impact on South African politics. The South African Government was shocked by the prospect of the possibility of a pro-United Democratic Front (UDF) government on the periphery of Pretoria and Brigadier Hertzog Lerm of the South African Police was given orders to establish a force of constables at KwaMhlanga to secure the position of the KwaNdebele Government. This force soon became a front for the Mbokodo movement and the town of KwaMhlanga soon represented a Mbokodo stronghold.

On 17 November 1986 Chief Minister S.S. Skosana died of natural causes and it was announced that the Legislative Assembly would elect a replacement on 27 November. On 20 November Prince James Mahlangu and his adviser, Andries Mahlangu, were arrested without being charged and were released only two days before the election. George Majozi Mahlangu, a prominent member of Mbokodo, was elected Chief Minister by the Legislative Assembly by a margin of 41 votes to 25. Majozi Mahlangu's first strategy was to try to drive a wedge between the Manala and Ndzundza sections of the Ndebele nation. In response, Prince James and his father, Chief Mabhoko Mahlangu, relieved 12 Majozi-supporters of their duties in the *Ndzundza* Tribal Authority. The Legislative Assembly then suspended Prince James as well as Andries, Cornelius and Solly Mahlangu from the Assembly. On 6 May 1987 the KwaNdebele Government of Majozi Mahlangu declared their intention to seek

independent status for KwaNdebele.

However, the intensity of the tide against an independent KwaNdebele was growing. On appeal by Paulina Machika and three other women, the Court declared the 1984 election of the Legislative Assembly of KwaNdebele invalid because of the prohibition against women to taking part in the election. The alliance of the Royal House, the UDF and the African National Congress (ANC) turned the defiance movement into a formidable social force. The court ruling invalidating the incorporation of the Moutse Districst into KwaNdebele was a further setback for the separate development strategy at this stage. Complete uncertainty on the part of the South African Government resulted in the announcement of a general election in KwaNdebele planned for December 1988. On 12 December 1988 Prince James Mahlangu's opposition party won the election by 79 000 votes to 6 000 for Majozi Mahlangu. Prince James became the new Chief Minister of KwaNdebele whilst all 16 seats taken by political representatives were won by James's supporters.

The change of government in KwaNdebele brought an end to the plan for an independent KwaNdebele homeland. Strong in its support for a reunited South Africa, the KwaNdebele government was holding out, waiting for the dawn of a new South Africa.

5.9 AFTERMATH OF REGIONAL APARTHEID

In February 1990 the South African Government freed its political prisoners, unbanned all political organizations and started a process of negotiations between the government and the liberation organizations. In December 1991, a multi-party negotiating forum, the Convention of Democratic South Africa (CODESA 1) was established. In May 1992 CODESA 2 was convened, but talks broke down. In March 1993 negotiations resumed and the Multi-Party Negotiating Process was convened which led to the establishment of an interim constitution, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, No. 108 of 1993*,[26] in terms of which the first fully democratic elections for a President, Parliament and local authorities was held on 22 April 1994. The spatial reform programme of the De Klerk government nevertheless continued during the period 1990-1994 and included land tenure reform and the racial desegregation of urban areas. A further process that was related to and coincided with political negotiations was the demarcation of new provinces under the supervision of the Multi-Party Negotiating process. This section of the study elaborates on the

26. An amended constitution, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, No. 108 of 1996*, was endorsed by the Constitutional Court in 1997 after further amendments (the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, No. 35 of 1997*).

deracializing (=racial desegregation) of urban areas and the demarcation of provinces in the context of the Pretoria functional region.

5.9.1 OPENING THE CITY

The deracialization of South African cities, i.e. the lifting of racial restrictions on the zoning of land and the using of urban facilities, represented an important step towards creating a normal and free society in the country. In fact, such reforms had already started at least ten years earlier; State President De Klerk's call for a reformed 'new' South Africa on 1 February 1990 added further momentum to the process.

The cornerstones of urban apartheid were represented by the *Population Registration Act* (1951), the *Group Areas Act* (1951), and the *Provision of Separate Amenities Act* (1953). By the beginning of 1990 a number of changes that contributed to the demise of strict urban apartheid had already been made (McCarthy, 1990): the removal of 'whites only' signs from various urban amenities from 1974; selective desegregation of restaurants and theatres in 1975; the acquisition of international (multi-racial) status of 20 hotels in 1976; the desegregation of bus services in Cape Town in 1977; the desegregation of beaches in Cape Town in 1980; the repeal of restrictions on mixed sports meetings and mixed clubs with liquor licences by the *Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 62 of 1982*; permission granted to local authorities to apply for 'free trading zones' in accordance with the *Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 101 of 1984*; the desegregation of all hotels from 1986; selective residential desegregation allowed by the *Free Settlement Areas Act* (1988). Public schools, however, were still racially exclusive.

Pretoria was one of the most reluctant of the larger urban centres to adapt to change (Bähr & Jürgens, 1991). As recent as 1984 the City Council of Pretoria (CCP) had attempted (but was prevented by the Transvaal Provincial Administration) to close 17 of its parks to non-whites (McCarthy, 1990). However, on 1 November 1989 CCP ordered an investigation into the opening of all municipal facilities to all races (**Pretoria News**, 1989c). During one of the longest council meetings on the night of 30/31 January 1990 the CCP took the decision to open the City Hall and the Skilpad Hall, two of the main community halls in the city, to all races with immediate effect and to open the city's public libraries, the Hillcrest swimming pool and the Rietvlei angling facility as soon as municipal bylaws were changed (**Pretoria News**, 1990a). The Council also recommended the opening as free trade areas of nearly the entire Central Bussiness District and 15 other centres in the city. It applied to the local Road Transport Board for the scrapping of the whites-only stipulation in its public transport permit. Further, the Council stated that it had no objection to the establishment of a

free settlement area in or outside its area of jurisdiction.

However, it soon became clear that, due to bureaucratic procedures, the opening of venues would not occur before April 1990 while the public transport service would only be deracialized a month later at best (**Pretoria News**, 1990b). On 1 June 1990 it was announced that libraries were expected to be open to all races by July 1990, while the opening of the Hillcrest pool and the Rietvlei facility was expected by August. Yet, the Council was still awaiting a reply from the Road Transport Board on its application for an open municipal bus permit (**Pretoria News**, 1990c). In the meantime the Minister of National Health and Population Development had announced that all hospitals would soon be accessible to all people (**Beeld**, 1990a).

On 27 June 1990 the CCP decided by a narrow margin to proceed with the changing of bylaws to desegregate the public amenities under its control (**Pretoria News**, 1990d). Council buses were desegregated from 21 July and the Van Riebeeck Nature Reserve from 1 September. The repeal of the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (1953), already signalled by President De Klerk in November 1989, was authorised in early October and implemented on 15 October 1990 (**Pretoria News**, 1990e; 1990f). For Pretoria it meant that all public swimming pools and regional parks and reserves, including the Fountains, Wonderboom and Derdepoort reserves, were unconditionally desegregated (**Pretoria News**, 1990g). The national Government also decided to grant applications by non-whites more freely in terms of the *Group Areas Act* (1953) to live in what had been exclusively white suburbs (**Pretoria News**, 1990f) and the CCP had announced on 4 September 1990 that it would consider applications by non-whites to move into white suburbs 'on merit' (**Pretoria News**, 1990h).

It was in this context that a research team from the University of Pretoria, headed by the researcher, conducted an in-depth survey on the 'points of view of the residents of the Pretoria metropolitan area on the opening of amenities and deracializing of the city' in October 1990 (Horn *et al.*, 1991). The researchers commissioned the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa to draw a representative sample based on the principles of proportional stratification[27] and random sampling and to conduct structured telephonic interviews with 728 people, representing 0.087 percent of the estimated population of 838 500, on the desegregation of *public amenities*, *public schools*, *residential areas*, and *commercial areas*. Data were computed, checked for possible input errors and statistically analyzed with the assistance of the Division for Research Support of the University of Pretoria. Some of the findings are reported in Table 5.5.

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27. The sampling and interview procedures controlled the following variables: *population group*, *area of residence*, *ethnicity*, *age*, *gender*, and *socio-economic status*.

TABLE 5.5 POINTS OF VIEW OF THE RESIDENTS OF THE PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA ON THE OPENING OF AMENITIES AND DERACIALIZATION OF THE CITY, OCTOBER 1990

AMENITY TO BE OPENED Segment of population	IN FAVOUR OFF %	OPPOSED TO/ UNCERTAIN %
PUBLIC URBAN AMENITIES		
Total population	74.5	25.5
Africans	92.2	7.8
Asians	90.4	9.6
Coloureds	92.2	7.8
Whites	57.6	42.4
Public toilets	* 67.9 (44.3)	* 32.1 (55.7)
Swimming pools	* 68.4 (46.8)	* 31.6 (53.2)
Night clubs and discos	* 70.9 (52.2)	* 29.1 (47.8)
Hospital wards	* 73.1 (51.4)	* 26.9 (48.6)
Cemetries	* 76.8 (64.9)	* 23.2 (35.1)
Buses	* 77.5 (62.2)	* 22.5 (37.8)
Trains	* 77.5 (62.2)	* 22.5 (37.8)
Cinemas and theatres	* 80.0 (64.3)	* 20.0 (35.7)
Sports facilities	* 85.7 (74.3)	* 14.3 (25.7)
Libraries	* 88.9 (80.0)	* 11.1 (20.0)
Museums	* 91.4 (85.4)	* 8.6 (14.6)
Zoo	* 92.3 (87.6)	* 7.7 (12.4)
ALL COMMERCIAL AREAS		
Total population (whites)	83.4 (76.5)	16.6 (2.5)
PUBLIC SCHOOLS		
Total population	64.0	36.0
Africans	89.0	11.0
Asians	78.8	21.2
Coloureds	86.3	13.7
Whites	41.6	58.4
RESIDENTIAL AREAS		
Total population	62.2	37.8
Africans	83.5	16.5
Asians	71.2	28.8
Coloureds	74.5	25.5
Whites	44.6	58.4

* Total population; ( ) whites only

(Source: Horn *et al.*, 1991 adapted)

The main findings were released to the press for publication on completion of the scientific analysis of the data and were carried as front page news by two prominent newspapers (**Pretoria News**, 1990i; **Transvaler**, 1990a) and reported by a number of other papers countrywide (see, amongst others, **Beeld**, 1990b; 1990c; **Citizen**, 1990). Interviews with the head of the research team were also broadcast by a number of local and national radio stations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and the impact of the study was still being reported for some time after release of the findings (**Pretoria News**, 1991). Although not everybody agreed with or accepted the findings of the study (see **Beeld**, 1990d; **Transvaler**, 1990b) the editor of the **Pretoria News** (1990j:10) was of the view that "*... there is little doubt that it has uncovered substantial sentiment for scrapping apartheid — a fact which might, until now, have been disputed by seat-of-the-pants philosophers*."

After the repeal of the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (1953) in October 1990, constitutional urban apartheid continued to crumble with the introduction in September 1990 of three different models for racial integration of previously exclusively white schools (South Africa, 1990; Henning & Horn, 1995; Horn & Henning, 1997) and with the repeal of the *Population Registration Act* (1950), the *Group Areas Act* (1950; 1966 and amendments), and the *Black Communities Development Act* (1984) by the *Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, No. 108 of 1991*. By 1994, on completion of the political negotiating process and after the election of the first post-apartheid government of South Africa, the main barriers to urban desegregation were dismantled.

5.9.2 DEMARCATION OF PROVINCES

The issue of regionalism was a key issue on the negotiation agenda in 1992, and regional boundaries as well as the role and status of regional political institutions in a restructured political order became a major consideration. Although agreement was reached in principle that regional political and administrative institutions should exist in a post-apartheid order, there was little clarity on regional boundaries, powers and functions in relation to central and local governments (Humphries & Shubane, 1992).

In May 1993 the Negotiating Council established a Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of States, Provinces and Regions (CDDR). The task of the Commission was to identify and demarcate an unspecified number of provinces or states or regions for the purposes of the electoral process, as well as for future administration (Khosa & Muthien, 1997). The issue of the powers and functions of the regions was referred to a Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues (TCCI) but in the regions were eventually demarcated before the TCCI made its recommendations.

Despite the existence of rational criteria for the delimitation of regions, such as

functional, topographical and ethnic criteria, it was clear from the beginning that the outcome of the process would be the result of a contest among the political players and a compromise of their positions (Humphries & Shubane, 1992).

During its initial investigations, lasting six weeks, the CDDR received 304 written submissions and heard 80 oral presentations. Three distinct positions emerged: (1) repudiation of regionalism in a unitary state with a centralized government (proposed by the African National Congress, for example); (2) regional separation and autonomy with a devolution of power in a federal state (a motion supported by, for example, the National Party, Democratic Party, and Inkatha Freedom Party); and (3) secession and national separatism, as demanded by the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Freedom Front. Ethnicity was a major consideration among homeland leaders and Afrikaner nationalist movements. A number of disputes also figured strongly at the local level. In the Pretoria functional region these concerned the position of Pretoria itself, the position of the homeland sectors of Odi-Moretele, KwaNdebele and, in particular, Moutse 1, 2 and 3.

The CDDR took the 1982 development regions as its point of departure and submitted a nine-region proposal to the Negotiating Council in July 1993 (Fig 5.11) after which the Commission dissolved. In its report the Commission identified a number of sensitive areas, among them Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele, that were under dispute, and recommended further investigation (Nomvete & Du Plessis, 1993a). Within a matter of days the CDDR was re-instituted to gather further evidence on these sensitive areas.

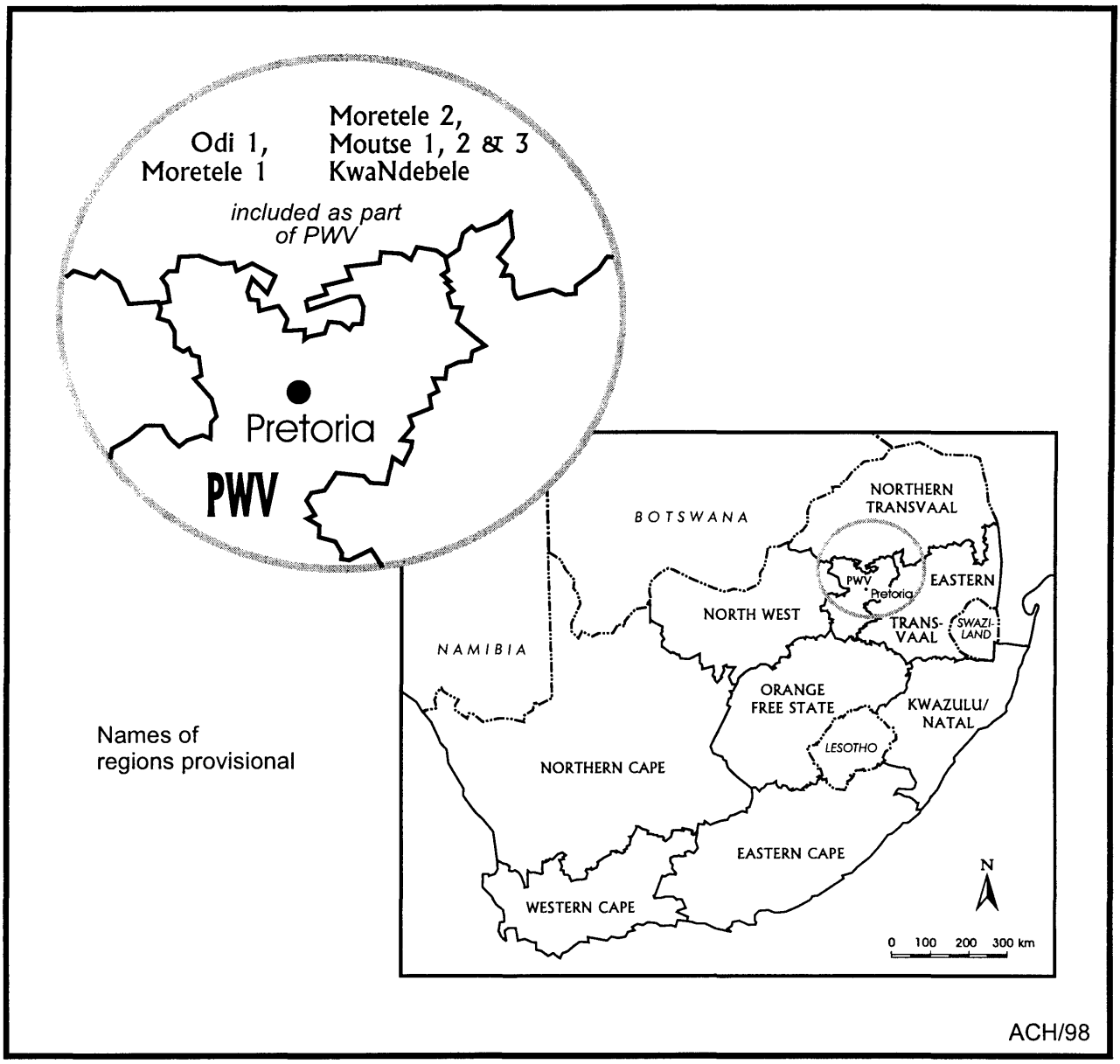
During its second phase the Commission received 467 written submissions and heard 177 oral presentations. After two months of deliberation the Commission failed to come to any new conclusion and instead changed its original demarcations into so-called soft and flexible boundaries (Khosa & Muthien, 1997) and passed the decision on to the Negotiating Council.

The placing of Pretoria and its environs in a new region received particular attention. From an economic and developmental point of view there were good reasons for the incorporation of Pretoria, Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele into the Witwatersrand-Vereeniging industrial complex, thus retaining the boundaries of Region H as they had been drawn in 1982. One reason was the strong economic and functional link between Odi-Moretele and Pretoria, and between KwaNdebele and Pretoria, on the one hand, and between Pretoria and the Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex, on the other hand (Tomlinson, 1988; Van Zyl, Attwell & De Kock, 1988; Kruger *et al.*, 1992; PWV Consortium, 1993).

In their initial submissions to the CDDI almost all the leading players, including the National Party Government and the African National Congress, included Odi-Moretele, KwaNdebele and Pretoria in a 'PWV' region. Key exceptions were the

submissions of the Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele Governments, and the Democratic Party.

FIGURE 5.11 REGIONS (LATER PROVINCES) IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION ON THE DEMARCATION AND DELIMITATION OF REGIONS, JULY 1993



The Bophuthatswana Government was not enthusiastic about transforming into a unitary state and often threatened to withdraw from the negotiating process; from their eleventh-hour submission (Bophuthatswana, 1993) it is clear that its main concern was with obtaining regional consolidation to ensure the continuation of regional power and possibly even secession. The Democratic Party proposed that Odi-Moretele be placed in a region more or less representing the Bophuthatswana sphere of influence which they labelled 'Kalahari' (after Pienaar, 1992) to achieve the greatest

possible "*... consolidation of the area inhabited by Tswana-speaking people*" (Democratic Party, 1993:23). The DP proposed that KwaNdebele and Pretoria not be part of the Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex but instead be incorporated into an Eastern Transvaal region to be called 'Transvaal' (again after Pienaar, 1992). The prime consideration of the KwaNdebele Government and its ruling Intando Ye Sizwe Party was the cohesion of the Ndebele Kingdom and its people, which meant incorporating KwaNdebele and other Ndebele-occupied areas into the Eastern Transvaal. To make this proposal more viable the inclusion of Pretoria in this Eastern Transvaal region was also proposed.

At this stage the City Councils of Pretoria, Akasia, Brits, Bronkhorstspruit, Hartebeestpoort, Midrand, Verwoerdburg and the Pretoria Regional Services Council jointly convened and appointed a committee of professionals and academics, including the researcher. The brief of this committee was to present a report providing rational justification for the incorporation of these municipalities into an Eastern Transvaal Region. According to the researcher (as quoted by Morris, 1994) the main consideration of these councils was not so much to become part of an Eastern Transvaal region but to be regionally separated from the Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex. The reasons for this were that they "*... did not want to take on board the problems of the Rand - the political violence and also the massive financial demands that would be placed on this area*"; "*... a strong desire to retain the capital status of Pretoria*"; and "*... a real fear that incorporation into the PWV would result in Pretoria having a 'Cinderella status'*" (Horn, interviewed by Morris, 1994:15). Many members of the committee, during its meetings, expressed their concern that retaining the functional unity of Pretoria and its Odi-Moretele-KwaNdebele hinterland was not a primary concern of the commissioners of the report.

The submission of the association of councils (City Council of Pretoria *et al.*, 1993) received a fair amount of not-unexpected criticism from various sources. An Eastern Transvaal Economic Development Forum questioned the wisdom of including Pretoria in the region because the Eastern Transvaal region had developed a political identity of its own focusing on Nelspruit as the regional capital. Outside the Forum, business and political groups made it abundantly clear that they did not want Pretoria in their region (**Citizen**, 1993a). Then too the ANC objected to the inclusion of Pretoria in the Eastern Transvaal region on the grounds of a perceived desire by the proponents of the idea to create a 'racial region' with a strong Afrikaner base which could eventually result in an Afrikaner *volkstaat* (ethnic state) (**Citizen**, 1993b). Probably sensing that the proposal to incorporate Pretoria in an Eastern Transvaal region would not succeed, the City Council of Pretoria then made an oral presentation to the CDDR suggesting the establishment of a Pretoria Urban Region based on the Washington DC model.

The CDDR appeared to favour the inclusion of Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) region but acknowledged that there was still some controversy over the positioning of these areas (Nomvete & Du Plessis, 1993b). The Commission concluded that the final decisions be made by the Negotiating Council of the Multi-Party Forum. The Forum set up a Planning Committee which submitted a report to the Negotiating Council on 4 November 1993. In its report the Planning Committee recommended that KwaNdebele and the Moretele 2 complex be positioned with the Eastern Transvaal (Planning Committee, 1993). As regards the positioning of the Odi-Moretele complex, the Planning Committee recommended further investigation by the Coordinating Committee. The recommendation of this body, that Brits and Odi 1 and Moretele 1 Districts be included in the North West region (Coordinating Committee, 1993) was accepted by the Negotiating Council. Commentators agree that the decision to exclude the Odi 1, Moretele 1 and Moretele 2 Districts as well as KwaNdebele from Pretoria and the Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex was made to appease the homeland governments, and in particular Chief Minister Mangope of Bophuthatswana, who shortly before had withdrawn from the negotiating process (Morris, 1994).

By mid-November 1993 political compromises had been reached and the Negotiating Council adopted amendments to the original CDDR-map. The new regions, officially designated as provinces (Fig 5.12), bore close relationship to previous economic development regions with a re-adjustment towards the techno-linguistic map of the country (Christopher, 1995).

Commentators questioned the rationality of excluding Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele from the PWV (=Gauteng province) (see Morris, 1994). Morris (1994:10-14) cites four major criticisms of the decision to place the areas in question in different provinces.

1. *Ramifications for development*: The PWV region (=Gauteng) is far more powerful economically than the North West and Eastern Transvaal (=Mpumalanga) and will have been in a better position at the regional and local levels to make a substantial contribution to the improvement of inadequate living conditions.

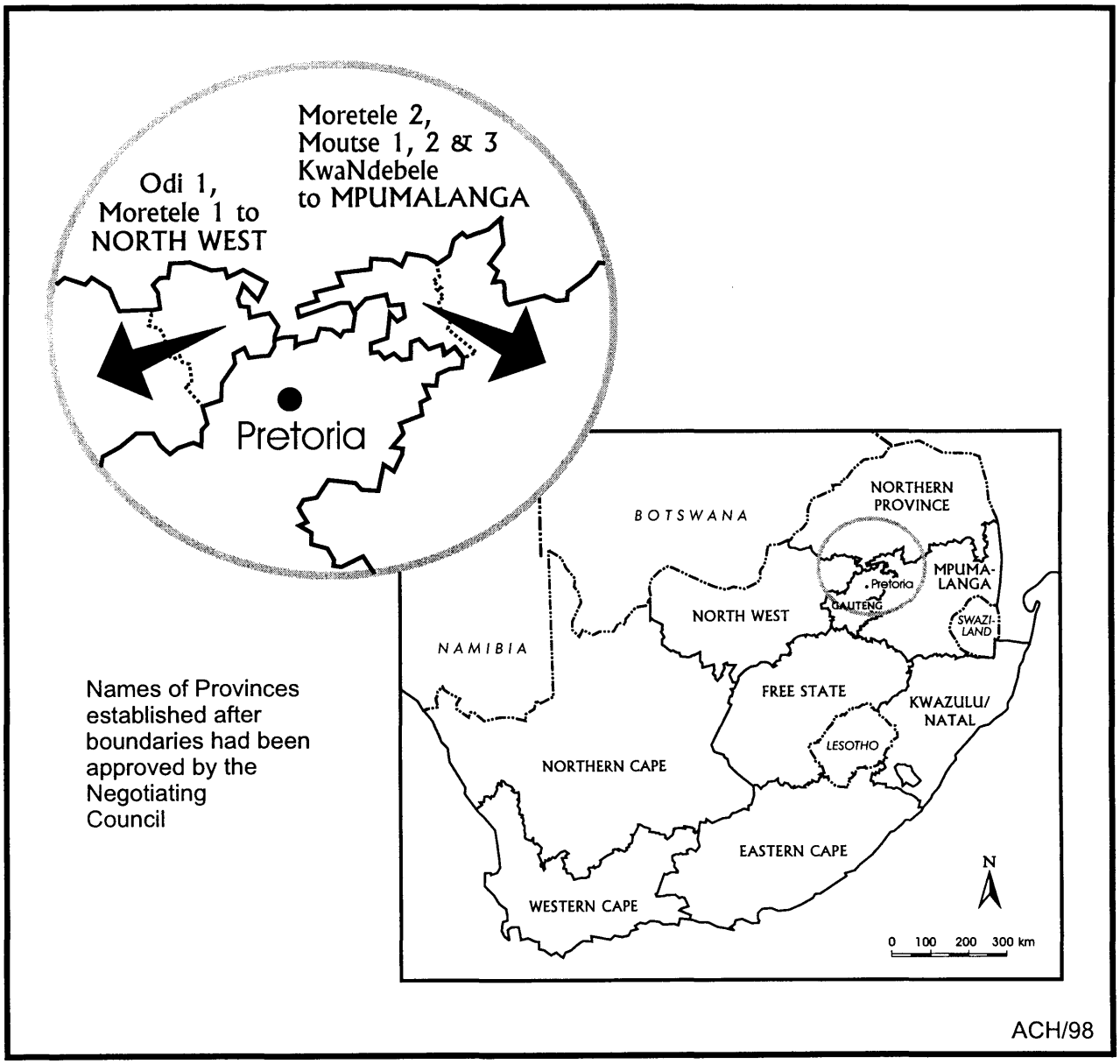
2. *Geographical location and possible peripheralization*: Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele are far from their respective capitals, making lobbying more difficult, and may be forgotten or marginalized in the process of decision-making.

3. *Possible cuts in transport subsidies*: Public transport in both areas is heavily subsidized and, if subsidies become a regional issue, rescinding of subsidies will have a devastating effect on most workers in these areas.

4. *An unsound decision in terms of administration*: People should be administered by the metropolitan authority in which they work; placing Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele in other provinces effective divides Pretoria into three parts separated by provincial boundaries.

Although referendums could still have been held with regard to provincial boundaries, these boundaries are now described by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act* (1997) and changes would necessitate a change to the constitution itself.

FIGURE 5.12 FINAL CHANGES TO NEW PROVINCES OF SOUTH AFRICA, APPROVED BY THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL IN NOVEMBER 1993



5.10. PROSPECTS FOR THE PRETORIA REGION: DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES

Horn (1991) took the following issues into account in his consideration of the challenges, prospects and problems facing development, planning and management in the Greater Pretoria area.

1. *Institutional complexity*. The functional region of the city, at that stage, extended into two politically independent states (RSA and Bophuthatswana) and into one self-governing territory (KwaNdebele). It also included: the autonomous white local authorities of Akasia, Pretoria, Verwoerdburg; the local authorities of Laudium (Indian) and Eersterus (coloured); the barely functional African local authority of Mamelodi; the non-functional African local authority of Atteridgeville, administered by an administrator appointed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA); the town of Soshanguve, administered by the TPA in conjunction with the Department of Development Aid; and various forms of civic representation in Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele.

2. *Provisioning and maintenance of infrastructure*. Among the challenges were uneven topography, geological constraints, institutional complexity, distance and size of the region, and lack of co-ordinated initiatives and of funds.

3. *Ethnic perceptions and prejudices*. This was a problem related not only to the white-black racial divide but also to the status of the non-Tswana in Odi-Moretele and the non-Ndebele in KwaNdebele.

4. *Credibility and functionality of local authorities*. Many local authorities at that stage were appointed undemocratically and operated inefficiently. As a result of rentboycotts and the non-payment for services, some authorities existed in name only and services were maintained by way of cross-subsidization from local, regional and provincial authorities.

5. *Travel distances and commuter problems*. The main considerations were the distances, costs and time of travel to the city centre, as well as the impact these had on quality of life, as a consequence of the urban sprawl effected by late-apartheid planning policies.

Other problems and challenges mentioned include:

(1) lack of diversity in the local economy;
(2) unemployment, high levels of dependency and the unequel distribution of wealth;
(3) housing shortages;
(4) social welfare and education;
(5) land tenure and ownership;
(6) environmental and topographical challenges; and
(7) the poor image of Pretoria and its future role in an integrated South Africa.

In its review of conditions and trends affecting development in the PWV (before the delimitation of provinces) the PWV Forum (1993) noted the following with regard to the Pretoria region.

1. *Economic diversity and space-economy*. Although the economy of the Pretoria complex has a specialized focus primarily on government activity, which accounted for 30 percent of its gross geographic product (GGP), the remainder of its economic structure is broadly similar to that of the central Witwatersrand with a concentration of economic activity south of Pretoria contributing to the economic deterioration of the historical rural, now African-occupied, hinterland of Pretoria.

2. *Economic peripheralization of a large peripheral population*. Odi-Moretele, with a population of about 1 million, and KwaNdebele, with a population of about 425 000, contributed less than 7.5 percent to the GGP of the Pretoria region although representing more than half of the population of 2.5 million.

3. *Lack of diversity in the local economy*. Apart from the administrative function (national and provincial), and tertiary education, the main economic function was the motor manufacturing industry, making the local economy vulnerable to change because of its lack of diversity.

In conclusion, the PWV Forum (1993:197) asked the question: "*What approach should be adopted towards* (the development) *of the dormitory areas of the North* (=Odi-Moretele and KwaNdebele)?" It (PWV Forum, 1993:198) also asked: "*What is the most appropriate form and structure of the new regional and local authorities ...*" and "*... what policies should guide regional infrastructure investments?*"

The Centre for Development and Enterprise (1998) in its publication *Pretoria: from Apartheid's Model City to a Rising Star?*, as part of its *The Big Cities Series*, emphasizes the following issues.

1. *Economic reliance upon the public sector and selected industry*. Since as much as 35.2 percent of the total population and 79.0 percent of the white population of Pretoria were employed by the government in 1994, Pretoria is very vulnerable as regards changes in the government sector, particularly since Pretoria lost its status as provincial capital in 1994 when Johannesburg was chosen as provincial capital of the new Gauteng province. Although Pretoria stands the chance of becoming the main national capital if the bid to move Parliament from Cape Town to Pretoria succeeds, it also stands to lose its status as administrative capital of South Africa if, for instance, it is decided to retain Parliament in Cape Town or to move it to Bloemfontein or Midrand. Racial affirmative action policies in the government sector are also affecting Pretoria more than any other urban community in South Africa. An additional worrying factor is that micro-enterprise (self-employment) accounts for only 8.7 percent of the Pretoria workforce in comparison to the 17 percent national average. Industry in Pretoria is also disproportionately large in scale, employing on average 86.5 workers compared with the 44.1 workers per industry in Johannesburg and Midrand. Moreover, Pretoria industries are more capital intensive than the national norm, less profitable than the national norm, and have more often been established with the aid of government support or incentives.

2. *Pretoria's identity crisis*. In addition to its former image as a bastion of ethnic exclusivity, privilege, and centre of apartheid rule, there are no signs of adjustment to contemporary realities by way of adaptive modernization. As yet, Pretoria does not have a coherent growth and development vision to meet the demands of the emerging forces of global competitiveness among cities. Instead, what appears to be happening is that Pretoria is set on a course of reconstruction around a public sector oriented and intra-national game plan. Symptomatic of this trend is the emphasis upon the city's role as possible parliamentary and current administrative capital of the country. This plan is likely to be only partially successful for Pretoria, and of questionable advantage to the country, insofar as it is based upon intra-national public resource transfers rather than on maximising the market-related returns on a national asset.

3. *Socio-economic disparities within and between the Pretoria core and the larger functional Pretoria*. There are widely different socio-economic conditions pertaining both within the formal metropolitan area, and within the functional metropolitan area. Broadly speaking, socio-economic conditions improve from north to south via central. So, too, do service conditions and housing backlogs. Formal unemployment in the northern areas varies from anything between 33 and 80 percent.

The Centre for Development Enterprise report concludes with the following thoughts.

1. Unless there is a redeployment of resources of the Pretoria metropolitan region to finance emerging development needs, Pretoria could end up in a problematic situation with disadvantaged people informally moving into the metropolitan core area, and with backlogs of housing and services escalating, land invasions increasing, and the city centre deteriorating.

2. In terms of resources and capacity, Pretoria has a remarkable asset base from which to launch a new developmental drive.

3. Whilst there are encouraging signs of political pragmatism in Pretoria, less encouraging has been the relatively weak integration of the private sector and entrepreneurial element in development thinking in the city.

In conclusion, the key strategic question for Pretoria is whether it wants to become a self-confident participant within a globally competitive economy, or whether it would prefer to grow through a monopoly on the South African public sector (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1998).

Nevertheless, it is certain that the spatial legacy of apartheid planning strategies will continue to disfigure the landscape of the Pretoria region for many years to come.

5.11 RECONSIDERATION OF THE OBJECTIVE: SPATIALITY AND THE NEW-STYLED REGIONAL APPROACH

At the beginning of this chapter certain issues were raised concerning the regional approach in geography and the organizing principles of South African society. These issues will again be addressed in the final chapter of this study because they touch the core of its broader discourse.

As regards the experience of applying the new regional approach to the study of the Pretoria region, South Africa, a few concluding thoughts are presented. Believing that the true nature of a region can only be understood in terms of the interaction between a region's urban component and its hinterland, this chapter attempted to capture the interrelations between physical, political and social structures, and human agency in the Pretoria region. It has largely focused on changing political thinking and the spatıal and structural outcomes of these changing ideologies. In doing so, it has also tried to capture the inner soul of the region. If the ultimate goal of the new regional geography is to represent the whole way of life of a region in a fully theorized way, as Thrift (1990) has defined it, it is hoped that this contribution is one step closer to a (still elusive) critical, theoretical, contextual and polysemic regional geography.

AREA SPECIALIZATION: REFLEXIVE MONITORING OF RESEARCH ACTION

CHAPTER 6

Full appreciation of place will involve exploration of the inter-relationships among the physical environment, the built environment and the people

R J Johnston

Structuration theory is most appealing, and, despite certain methodological problems, successful, at the level of the locality and the level of lived experience

B Warf

But if we ultimately want to be able to discover and represent the whole way of life of a region in a fully theorized way, which is what I take to be the ultimate goal of the new regional geography, then we are only half way there...

N Thrift

ABSTRACT

This final chapter reflects on the main features of the study. The theory of structuration — with its emphasis on the interrelationships between the natural environment, the built environment and human agency — has proved to be a successful medium for an appreciation of the specificity of place within the universality of the larger South African and human-earth cosm through the acts of contextualization, exemplification and understanding. The concept of regionalism has served as a catalyst for the integration of the abstract and the concrete. As a result, the analytical objectives of the study: to examine the socio-spatial dynamics of communities in the Bankenveld up to the year 1840 (AD); to determine the socio-spatial features of land organization in the Pretoria District during the colonial period, 1840-1913; to conduct an audit of rural land allocation to and land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area during the period of segregationist land policies, 1910-1947; and to analyze apartheid spatial constructs in the Pretoria region in the context of the evolving of the national ethno-political ideology of apartheid, has been achieved. It is concluded that the approach of area specialization, by way of specialized integration, brings the tradition of locality study and the new regionalism a step closer to its ultimate goal, that is, to represent the wholeness of a region in a fully theorized and empirical way.

Not all action, including research, is guided by clearly conceived purposes. Therefore, not all action is *purposeful*. Instead, action is *purposive*, because it can be motivated in terms of the circumstances in which the action takes place. The research action of this study started with a **motivation** and **rationalization** of action (described in Chapter 1), and ends now with a **reflexive monitoring** of action. Reflexive monitoring is a process of self-examination that extends from a reflexive ability that permits individuals to account for, explain and rationalize their actions. Hence, in part, this chapter represents a reflection on certain core research considerations, and in part it represents a reconsideration of certain conceptions reflected by the research action.

6.1 REFLECTION ON STRUCTURATION THEORY

Structuration theory, by definition, emphasizes balance in structure-agency interaction, a duality in which structures produce behaviour, whilst behaviour influences and reconstructs structures (see Chapter 1). After centuries of debate on whether structure dominates agency or agency dominates structure, structuration theory has brought a view of balance in structure-agency interaction.

The specific history described in this study indicates an inherent dynamism in both structure and agency. This dynamism is illustrated in the various chapters of this study where it is shown that each contextual structure has resulted in a human reaction such as evolution, social re-organization, technological progression or ideological transformation; and each human action has resulted in structural change, either in the form of environmental change, new structures, or new social barriers and / or opportunities.

It is worthwhile reflecting on the questions posed by Cloke *et al.* (1991), whether or not structuration theory should be considered as a grand theory or a mere fashion that will fade away sooner rather than later, whether or not structuration theory should make way for postmodernism or realism as main alternative to the antipodal structuralist and humanist traditions in social sciences? Considering these questions, one has to acknowledge the validity of certain objections to aspects of structuration theory (see Cloke *et al.*, 1991), but at the same time one has to recognize that these objections do not pose a threat to its fundamental principles.

Since it was not the objective of this study to make any significant contribution to the theorizing of structuration, the comments that follow are brief.

Structuration is not a complete opposite of postmodernism. According to Bernman (1982), each phase in history can be equated with a certain mode of experience of space and time. The flexibility of space and time, a fundamental concept

of structuration theory, meets one of the primary criteria of postmodernism: the importance of challenging the idea of a single and objective sense of time or space with a multiplicity of objective qualities which space and time can express (Harvey, 1989). At the same time, structuration theory allows for a multiplicity of human actions in the construction of time and space. Hence, command over space as a fundamental source of social power in and over everyday life (a postmodern view) strengthens rather than opposes the notion of structuration.

In this study little difficulty was experienced in reconciling the structurationist view of the world with the postmodern view on how to deal with it. The conclusion is drawn that structuration and postmodernism are not alternative theoretical positions, but are highly compatible and complementary, structuration being more an ontology than an epistemology, and postmodernism being more an epistemology than an ontology.[1]

6.2 REFLECTION ON PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of the study, as outlined in Chapter One, was *to investigate the transformation of a specified Pretoria region in South Africa* with the researcher playing an interactive role.

The **interactive** role of the researcher as an **understanding outsider** and **understanding insider** is defined by the *aim* of the study. An interactively involved investigator (the researcher) is both *analyzer* and *co-creator* of the subject field. In practice, the researcher, from the beginning of this particular study, became participator in the process of the transformation of the Pretoria region. On the other hand, it was required of the *understanding* researcher that he, in this case, be both objective interpreter and biased insider.

It is concluded that the study area has, over many centuries, developed its own unique character, but that the particularity of the area represents a microcosm of a national realm and a larger human-earth. This conclusion is supported by reflection on the objectives of the study as initially stated in Chapters 2 to 5.

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1. *Ontology* is the theory of existence, or more narrowly, of what really exists, as opposed to that which appears to exist but does not; *epistemology* is the philosophical theory of knowledge, which seeks to define it, distinguish its principal varieties, identify its sources and establish its limits (Quinton, 1988).

Objective Chapter 2 —

... to examine the socio-spatial dynamics of communities in the Bankenveld up to the year 1840

Chapter 2 has focused in particular on the evolution of a human society in relation to the local natural environment. It was emphasized that the physical setting of the Bankenveld accommodated human evolution and the development of human society in a unique way, and that it was possible, largely as a result of the features of the environment, to trace a continuous and progressive chronology of human evolution and social development in the area that parallels similar developments elsewhere. It was also possible to relate the social dynamics of the area, such as the immigration of foreign people, social adaptation, economic interaction, balance of power, control over territory and the establishment of identity, to structural features in the study area. The successful identification of a continuous interconnectivity between structure and agency in the study area has enabled the construction of a composite schema of human-environment interaction in the Bankenveld. This has provided a framework for both environmental and ethnographic studies in the context of time and space, has demonstrated the achievement of the objective of this chapter.

Objective Chapter 3 —

... to determine the socio-spatial features of land organization in the Pretoria District during the colonial period, 1840 to 1913

The process and outcomes of social organization and territoriality in the Pretoria District demonstrated in particular the interaction between human agents and socio-spatial structures between 1840 and 1913 within the context of the unfolding of European colonial history. The constitution of a new colonial society resulted in a particular production of space of which the occupation of rural land in 1913 is a particular outcome. The reconstruction of the identity of rural land based on land occupation in the Pretoria District as at 19 June 1913, as described in this chapter, has confirmed realization of the stated objective.

Objective Chapter 4 —

... to conduct an audit of rural land allocation to and rural land occupation by Africans in the Pretoria area during the period of segregation land policies, 1913 to 1947

During the first half of the 20th century the moralism of European society, in interaction with the structural realities of colonial territories, produced a new ideological framework, segregationism, which, for its part, produced a new social and territorial order in the colonies, subject to local adaptations of segregationist values and conditions. This multiplicity of structure-agency interactions has provided the context for the objective outlined in this chapter, namely to conduct an empirical audit of rural land allocation and occupation on the basis of race in the defined Pretoria area against the evolving segregationist land policies between 1913 and 1947. To this end, detailed land records were compiled and official land records compared with *de facto* land occupation. This comparison, based on a quantitative analysis, has resulted in a re-evaluation of historical land policies.

Objective Chapter 5 —

... to analyze apartheid spatial constructs in the Pretoria region in the context of the evolving national ethno-political ideology of apartheid

The general context of the development and demise of the apartheid ideology in South Africa between the years 1940 and 1994 presented an excellent opportunity to analyze multiple cycles of structure-agency interaction. Chapter 5 has demonstrated the evolution of apartheid ideology as an outcome of continuous human-structure interaction, and has presented a critical analysis of d the functioning of human agents within structural constraints and possibilities. It has also described how it has been possible to relate identity and place, as examples of structure and agency, to inner-city amenities, general urban territoriality, and local ethno-nationalist territorialism.

6.3 REFLECTON ON AIM: CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXEMPLIFICATION, UNDERSTANDING

The general aim of the study, as outlined in Chapter 1, was *to contextualize, exemplify and understand human territorial behaviour and patterns of social and spatial organization* against the background of theme, sphere, subject field and focus of the study. It must be stressed that the aim, although it comprises three components, should be seen as a single entity, since the first two components, *contextualization* and *exemplification*, have been defined in this study as prerequisites for the third, *understanding*.

By way of reflexive monitoring, the outcomes of the three components of the aim are now considered.

Contextualization

The purpose of contextualization is to place a smaller locality within a larger context. Context, in this study, is represented in the first place, by the national geography and history. It is also represented by specific international histories, value systems, norms and aspirations. Each chapter has described a different setting of space and time, the broad context, including geography, history, social system and motives, to accommodate and enhance progression towards exemplifying and understanding, the ultimate level of the composite aim.

Exemplification

As already stated, exemplification implies a certain generality. Here, the specificity of the locality of Pretoria serves as an example of a more general, often national, occurrence. In each chapter another aspect of the locality has been investigated in the context of variations of space and time according to the different stated objectives. It is believed that the focus on the specificity of the locality has contributed to a re-evaluation of generalities, whether theoretical or empirical.

Understanding

The need to understand not only represents the third component of the aim of this study, but also the ultimate level of its composite aim. It has been indicated in Chapter 1 that the notion of understanding, in itself, is a multi-dimensional mental construct.

Understanding is interpreted as both an *observational understanding* of the *outside* of an occurrence, an objective action, and as a *motivational understanding* of the *inside* of an occurrence by explaining the occurrence in terms of a motive, with the researcher in the role of an understanding insider. Motivational understanding has been defined in this study as the sub-aim **contextualization**, and observational understanding as the sub-aim **exemplification**. In terms of this interpretation, **understanding** has been the inevitable result or function of the actions of contextualization and exemplification, and, if this logic is valid, the achievement of the first two sub-aims automatically and unequivocally implies achievement of the third component of the composite aim of the study, namely, understanding.

A second interpretation of the notion of understanding has been that it represents an internal affective experience (*verstehen*) that has resulted from a cognitive or lived experience (*erlebnis*) which has been mediated by conative expression (*ausdruck*). In terms of this interpretation, the research text (document) represents the expression of the *erlebnis-verstehen* experience. This means that the event of the experience cannot be questioned because of the existence of the text, but that the quality of the experience can be evaluated on the basis of the text.

6.4 A RECONSIDERATION OF IDENTITY-PLACE-RACE

Without question, the connection between identity and place is a distinctive feature of a human-occupied earth. Throughout this study, the notion of structure-agency interaction has been represented in general by aspects such as ideology, values, norms and behaviour on the one hand, and environmental, created physical as well as social structures on the other. It is, nevertheless, apparent that the concepts of *identity* and *place*, mediated by the notion of territoriality, represent a special and continuous *theme*. An additional feature of the study has been the extension of the notion of territoriality to a definition of race in the context of South Africa up to 1994.

In Chapter 2 it has been demonstrated that territorial control and the claiming of space play a significant role in establishing a communal identity, and that an affirmation of identity-in-space by naming a territory and locality reconstructs space into place. The association and disassociation of races has clearly played a significant role in the production of society and the production of space. During the two periods of colonial and segregationist governments (Chapters 3 and 4), clear identities of insiders and the 'other' were established, resulting in various forms of territorial differentiation between *mensche* and native barbarians, between *Bantu* (=people) and insurgents, between whites and non-whites. During the period of apartheid (Chapter 5), the concept of race was further refined, first into population groups, and then into a multiplicity of African nations, each with a spatial dimension.

An inevitable question concerns the future role of the notion of race and racial territoriality in the South African context. The answer is partly hidden in the long-term socio-political options of a post-apartheid South Africa (see Chapter 1), the outcome of which cannot be specified at this stage, despite a democratic and liberal constitution and a commitment to reconciliation and nation-building. What should also be considered is the view that *ethnicity* and *race* have been exploited in the name of nationalism, and have consequently been rejected in Africa as symbols of oppression (Degenaar, 1987). Racism, ethnicism and tribalism are persistent realities of post-colonial African states, albeit in mutated forms (Vail,1989).

The resurgence of ethnicity as an organizing principle during the negotiations for a new South African constitution and administrative provinces (see Chapter 5) was supposedly temporary (Lemon, 1996), but more recent events indicate that racism and ethnicism still prevail, whether in the form of formal affirmative action programmes or of more subtle ethnic biases amongst the new African elite. It is clear that: "*(t)he lingering problem of race and racism has once again pushed through to the top of the country's agenda, colouring many major issues ... Now, four years after having announced the birth of a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa, we are faced with the hard reality of finding a fresh way of living beyond apartheid and racism*" (**Pretoria News**, 1998). It is also clear, with issues such as provincial border disputes and demands for the accommodation of extra-democratic tribal leaders in all levels of government, that racism and racial territoriality will remain a feature of the South African scene, at least for the time being.

6.5 A RECONSIDERATION OF A NEW REGIONALISM AND AREA SPECIALIZATION

Following pleas by Gregory (1978) and Massey (1984), amongst others, a new tradition of locality and regional studies has developed. The purpose of place-specific, empirical studies is to link general trends with what is happening in the everyday world of local communities (McQuillan, 1991). Chapters 1 and 5 elaborate on the general perspective and aims of locality studies and new regionalism.

Despite criticism from Duncan & Savage (1989), Warde (1989) and Peet & Thrift (1989), Cooke (1989:262) asserts that "*... locality can be seen to be a fascinating, complex concept of considerable value to geographical theory and empirical research*." The caution of Cloke *et al*. (1991) that locality research should not go into small-scale empirical excess, and that of Soja (1985) that locality studies can become an empty celebration of individual places devoid of any serious analytical content are still valid, but the qualities of place should be emphasized in the context

of the increasing postmodern abstraction of space (Harvey, 1989).

In conclusion, the value of locality study lies in its compatibility and its parentage, its position with regard to abstract and concrete research and the way in which it can be the catalyst for a number of different definitions of time and space (Cloke *et al.*, 1991).

The final issue to be addressed is the specific approach of this study, and whether or not it has retained its integrity.

Full appreciation of region

There are three components of locality: the natural environment; the built environment; and the people. According to Johnston (1989:101) "*(f)ull appreciation of region or place will involve exploration of the inter-relationships among the physical environment, the built environment and the people*." In this study, the appreciation of region and place was ensured by the composite aim to **contextualize**, **exemplify** and **understand** the **interaction** between **structure** and **agency**.

Guidelines for the study of an area

Barnard (1984) provides the following guidelines for the study of an area that should be reflected upon.

- *The study must be organized over and about a specific theme that will capture the character of the area*.
  In this study, the theme was spatiality, i.e. the interconnection between place, identity and territoriality.

- *Time is an essential element of the empirical reality and none of the past, present or future should be disregarded*.
  Time was an essential element of this study. Spanning more than a million years of mostly historical time, the technique of time compression was used to achieve a balance between past, present and future. The objectives of the study were also defined in such a way as to link the past with the present and future.

- *At least three frontiers could be explored, namely human-environment relations* (see Chapter 2), *idiographic study of specific urban environments* (see Chapter 5), *and the region in its wider national or international context* (see Chapters 2, 3 and 5).

- *The area specialist should seek inter-disciplinary contact with other scholars based on a common interest in the area*.
  In this study, the researcher attempted to bridge the divisions between geography, history, anthropology, archaeology, sociology, urban and regional planning, and development studies, and in the process sought interdisciplinary contact with other scholars.

On area specialization

It must be emphasized that *area specialization* is not a distinct or separate approach to the study of a locality, but is simply a variation of regional research. As an approach, area specialization embraces locality study and new regionalism combined with a prolonged involvement in the reconstruction and study of a particular region, and a degree of thematic and topical specialization. It is believed that area specialization is an approach to the study of place that connects the abstract with the concrete, accommodates both the integration and structuring of knowledge, and fosters scholarly and professional excellence.

Nearly a decade ago Thrift (1990) stated that a critical, theoretical, contextual and polysemic regional geography still eludes us.

Does this assertion still hold?

André Horn
Pretoria
1998

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CHAPTER 6

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