

THE IMPACT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE
ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF
THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The underlisted abbreviations are used in this study to mean the following:

BBS	BOPHUTHATSWANA BUILDING SOCIETY
BBT	BLOEMFONTEIN BOTSHABELO THABA NCHU REGION
BMC	BANTU MINING CORPORATION
BHC	BOPHUTHATSWANA HOUSING CORPORATION
BNDC	BOPHUTHATSWANA NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
CBD	CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
CED	CORPORATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
CODESA	CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA
FNB	FIRST NATIONAL BANK
IDC	INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE
IDP	INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POINT
NAD	NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
OFS	ORANGE FREE STATE
ORC	ORANGE RIVER COLONY
RSA	REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
SADT	SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT TRUST
SAIRR	SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
SANT	SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TRUST
STANBO	STANDARD BANK OF BOPHUTHATSWANA

GLOSSARY

ADDITIONAL LAND: extra land set aside according to the Native Land Act of 1936 for black occupation and ownership to be added to the scheduled land.

BETTERMENT SCHEME: refers to schemes introduced by the central government during 1936 and 1940 in an attempt to control land usage, rationalize reserve lands, divide land-use into residential and agricultural units, and to establish planned rural villages in the homelands.

BLACK SPOTS: used to denote black occupied areas which were considered to fall within the so called "white" rural areas and were therefore threatened and subjected to removal.

BOPHUTHATSWANA: refers to a state shown in Figure 1.2 situated in the interior of Southern Africa between latitude 24 and 30 degrees south and longitude 22 and 25 degrees east. It came into being as a country and was granted independence on 7 December 1977 by the Republic of South Africa (RSA). It consists of seven isolated blocks of land and is divided into twelve districts. It shares a relatively short common boundary with Botswana. With an area of 40 330 square kilometres, Bophuthatswana is 2,3 times larger than Swaziland and 1,3 times larger than Lesotho. Of the seven blocks, six blocks make up 97 per cent of the surface and were previously part of Northern Cape and the Central Western Transvaal. The seventh block, the district of Thaba Nchu about 65 kilometres east of Bloemfontein, was previously part of the Orange Free State (OFS). The entire geo-political space previously formed part of the RSA.

GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE: used to refer to the composition of different land-uses in the study area; where each land-use is defined to constitute a component. The land-use components of the geographical landscape to be analyzed are political, administrative, settlement, housing, commercial, industrial, educa-

tional, cultural, recreational and tourism, and health. These landscapes refer to the following:

- * administrative refers to all administrative infrastructure e.g. local and district centres;
- * commercial refers to both retailing and wholesaling activities;
- * cultural refers to all culturally related facilities;
- * educational refers to all educational facilities e.g. pre-primary, primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions;
- * health refers to all health related facilities;
- * housing refers to all formal and informal housing units including infrastructure related to housing e.g. water, sewerage, electricity, and roads;
- * industrial refers all infrastructure related to industrial development;
- * political refers to all politically related features and components e.g. symbols, boundaries, names, and iconography;
- * recreational and tourism: refers to all recreational and tourist facilities; and
- * settlement refers to all formal and informal residential settlements.

IMPACT, TRANSFORMATION: used inter-changeably to denote both old and new phenomenon which have been maintained or come into existence or change due to a changing political process. It means the same as expansion, conversion, change, newly built.

INDEPENDENCE: internationally defined to mean sovereignty, whereby the territorial supremacy by which the state government has the legal authority and power to make decisions at its own will and within its own jurisdiction. The international definition is applied to Bophuthatswana from 7 December 1977 to 27 April 1994. The smear campaign undertaken against the homelands' independence (Bop-huthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, Venda) by both the local and the international community and the decision not to recognise the independence lies in the unacceptable ideological bias and territorial basis on which it was granted. Regardless of international

rejection, Bophuthatswana's independence refers to a change in the political process with its related influence in the geographical landscape.

INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: used to denote the period from independence on 7 December 1977 to 27 April 1994.

NEW SOUTH AFRICA: used to refer to a non-racial, integrated and democratic South Africa (embracing the so called "white" Republic of South Africa, independent states, and self-governing territories).

POLITICAL ACTION AREA: refers to the area on which political transactions made their impact.

POLITICAL PROCESS: refers to succession of events, actions, or operations which man employs to establish, maintain, or change a political system.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE: used to refer to the period from the pre-colonial phase to the period prior to Bophuthatswana's independence.

RESERVE, BANTUSTAN, HOMELAND, NATIONAL STATE: used as pre-independent terms to apply to separate African political entities or territories created by the various Governments of South Africa.

RELOCATION, REMOVAL, RESETTLEMENT: these concepts are used to denote the overall policy and process involved in the massive, state-sponsored removal of people (mostly blacks) from one place to another according to apartheid planning.

SCHEDULED LAND, RELEASED AREAS: land set aside in terms of the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 for occupation and ownership by blacks.

THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA: constitutes the study area. It is used to

denote the two major formal territorial and administrative units of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha and the informal settlements, viz. African rural villages (Mokwena, Ratlou, Moroka, Ratau, Motlatla, and Seroala) and the Bultfonteins (1, 2, 3, and 4) as depicted in the aerial photograph in Figure 1.3. Presently (1994), the administrative units of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha is under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Municipal Council, while the African informal settlements are under the jurisdiction of the Barolong Tribal Authority. Thaba Nchu-Selosesha is the proclaimed district administrative centre of the Thaba Nchu district.

"WHITE" SOUTH AFRICA, "WHITE" OFS: separately used to refer to the individual areas reserved for the exclusive land ownership of whites.

CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

As part of formal apartheid planning as a distinct spatial planning strategy (Smith, 1976) a series of independent states and self-governing territories evolved from the South African political space (Figure 1.1). Bophuthatswana is one of four independent states to receive political independent status from the South African Government. Although Bophuthatswana was never recognised as an independent sovereign state by the international political community, the transfer of sovereignty from Pretoria to Mmabatho in 1977 introduced a new, changing political processes which had the ability to transform the urban and rural geographical landscape in all Bophuthatswana's twelve administrative districts (Figure 1.2).

Although a vast number of studies have contributed to the understanding of apartheid's impact on the South African urban, rural and homeland landscape (e.g. Christopher, 1982; 1984; Lemon, 1976; 1987; Western, 1981) by means of homeland policies, group areas, buffer strips, ethnic zoning, controlled urbanization, forced removals, migrant labour practices, frontier commuting, and industrial decentralization policies etc, only a few attempts were made to analyze the impact of the homelands' independence on the geographical urban and rural landscape (e.g. Cowley, 1982; Drummond and Parnell, 1991).

The research problem to be examined is to analyse how and to what extent was the urban geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosha transformed from a pre-independence (1976) to a independence (1992) landscape as a result of Bophuthatswana's independence.

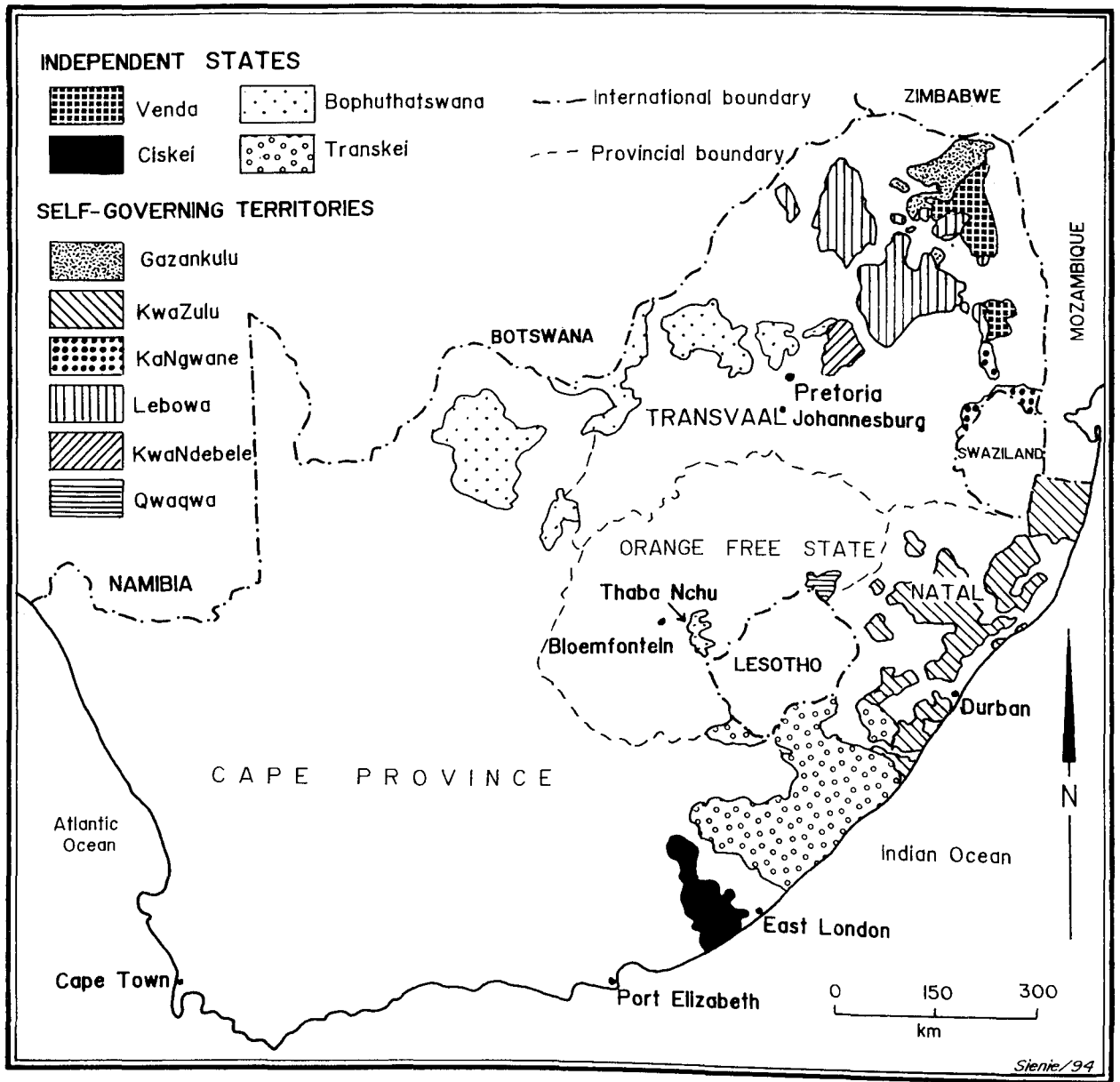
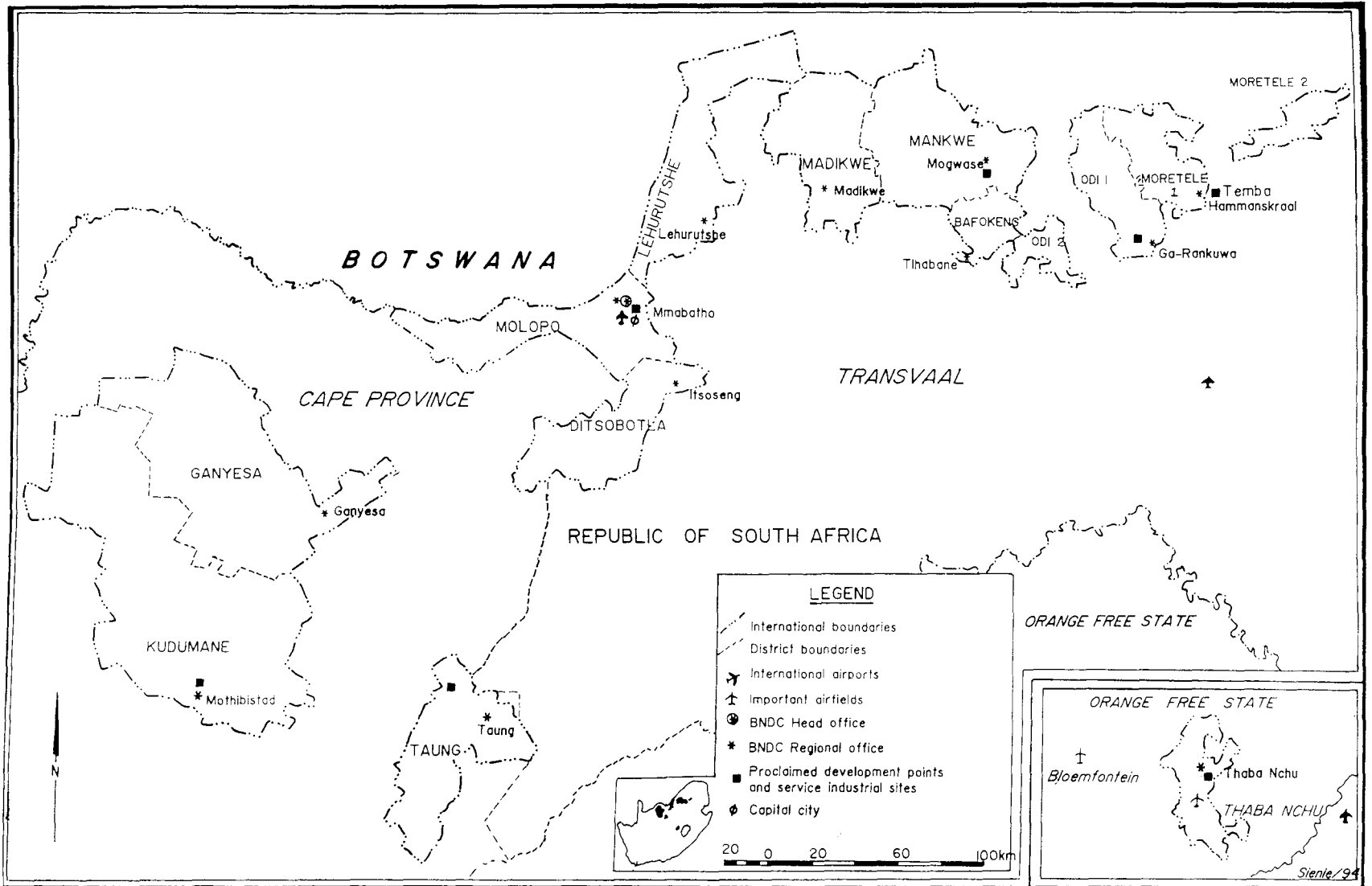


FIGURE 1.1 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES AND INDEPENDENT STATES, 1992

FIGURE 1.2 THE GEO-POLITICAL SPACE OF BOPHUTHATSWANA



1.2 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- * to review the literature on the impact of political processes on geographical patterns on the international, national, and local scales;
- * to identify and apply process models which have been applied to political geographical analyses;
- * to examine the pre-independence political processes and to give a description of the pre-independence geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as at 1976;
- * to analyse independence as a variety of political and socio-economic processes associated with the transformation of the pre-independence geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha to the independence landscape as in 1992;
- * to compare and contrast the 1992 geographical landscape with the patterns which existed in 1976 in order to interpret the change in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from the period 1976 to 1992;
- * to serve as a stocktaking of the landscape patterns created by independence as Bophuthatswana enters a new political dispensation due to the country's re-incorporation into a democratic South Africa;
- * to provide scenarios of the possible changes in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha in a democratic South Africa; and
- * to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the impact of independence as a political process on geographical landscape patterns.

Figure 1.3 is an air photo of the study area as in 1992.

1.3 MOTIVATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Just as the background statement develops the rationale for this study by elaborating on the problem being addressed, so do statements made by prominent Geographers and public figures motivate the need for this study. In the preface to *Homes Apart*:

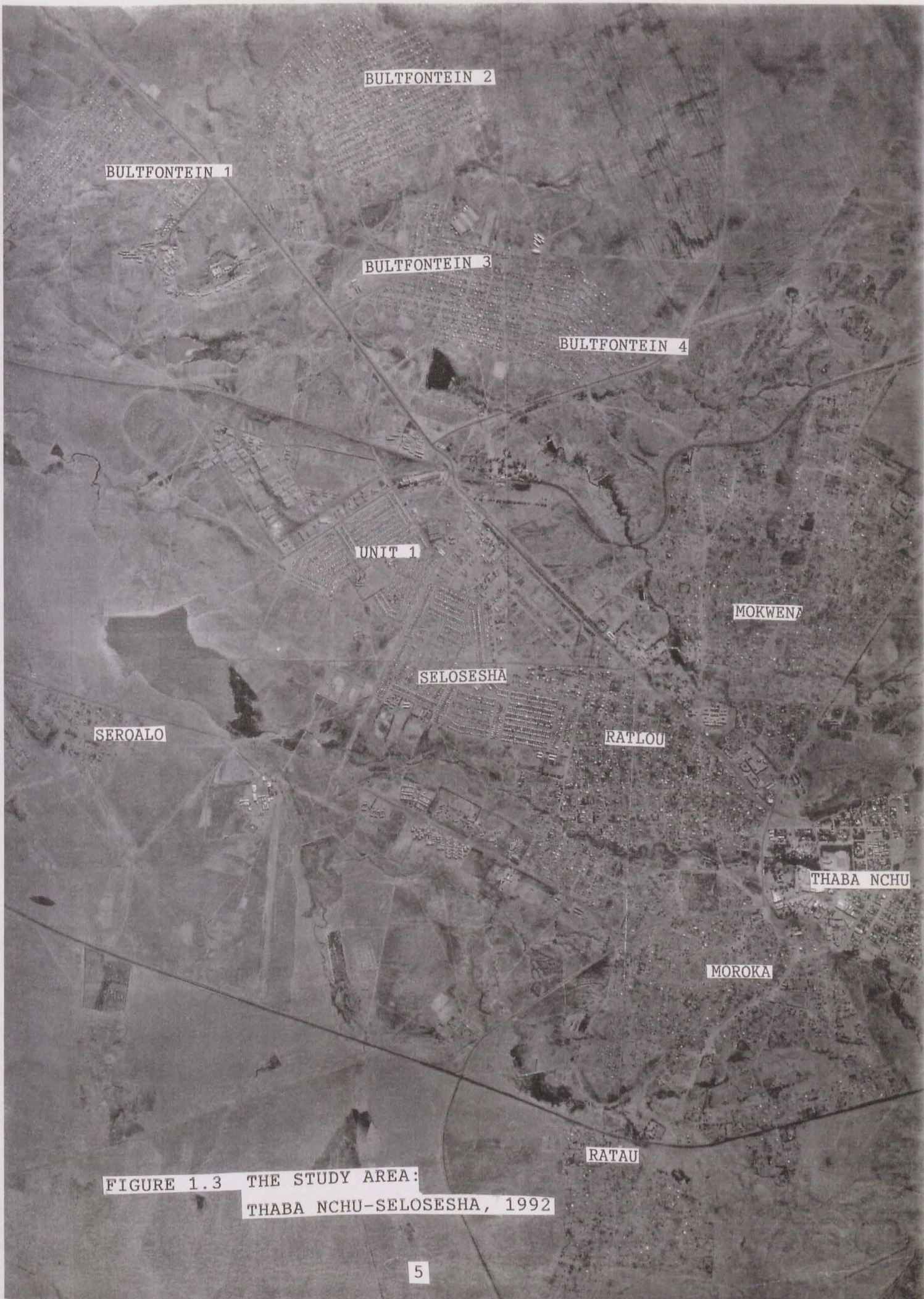


FIGURE 1.3 THE STUDY AREA:
THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1992

South Africa's Segregated Cities, edited by Lemon (1991:x), it is mentioned that "to date South Africa has produced almost no black Urban Geographers (only a handful of black Geographers ...)". In my personal status as a black African expatriate, I feel that the problem is not only limited to Urban Geography, but also to Political Geography. Hence, having lived in black independent homelands in South Africa for seven years (two years in Transkei and five years in Bophuthatswana), Lemon's statement motivates me as a Political Geographer to undertake a relevant and challenging study of the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha.

Another factor may be that my personal status may exonerate my findings from any biased socio-political convictions. Also, as a freelance Geographer from outside the country, I can, hopefully, lay a better claim to a more objective study in this regard.

Christopher (1982:98) indicated that "The landscape of South Africa reflects the political as well as the economic history of the country, in a way which makes even its appearance contentious". This statement challenges Geographers to a careful study, re-interpretation, and evaluation in the light of present circumstances.

Mangope, President of Bophuthatswana since independence (Bophuthatswana Pioneer, 1992:2) claimed, "We rid ourselves of apartheid, scrapped all apartheid laws, and created a non-racial society", which implies changing spatial patterns which have to be examined. Schapera (1984:68) remarked that "In theory, the homelands are on the road to independence, but the geo-political implication of this is not entirely clear". This means that such a study will contribute to an understanding of the changing landscape due to independence, and also suggests what might happen now that Bophuthatswana has been re-incorporated and integrated into a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The above mentioned statements call for the recognition of the impact of the political processes in Bophuthatswana aimed at rectifying the policies which have contributed to pre-independence spatial patterns. Therefore, a research whose theoretical point of view is clearly evident in itself activates my interest in explaining reality, asking "what is the nature of the political processes and what spatial impact has it made?". In a nutshell, the significance of this study is that it addresses a geo-political process in Bophuthatswana which needs attention, analysis, interpretation, and documentation.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

Initially, the bibliographical study on the impact of political processes on geographical landscape was reviewed. It was followed with a study of political process models which have been used to analyse the impact of political process on the geographical landscape. This was done, firstly, to understand the various facets of the political processes which have been studied. Secondly, to enable this study to be placed into perspective with similar studies. Finally, to enable this study to design a process model which can be used to understand independence as a political process, and which at the same time may be used to explain the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence as a political process in changing the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha since 1977.

To establish a basis to assess any independence changes on the geographical landscape of the study area, it was found necessary to undertake an examination of the historical evidence of landscape developments through the study of the impact of the pre-independent political process on the study area. Aerial photographs and topographical maps were used to extrapolate the pre-independence geographical landscape as in 1976 on a conventional scale of 1:50 000. Historical detail of the landscape change was also made from archival material and through the study of place names.

This was followed by a bibliographical study of Bophuthatswana's independence political and socio-economic processes for the period 1977 to 1992. On the local scale at Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, the impact of the independence as a political process was associated with the transformation of the pre-independence geographical landscape.

It was also realised that a possible way to identify the changes in the geographical landscape was to study the aerial photographs of the study area as in 1992. The topographical map and aerial photographs of the study area were orientated to the study area, after which the aerial photographs were annotated and the extrapolated maps for the period 1992 were extracted on a scale of 1 : 50 000. The 1976 extrapolated map was compared with the 1992 map to identify and analyze the changes which were evident on the 1992 map. It was found from the reconnaissance study of the study area however, that some changes that were evident on the ground, were not discernable on the map. To provide a vivid impression of the changes, the extrapolated map was followed by a descriptive account of changes in each of the landscape components which were being analyzed and they were supported with horizontal photographs.

The entire study area (Figure 1.3) was considered as a composition of different land-uses and each land-use was defined to constitute a component. The landscape components which were analyzed are: political, administrative, settlement, housing, commercial, industrial, education, cultural, recreation, tourism, and health.

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The search for the spatial manifestation of political processes is the pursuit of knowledge in Political Geography, yet such information falls short of promoting knowledge if it is not coupled with theoretical principles which can be used to extract the facts from complex situations. This section is devoted,

firstly, to an outline of the different opinions on the definition and content of study in Political Geography; secondly, to give a brief account of the historical development in Political Geography; thirdly, to identify theoretical models which have been developed to study the spatial manifestation of political processes; and lastly, to provide a theoretical framework which can be used to interpret and distinguish this study from other similar ones.

1.5.1

DEFINITION OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Throughout the history of Political Geography there appears to be a bone of contention concerning the definition and content of Political Geography. Whereas the definitions have varied, there are reservations at the same time about the consensus view that the subject matter must be concerned with the exercise of authority, power, and its influence on space (Alexander, 1957; Carlson, 1958; and Busteed, 1983). Individual scholars precariously hold to their perspectives and fields of study and have contributed to the diverse views on the definition and content of study in Political Geography. Sprout (1968) saw it as little more than a specialist branch of Political Science. Whittlesey (1935) adopted the orthodox definition of Geography at the time to his field of study, and defined it as the study of areal differentiation of political phenomena. In the view of Hartshorne (1935), the core of Political Geography was the study of the relations between the physical environment and political activities and organization, most notably the sovereign state. East (1937) added to the discussion on definition that it could be defined as the study of the geographical result of political differentiation as exhibited in the visible landscape or the geographical analysis of the human and physical texture of political territories. In his essay *Elements of Political Geography*, Van Valkenburg (1939) took a different line. For him the essence of the subject was geographical interpretation of international relations and his particular emphasis was on the cycle in the development of nations.

Irrespective of the above-mentioned assertions by Political Geographers, the basic fact is that Political Geography is a subject which serves as a major link between Geography and Political Science and at the same time locates the subject in the spectrum between the two. The literature on this issue is inclusive of Cawlson's (1958:6) view that "Political Geography relates to Political Science; the two fields resemble each other in that the object of both is the analysis of the state. Political Scientists concern themselves with the policy and sovereignty of the nation whereas the Political Geographer deals with the power and space relations". This is reiterated by the Ad Hoc Committee on Geography (1969:57) that, "indeed the concept of a nation, and by extension, the concept of any political system is almost unthinkable apart from association with specific territory ... the two are inescapable general characteristics of a political system, the political process by which or with which it functions and the territory to which it is bound". This is inclined to support the school of thought which believes that every political process has a geographical area uniquely associated with it and that no geographical area escapes such an association.

At the same time, Alexander (1957:32) had the opinion that "Political Geographers are concerned with the spatial form and structure of the government by itself, that is, the division of functions among the executive, legislation and the judicial branches or whether it is democratic or totalitarian". In contrast to this, Muir (1981:178) cautioned that "for a Geographer to attempt to investigate political geographical phenomena with smug disregard for the political process would be analogous to a geomorphologist studying landform in terms of their structure and ignorance of process and the basic relevant theories inherent in Political Science". Cohen and Rosenthal (1971:116) added that "without more attention to politics, our geographical insights are likely to be limited and sterile".

The consensus view that the actual subject matter must be political is rejected by Johnston (1980:439) as he stated that "...

this is to some extent an overstatement". He disagreed with the consensus view to locate the discipline's root in Political Science, and the notion that the discipline would be weakly developed should its practitioners ignore the real content of politics - the exercise of power through the state. In the view of Johnston, the prime requirement for the development of Political Geography is a valid theory of the state, an application of the pluralist-decision-making theory to analyze the decisions and actions associated with capitalistic theory. This therefore allows a realistic orientation of much geographical work, which is a prime concern of patterns and processes on the ground.

Contrary to these views, Prescott (1972) provided a different perspective for viewing the relationship between politics and geography. His standpoint is that the conscious decisions and actions of political process are responsible for the political variation between countries or within the single states. Therefore, for political decisions and actions to achieve their rightful place in Political Geography, the search must, firstly, start from the geographical factors considered in the formulation of the decisions and actions. Secondly, it could be based on unperceived geographical factors which could influence the implementation and any geographical outcome of the decision and action. Thirdly, unperceived geographical factors which could influence the implementation and any geographical outcome of the decisions and actions. In so doing Political Geographers would not only be establishing that there is a relationship between the two disciplines, but would also be showing that spatial areal patterns are sometimes the direct consequence of political decisions and actions.

This study supports the opinion that the focus of any study in Political Geography should determine the relationship between the Political Geography and the other disciplines, and where that emphasis should be. Firstly, if the spatial manifestation of political processes within a political system becomes the object of study, as in this case, then some aspect of politics cannot

be divorced from Political Geography. Secondly, if the differing impact made on a particular geographical space by a particular political system over time is to be analyzed, this does not only illustrate the time variable, but indicates that Political Geographers would have to lean on history in the interpretation of geographical phenomena. The rationale being that history provides a means of discerning what man's achievement within an area has been. Therefore, only as the present is set in perspective against the historic record of the past can the Political Geography of the region be interpreted completely. Thirdly, the relationship between politics and geography should be regarded as a situation in which the former offers the latter an approach to a sound analysis of the political process and its spatial manifestation.

1.5.2 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

For the purposes of this study it is considered very important to trace the major developments which have dominated the scholarly literature on the relationship between political phenomena and geographical factors. According to Busteed (1983), the major developments as they occurred within time frames can be divided into the Classical Era, the Modern Era, and the Contemporary Period. This study focuses on development which were occurred during the Contemporary Period.

1.5.2.1 THE CLASSICAL ERA (UNTIL THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

One of the first developments in Political Geography was probably the attempt by the two Greek philosophers Plato (428-342 B.C.) and Aristotle (348-322 B.C.) to relate geographical and political phenomena. In both writings it was clear that they were pre-occupied with what could be perceived as the ideal form of a state. They envisaged that the ideal form of a political unit or state would be to have a population large enough to establish its army for defence, it should be self-sufficient, and be as productive as possible. Their only point of departure was that

Plato felt a state should have as little maritime contact as possible because foreign influence will have an enervating effect. Aristotle acknowledged the detrimental effect of maritime influence, but believed that a city should be conveniently situated in relation to both land and sea to allow easy access to trade and to exercise of power beyond the city's immediate area.

While they might not have considered themselves Geographers, much less Political Geographers, the content of their writings on politics and geography provided a perspective and an intellectual outlook on the duality of Political Geography. Political Geographers today are grateful to them for the manner and effort they took to relate the political events of their time to Physical Geography which draws a relationship between political events and geographical phenomena.

During the classical period, the Romans, Islamic, and Chinese scholars also contributed to the geographical literature, but made no effort to connect their studies to politics. Their contribution to Geography tended to be an encyclopedic collection about places other than their own. It was a period which also witnessed a great deal of exploration and considerable advances in astronomical observation and measurement. Then came the Renaissance, the great European voyages of exploration, and the Reformation which revived the twin pillars of science, namely careful empirical observation and systematic critical speculation based on the observed evidence. It was in the subsequent studies that several works appeared in which themes which indicated a link between politics and geography were found in the writings of Bodin (1520-1590), William Petty (1624-1687), Montesquieu (1689-1755), Turgot (1727-1781), Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), and Carl Ritter (1779-1859).

Bodin, a French lawyer, was noted for his attempts at scientific study of political affairs with particular stress on the relationship between politics, geography and the will of God. In his

theme *Les six livres de la République*, he wrote on the connection between a peoples' economy, society, and their physical environment. According to Busted (1983) William Petty's article theorized on the optimum size of the state which he suggested depended on a variety of physical and environmental factors. During the same period Montesquieu, whose ideas inspired the legal systems of the world regarded the differences as the outcome of a whole complex of variables including physical factors such as climate, topography, and soils. The first recorded use of the term Political Geography occurred in 1750 and it marked the first systematic attempt to produce a systematic treatise outlining the link between Geography and the political process. This was the work of the brilliant French scholar, Turgot. He believed that government policy should be based on proper evaluation and on the recognition of physical and environmental factors.

Unfortunately, the conventional approach in scientific methodology of working from hypothesis testing, analysis of theory, and hopefully to laws had not penetrated studies at that time. Consequently, the writers during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, were faced with the task of extracting significant association which proved difficult to undertake, therefore, most of their published works were untested and unsubstantiated. As a result Political Geography remained stagnant while progress was being made in other branches of Geography.

Both Alexander von Humboldt and Carl Ritter were hailed as great contributors to the subject, to the extent that Von Humboldt was hailed as the founder of Political Geography. Von Humboldt was regarded as a widely travelled careful field observer and collector of official records and ideas which expressed the relationship between all living things both physical and human. To Busted (1983:8), Von Humboldt cannot be hailed as a significant contributor to Political Geography because "his political essay on the Kingdom of New Spain in 1811, even though it did suggest that a relationship existed between the political conditions of

his country, it was by no means the dominant theme of his book".

It is quite significant that in the second half of the nineteenth century many writers from diverse backgrounds demonstrated the relationship between geography and political affairs to the extent that two traditions were discernible. One was those whose writings were preoccupied with the dualism of Political Geography, and the others whose studies were devoid of any relation between politics and geography. In spite of the development which became evident in the scholarly writings of the classical era, their writings had not evolved into a coherent branch of geography to be called Political Geography. Instead, there existed merely a widely diffused belief that there were links between politics and geography which were worthy of study, but there was no single text which outlined the nature and content of that field.

1.5.2.2 THE MODERN ERA (THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE EARLY 1960'S)

It was during this period that the first attempt was made to define Political Geography as an integrated branch of Geography in general, together with texts devoted to particular aspects of the subject. However, the two traditions of scholarly writings persisted within the works of individual writers. The two major developments which contributed to the production of the first text on Political Geography by Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) was firstly the organizing concept derived from Darwin's work on natural selection, and, secondly, the political circumstances in Ratzel's native country, Germany, which evoked his awareness of political affairs. From that time Political Geography was associated with Darwin's idea that the plant community as an organism must struggle for space and resources and proceed through the life cycle of birth, growth, expansion, and decline which seemed common to all living matter. This became the basis of Ratzel's text, *Politisch Geography* (1898), in which he conceived the sovereign state as being analogous to the plant community.

By conceiving the sovereign state as similar to the plant community, Ratzel's intention was to demonstrate that the behavioural characteristics of the plant community was almost the same as the state. He argued that the state is analogous to the plant community, fluctuates with time and cannot be contained forever within the same rigid limits. In terms of the size of the state, he believed that states go through a process of ageing and the territorial area was directly related to the age and nature of the physical environment. Just as plant growth depends on certain factors, similarly, he identified what he considered necessary to promote state growth.

The significance of Ratzel's work was the manner in which he demonstrated the intimate bond between politics and geography and that he used his training in Geography to justify his country's needs and policies.

Following the work of Ratzel, Alfred Thayer Mahan (1861-1947) and Halford John Mackinder (1861-1947), an American and British respectively, also contemplated the relationship between geography and political affairs. Mahan was not a Geographer by profession, but an American naval officer who demonstrated that a country's maritime power depended upon six factors, of which five have strong geographical overtones. He did this in one of his writings on naval history. Without any academic or professional interest, his ultimate concern was to stress the advantage of a strong navy, to discover the element which underlay naval strength and also to discover the extent to which the United States can possess and exploit those qualities. By 1914 it was widely acknowledged that there was a branch of a discipline known as Political Geography which examined the interrelation between politics and geography. At that time, it had not attained a coherent definition and some writers tended to evaluate the situation from a distinctly national viewpoint. Others, with their geographical knowledge, advocated particular lines of policy to preserve and enhance their country's image abroad.

For Political Geography the greatest boom came from the widespread realization that the subject had a great deal of insight to offer to military, diplomatic, and political affairs. The overall impact of the wartime and peace congress experiences for Political Geography was twofold: firstly, it confirmed the fact that Geography had a definite value in territorial disputes and their aftermath; secondly, these experiences, and treaty making, in particular did much to influence the overall structure and content of Political Geography for subsequent generations. Significant issues like boundaries and their relationship to human and physical patterns, the structure of a state's population and economy; estimates of its political, military, and economic strength, the presence and distribution of minority groups coupled with other topics discussed in the commissions of experts who drew up the treaties, all gradually found their way into standard texts and outlines of Political Geography.

A notable step towards a more general perspective came when Hartshorne (1935) proceeded to outline what he believed should be the content of the subject by discussing the model state. He suggested that the subject should deal with the descriptive analysis of the state, its shape, national and cultural landscape areas and the geographic interrelationship of areas. Other useful topics he suggested should include political events related to regional features, dependencies, the seas, and the landscape effects on political organization.

By 1939 the first texts on general aspects of Political Geography, such as boundaries and power politics, had appeared. There were also attempts to define the subject and construct a methodology.

Following the development of Political Geography into the late 1930's, the period until the early 1960's witnessed the emergence of a crucial contrast with earlier experiences which made the future prospect of the subject look increasingly dreary. The reasons for this contrast, were the different methods of making

peace settlements after the Second World War, the nature of the political regimes in those areas where the greatest change occurred, and the exaggerated reaction against German Geopolitik. This led to a suspicion of the study which linked geography and political affairs.

Once again, little was shown in the documentation during the closing years of the Second World War and the period immediately afterwards. Arrangements for the peace settlement in the post-war world were arrived at in a different manner from 1917-1920. Instead, affairs were settled at the highest level in secret discussions between the chief Allied leaders, most notably at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. The allies agreed on the division of Germany and located spheres of interest for each other. With such arrangement arrived at in this manner, there was little careful documentation. Consequently, opportunities for detailed public and academic investigation into these arrangements simply did not exist. The effect was that Political Geography missed that notable boost which the practical experiences of detailed treaty-making had given after 1918.

1.5.2.3 THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (LATE 1960'S TO THE PRESENT)

From the late 1960's onwards there was evidence that interest in Political Geography was being re-awakened. The revival took on two main forms. The foremost was that, there was a rising interest in Political Geography *per se*. Secondly, there was a rapid growth in the application of Geography to contemporary societal problems. Thus, studies were framed in a way to open discussions, and to question the operation of political processes and the legitimacy of social values which were believed to have contributed to the problems being discussed.

Another factor that revived Political Geography was the shift in the nature of the paradigm of the late 1950's, and early 1960's. This new trend paved the way for those who had mastered new approaches and were seeking fresh fields to apply them as they

found other branches of Geography - urban, social, and the economic over-crowded with research workers. Some recalled that Political Geography had been a significant branch of Geography in the past and believed that it had useful insights to offer. Others considered there was the need to resuscitate it after almost twenty years of neglect, otherwise it might die out or its concerns would be ignored and would be taken over by Political Science. Some of the writings which appeared tried to encompass the subject as a whole (Prescott, 1966; 1972; East and Prescott, 1975). Other topics included global patterns of legal systems (Easterly, 1977), territorial disputes (Fairhell, 1977), and boundaries (Logan, 1968; Prescott, 1965).

Since its revival, the scale of focus expanded from macro and meso to micro scale (Cox, 1979). The studies were not only characterised by the change of scale, but also by a shift from an idiographic subject focus to a nomothetic approach, the conventional scientific methodology of hypothesis testing, modelling and law building, and careful acquisition of data and their testing by statistical techniques. In all, it was shown that ideas and techniques adopted by other branches of Geography could be applied to Political Geography. This was demonstrated by the use of allocation-location models in the construction of administrative areas (Massam, 1975), the adoption of system analysis as an analytical framework (Cohen and Rosenthal, 1971), and the appearance of text which tries to incorporate the new concepts and techniques in the overall view subject (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969; Jackson and Samuels, 1971; Muir, 1981; Muir and Paddison, 1981; Johnston, 1982; Kirby, 1982).

The most rapid growth came in Electoral Geography which for a long time had been regarded as part of Political Geography (Busteed, 1975; Taylor and Johnston, 1979; Taylor, 1979). Using concepts derived from behaviouralism, a wide range of statistical techniques with a strong emphasis on space as a variable became one of the most rapid growth points in Behavioural Geography as a whole (Cox, 1969; Johnston, 1974). From then on attention was

focused on the effects of electoral boundaries on election results and efforts were made to relate Electoral Geography more closely to Political Geography. There arose a body of scholars who believed that it was essential to develop a discipline concerned with the issues currently facing society, particularly its relatively deprived groups (Albaum, 1973).

From the above perspective, the most notable developments were studies which focused on the question of how the spatial pattern of deprivation and poverty came about. It was argued that it was based on competition and those who were already relatively wealthy and powerful usually won (Cox, 1973; 1978; 1979). This situation was the result of conflict in much of Western society. Consequently, many studies paid attention to the types of conflict, the groups involved, their differing aspirations, their comparative political power and their relative impact on the decision-making processes which produce the policy and the spatial pattern welfare. The most commonly studied type of conflicts were proposed land-use changes (Cox, 1978). The study of location conflict has been seen as generating a new style of Political Geography which is urban based, micro-scale, and also concerned with the values, organisation, tactics, and access to power of contending groups (Hall, 1974).

Political Geography from the early 1980's to 1990 was faced with a paradoxical situation which included opportunities and dangers, strong empirical emphasis, and the tendency of some scholars to be advocates as well as scholars. In spite of the early decline, it is believed that with the adoption of the more nomothetic philosophy, conventional scientific methodology of research and the application of statistical techniques, should these persist, then the historic lack of philosophical and methodological underpinning in Political Geography would be restored and the subject brought into line with other disciplines. In addition, it is held that the subject matter must be political in the sense that it is concerned with the exercise of authority, power and influence and more attention is paid to the consequences of that

power and its influence as portrayed in spatial location, patterns and interrelationships in the use of space resources. Once again, the understanding of these patterns should be coupled with an emphasis on the processes of decision-making and the factors which influence them including the differential influence of competing groups which vary according to the extent of their influence, resources, and access to power.

The historical development of the discipline, however, indicates that should its practitioners adopt the new development, then it could heal the age-long dichotomy between the two traditions of writers, and will provide the subject with a high standard of logic and analysis with a keen interest in current problems. One of the dominant features of the contemporary period are the process studies, with an emphasis on how processes influence geographical phenomena in various ways.

1.5.3 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND PROCESS STUDIES

The key question which needs to be answered to orientate this study is: What are meant by the concepts 'process' and 'political process'? Kasperson and Minghi (1969:195) expressed that "... process is concerned with the arrangement of empirically observed units, flowing, moving or interacting, where the whole complex of units constitutes the process". The prominent feature of process study in Political Geography is its dynamic character which is implied in the sequential order of events which are analyzed. Process, in this instance, denotes time plus change in relationships and conditions or events in space. It is a study which concerns itself with the analysis of behavioural events. The processes of spatial integration and disintegration are events for process studies, and recent examples can be found in the unification of West and East Germany in 1990, and the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in 1991. Basically, the Political Scientist studying integration is interested in the constitution amalgamating and consolidating the states or regions or the merging of two or more political sys-

tems. By contrast the Political Geographer is interested in the new Constitution, policy, and programmes and how they influence and distribute spatial phenomena. Hence the territorial or spatial impact which comes out of the entire process.

Space is a common factor underlying and influencing the operation of a political system. Its significance to the Political Geographer, according to Muir (1981), is the use of territory as a prime basis upon which political processes are organized as a the succession of actions or operations which man conducts to establish or to maintain a political system. Within the political system, political processes are the channels by which man organizes himself politically in his social and physical environment and how he responds to other political systems in their environment. According to Cohen and Rosenthal (1971), political process studies in Political Geography, are geared towards the examination of the impact of man's political behaviour in space. To Muir and Paddison (1981:15) it is "...to demonstrate how political factors and processes influence and interact with spatial behaviour". It is in this context that Political Geography should be seen as a process study, where behaviour in space, according to Kaperson and Minghi (1969:301) "...refers to spatial patterns of behaviour, in which each occurrence can be located by geographical co-ordinates and the resulting patterns can be analysed". According to Cohen and Rosenthal (1971: 164), Geographers "... are concerned with man's activity in space expressed in distinctive patterns that emerge in terms of space, distance, direction, mass, and diffusion rate...".

In contrast to the above, Johnston (1980) held the view that process can only be uncovered if attention is directed to the decision-making activities of the actors involved in creating a given pattern. In recognition of this, Prescott (1972) explained that Political Geographers should have no interest in the decision-making process if it involves no consideration of geographical factors in the policy formulation. Muir and Paddison (1981) have, however, indicated that viewed geographically, our

interest is in how the decision interacts with the spatially organized environment in which they take place and their effect, in turn, on the environment.

The question as to how political processes exhibit themselves in the geographical space of the political system is one which has received attention in Political Geography literature (Kasperson and Minghi, 1969; Muir, 1981).

The subsequent sections will focus on the explanation which will serve to illustrate that the analysis of the spatial impact of the political process resides in the processes chosen for such a study. Such political processes include the following: integration and disintegration; changing international boundaries; transfer of sovereignty and the impact of the political process on the geographical landscape. Some of these themes are relevant to this study and in the sections below these topics will be discussed briefly.

1.5.3.1 INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

A useful area where political processes can be studied in terms of their spatial expression and the spatial structure within which they occur are integration and disintegration (not the focus of this study). Some definitions of spatial integration will suffice in this section. Haas (1957) indicated that it embraces the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new centre. Ainitai Azoinic (1956) identified three kinds of interaction: a centre for the use of violence; a centre of decision-making which is able to effect significantly the allocation of resources and rewards throughout the community; and dominant forces of political identification for a large majority of politically aware citizens.

Despite the difference in emphasis displayed in the definition

there is no basic disagreement in the scope of political integration. There is, however, no doubt that the analysis of interaction can be one tool for discovering how integration grows as a process. This does not mean that when a group of states enjoy a high degree of interaction, then integration has taken place. For the Political Geographer, however, the explanation of the term integration resides in the behavioural connotation in terms of the spatial and structural characteristics evident in the total political space of the states or regions concerned.

In analysing integration as a process, one way will be to identify the integration and the interrelationship by which a transaction transpires; communication such as mail and telephone calls. Trade in goods and services, transport links etc. are forms of transport flow that often lend themselves to patterns of spatial integration.

Nelan stated (Oct 8, 1990) in an article in *Time Magazine* regarding the unification of West and East Germany that "... the German Democratic Republic, a relic of Stalin's post-war empire, ceases to exist. In their rush towards unification over the past eleven months East and West Germany struck down the barriers between them like so many tenpins: building or upgrading plants and equipments, construction of roads, establishing communication networks and cleaning up industrial pollution are expected to eat up more than \$455 billion. Legally, the Federal Republic has been sovereign since 1955, but in terms of self-reliance and policy independence, unification marks a significant change". Bruce's article is a typical illustration of what is explicit in the process of political integration. Its significance to the process study for Geographers is the search for the structural and spatial manifestation of such an integration in time.

Disintegration is the opposite of integration. It is the process by which integration is disrupted and political systems break down and fall apart into two or more units. In George J. Church's article in *Time Magazine* (Dec. 24, 1990) captioned *The*

Anatomy of Coups as part of the process leading to the disintegration of the Russian Revolution, he outlined the following: "Revolutions are messy affairs that may go on for years with climax after climax before a new stable regime is finally established. But along the way they pass distinct turning points at which it becomes clear that the old order is gone beyond any hope of resurrection, and the future possible shape, however vague and tentative comes into view ... the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic as a subject of international law and a geographically reality is ceasing its existence, at the same time, the first blurry outline of what might replace the old union began to take shape. The new commonwealth formed by the three Slavic Republics. To dramatise the break from the communist - and before that, the Russian imperial past, the presidents decided that the commonwealth's co-ordinating bodies, yet to be formed would be based not in Moscow, nor in the Czarist capital of St Petersburg, but in the plain-Jane utilitarian Belorussian city of Minsk". Church's article is an account of a spatial disintegration process which is now a reality in our modern times due to ethnic nationalism. In this century it may not exhibit any spatial pattern, but a collection can be a politico-geographic spatial pattern of the historic past, which in the long term could be used to analyze the impact of current political processes. The disintegration of the USSR is a complex view of partitioning - a solution often used. It entails dividing the geographic space or reversing the geographic space to political systems which previously had a joint title or were separate governmental units.

As a Geographer, one's interest in a process study is from the standpoint of the impact of the super-imposed boundaries, and the changing spatial relations of the newly-created units or a reverse to the status quo. In both spatial integration and disintegration, structural frameworks of the political system and symbolization are the means by which political goals are impressed upon the landscape.

Political Geographers' interest in boundary studies is as antique as the phenomena itself. This is reflected in the volumes of literature which exist and includes Semple (1911), Boggs (1932), Jones (1959), Minghi (1969), and Prescott (1965).

From the viewpoint of geographical research on international border landscapes, Prescott (1965) reiterated four main research areas which should pre-occupy Political Geographers. These areas of research are concerned with (1) the political boundary as an element of the cultural landscape; (2) the effect of the boundary upon the landscape and on economic activity; (3) any impact the boundary might have on the attitude of border inhabitants; and (4) the effect of the boundary upon state policy.

The question of how changing boundaries as a unit of measuring spatial impact of political processes has received much attention among the classification of boundaries studies which exist. When changing boundaries become the unit for identifying the spatial manifestation of political processes, the focus of attention is given to the political process as an agent for creating or shifting boundaries as a landscape feature. This is based on the analysis of the impact of the boundary shift on pre-existing spatial patterns of phenomena and its related role in the re-orientation of economic, social, and political activities both in the region which has undergone the change in sovereignty and in the contiguous areas on either side.

The length of time between the change and the actual study and, more significantly, what spatial patterns needed to be studied in order to analyse the effect of the change are the key issues which require attention. As a response to these, Minghi (1969: 204) remarked, "there cannot be a definitive study of the impact of a boundary change, but rather because of the continuing process that the change generates there are recordings of the impact at different points of time". The primary concern of any study

national space and common features emerged. National space became formally controlled by a communication network orientated to the capital city and to the ports. New spatial forms emerged reflecting different levels of incorporation into the capitalist mode. Plantations, estates, mines, and towns formed isolated islands where capitalist relations predominated ... ultimately influenced the entire national space. Peri-urban areas acted as a commuting zone for urban workers".

The theoretical interest lies in the process of change and the interaction which the new political process generates with the territorial space is evident in the colonial legacy. Kaperson and Minghi (1969:206) formulated statements describing common characteristics associated with the processes of the transfer of sovereignty as follows: "There is usually a conscious attempt at systematic elimination of landscape relics of the former sovereignty. Different sets of priorities under the new sovereignty lead to changes in such features as land-use, land tenure patterns, and transportation routes. Forced or voluntary emigration of citizens back to areas under their own flag can cause changes in the population distribution Immigration of population usually takes place especially in the administrative and economic spheres to replace the emigrants -both spatially and vertically in the independent case. Internal reorganization of administration regions is often carried out with the aim of increasing the role of the central government".

These characteristics indicate that political-geographic research into transfer of sovereignty or independence are spatial processes which merit more attention by Political Geographers. The theoretical significance does not lie only in the comparative study which is offered by comparing the landscape relics of the past with the post-sovereignty landscape, but also associated political processes such as nation-building and economic development which became visible in the landscape as evidence of the new sovereignty. The state-building process may take various forms in different countries, depending on the conditions pre-

vailing in the country. From the Geographer's point of view, however the interest lies in the spatial impact of the process; the emphasis is on what Gottmann (1973) called iconography or the symbol of distinctiveness which the new state government uses to establish itself as being in control.

Other spatial processes may also be found in the programmes of economic development which the new government uses to alter or to reduce the level of poverty and unemployment on the national scale. In a nutshell, the Political Geographer's interest in the transfer of sovereignty as a unit of analysis is to show that the process in totality gives rise to aspects such as nation-building and economic development. Thus, if one can recognise these processes and understand their dynamics, this will enable one to be in a better position to identify the distinctive structures and patterns which are manifested by those processes on the landscape.

1.5.3.4 THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE

The impact of the political process on the geographical landscape may be considered to be an additional process study for Geographers. The major point of difference in the analysis of the political process lies in the political system within which the process operates. Whereas it would be accepted that the concepts process and the system are inseparable, the process created in the chronicle of two successive political systems may not be the same and neither would their respective impacts on the landscape vary. As a result, political systems can be compared, analyzed, distinguished, and broadly classified diachronically as they shift their positions along the spectrum through time so that their respective impacts provide a convenient landmark for associating each political process with the framework of its political system. Whittlesey (1935:19) remarked that "the political structure erected by every group of people is, ideally, a device for facilitating the economic and social life of the community.

It is most successful when it neatly fits the conditions of the natural environment in the area where it functions".

From this perspective it becomes feasible to analyze political process - integration and disintegration, changing international boundaries, transfer of sovereignty - as a landscape-changing feature which may not only vary in nature and objectives through time and from one political system to the other, but whose impact would also strongly be evident in the territorial space of its environs. Hence, in analysing the political process and its spatial attributes in one period succeeding the other, one is viewing political process in its restricted sense as the act of governing through formal political institutions and at the same time within the context of societal forces by which man orders his political life. Whereas the political system of pre-independent Africa was organized on a societal force of colonialism and racism, the independent societal force is based on a new sovereignty, self-determination, and self-preservation.

Therefore, by casting political process in the context of the societal forces it becomes feasible to understand the political process and its associated spatial impact. For example, a political system legislating the **Separate Amenities Act** and **Group Areas Act** can only be understood in a system whose societal forces are held on racial lines and also demonstrate a landscape pattern segregated according to ethnic population groups. Cohen and Rosenthal (1971:10) remarked, "... concerned with overriding societal forces then, one can find focus in the study of act of governing, whereby man applies power, usually through law, to shape the institution by which the governing process operates is the key to law-landscape analysis".

The view adopted in this study is that by analysing political process in a specific time frame of the political system (before the independence of Bophuthatswana and during independence), one is researching the interaction of man's political decisions and actions in changing geographical landscape patterns. In other

words, it is a study which systematically identifies and associates the spatially observed patterns in the geographical landscape with the political processes which created them.

1.5.4 PROCESS MODELS FOR POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Based on various views of aspects of political process which could be studied, attempts have also been made to design a number of geographical models for process studies. These include: the Unified Theory (Jones, 1954); and the System Approach (Parson, 1950; Easton, 1965; Cohen and Rosenthal, 1971; Prescott, 1972). The objective of this section is to outline some politico-geographical process models in an attempt to identify the most suitable model for the analysis of the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha.

1.5.4.1 UNIFIED THEORY

Jones' Unified Theory is a framework for the study of contemporary problems in Political Geography. Jones' concept of a unified theory is conceived as a link between an idea and a political area. They are conceived as two ends of a chain and the hyphen which connects them represents a series of interconnecting stages - where an initial idea results in a political decision which in turn leads to a movement affecting the field within the political area, the geographical base of the decision-making authorities. This is represented as a linked chain, and is illustrated as follows:

Political Idea — Decision — Movement — Field — Political Area.

Jones visualises all of the concepts as a chain of lakes where the basins interconnect at one level so that whatever enters one will spread to all of the others. The political idea expressed in the chain according to Jones, could mean any political ideas which are consciously expressed and may reach a favourable deci-

sion. By linking movement to the decision, the implication is that some decisions create movement, some change it and others restrict it. In the process a new kind of movement either replaces the old or controls it. At the end of the chain, the political area serves as the field of research for both Political Geographers and Political Scientists. Jones uses the political area to refer to any politically organized area, e.g. a national state, a sub-division of the state, etc.

Jones's holistic approach as expressed in the link chain to solve politico-geographical problems can be applied to all levels of political hierarchy. It is a significant expression of the political area as an effective functioning of political decisions and actions. Its emphasis lies on the relationship between ideas, decision-making, movements, and areas. As a tool for politico-geographical analysis, it provides a path between geography and politics, but not necessary a short cut in the link and can go in whatever direction one chooses. At the same time, political ideas and decisions are designed to either prevent, change, or preserve the *status quo* in all spheres of the political hierarchy. Therefore, by applying Jones's model, in addition to others, the impact of decisions can only be identified by the pattern which existed before the political decision was applied in the political area.

1.5.4.2 SYSTEM APPROACH

The adoption of the system approach in analysing politico-geographical problems was developed by Easton and Parson (1950) and has since become an important tool in Political Georaphy. The application of the system approach is based on the idea that the political process can create and influence the distribution of geographical phenomena only by operating within spatially bounded units. When the entire process and its geographical base is conceived as a system, it demonstrates a composite of elements with relations between itself and its spatially bounded unit. According to Muir and Paddison (1981) political activities are

linked in behavioural terms to the environment within which they take place (Figure 1.4). In that manner the political activities, according to Muir and Paddison (1981) constitute a system of behaviour set in an environment which influences the political system itself and to which it in turn reacts.

Figure 1.4 is used to illustrate the four components of the political system set in the geographical space of the political system which consist of the following:

- * a set of inputs consisting of demands and support which establishes the dynamic nature of the system, furnishing it with information and ideas;
- * a centralised decision-making mechanism which receives and formulates the inputs into decisions or public policies;
- * output, the exit of the system, through which the centralised decision-makers influence the distribution of human and physical phenomena; and
- * the feedback mechanism serves to relay information from the environment in order to modify new inputs and outputs.

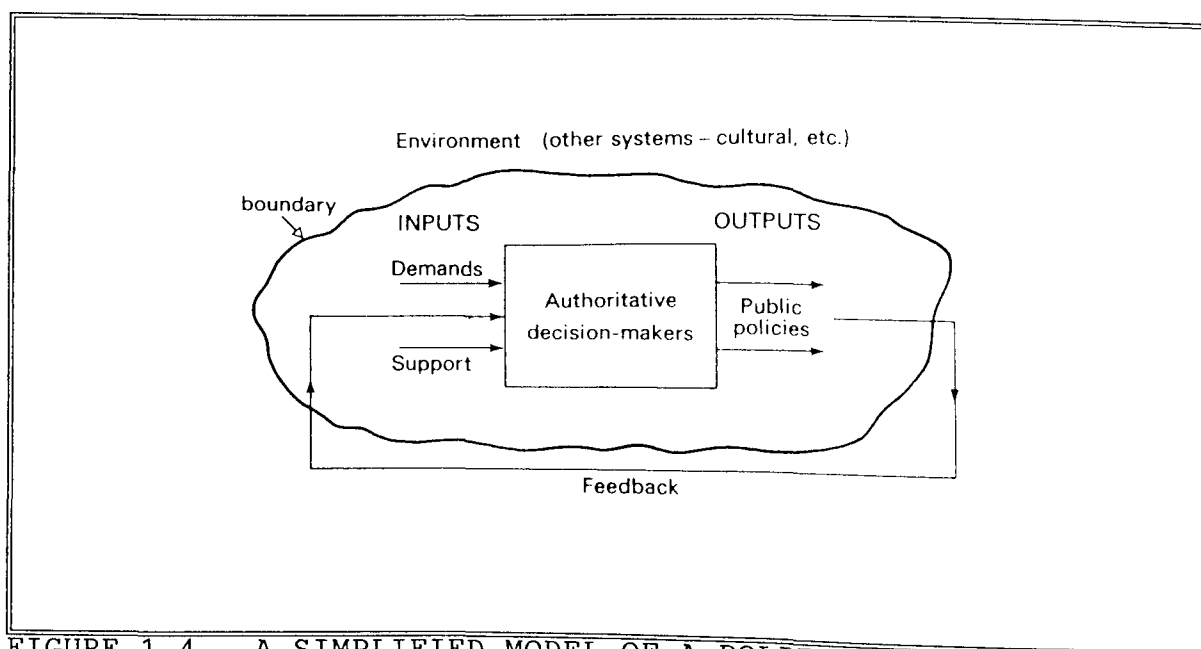


FIGURE 1.4 A SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM
(Source: Muir and Paddison, 1981:16)

The system exhibits both open and closed characteristics which enable the political system to regulate itself politically internally and externally respectively to other systems. By conceiving political activities in a system framework, one can show how a political system functions to influence the distribution of phenomena in a territorial space. Easton's system approach has a significant implication for this study. Firstly, it can be used to represent the pre-independent and independent political systems, and secondly, to identify the distinctive political process which has issued therefrom. Again as a distinctive tool, it can be applied as a framework at all levels of the political hierarchy, but it cannot be used independently to analyse the impact of the political process on the geographical landscape.

1.5.4.3 PRESCOTT'S MODEL

Another effort which was made to apply the system approach to verify a politico-geographical problem is the one developed by Prescott (1972). A Professor of Geography at the University of Melbourne, he is known for his contributions to Political Geography. He developed a model based on the system approach which provides a comprehensive description and analysis of the full scope of Political Geography. His model shows, at the same time the relationship between Geography and public policy as shown in Figure 1.5.

It illustrates perceived and unperceived factors which influence policy-making and the operation of policies respectively, including the consequences which flow from policies. Based on Prescott's model, it is no longer fashionable to question the value of a particular study by asking: Is it Geography? Hence his model advances a framework for verifying whether a specific policy should receive attention from Political Geographers or not.

From this perspective his model advances three stages: policy-making, policy operation, and results of policies - from where

making, policy operation, and results of policies - from where geographical factors may have an influence. It also indicates areas where Political Geographers should involve themselves in research into policies. In applying Prescott's model to this study, one finds that it provides a theoretical plan for studying the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha. It does not, however, indicate the kind of landscape components which need to be analysed to show the impact of the political process on the landscape.

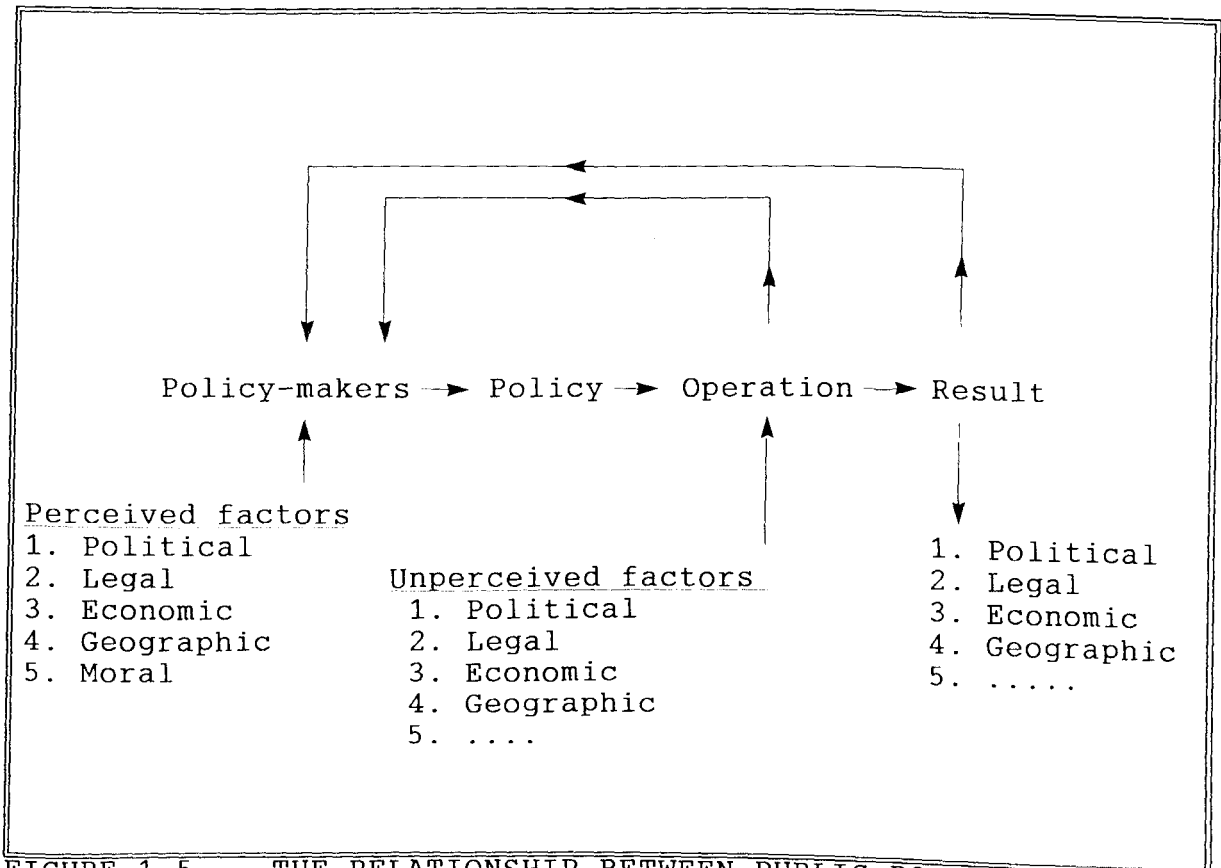


FIGURE 1.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC POLICY AND GEOGRAPHY
(Source: Prescott, 1972:97)

1.5.4.4 COHEN AND ROSENTHAL'S MODEL

Cohen and Rosenthal's model is also another geographical model which has made a significant contribution as a tool for the analysis of spatial attributes in a political process. Their Geographical Model for Political Systems Analysis is set on the

premise that Political Geography is concerned with the spatial attributes of the political process. On that note, they unfold the political process and its spatial attribute within a framework or system approach to embrace the overall politico-geographical concepts such as territoriality, political place, perception, decision-making etc. Cohen and Rosenthal's model illustrates the political role of man in society and the relation of that role to the land, and to indicate the consequences of that relation in the formation of the political system (Figure 1.6).

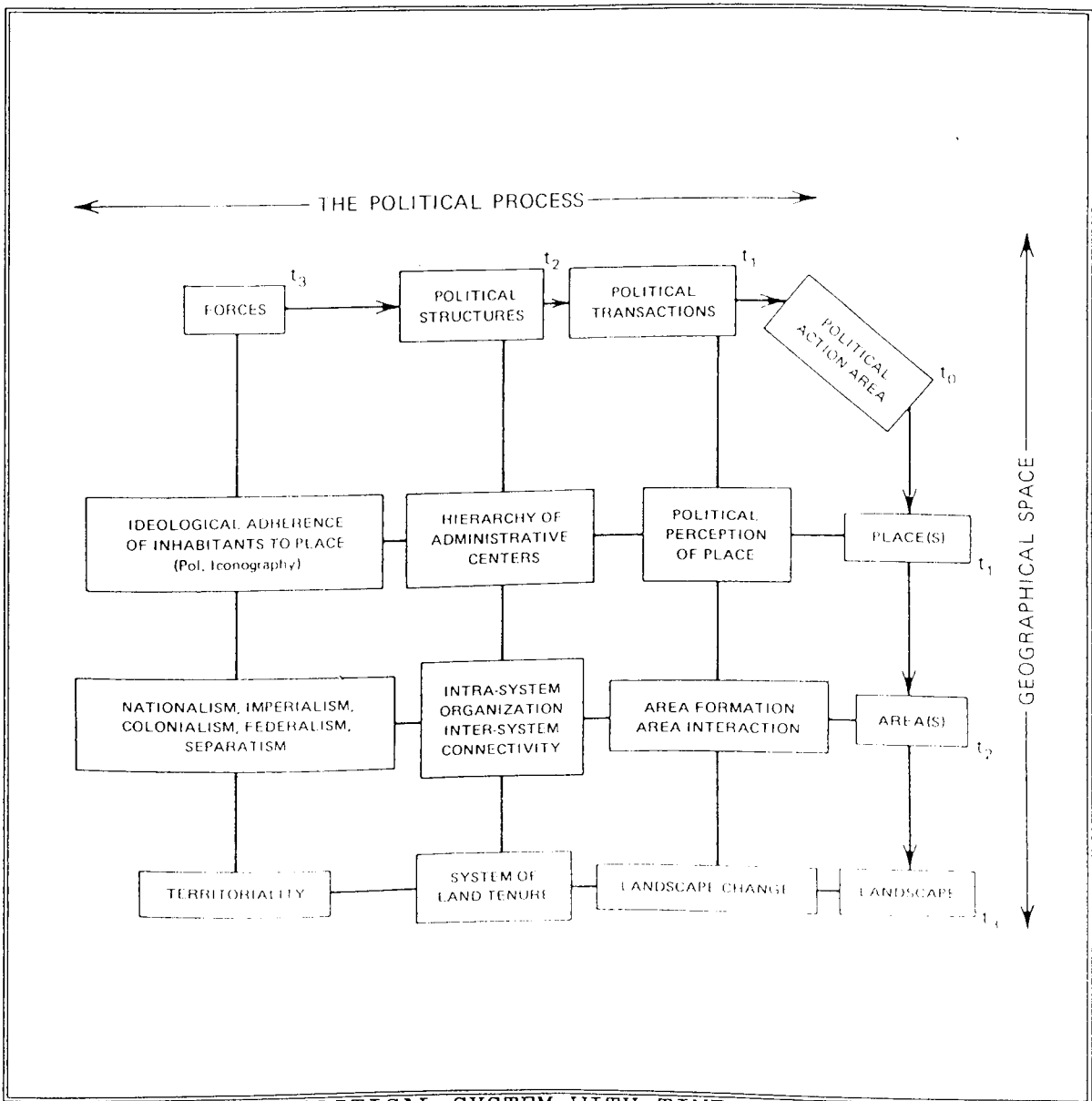


FIGURE 1.6 THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WITH TIME SCALE
 (Source: Cohen and Rosenthal, 1971:116)

In the model man's political role is expressed in several facets (as in political structure, political transaction and societal forces) on the multi-dimensional aspect of the land (place, areas, and landscapes). These were identified as the major components in their analysis of the political system, where any form of relation and interaction is established. The relation between the political structure and the land defines the locational attributes of land (e.g political structure and place defines the hierarchy of administrative centres). The relationship between the political structure and the political area defines the content and organisation of the area. What is significant in the model is the political action area, the sum total of the multi-dimension aspect of the land where the political transaction makes its impact.

They further simplified their model (as in Figure 1.7) to emphasize the interaction between the political transaction and the land, where the spatial aspect of man's role takes place. The interaction which precedes the hierarchy, ideologies, are less spatial; those which follow the land tenure system though directly spatially inclined are not unique to the political process. In addition to this, man in his cultural and economic role also generates landscape change, area formation and interaction. The three interactions which contribute to the analysis of the political action area are territoriality, political perception of place and the internal and external impact. They concluded that the spatial attribute of the political process, which is the main focus of their model, is forged by the sense of territoriality and place, politically perceived whether within or outside of the area's system.

Implicit in their model are the time scales and societal forces from which political processes are issued through political structure; an indication that their impact on place, area, and on the landscape will differ according to the time scale. The entire political process and the geographical space constitutes the political system.

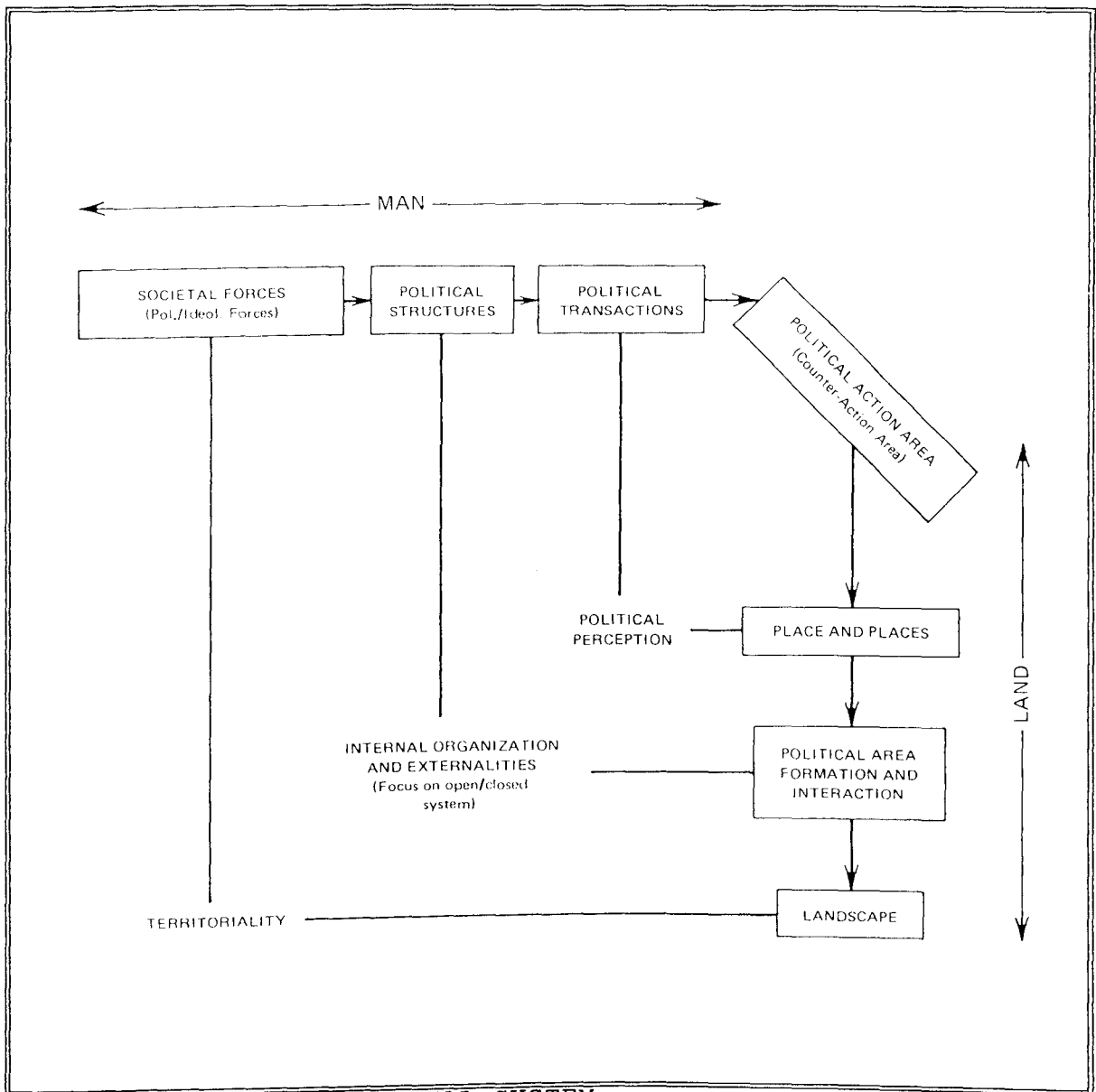


FIGURE 1.7 THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

(Source: Cohen and Rosenthal, 1971:117)

Cohen and Rosenthal's model serves as a tool for the study of the spatial manifestation of political process and it is the most suitable framework for this study. However, it does not indicate which of the components among the mosaic of the landscape are mostly affected and the pattern of change from one time period to the other in the new political system. It is for this reason that one should consider it appropriate to modify Cohen and Rosenthal's model and to adapt it to this study's objectives.

1.5.5 A PROCESS MODEL FOR THE EXPLANATION OF THE CHANGE IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA DUE TO BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE

Figure 1.8 is a model which attempts to provide a framework to illustrate the impact of two successive political systems¹ identified as TS1 (pre-1977) and TS2 (1977-1992) on the geographic space of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. The main objective of the model is to structure the explanation of the transfer of the sovereignty of Thaba Nchu district by the government of the Republic of South Africa to Bophuthatswana in 1977, and the consequence of Bophuthatswana's sovereignty (independence) on the transformation of the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from L1 (1976) to L2 (1992).

Figure 1.8 depicts two political systems and processes which have been instituted on the geographical space of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. In TS1 the political system for the pre-1977 is expressed as a facet of the political process, viz. political transactions², political structures³, and supportive societal forces⁴ - which relates and interact with the multi-dimensional aspects of the land, viz. the political action area- which constitutes the building blocks of the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha.

The relation and interaction of the facets of the political process with an aspect of the land, define the locational attributes of the land. For example, the relation and interaction of the

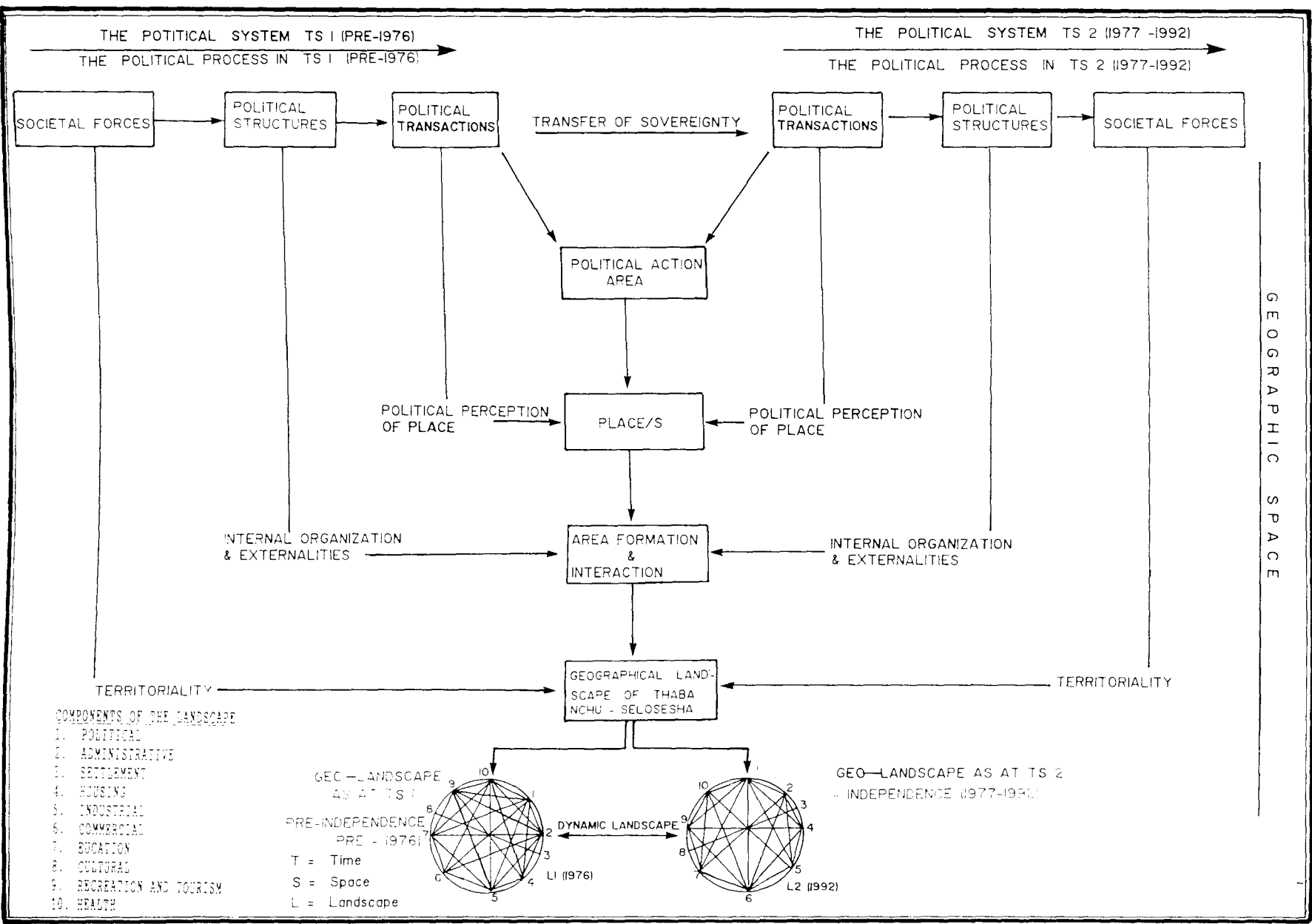
¹It represents that pattern of human interaction wherein power and authority are generated, allocated, influenced and changed - the pattern whereby society is organised.

²The laws, policies, and programmes which apply throughout the whole territory of the state.

³ Institutions established to serve the entire population of the state.

⁴Ideas and beliefs which relate directly to the political system.

FIGURE 1.8 A PROCESS MODEL TO EXPLAIN THE CHANGE IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA



political transaction and the place shows the political action area of the political process. It therefore provides a political perception of the place. The relation and interaction between the political structure and the place (Thaba Nchu-Selosesha) is expressed in the area formation. The consequence is the formation of hierarchies of centres and a network system which forges the area's internal and external relations.

The most important societal force during the pre-independent period was the ideological perspective which influenced the organization and goals of the political process in the study area. It also dictated the populations' sense of attachment to land, more broadly to geographical area, and is expressed as territoriality.

These three relations and interactions, first laid a land-use spatial pattern in the geographical landscape, with the aspects of the land in the political action area, where the spatial aspect of the political process is. The interaction that precedes the hierarchy (area) and ideologies are less spatially inclined. Spatial patterns resulting from land tenure, though significant, are also unique to the political process. The political and socio-economic role of the political process is a determined factor as to what kind of spatial pattern would be evident in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha during the pre-independent period. The role of man in relation to political transaction (i.e legislative and other control measures) during TS1 has a unique impact on the landscape.

The result of the three locational attributes, viz. political perception of the place, internal and external organization, and the territoriality in the political action area explain the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as the impact of the political process in TS1 during the pre-1976 period. The analysis is based on the political and socio-economic role of political transactions; a facet of the political process in TS1 during pre-1976.

The geographical landscape marked L1 in TS1 is a construct of the landscape components (spatial patterns) inherent in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. It is viewed in the framework of the system approach where the entire geographical landscape is considered as a composition of different land-uses and each land-use constitutes a component. The composition of the landscape components numbered 1 to 10 denote the following: 1. Political, 2. Administrative, 3. Settlement, 4. Housing, 5. Industrial, 6. Commercial, 7. Education, 8. Cultural, 9. Recreation and Tourism, 10. Health. The geographical landscape L1 as in TS1 represents the pre-independent replica of the impact of political processes pre-1976.

Towards the right in Figure 1.8 the time scale lengthens the sovereignty upholding the political process and TS1 is transferred to a new political system in the year 1977. The new sovereignty, influenced by its own societal forces, defined its own facets of political process - political transactions and political structures - which replaced the political system and the political process in TS1. The relation and interaction are between the facets of the political process in TS2 for the period 1977-1992 and the already existing dimension of the land, viz. - places, area, and landscapes (Thaba Nchu-Selosesha). Whatever the political role of the facets in the political process in TS2, they should be understood through the operation of the new sovereignty.

The political transaction in TS2 should be viewed as an element of the total political process. Its relationship to the political structure is seen as a means to strengthen an effective central authority which the central government utilises to develop the needs of the societal forces and to integrate the territory.

During the period 1977 to 1992 it is being hypothesised that the perspective of the societal forces in its new sense of territoriality would indicate grave deficiencies in education, housing, health, lack of incentives, concessions for free market

enterprise, and poor infrastructures at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. This might have a dramatic influence on the political and socio-economic role of the political process which is instituted.

Finally, attention should also be paid to the economic and socio-cultural role of the political processes to ascertain if they have been used to meet the aspirations of the societal forces. Also whether this has led to a change in the landscape component which is to be analysed and to indicate the extent of this change on the geographical landscape (L1) from the pre-independent era to the geographical landscape L2 during the independent period. On the basis of the above a hypothetical geographical landscape L2 in TS2 has been constructed for Thaba Nchu-Selosesha which is similar to the components in L1 in TS1 but also includes an additional industrial land-use for analysis and comparison to determine if any change occurred during the independent era in TS2 for the period 1977 to 1992. Whatever change might have occurred in the spatial patterns will be analysed; whether the rate of change was formerly zero (a static equilibrium state) or a steady rate of growth or decline (a dynamic equilibrium of state). This could be attributed to the impact of transfer of the sovereignty in 1977.

The significance of this model is that it differs from other conventional approaches in three respects:

- * it emphasises the characteristics of the interrelations of the parts of the general structure of the two political systems;
- * it helps to elucidate the two political processes and their spatial impact upon the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha;
- * it focuses upon the components in the landscape which can be analysed to indicate the change and the impact of independence as a political process on the geographical landscape.

Figure 1.9 is an illustration of the analytic structure of the research, including the composition of the chapters of the study. The chapters of the study as marked in Figure 1.9 are as follows:

- * Chapter 2 represents the literature review of the impact of political processes on the geographical landscape;
- * Chapter 3 and 4 illustrate the spatial manifestation of the pre-independent (pre-1976) and independent (1977-1992) processes respectively on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha;
- * Chapter 5 shows a comparative analysis of the pre-independent and independent geographical landscapes; and
- * Chapter 6 provides a synthesis of the study and a scenario of possible future landscape changes in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha due to a changing political environment in South Africa.

Figure 1.10 provides a summary of the changing geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha which will be analysed (past, present and future). In each political phase, certain spatial strategies have been (will be) instituted to activate the political process which will have the capacity to mould, transform or influence the geographical landscape (e.g. 1976, 1992 and 2010).

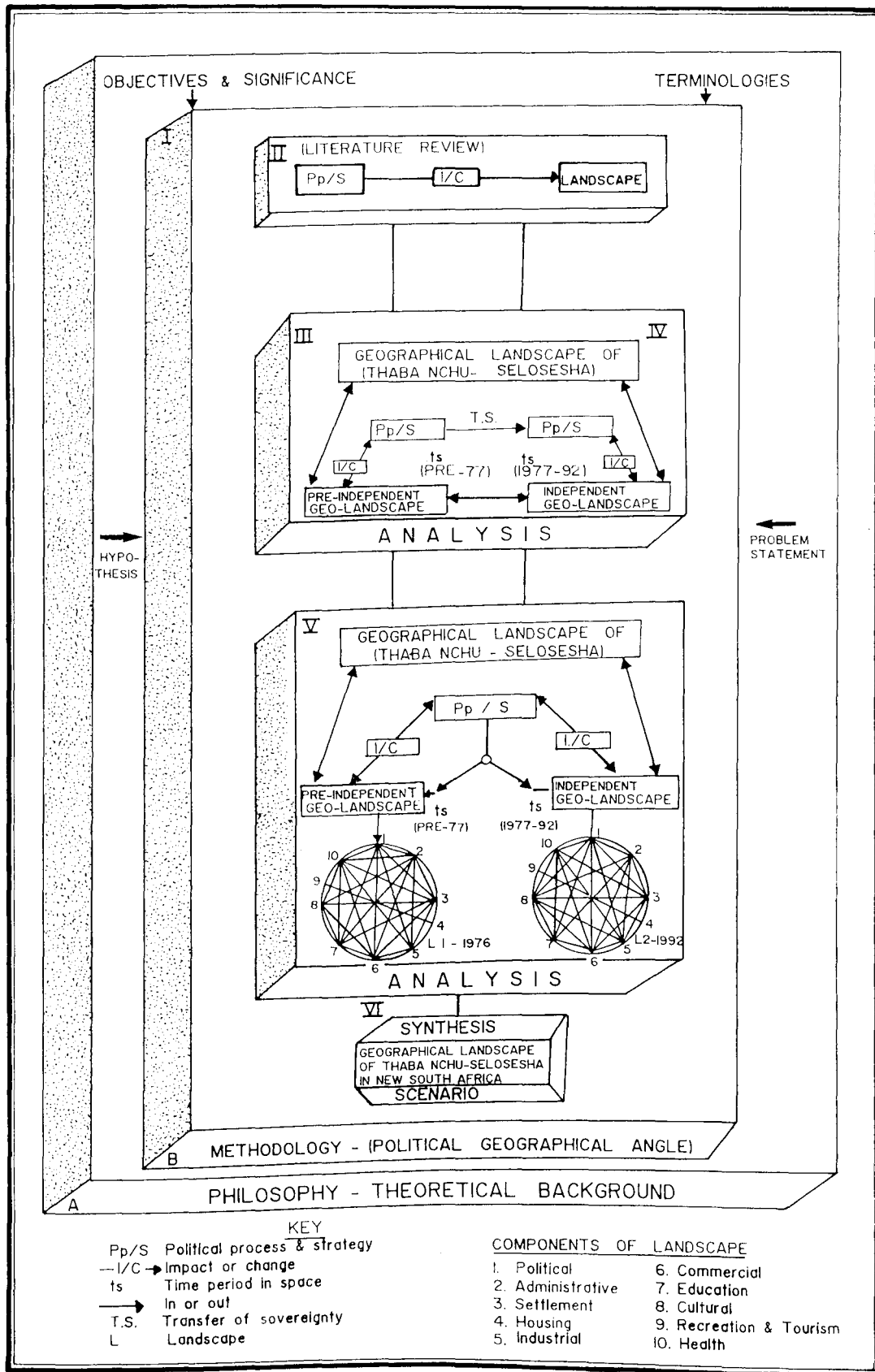


FIGURE 1.9. THE ANALYTIC STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

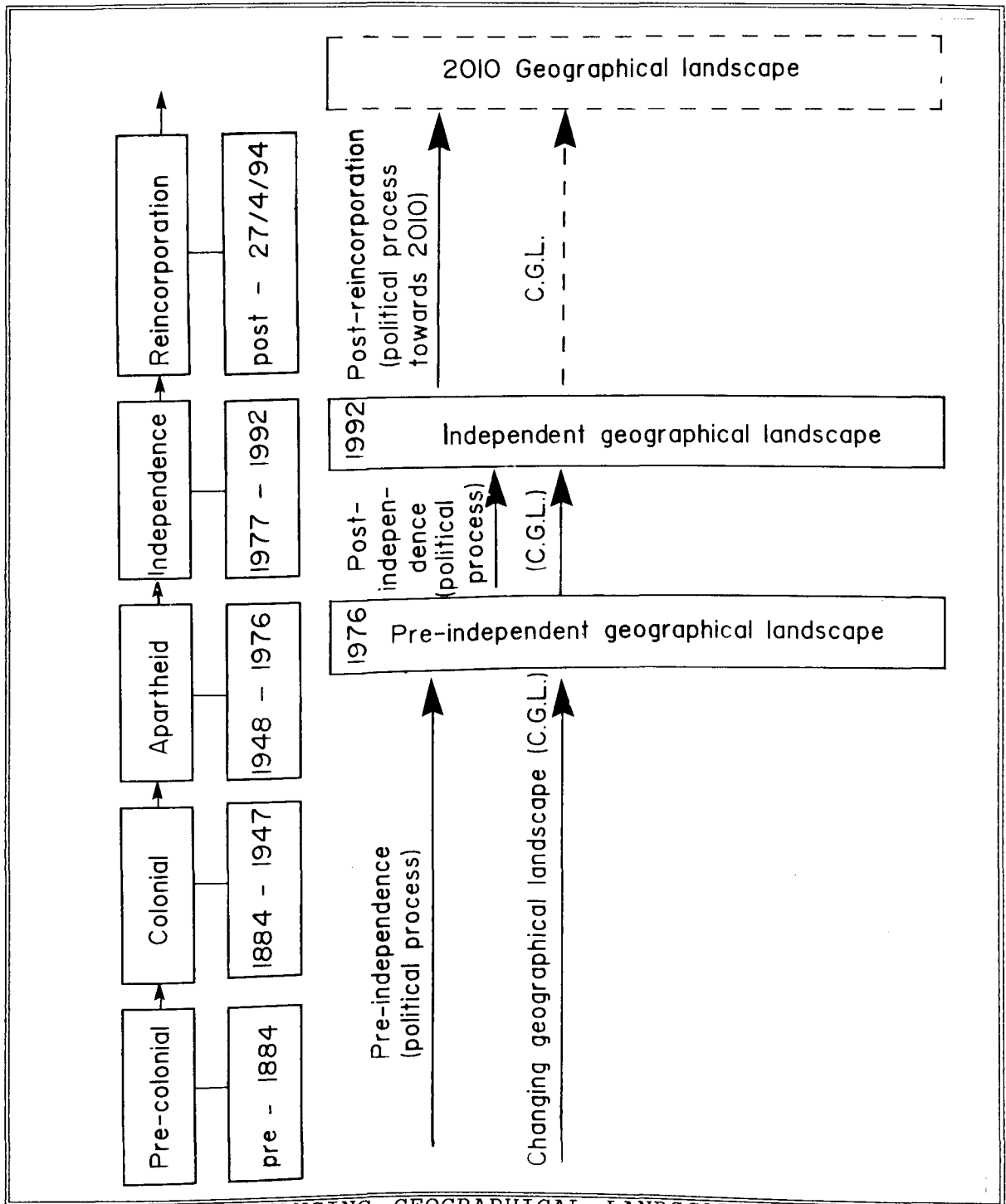


FIGURE 1.10 CHANGING GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOESHA: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

CHAPTER 2

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The analysis of the spatial manifestation of the political process in shaping the landscape is an idea of which man, conscious of himself and his activities, is increasingly aware and has been touched on by scores of scholars throughout the ages. The fact is that once man has acquired jurisdiction over a territorial space, whether by exploration, conquest, treaty or transfer of sovereignty, the political processes instituted exerts inert qualities which in turn modify the physical and cultural environment. It is that search for the political imprint in the landscape which has been documented over the ages. The objective of this chapter is, firstly, to review the literature which has contributed to our knowledge about geographical patterns evident on the map of nations, states, and the cities because of political considerations. The second objective is to place this study in context with similar research studies which have addressed similiar issues. To achieve this the first section of the chapter will focus on the two salient approaches which have been adopted in this regard, viz. the cultural imprint and political impress approach. The second section will pay more attention to evidence which exists in the literature regarding the imprint of the political process on the geographical landscape at the geographical scales extending from the supra-national level to the local jurisdiction of the local community.

2.1 APPROACHES TO LANDSCAPE STUDIES

The concept of landscape in Modern Geography emerged in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century and was introduced to American Geography by Carl Sauer in his publication, *Morphology of Landscape* in 1925. Sauer's study was an attempt to provide a positive alternative to the study of the man-environmental rela-

tionship, which has been dominated by the philosophy of environmental determinism. In literature two approaches - the cultural and political impress - have been considered appropriate to interpret man's role in shaping the geographical landscape.

2.1.1 THE CULTURAL IMPRINT APPROACH

The cultural imprint approach which was the first to be adopted to interpret man's impact on the landscape originated from the School of Cultural Landscape. It was developed by Sauer in the United States and Hoskins in England. The concept, cultural landscape, was defined by English and Mayfield (1973:87) as "... the analysis of human interaction with the physical world through the study of man's tangible footprints on its surface". Cultural landscape studies recognised that it is the ordinary, yet highly complex landscape, which expressed the wealth and history of people. This approach was pioneered by Hoskins (1958) and Norland (1986) in their books *The Shaping of Ireland* and *The Making of English Landscape* respectively. Their studies outlined the evolution of the land, countryside, and urban places in Ireland and England from the perspective of Geography. They were primarily concerned with the role of human activities in creating places within the constraints of the natural environment and the imprint created thereafter.

Norland uncovered the relationship between settlements and land-holding within the political and social system. In conclusion to his chapter, Norland (1986: 24-25) outlined the role played by the Anglo-Norman in the making of Irish landscape and described the political and social organization as follows: "They organized the rural population into minors. They set up parochial systems. They built an urban network, and most primarily of all, they established a centralised government which protected trade. By doing all this they brought Ireland into the mainstream of European development. A contemporary visitor from Rhineland travelling to Trim would have found the town, with its imposing castle, town walls, a cathedral and abbeys, a familiar site".

Hoskins' (1958) book, similarly seeks to disentangle the historic impress of the people on their cultural landscape as outlined by Norland.

Sauer (1962) on the other hand, demonstrated a remarkable understanding of human communities, their way of life, and their cultural landscape. In his essay *Homestead and Community in the Middle Border*, Sauer described the origins and evolution of rural life and the landscape in the Middle West from its peopling in the nineteenth century to its decline in the twentieth. The first wave of settlements came primarily from Appalachia Anglo-Saxon hunters and livestock raiders who brought the log cabin, the long rifle, and the American frontier to the plains. Sauer found that German and Scandinavian farmers migrated onto the plains in the 1830's and introduced plough agriculture and framed houses to the region. Sauer concluded that the landscape and people are clearly focused in a single image: the single houses with their neat fields and self-sufficient families, the town with its church, and later its university. The mixture of ethnic and religious communities in the broad matrix of dispersed settlement on the town's grid.

Denevan (1992:369-385) attempted in *Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492*, to dismiss the claim by Sale (1990), that "New World people lived in harmony with nature and refrained deliberately from altering their environment, to the degree that they were somehow able to maintain an idyllic ecological equilibrium". Sale's assertion was in support of the myth that persisted in 1492 that America's sparsely populated wilderness was barely perceptible to human disturbance. However, Denevan whose research was concerned with the form and magnitude of environmental modification rather than whether or not Indians lived in harmony with nature, was largely interested in what they did to change their landscape. Denevan discovered that by 1492 Indian activity throughout America had modified forest extent and composition. They had also created and expanded grassland and rearranged micro-relief via countless artificial earthworks.

Agricultural fields were common, as were houses, towns, roads, and trails. The evidence was pieced together from vague ethno-historical accounts but field surveys and archaeology supports the hypothesis that the Indian landscape of 1492 had largely changed by the mid-eighteenth century; not through a European super-imposition, but because of the demise of the native population. He stated further that the pre-historic New World environment remains conspicuous on the landscape today, ranging from the ruins of great cities and monumental ceremonial centres, to field patterns and traces of road systems.

The cultural landscape pursued through accurate, systematic description stressed those visible, concrete elements associated with human occupation and the utilization of the land. In the view of English and Mayfield (1973:4) "...the emphasis was on fact more than theory, content more than context and form more than processes". However, the unfortunate neglect and attention on form rather than process which in some cases form the cornerstone of the explanation of spatial patterns of human behaviour paved the way for more attention on process studies.

2.1.2 POLITICAL IMPRESS APPROACH

The second approach in the study of geographical landscape in scholarly literature emphasizes the political process and its spatial manifestation. This approach commonly referred to as the political impress approach was pioneered by Whittlesey (1890-1956). Whittlesey, a Professor of Geography at Harvard University wrote an essay in 1935 on *The Impress of Effective Central Authority Upon the Landscape*. In this essay he examined the various ways by which politics can modify the landscape. He identified these as an expression of security, special features of boundaries, expression of government activity, and the effect of the legal system, and labelled them as agents of political impress, that is, the vehicle or means by which political process manifested itself in the landscape. By viewing the central authority as a political agent on the landscape, this study is of the

opinion that Whittlesey was reaffirming his position again on what he regarded as Political Geography: the differentiation of political phenomena from place to place over the earth's surface. His approach provided the perspective to improve the understanding of the areal variation in political character from place to place. Whittlesey's approach was supported by Prescott (1972), but the latter cautioned Political Geographers that in the examination of the impact of political process attention should not be given to political processes that have no geographical impact. Prescott provided a wider scope for the study of the influence of political decisions on geographical patterns as illustrated in Table 2.1.

In Table 2.1 the main geographical patterns are listed on the vertical axis. On the horizontal axis a distinction is made between overt decisions and actions in terms of diverse governmental and non-governmental decisions and actions which influence geographical patterns. The ticks in the table at the point of intersection of the vertical and horizontal variables identify decisions and actions which have either a possible or negligible influence on geographical patterns. The decisions and actions of political process are covered on the three geographical scales in terms of administration, defence, and development. Prescott's approach provided a wider scope for research which deals with the influence of political decisions and actions on geographical patterns. Table 2.1 illustrates a single period, but by applying Prescott's approach the table can be applied to show the relationship between decisions and actions, and that geographical patterns can change with the duration of time.

Political Geographers who subscribed to this approach included Parson (1950), Jones (1954), Easton (1965), Cohen and Rosenthal (1971) and Christopher (1984). Their contributions gave substance to the approach because they designed geographical models and provided a theoretical framework for the study and analysis of geo-political impress. To date, their models as discussed in chapter one, continue to serve as the only alternative to the



studies of the spatial impact of political process.

TABLE 2.1 THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL DECISIONS AND ACTS ON GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERNS

	OVERT DECISIONS								OVERT ACTIONS								
	SUPRANATIONAL AUTHORITY		NATIONAL GOVERNMENT			SUB-NATIONAL AUTHORITY			SUPRANATIONAL AUTHORITY		NATIONAL GOVERNMENT			SUB-NATIONAL AUTHORITY		NON GOVERNMENT BODIES	
	Admin-istrative	Develop-ment/Defence	Admin-istrative	Develop-ment	Defence	Admin-istrative	Develop-ment	Admin-istrative	Defence/Development	Admin-istrative	Develop-ment	Defence	Admin-istrative	Develop-ment	Economic aims (e.g. trade unions)	Political aims (e.g. Viet Cong)	
POPULATION Distribution Migration Numbers Structure	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
ECONOMY Production Location Structure	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
TRADE Direction Scale Structure	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	
TRANSPORT Patterns Type	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	
BOUNDARIES	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	?	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	
SETTLEMENT Location Size Form	×	?	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE	×	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	?	?	

× Negligible influence ✓ Possibly significant influence ? Uncertain influence

Source: Prescott, 1972:15

While this study acknowledges the significant contribution of Whittlesey, Prescott, and other Political Geographers it also recognises that the cultural approach is inevitable in the spatial analysis of political processes. For if it becomes necessary to trace evolution of the present landscape, then in the view of Bell (1986), the distinctive and varied organization of space before it came into contact with modern political systems can only be identified in the cultural landscape. It is the nature of change in the landscape through its organization rather than its replacement, which has been the object of geographical analysis.

2.2 SCALE OF IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS

From the literature one can identify process studies which have been studied at all levels of the geographical scale. The result of the studies at each level of the geographical scales has injected realism into the impact of political process on the environment and also to the understanding of why there are variations in political character throughout the world. The significance of this study is intended to illustrate the political diversity of political process studies. Again, it will certainly to indicate the position of this study among the geographical scales. For the purposes of this study, some of the ideas which have been uncovered about political process studies and the impact of various political processes are examined at the supra-national, national, and local levels.

2.2.1 THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS AT THE SUPRA-NATIONAL LEVEL

The division of political process into three geographical scales is an acknowledgement that political process emanates from the centre although its impact may spread to other levels. It is also a reflection of the "three tiers" administrative levels in the world's political system. Literature existing at the supra-national scale indicated that there are powerful international organizations (e.g. United Nations) and regional groupings which exert a form of authority and undertake to act in specific matters in specific regions which influence geographical patterns. At the supra-national level, colonization, decolonization, and changing international boundaries are a few of the processes which have been widely covered in the studies of Hodgson and Stoneman (1963), Christopher (1984), Bell (1986), and Drakakis-Smith (1987).

In the studies mentioned the authors defined and distinguished between colonialism and imperialism to give perspective to their line of studies. However, the two terms were used interchange-

ably as pre-independent political processes. Bell (1986) explained colonialism as essentially involving political control over a territory by a foreign power. He added that it was the scramble for Africa which initiated political change of this kind which coincided with the political process of economic transformation known as imperialism. Drakakis-Smith (1987:11) termed the two concepts as capitalist colonialism and imperialism and defined the former as "... the assumption of power for economic purposes, while imperialism... as encompassing a similar process but within a more formal political framework and in circumstances of more extensive settlement by representatives of metropolitan or colonial power". Despite the differences in their definitions, the writers paid attention to colonialism in Africa and Asia.

To begin with Drakakis-Smith (1987:11) indicated that "... colonialism should not be regarded as a homogenous political process, but it varied enormously across the world according to complex mix of particular countries involved and the specific motivation for expansion at the time it occurred". Mabogunje (1972) recognised Smith's view but indicated that the interaction between colonialism and the territorial space of Africa and Asia should not be assumed to have taken place on a blank slate of backward, traditional societies on which the process was inscribed. Mabogunje (1972:57) described in spatial terms the impact of the distinctive and varied political organisation of space of pre-colonial times as "... powerful state structures, long distance interaction between groups, the sub-division of land and agricultural land-use as a representative outcome of particular form of political economic and social organisation". The significance of the views in this paragraph according to Crush and Rogerson (1983) was that it is the nature of change in the spatial organization rather than replacement of it which has been the basis of analysis of spatial change.

In Africa the changing political maps illustrated by Hodgson and Stoneman (1963:46-47), Bell (1986:67-86), and Christopher

(1984:30) are indications of the pattern of alien political processes. Their maps provided the essential background for the understanding of the sequence of occupation from colonial rule to the emergence of sovereign states. According to Christopher (1984:27) the African map in the 1880's shows that "comparatively little of the continent was under direct European control... and that the partition is closely linked to the diplomatic history of Europe, and was undertaken with little regard for the intrinsic value of the African continent". Significant changes to the landscape emerged with the imposition of political boundaries and colonial names for each colonial territory. The evolution of the African map excludes political entities as known elsewhere in the world, but a few scarcely existed except along the peripheries.

Although the colonial era was of short duration over much of the African continent according to Rodney (1972), the European powers shattered the majority of the pre-existing societies or at least held them in subservience for long enough to impose many alien ideas. A significant example given by Christopher (1984:193) to support Rodney's statement revealed that "...large numbers of Europeans who came to Africa either to settle permanently or to exploit the opportunities offered in the continent contributed to new European societies being formed which were able to impress their ideas upon the landscape and created an image of France or England overseas".

As part of his contribution to the studies about colonialism, Drakakis-Smith (1987) provided a simplified framework and a description of the stages of the spatial impact of colonialism on colonial cities in Asia (Table 2.2). The table bears close resemblance to the views and the examples which were given by Rodney(1972) and Christopher(1984).

The impact of colonialism on the Political and Social Geography of Africa was profound. The boundaries defined imposed a new uniformity on the political organization of space which has changed

TABLE 2.2 STAGES OF THE SPATIAL IMPACT OF COLONIZATION
IN ASIA

CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES	MAJOR FEATURES OF THE IMPACT
Pre-contact	Small, organically patterned towns predominate
1500	
Mercantile Colonialism	Limited colonial presence in existing ports; trade usually in natural products of local region
1800	
Transitional Phase	Reduced European interest in investment overseas; greater profits made in industrial revolution
1850	
Industrial Colonialism	European need for cheap raw material and food; colonialism takes territorial form, new settlement patterns and morphology created
1920	
Late Colonialism	Intensification of European morphological influence; extension to smaller towns in hierarchy; increased ethnic segregation
1950	
Early Independence	Early rapid growth of indigenous populations through migration in search of jobs; expansion of slum and squatter settlements

Source: Drakakis-Smith, 1987:12

very little after independence. Bell (1986: 71) held that "... a reliance on lines of latitude and longitude in the absence of geographical detail resulted in tribal groups being politically divided, particular features emerged in West Africa". For example, the Ewes were split between the Gold Coast (now Ghana) as a result of a new boundary drawn immediately after the inde-

pendence of Ghana in 1957. In support of the debate about colonialism, Boateng (1979), and Soja and Weaver (1968) discovered that the pre-colonial landscape patterns were distorted through the process of colonialism in West and East Africa respectively. In spite of the geographical diversity of the two areas, the similarity in the patterns which emerged in those areas, in the view of this study, testifies to the potent force of colonization. In both areas their studies revealed that the spatial patterns (railway lines and roads) were externally orientated to mines and plantations, and exports and wholesale trade were channelled through newly-built capitals and seaports. The major centres of colonial commerce and administration, subsidiary towns and villages were established to act as points of collection of produce and as service centres. The overall pattern was essentially primate in which one centre dominated and in which the colonial elite was concentrated.

A number of prominent forces began in the mid-nineteenth century, which contributed to the process of decolonization. Glassner and De Blij (1980:325) outlined such evidence as "...the steady evolution of democracy in Western Europe, the United Kingdom, and France;...the spectacular success of Japan in industrialising, in defeating a Greater Power of Europe... and in starting her own colonial empire demonstrated that independence, wealth, power, and industrialization were not reserved only for Europeans". In spite of the change and the disintegration of colonial structures, little attempt has been made to consider the spatial impact of colonial process as patterns of historical interest. However, colonial structures have been seen not only in terms of how they have influenced the behaviour of independent states, but they have become a yard stick for assessing the pattern of post-independent changes.

Christopher (1984) indicated that as a result of new administrative structures, the ex-colonial state during independence had their internal administrative boundaries radically altered to meet the changed methods of administration. The repeated drawing

of Nigeria's internal boundaries was cited as a point in case by Barbour (1982). In Malawi and Tanzania it was illustrated in the relocation of the political capital after independence.

In Tanzania Gilbert (1974) indicated that the decolonization process was spelt out in the Arusha Conference of 1966, where a declaration for the establishment of Ujamaa socialist village system was established. Mascarenhes and Claeson (1972) identified that a new system of growth and service centres emerged as vehicles for stimulating rural development. Glassner and De Blij (1982:337) concluded that "... there was a new emphasis on development of the country, ... land reform programmes, attempts to resettle nomads, investment in massive infrastructure projects and to diversify the economy... (in part for political and nationalistic reasons, even if the industries are uneconomic and agriculture were neglected)...". It is therefore not surprising that independent African governments have sought to modify and Africanise the image of colonial capitals, with new parliament buildings, conference centres etc. In these attempt the development programmes to change colonial disparity became the policy of independent nations. However, because independence did not occur at the same time and at as large a scale as colonialism, studies directed at aspects of independence as a political process can only be found at the national and local levels in different nations.

Another political process study which became evident in the literature was the establishment and demarcation of international boundaries at the supra-national level which reflected a varying degree of human political behaviour. Research by Brunn (1974), Kibulya (1967), Reitsma (1972), Schlier (1959), and Weigned (1950) has demonstrated in various ways how boundaries have affected and influenced geographical patterns. Although international boundaries appear very permanent today their stability has not always been achieved without military conquest, treaties and agreements between the countries concerned. The consequence is that political symbolism in the landscape along such interna-

tional boundaries has assumed a variety of styles.

Brunn (1974) identified some of these styles at the Mexico and Canada entry stations. He found that plates on bridges marked the actual boundary between nations. On land a series of monuments appear along road sides or in open fields. Whittlesey (1935 :223) uncovered that "... along international boundaries the landscape may be strewn with features intended by the central authority to maintain security. At the least a customhouse and immigration post (often housed in the officer's home) stands at every major route crossing. On some European border gates, usually a heavy balanced pole stands ready to be lowered at night and for emergency".

The Berlin Wall which separated East and West Germany from 1961 to October 1989 represents one of the greatest impacts of man on the boundary landscape. This classic example of human behaviour was erected to interrupt a threatening form of spatial interaction according to Kasperson and Minghi (1969) and was constructed by the former East German Government for security reasons. The destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 by both governments represented a new form of spatial and political integration between two former opposing political systems. It illustrates not only the role of political decisions, but the dynamic nature of political boundaries evident in the landscape of modern times. Nelan (1990:12) described it as follows: "In their rush towards unification, East and West Germany struck the barrier between them ... At the moment the German Democratic Republic, a relic of Stalin post-war empire, ceases to exist... An estimation as high as \$775 billion spread over ten years to upgrade and build roads and transportation network". These are indications of the spatial processes likely to be evident in the landscape relevant for geographical analysis.

The landscape patterns on each side of international boundaries studied by Reitsma (1972) and Brunn (1974) along the United States-Canada border and Kibulya (1967) on the Zaire-Uganda bor-

der revealed the areal limitations of two state governments and the differing impact of the administrative and economic policies on the opposite side of their borders on the landscape. Reitsma and Brunn provided an excellent example where the United States-Canada international boundary represents distinct economic patterns in the agricultural activities in the Great Plains. In a homogenous physical and cultural terrain, the secondary and tertiary crops reflected the policies of the governments of the two nations. Barley was more important to the United States government as it was related to the wheat allotment programmes for which acreage was restricted. Oats was more valuable to Canadian farmers as it was in line with their agricultural self-sufficiency and livestock needs. Both concluded that the variations in the crops, livestock, and farm size are a reflection of the boundary and the areal limit of different policies in a homogeneous environment.

The literature at the supra-national level provided an indication of the impact of political process on the geographical landscape.

2.2.2 THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

The axiomatic indication at the national level regarding research into political process impact studies had been established in a somewhat broader context by Whittlesey (1935). Mackinley's (1952) study *The impact of American Federalism upon the management of Land Resources* also provides a detailed account on a topic which has gained world attention and promoted concern in the modern world.

Christopher's (1982) study on the political imprint of the central authority provided an example of the impress of laws and legislation on the South African geographical landscape. He cited an example that in South Africa the added regulations of racial zoning of residential and business areas resulted in the distinctive South African city with its separate suburbs for the various population groups. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act

in 1959 also provided for the creation of separate sovereign states in the place of the existing black rural reserves.

One of the major responsibilities of any politically organized unit, especially at the national level, is to provide services and infrastructure to the population within its borders. The way to achieve this is usually contained in distinct socio-economic programmes by the nation or the state, but to some extent the impact goes beyond the metropolitan centre. Under programmes of economic development, Brunn (1974) gave examples of programmes with national ramifications such as education, employment, and housing which are designed to affect the advancement of all impoverished groups in the nation.

While much of the spatial impact studies are associated with political decisions, economic decisions without political considerations were found to be rare. The importance of political and governmental programmes and policies, in economic decisions has been significant for several decades. Brunn (1974:332), however, noted that " Economic Geographers by and large in their discussion of decision-making have ignored political realities, except for selected passing references. By the same token Political Geographers have tended to bypass this important topic, preferring, it seems, to leave it to the domain of the Economic Geographer".

Brunn (1974) provided examples of topics with political and economic ties which warranted examination by both Political and Economic Geographers. Brunn (1974:332-333) identified some of the examples as follows: "whether the agricultural or industrial sector is considered, influences of federal policies have played a key role... in all regions of the nations. Apart from programmes such as the grants-in aid and...specific economic development attributed to actions endorsed by the executive or legislative. ... the production of some agricultural items is still tied to certain federal programmes, without which the economic health of specific areas would be drastically affected". According to

Brunn, some programmes handle economic matters for example a region which is tied to industries and agriculture. For instance, federal anti-poverty programmes providing economic upliftment to an area may include highway construction, job training, recreation development, public health, and education.

Even though in the literature there is no exhaustive list of the ties between political and economic decisions, the examples given by Brunn are similar to Prescott's (1972) attempt to provide an ex-haustive list (see Table 2.1) which outlines areas for Political Geographers to consider for research.

Robinson (1962) and Nelson's (1952) studies provided no justification for Brunn's (1974) view that Political Geographers have not given serious attention to research into political and economic ties. As far back as 1952, studies into the spatial manifestation of agricultural and federal programmes in Australia had already been completed. This was reflected in Robinson's research work on **Political Influence in Australian Geography**, in which he studied the extent to which development has been a widely espoused goal among the federal system of government which had itself acted as a geographical agent to influence the regional distribution of activities. He discovered that the political autonomy and the different development policies were reflected in the spatial differentiation of the states. According to Robinson, his appraisal of developments in Australia over the past six decades supports the contention that the states are, in some respects, more geographically distinct than they were at the time of federation. A federal structure was implanted in Australia in 1900-1901 largely as a result of economic pressure groups, but over the years, the states have acquired a sufficiently distinctive character for them to be treated as geographical units.

Nelson (1952) on the other hand examined the boundaries of the Vernon area of California to assess the contribution to the understanding of areal distributions and functional association

of various elements in the urban landscape. He began by noting the homogenous character of Vernon in California and found that in a relatively homogenous region the city government had used its powers of incorporation, licence, taxation, local regulation, and annexation to achieve its unstated objectives. The end result was the emergence of industrial, transportation, and public land-use patterns. Nelson's study was accompanied by maps which vividly demonstrates the resultant spatial changes in the homogenous region. His study, together with Robinson's study provides a detailed, striking pattern of spatial differentiation in the landscape, attributed to political impress, and the tie between politics and economy.

At the national level it became evident in the studies of Brunn (1974) and Glassner and de Blij (1980) that as a state evolves and develops it acquires a set of traditions and common concerns which becomes associated with its culture. These elements have tied together diverse groups of people into a common identity associated with that particular state. The implication thereof, according to Glassner and de Blij (1980:336), is that "states acquire their own iconography: that is the unifying symbols or bonds which are not completely alike to other political units in terms of symbols of national distinctiveness ... a flag, an anthem, heroic slogans, a national stadium, a national airline, a national costume, ... postage stamps carrying nationalistic messages...". These were found to give each state a uniqueness which is shared by all of the residents as the state is transformed from one status to another. More often, the iconography is used to advertise the particular features of the state which in a way connotes certain images on the landscape to those residents outside its borders.

The call for the abolition of colonial laws and legislation became a common feature of the decolonization process in cities in Asia and Africa. According to Drakakis-Smith (1987) it was associated with indigenous people moving into the cities, attracted by the prospect of jobs in the lucrative and commercial

positions from which they had been previously excluded. Even though cities do not change overnight or immediately with a shift of government, nevertheless, the urban world of the 1960s and 1970s in the literature were found to be different from that of the earlier decades. Christopher's (1982: 215) support for Smith's view was illustrated with the situation in Bophuthatswana where "new capital cities ... as well as prestige projects which have been undertaken in black states, ... the holiday complex at Sun City and the University of Bophuthatswana.

According to Cowley (1985), the decision to locate the capital of Bophuthatswana at Mmabatho in what was regarded as post-apartheid Bophuthatswana was taken by the legislature in 1976. In Nigeria the decision to move the capital from Lagos to Abuja was to locate the state's capital in the approximate geographical centre.

The factors which influence the selection of towns as national capitals is partly dependent on the historical and cultural development of towns. While in some cases the decision-makers may reveal their spatial preferences by considering and recommending specific locations. The final decision may represent more political than economic considerations.

A significant example of the locational decision of state capitals was given by Cowley (1985). Cowley indicated that for sometime a number of possible sites had been suggested for the proposed new capital after Bophuthatswana's independence. Mafikeng residents had done a great deal to persuade the government to locate the capital near Mafikeng. To many this appeared an appropriate choice since not only was Mafikeng more central to the proposed fragmented state, but the administrative headquarters of the self-governed Bophuthatswana was located in Mmabatho, a few kilometres outside Mafikeng. Eventually the proposal by Mafikeng residents was turned down and the decision was taken by the Bophuthatswana legislature in 1976 to locate the capital in Mmabatho, seven kilometres to the north-west of Mafi-

keng.

Ideally the nation's capital represents a political no-man's land or a political node where all parts of the nation's philosophy can merge. Significant to this literature review is the awareness of the importance of the location of national capitals. Hence, the place carved out for the national seat of government is not isolated, but it occupies a place within a larger space, namely, a political region, that has its own cultural and traditional heritage.

Independent developments on a national scale have increasingly been put in to prestigious projects. It can no longer be remarked that the post-colonial cities and towns lacked impressive monuments. Cowley (1985: 115) took note of "... the massive building and construction programme of Mmabatho... has produced the array of new government buildings and residential housing". In Winter's (1982) view, the Francophone cities in Africa have been rebuilt with a stress on visual appearance. An example of such an image of the building was the central city high-rise complex in all of the Francophone African cities. Abidjan is the most impressive example. A substantial portion of the old colonial houses in its plateau suburb have been replaced by governmental, corporate, and residential high-rise buildings. These buildings, have sometimes little economic justification. On one level it symbolises a post-independent effort to replace the colonial relics and to upgrade the city and the country as part of the modern world.

Kasperson and Minghi's (1969: 206) thoughts on sovereignty transfer were formulated into general statements as follows: "There is usually a conscious attempt at systematic elimination of landscape relics of former sovereignty, and an urge to create visible evidences of the new sovereignties; different set of priorities under the new sovereignty lead to changes in such features as agricultural land-use, land tenure pattern and transportational routes; forced or voluntary emigration of citizens of the former sovereignty back to areas under their flag can cause changes in

population distribution and a least shortterm economic decline in areas most affected; immigration of new sovereignty population usually takes place, especially in the administrative and economic sphere to replace the emigrants - both spatially and vertically in the boundary change case, and vertically in the independence case; internal reorganization of administrative regions is carried out with the aim of increasing the role of the central government...".

The thoughts of Kasperson and Minghi (1969) added a new dimension to the political-geographic research into independence, and thus illustrated that sovereignty is a spatial process which could influence changes in the environment. Their discussion suggests a broader scope of political impress on the environment which merits attention.

2.2.3 IMPACT OF POLITICAL PROCESS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

A variety of sub-national political units exist on regional and urban scales. The following are examples of two:

- * Regional: counties in United Kingdom, departments in France, cantons in Switzerland, federal states in Nigeria and the United States, regions in Ghana and provinces in South Africa;
- * Urban: metropolitan councils, Regional Service Councils, local authorities, municipalities etc.

In practice, political units take a variety of forms. Those political units which receive political power from the national government, but their significance as units according to Muir (1981): 106) "... might be to protect and preserve regional diversity and permit the co-existence of different outlooks and cultural ...".

The units have the mandate to act for areas under their jurisdiction, which may lead to uniformity or diversity in the landscape. Therefore, the existence of effective regional and local

authorities implies the power to collect taxes and institute policies and guidelines which will help direct the social and economic development of certain spaces. Such is the nature of the administrative decisions which are set within the framework of the national process which set their mark on the local landscape.

The traits of laws and legislative processes inherent in the development of the urban policy of municipal councils, mandated by national policy and practice in South Africa have produced evidence of the spatial impact of the processes at both the regional and local level. The study by twelve writers contained in the book **Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities** edited by Lemon (1991), demonstrated in various ways the spatial impact of laws and legislation on the urban fabric of South African cities. A case in point was illustrated by Krige (1991:108) about the consequences of the urban policy in the city. He wrote the following: "Mangaung was the area in Bloemfontein where apartheid planning had the greatest impact on the spatial patterns. The establishment of buffer strips was the first change that came about. ... the second change ... was the zoning of the three dominant African groups, namely the Tswana, South Sotho, and Xhosa; ...the next change was the provision of houses by the central government to address the acute housing shortage".

During colonial times the distinction between the European and African sectors was not just linguistic; it was visible in the cityscape. Schoentjes (1932) indicated that in the Belgian Congo, official policy called for a 500 metre strip between two types of cities, and in Kinshasa (Leopoldville) the two sectors were arranged so that the European city would never be downwind from that of the African. In the pre-independent cities of Zimbabwe and Namibia the findings of Simon (1991) and Dewar (1991) respectively were a testimony to the racial separation and segregation as pervasive features of the city's geographical environment.

The impact caused by independence legislation and laws on the

pre-independent landscape has been the object of analysis of spatial change. The independence revolution since 1945 (the transfer of sovereignty from colonial to indigenous) has led to the complete substitution of one political system for another. This in turn has given rise to a new set of processes, in many cases radically abrogating laws and legislation which were found in-compatible to the people. This was discovered and contained in the studies of Winters (1971), Drakakis-Smith (1987), Drummond and Parnel (1991), Simon (1991), Dewar (1991). Drummond and Parnell indicated that the most immediate change during the independence of Bophuthatswana and the incorporation of Mafeking involved the abolition of statutory residential segregation by race. Harvey (1987), in a paper on black residential mobility in independent Zimbabwean cities illustrated that spatial arrangements in the cities had been strongly influenced by the segregation of the black and white residential areas during the colonial period. During the independence, the Land Tenure Act was repealed and European areas were opened up to the black population for residential occupation.

Harvey's contribution reiterates the spatial manifestation of the alterations to the organisation and structure of society as a result of the winds of change. He discovered that "...employment patterns have changed noticeably as blacks enter commercial, industrial and political occupations never before available to them. School enrolment showed a dramatic increase in the number of black children as education becomes freely available to all races in all schools" (1987:1).

Writing on the *Urban Morphogenesis in Francophone Black Africa*, Winter (1971) noted that in spite of the significance of independence in francophone Africa as a change from colonial rule in the 1960's, the date was not particularly significant for urban change. However, he remarked that the urban world during that period was quite different from that of earlier decades. The passing of colonialism brought an end to ethnic segregation and replaced it with economic segregation. The former European quar-

ters became upper class quarters. The old African quarters became neighbourhoods for the poor. Hence, the distinction between the two types of neighbourhoods remained in the urban fabric. Again the post-1960 migrants brought elements of their village geography to the city. The spatial impact again was the creation of peri-urban, or partially agricultural neighbourhoods on the urban periphery. All of these were also reflected in the cities of black independent African states studied by Harvey (1982), Cowley (1985), Simon (1990), and Dewar (1990).

A metropolitan area may exhibit a variety of public facilities and institutions. These represent various municipal, county, district, and federal agencies. The locational pattern of these facilities such as parks, police protection, fire coverage, and post offices is to serve the entire metropolitan population. While public facilities are considered essential to the normal functioning of any city, Brunn (1974) held that their locations often reflected the internal political and geographical considerations as well as their utility. In specific instances the representatives of a particular suburb on a city council or a key businessman on the planning or zoning board may eventually decide where the expressway will be routed and where the new part will be developed. He concluded that political powers are often important in urban areas and they often reflected in the location of public facilities occupying small or large amounts of space.

In the colonial cities, zoning and regulative processes at local levels in the framework of the national political process have been perceived negatively because local colonial governments used zoning as clauses to prohibit the movement, acquisition, and ownership of property in certain areas by specific ethnic population groups. The colonial local territorial space was characterised by a residential landmark of separation between the ruler and the ruled. Smit and Booysen (1977) were of the opinion that zoning in South Africa had a far-reaching implication in the provision of services, property ownership, participation in administration, and the morphology of African townships. While these represent the spatial impact of colonial political processes, it is the nature of the change that has formed the basis of analysis in the

literature.

Independence as a political process in South Africa's homelands since 1976 and during the 1980s, has given rise to significant changes in the urban fabric at the national and local level. In the study by Claire Pickard-Cambridge (1984) into the extent of the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on Mmabatho and Mafikeng, it was proved that the independence and incorporation of Mafikeng into Bophuthatswana was associated with significant changes. One significant example was the attitude of white inhabitants in the local community who threatened to vacate the area if incorporation would mean opening schools, hospitals and other social services to all races. To allow for a smooth incorporation, the Bophuthatswana authority allowed the white schools and hospital to remain white for a period of five years, which was later extended further. Cowley (1987) indicated that the town Mafikeng, although incorporated, remained quite separate administratively from the neighbouring urban areas of Mmabatho-Montshiwa. In spite of the incorporation in 1980, full amalgamation and integration of Mafikeng only took place in July 1984 into the greater administrative area of Mmabatho. The incorporation did not result in a pronounced exodus by whites from Mafikeng as has anticipated, but, according to Drummond (1991), the physical size of Mafikeng expanded dramatically. The population grew from 35 000 in 1976 to over 85 000 in 1985.

Other examples of changes on the local level having a direct impact on post-independent processes in Southern Africa also exist in the literature of Harvey (1982), Dewar (1991), and Simon (1991). In a paper presented to the Southern African Conference of the Commonwealth Geographical Bureau in Lusaka, Harvey outlined the spatial manifestation of black residential mobility in a post-independent Zimbabwean city. As a background to his findings, he acknowledged the restriction enshrined in the Land Tenure Act of 1969 which stipulated that an African shall not own, lease, or occupy land in the European Area. After the passage of the act segregation strongly influenced the spatial arrangement

of the city's black and white residential areas during the colonial period.

Dewar (1991) acknowledged the findings of Harvey after similar research in post-independent Harare. He outlined the major changes which have occurred in Harare, that were largely the result of local authority initiatives to increase taxes on the provision of social amenities and to institute differential tax rates on commercial and industrial properties. In terms of the objectives of the local authority regarding improving the quality of life of the city's poorer residents, it provided a basis for assessing a change. Dewar(1991) acknowledged that a significant innovation had been the creation of seven polyclinics with centralised multi-unit facilities. Many new clinics and primary health care facilities were also opened in high-density areas. He indicated that the Harare City Council also acted as a catalyst to promote small-scale marketing and petty commodity production. This was accomplished in a number of ways: by developing sites and facilities for formal shopping outlets and for peoples' markets; by removing earlier colonial restrictions on hawkers and vendors; and by the extensive licensing of emerging taxis.

Throughout the literature review it has become evident that the impact of the political process in the most fundamental sense should be regarded as a measure of internal coherence of the political system. Through its institutions, agencies, and the relevant personnel, the system reaches a decision, issues an order or implements a chain of activities. These become the output of the political system which has an impact on society, which in turn leaves its imprint on the environment. The significance of this study in this respect adds a whole new dimension to the Political Geography of South Africa. It is an indication that a systematic study of the homelands' independence could contribute to the understanding of independence as a political process and its impact on the geographical landscape.

CHAPTER 3

PRE-INDEPENDENCE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

The paradigm which dominates conventional reasoning about the appraisal of landscape changes arises from the existence of different perspective for viewing change. The essence of this reasoning is that a phenomenon would continue to exist in its state of rest and that change would not occur unless that state is influenced by an external force. Assessing change, therefore, will depend on the perspective from which one views the phenomenon before it was influenced by the external force. It is the implication of this axiom which has a bearing on this chapter. For this study to establish that the independence of Bophuthatswana has changed the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selossha, this chapter sets out to indicate the land-use patterns of the pre-independent geographical landscape as a basis on which subsequent changes can be identified, compared, and analysed.

For the purpose of this chapter, the pre-independent political process is structured into three political phases: pre-colonial (pre-1884), colonial (1884-1947), and apartheid (1948-1976)¹. Each phase will be defined and analysed in terms of the political strategy, process, and the spatial manifestation of the processes which dominated each phase. However, the significance of the pre-colonial and colonial phases, for the purpose of this chapter, focuses on the impact of historical strategies and processes since the mid-1880's on land dispositions, dispossession and the resettlement of the Barolong into planned villages which together gave birth to the present boundary of Thaba Nchu. Secondly, to illustrate how the political processes of those times created the

¹ Although the apartheid era is part of the colonial political dispensation, from a Bophuthatswana point of view this period is discussed separately.

politico-environmental scene for apartheid planning strategies since 1948, which together with the original processes will help to uncover the pre-independent geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha as in 1976.

3.1 PRE-COLONIAL PHASE, PRE-1884

The pre-colonial phase is defined as the period of migration by the Barolong and their final settlement at Thaba Nchu in 1833 to 1884. The Barolong's search for a settlement was not politically motivated. It was simply a search for a peaceful place for Chief Moroka's people. The significance of this section focuses on the founding of Thaba Nchu as the territorial base of the Barolong and the influence of the Barolong's contact with the Voorrekkers.

The Setswana language and Batswana people, according to Schapera (1984), Jordan (1987) and Breutz (1989), are one of the three major divisions into which ethnologists and linguists usually classify the Sotho group of the Bantu-speaking people in Central Africa. Today, the Batswana (singular: Motswana) are found all over South Africa, especially in the western and central district of the Transvaal (especially Marico, Rustenburg, Ventersdorp, and Lichtenburg), and in the northern district of the former Cape Province (Mafi-keng, Vryburg, Kuruman and Taung). There is also an offshoot in the Orange Free State (OFS), commonly referred to as the Barolong Boo-Seleka tribe.

The history of Thaba Nchu is synonymous with the history of the Barolong Boo-Seleka tribe and is as old as the tribe itself. According to Kitching (1984), Molema (1987), and Murray (1992), the Barolong occupied the land between the Molopo and the Vaal Rivers, (as indicated in Figure 3.1) in the Northern Cape and the South Western Transvaal under their great warrior Chief Tau. The death of Chief Tau in 1760 precipitated a process of political fission from which emerged a number of independent communities; each identified by reference to the names of his four sons; Ratlou, Tshidi, Seleka, and Rapulana.

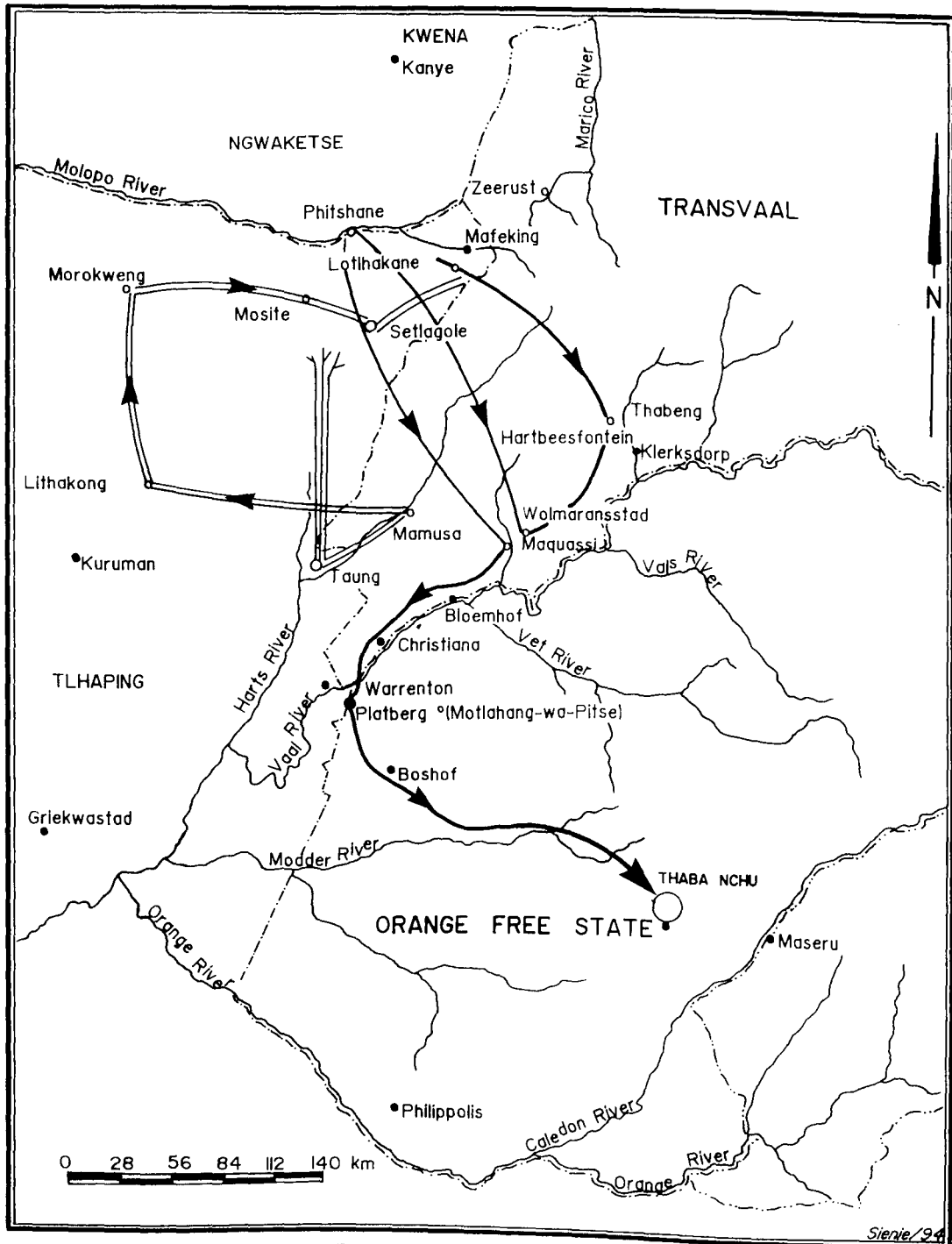


FIGURE 3.1 THE MIGRATION OF THE BAROLONG
(Source: Kitching, 1984:2)

In addition to the political fission which brewed after Chief Tau's death and to the chronic insecurities in which most communities found themselves during the 1820's as a result of the upheaval on the highveld known to the Sotho-Batswana people as the *lifagane*, the tribe disintegrated into small groups. This led to each group seceding under a discontented member of the ruling family in search of a peaceful new locality.

As illustrated in Figure 3.1, the Barolong migrated to Thaba Nchu from Phitshana via Maquasse (south of Wolmaranstad), where they first established their headquarters and thereafter continued to Platberg (Motlhana-wa Pitse) on the Vaal river. According to Molema (1987) and Murray (1992), the Barolong were joined by clusters of other refugees and by December 1833 the population had swollen to approximately 12 000 people, two-thirds of which were Seleka Barolong under Chief Moroka. According to history, they were also joined by two Wesleyan missionaries, namely Reverends Archibell and J. Edwards. The entire community migrated southwards from the Vaal River until they arrived at the chiefdom of Chief Moshoeshe of the Basotho. In 1833 the immigrants led by Chief Moroka negotiated with Chief Moshoeshe and were granted a settlement at Thaba Nchu.

There are conflicting interpretations regarding what transpired in the negotiations and the terms of agreement between Chief Moshoeshe and Chief Moroka with regard to the Barolong's occupation at Thaba Nchu. Murray (1992) indicated that from different sources it was explained that Chief Moroka interpreted it as an act of friendly neighbourliness, and to Chief Moshoeshe, it was a recognition by the Barolong of his own political sovereignty. In *Bophuthatswana Pioneer* (1992:18) it is expressed that "in the extravagant language of the documents drawn up at that time by the Wesleyan Missionaries, Moshoeshe thereby granted, bargained and sold to them all that spacious country designated Thaba Nchu" as shown in Figure 3.2. Following the agreement, the tract of land as indicated in Figure 3.2, known as Thaba Nchu, became the territorial base of the Barolong under the jurisdiction of chief

Moroka.

According to Van Aswegen (1990), in late 1836 and early 1837, the Barolong experienced their first contact with the Voortrekker parties of Andries Potgieter and Gerrit Maritz respectively at Thaba Nchu. They were hospitably received by Chief Moroka and were granted a place for temporary settlement which became known as Morokashoek. A monument was erected at the narrow Victoria Nek bearing a plaque with the following words: "Owing to its situation in relation to the Western Cape Colony and the goodwill of Barolong Chief Moroka and the Wesleyan Missionary James Archibell, Thaba Nchu or Blesberg became the meeting place of the Voortrekkers. The trek parties of Andries Potgieter, Gerrit Maritz, Piet and Karel Landman, and others were encamped here and in the vicinity from 1836 onwards. The first Voortrekker Government was enacted on 2 December 1836".

During the period 1836-1838 there was peaceful co-existence and co-operation between the Voortrekkers and the Barolong, but on the other hand there was conflict between the Voortrekkers and other parties (e.g. the Matebeles in 1837). The Barolong co-operation with the Voortrekkers was demonstrated in the Battle of Vegkop in 1836 when Potgieter's party lost all their cattle. They were assisted by Chief Moroka who provided them with oxen to enable them to continue their journey. The Barolong also assisted the Voortrekkers in their first attack on the Ndebele in 1837 by giving them about 60 people to act as cattle herdsman for the cattle they seized in the battle. According to the Bophuthatswana Tourist Board's newsletter headed *Guide to Thaba Nchu* (1990), in recognition of the benevolent deeds rendered to the Voortrekkers by Chief Moroka, the Ereskuld Dutch Reformed Mission erected a church, a primary school, and a mission in 1928 for the people of the Barolong.

By 1854 the Thaba Nchu district had become effectively independent and was recognised by the Boer Republic of the Orange Free State (OFS) which came into existence that year. The Barolong

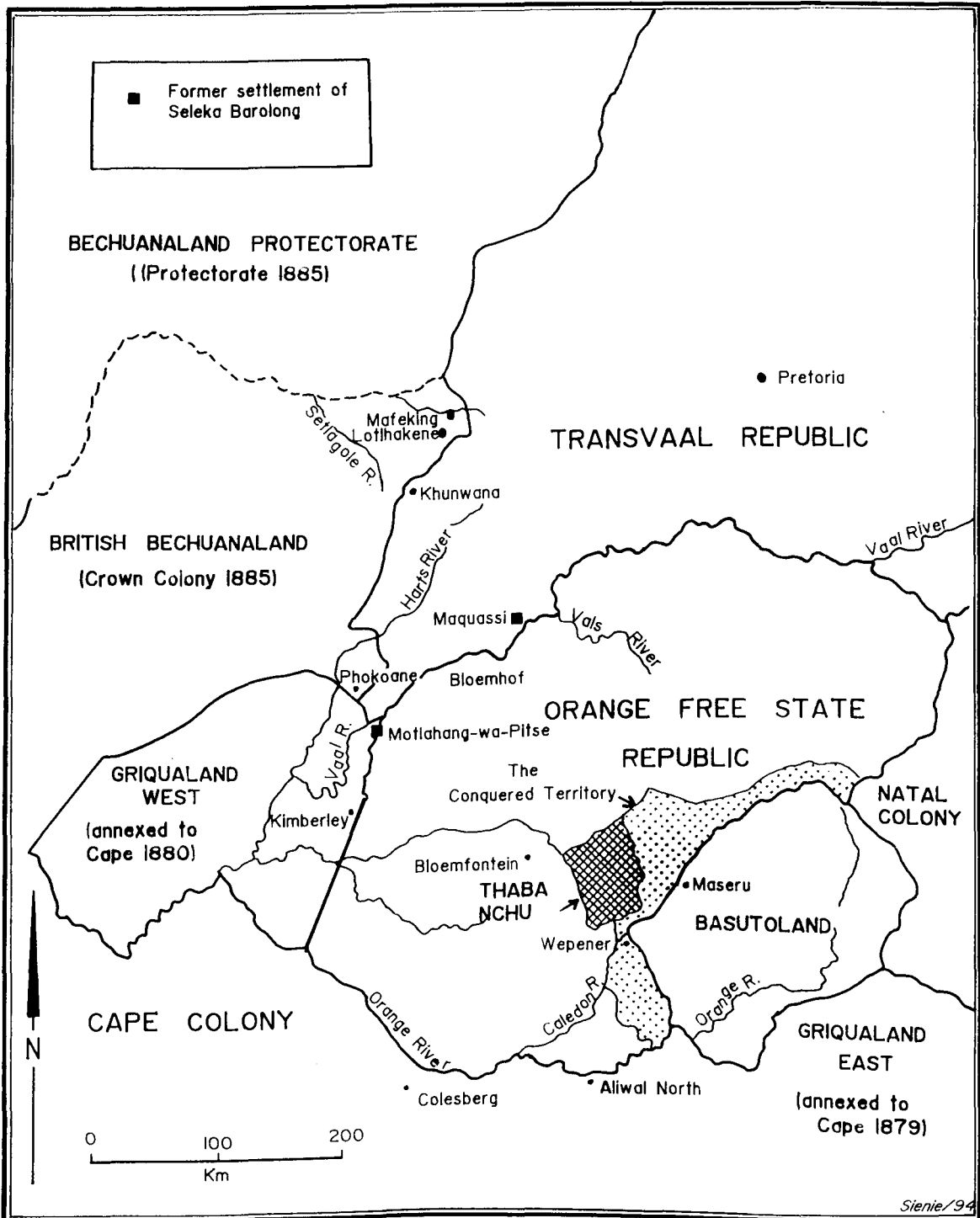


FIGURE 3.2 THE TERRITORIAL BASE OF THE BAROLONG, 1880
 (Source: Murray, 1992:14)

territory emerged from the second Sotho-Boer War of 1865-8 as an isolated enclave in the OFS. It was cut off from chief Moshoeshoe's reach by a broad swath of very good arable land known as the "conquered territory" as shown in Figure 3.2. It was appropriated by the OFS and became subject to white settlement. The sovereignty of the Barolong in Thaba Nchu was highly tenuous throughout the 1870's, and this was reflected in the erosion of Chief Moroka's internal authority. This was evident in the wave of emigrations including that of the Rapulana Barolong led by Matlabe in 1875. These emigration led to attempts by Chief Moroka to restrict his people from moving which irritated the white farmers on the other side of the border, as they were accustomed to drawing seasonal labour from the Barolong territory. In addition to this problem, there were constant complaints by white farmers on both sides of the OFS border over allegations of stock theft. Even though diplomatic relations remained firm between President Brand of the OFS and Chief Moroka, for the Free State burgers, an independent black state in the heart of the Boer Republic territory was a glaring anomaly. Their only plan was when and how it would be incorporated into the OFS, not whether or not it should be.

The Barolong under Chief Moroka maintained a precarious political independence until his death in 1880 which paved the way for colonial intervention. This brief spell of the pre-colonial period illustrates the evolution of the territory of Thaba Nchu and its first contact with the Voortrekkers in the 1880's. At this stage, Thaba Nchu was mainly a rural landscape of dispersed villages of people who had a feeling of common identity. The presence of the Free State burgers outside the borders of Thaba Nchu, however, and their reliance on the district for labour signified an outwardly noticeable sign of future possible encroachment on the territorial base of the Barolong.

3.2 COLONIAL PHASE, 1884-1947

This was a period which was characterised, firstly, by colonial penetration through the annexation of the territory of the Barolong by the OFS Government and increased land-use policies which to some extent reduced the size of the territory of the Barolong. Secondly, this phase illustrates how the Barolong were dispossessed of their land and segregated into planned villages. The salient question of interest in this phase for this study is to establish why it was that the territory was annexed and further how did OFS administration influence the spatial disintegration of the territory?

According to Molema (1987) and Murray (1992) a fierce succession dispute arose after the death of Chief Moroka in 1880 between Samuel Lehulere, a member of the ruling family, and Tshipinare, the newly installed Chief of the Barolong. The subsequent years witnessed violent confrontation between the two. Threatened political conflict and mounting tension diminished the support and recognition President Brand had for Chief Tshipinare. In the light of these problems, President Brand was not confident, given the long history of conflict between the Boers and the Basotho over land in the eastern OFS, that the Basotho would not renew their claim of the territory. At the same time, the British annexed the Transvaal in 1877 and it was speculated that there was a possibility of the British Government intervening in the OFS if this local conflict was allowed to get out of hand. In addition it appears that President Brand was also considering the interests of the Free State burgers who perceived the succession dispute as an opportunity to take over the territory of Thaba Nchu (Murray, 1992).

The takeover of Thaba Nchu was precipitated by a civil war during which Chief Tshipinare was murdered. As a result, a proclamation was issued by President Brand on 12 July 1884 and Thaba Nchu was annexed by the OFS. It marked the introduction of colonial administration to the territory. According to Murray (1992) President

Brand promised to guarantee the land rights given by Chiefs Moroka and Tshipinare and to set aside sufficient land for locations. How much ground would be sufficient and which land rights had been made by Tshipinare proved difficult to resolve. A legal question was whether customary and administrative authority vested in subordinate chiefs and headmen would be respected and recognised. At this stage, the Barolong's future access and security to the land seemed very doubtful particularly in the light of the possible impact of the new colonial administration on the territorial base of the Barolong (Thaba Nchu).

According to Murray(1992), Chief Tshipinare, either due to political insecurity or financial maladministration, had commissioned a trigonometrical survey of the territory into farms and had granted land rights to senior members and headmen. Seeing that President Brand had promised to recognise all land rights granted by Chief Tshipinare and to ensure that the people retained their residential rights, the Volksraad had to decide whether the individual title grants were to be recognised as inalienable property. Subsequently, two Commissions of Enquiry, namely the Prinsloo and Gregorowski, were appointed to investigate the question of land rights. Following their investigations, the latter recommended that the division and allocation of the territory for the Barolong be made as indicated in Figure 3.3. and Table 3.1.

The Barolong understood that OFS Government farms, which included some of the best arablelands in the territory, were reserved for Barolong occupation. However, Molema (1987) and Murray (1992) have indicated that the Barolong were surprised when the government evicted the inhabitants and leased the farms in the subdivided lot for a period of five to ten years, initially to whites, and later to establish white residents in the Free State. The Barolong regarded this as an act of betrayal by the OFS government. The Volksraad also included a provision that grants of land to whites were to be subject to personal occupation, but grants of land to Africans were to be inalienable for a period of fifteen years, after which they could be sold to whites.

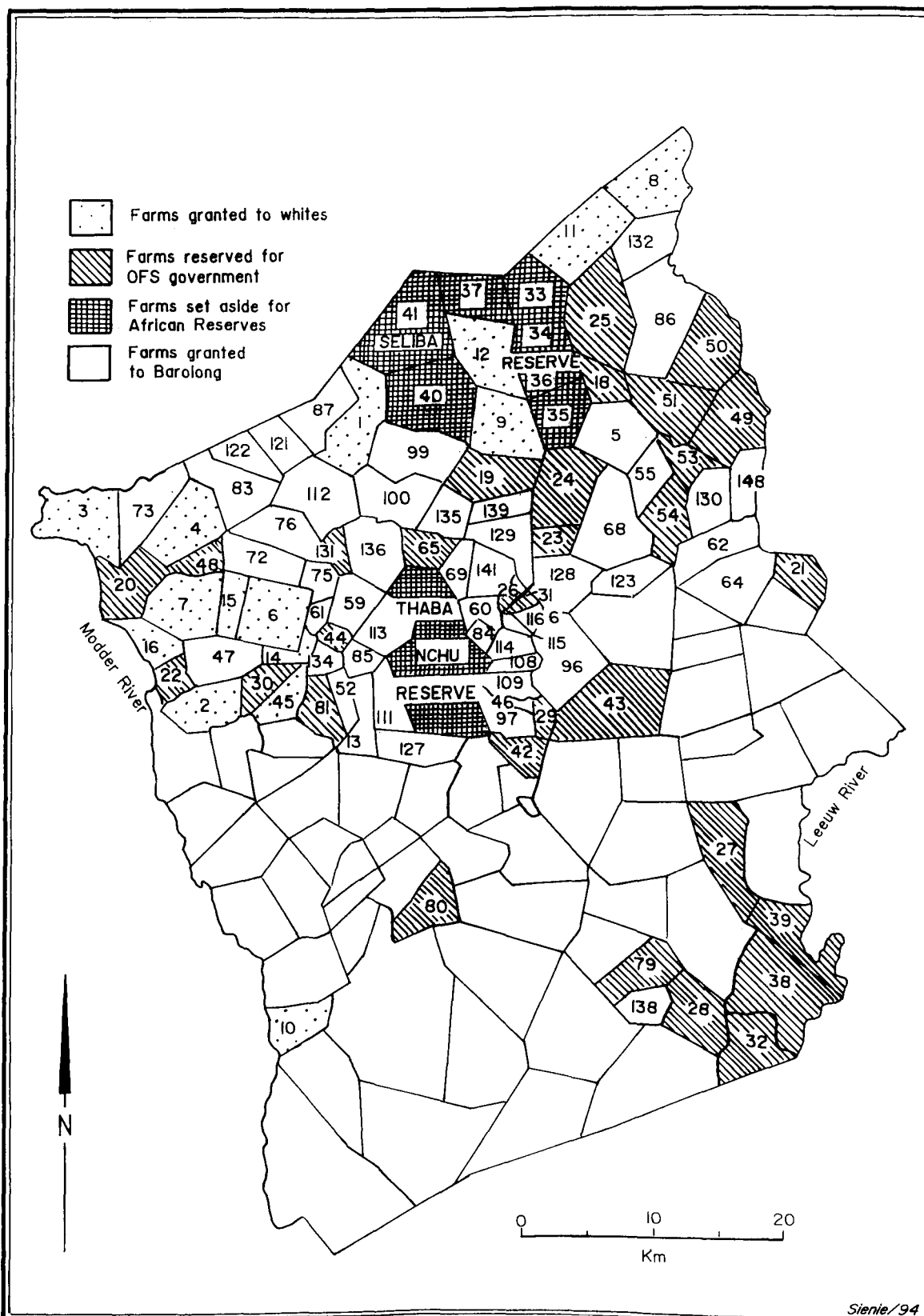


FIGURE 3.3 THABA NCHU: THE GREGOROWSKI LAND DISPOSITIONS, 1885
 (Source: Murray, 1992:38)

TABLE 3.1 LAND DISPOSITION IN THE THABA NCHU DISTRICT, 1886

TYPES OF LAND/FARMS	AREAS IN MORGEN	PERCENTAGE
Farms granted to Africans	245 288	66
Farms granted to whites	39 750	11
Farms reserved for OFS		
Government	58 686	16
Two African reserves	25 732	7
TOTAL	369 456	100

Source: Murray, 1992:39

Despite the fifteen year non-alienation clause, the prominent grantees sold their land within six years of the Volkraad settlement and left the territory. By 1892 about 36 farms, together comprising more than half of all the land granted to individual Barolong, had passed from black to white ownership. The underlying reasons were that, firstly, the prominent grantees were demoralised by OFS rule; secondly, the Barolong chieftaincy had effectively been undermined, and lastly its land appropriated by the OFS. Some Barolong dispersed to the Witwatersrand where the discovery of gold had proved a lucrative avenue for prospective emigrants and job seekers. In 1892 Thaba Nchu town was established near the Moroka Ward. The first municipal council was elected in 1895.

Following the appropriation of the land by the OFS, the South African Boer War brought in its wake new strains into the territory of Thaba Nchu. A land settlement was instituted by Lord Milner who engineered the settlement with ex-British soldiers in the district after the war. The British troops entered Bloemfontein in March 1900 and in May the Boer Republic of the OFS was incorporated into the empire under its new name, Orange River Colony (ORC). The ex-troops were concentrated at Thaba Nchu on ORC lands bought by Charles Newberry in 1901 and on government farms which the ORC inherited from the OFS. The most significant impact of this form of invasion was the deliberate promotion of white agriculture to the detriment of the black share-cropping peasantry, which was ultimately destroyed (Murray, 1992).

3.2.1 THE NATIVE LAND ACT OF 1913

The next major piece of legislation after the settlement of ex-British soldiers was the **Native Land Act** promulgated in 1913. The Land Act was one of the most important pieces of legislation of the first Union Government, and has shaped land policies in South Africa ever since. The Land Act embodied two principles. Firstly, it prohibited share-cropping contracts between white landowners and black peasant farmers. Secondly, it required the designation of Scheduled Land where Africans could not buy or rent land and where non-Africans could not acquire rights to land. It also provided for the setting apart of additional land for African occupation in future.

To implement the objectives of the Act, the Beaumont Commission was set up. In 1916 the Commission identified 11,6 million morgen of land throughout the Union of South Africa as Scheduled Land within the terms of the Act, and 8,73 million morgen as additional land to be released for African occupation in due course. In Thaba Nchu the fragmentary patch and Seliba locations amounted to 24 290 morgen and were declared as Scheduled Areas while the remaining black-owned farms in the district, comprising 82 677 morgen, were declared Additional Areas to be released in due course for African occupation (Figure 3.4).

These proposals, which were embodied in the Native Administrative Bill of 1917, were vehemently opposed by white farmers and their representatives in the Union Parliament. The opposition perceived any extension of land as a threat to the supply of labour for farmers. According to Kitching (1984) the opposition was very strong in the OFS and subsequently, the OFS Land Committee was set up to make alternative recommendations to reflect the interests of white farmers who were unwilling to make land available for African occupation.

According to Murray (1992) the recommendations which were made concerning Thaba Nchu were revealed that the fragmentary patch

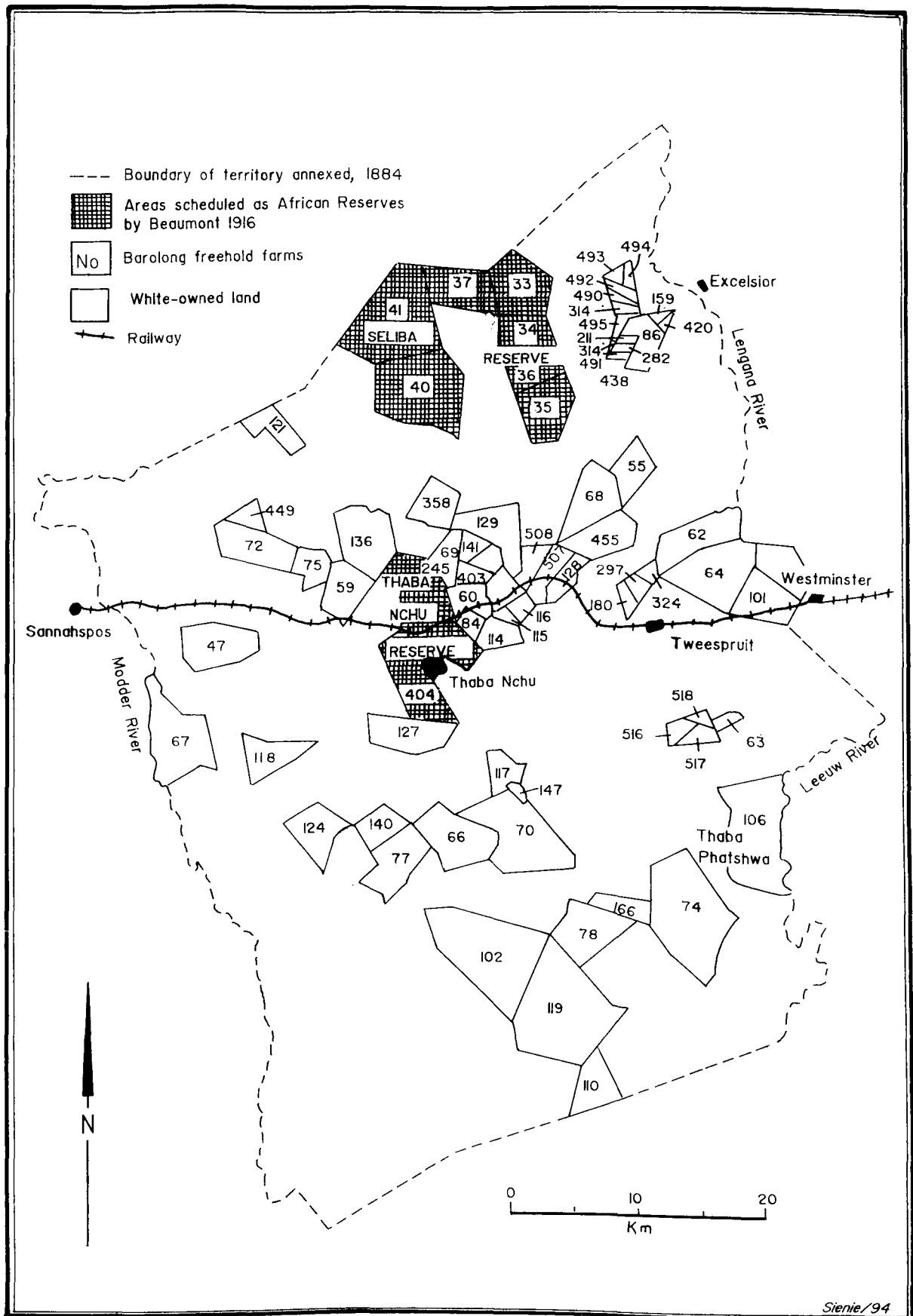


FIGURE 3.4. THABA NCHU: AFRICAN RESERVES AND BAROLONG FARMS, 1913
 (Source: Murray, 1992:96)

of land, as identified by the Beaumont Commission, and the farms granted to the Barolong (Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1) should be reduced in size and rationalised in distribution. Some white-owned land should be purchased between certain areas of the Beaumont's additional fragments and other additional fragments should be excised from the schedule of the proposed Act. Thus the committee envisaged the formation of two consolidated blocks of land in the Thaba Nchu district consisting of just over 100 000 morgen. In spite of the recommendation, the spatial impact of the kind of segregation and dispossession inherent in the Act was quite enormous. Black land-owners and tenants were alienated, dispossessed, displaced from the land, and totally dispersed according to the plan of the Native Land Act of 1913. Many drifted into the two small African reserves and others were absorbed into the industrial labour force either as temporary migrants from the reserves or as permanent residents of black townships in the OFS and Southern Transvaal. The emergence of the spatial terminology associated with this process was evident in the remarks by Christopher (1982: 49) "...that it was hardly surprising that in states under white settlers, little land was set aside for black population, and therefore extensive tracts of white-owned lands occupied by blacks were designated squatters". The segregation element inherent in this Act was also evident in the support this Act gave to the situation where black areas were delimited and were prevented from any further purchase of land in the white areas.

The estimated scale of evictions which took place in the period immediately following the passage of the Land Act in the Thaba Nchu area cannot be confirmed. Estimates were made on one aspect of the eviction when the magistrate of Thaba Nchu reported on the approximate number of those likely to be turned off from farms in terms of the Act prohibiting sowing on share or leasing of land by Europeans to natives. As a result, 1 050 households (approximately 5 000 people), were estimated by Murray (1992) to have been driven off farms belonging to Europeans. However, the aggregate estimate of the OFS was put at 5 000 families affected

by the Act; thus 25 000 to 30 000 people, although the OFS Local Land Committee of 1918 could not confirm the exact figures.

3.2.2 THE NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT OF 1936

The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 represented the next piece of land segregation following the Land Act of 1913. In terms of the Act, a state agency called the South African Native Trust (SANT), later the South African Development Trust (SADT), was established. The establishment of the SANT clearly marked the start of the creation of the bantustans. The major function of SANT was the partial consolidation of land through the purchase of Released Areas so that small and scattered reserves could be consolidated into larger fragments or blocks as had been recommended by the Beaumont Commission.

Among the functions granted to SANT, were the powers to acquire and administer land for settlement and to provide support, benefit, and material welfare to the natives of the Union. All land 'scheduled' for blacks in terms of the 1913 Land Act was vested in the Trust. In Thaba Nchu the proclamation of the Act mandated SANT to consolidate the scattered reserves by means of large sums of money voted by Parliament for the purchase of the three Released Areas identified in Figure 3.5. The spatial implication of the functions of SANT could be perceived in terms of the land-use patterns that were to emerge.

In Thaba Nchu the implementation of the OFS Land Committee's recommendation and other land purchases by SANT contributed to the transformation or reduction in size of the territory. Three blocks of Released Areas (Figure 3.5) were purchased including areas to be excised. Following the sums of money allocated to the SANT for the purchase of three blocks of Released Areas, the small and scattered reserves were consolidated into one block with the exception of Moroto, Klipfontein, and Thaba Phatswa (Figure 3.5). The figure shows the distribution of 50 172 morgen acquired by the Trust in the late 1930s. It comprised the whole

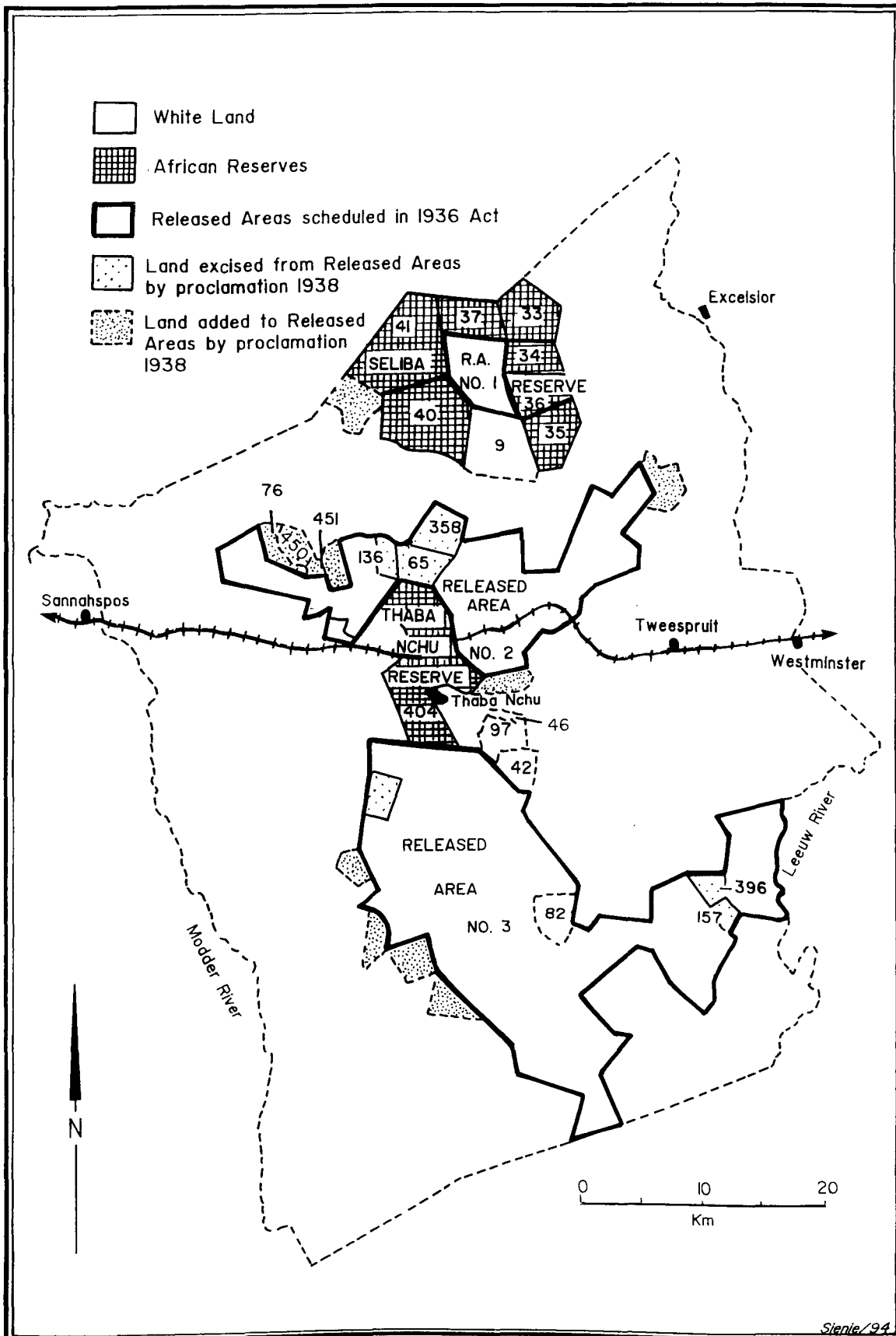


FIGURE 3.5 THABA NCHU RELEASED AREAS, 1936 AND 1938
 (Source: Murray, 1992:130)

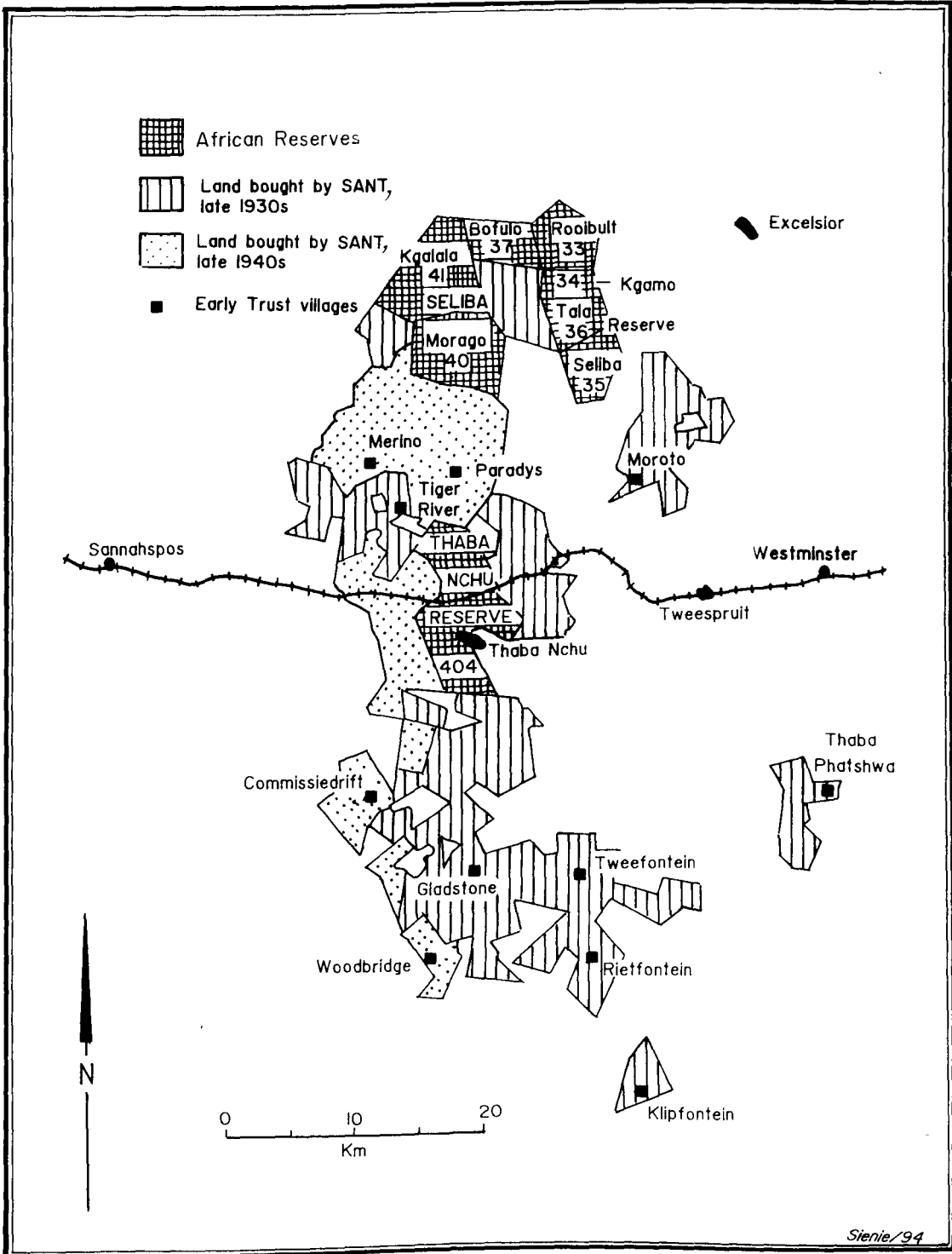


FIGURE 3.6 THABA NCHU LAND BOUGHT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TRUST, 1930 AND 1940 (Source: Murray, 1992:160)

of the released areas as indicated in Figure 3.5. The consolidated land contributed to the dwindling boundary of Thaba Nchu. In the OFS there had been a drastic cut from 148 316 morgen to 79 500 morgen. The corresponding effect in the Thaba Nchu district was from 100 000 morgen to 50 172 morgen.

The Native Affairs Department (NAD) was instituted under SANT on the newly acquired Trust Land, to assume the powers spelt out in Proclamation No. 31 of 1936. It was entrusted with the power to declare an area as a Betterment Area in which livestock could be culled and the use of arable land regulated. The department was to provide land for settlements to relieve congestion in the two established reserves and to resettle those Barolong who, for some reason, had been driven from the land.

The establishment of Betterment Schemes in terms of the Proclamation marked the beginning of the concentration of people into planned trust settlements and the formal recognition of the settlements in the Thaba Nchu reserves, namely Ratlou, Morolong, Motlatla, Ratau, and Mokwena. It was also the first time the rural and agricultural density of the reserves were estimated to identify the optimum population size and land needed to ensure an improvement in the people's subsistence life.

The demographic information revealed by Murray (1992) showed that the Thaba Nchu Reserve (approximately 6 631 morgen) was estimated to have a population of 5 000 people and 2 330 'cattle units'. From this it was inferred that in terms of the people the Thaba Nchu reserve were understocked (in terms of 0.8 cattle per taxpayer), meaning that the land and stock were inadequate to meet the subsistence needs of a family. The reserves were overstocked in the sense that the available grazing land was badly denuded and the environmental conditions could only carry one beast per 10 morgen.

On that basis the committee proposed that 16 922 morgen of land be set aside as 'adjunct' to the Thaba Nchu reserve consisting

of three blocks of trust-acquired land which immediately adjoined it. The land-use pattern which emerged out of the proposal was an allocation of 14,5 morgen of grazing land, sufficient for 3 cattle units per taxpayer and 4 morgen of arable land per taxpayer for the people of Thaba Nchu. Similar estimates were made for the Seliba reserve which had an estimated population of 7 050 people and 5 118 cattle units in its total area of 17 686 morgen. The following proposals were made: the whole of the Moroto block was to be set aside as an 'adjunct' for the Seliba reserve which would allow 4,7 to 5 cattle units per taxpayer and an arable plot of 4 morgen.

In terms of the planned settlement scheme eleven trust villages were established in the district as (see Figure 3.6). Two outlying settlements, Tiger River and Moroto, were established in the north-western and north-eastern portions respectively of the trust land set aside as adjunct land to the Thaba Nchu reserve. The four other settlements, namely, Gladstone, Tweefontein, Rietfontein, and Klipfontein were also created in the southern block of the Released Area No. 3. The planned settlement villages were estimated for a population of 500 families. A culling operation, throughout trust administered land, was carried out in 1940. The entire exercise was vigorously resisted by the people of Seliba reserves.

3.3 PRE-APARTHEID SCENE: CONCLUDING REMARKS

As indicated by Pioro (1972), in pre-colonial times many African people organized their habitat quite satisfactorily within the framework imposed on them by the natural environment and traditional techniques of production. The pattern of land-use and settlement was well adapted to the exigencies of geographical and social environment. Among the small dispersed settlement units were major villages which were the seat of the tribal chiefs and centres of trade and social ceremonies. The same pattern, according to oral sources, was evident in the pre-colonial Thaba Nchu district.

However, a drastic change in the spatial structure of the tribal society came about with the coming of the Voortrekkers in 1836 and the annexation of Thaba Nchu district by the OFS Government. It marked colonial penetration which imposed land division, alienation, and subsequently segregated the land, the people, and all of the socio-agricultural practices.

The structural dislocation of the cultural landscape of the Barolong was substituted with a pattern of planned rural agricultural villages alongside the rural African villages of Morolong (now Moroka), Mokwena, Rataou, Ratlou, and Motlatla. The traditional subsistence farming was upgraded with Betterment Schemes even though it had already suffered competition from white farming and because of the migration to the new areas of commercial production in the urban centres.

During the pre-1948 era some initial landscape structures emerged which forms part of the geographical landscape of pre-independent Thaba Nchu. The pre-apartheid landscape consisted of rural areas with scattered agricultural villages where farming practices were practised. A number of African villages emerged around the town which were perceived as peri-urban areas.

3.4 APARTHEID ERA

Because of the symbolic and distinctive nature of the South African landscape which, *inter alia*, is the result of a high degree of government regulations and control, an appraisal of the era would for some time continue to be essential for any landscape which could be created or erased. This was long acknowledged in the preface of Christopher's book, *South Africa* (1982). He indicated that during "... an age of operational thinking it becomes imperative that all thoughtful citizens of the world today should know some of the changes man has already wrought in his physical habitat, and which he is now modifying with accelerating power" (1982:8). From this perspective the apartheid planning strategy which altered the South African landscape will con-

tinue to persist in the Political Geography of South Africa. For the purpose of this study, the meaning and impact of the process of apartheid planning should be outlined to uncover its influence on the Thaba Nchu district.

The word "apartheid" means apartness or a state of separation in Afrikaans. In South African politics it initially developed as a political slogan during the electoral campaign for the 1948 Parliamentary election. However, with the coming into power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, apartheid as a political slogan rejuvenated a systematic strategy of national planning. In the context of this study, the term apartheid is used to denote the spatial separation of the various people of South Africa. It is in this perspective that this study perceives the spatial element inherent in its implementation as a national planning strategy from 1948.

3.4.1 APARTHEID PLANNING

Smith (1976) explained that apartheid is a distinctive spatial planning strategy and a remarkable, bold exercise in the spatial re-organisation of society. As a "solution" to rural and urban land-use problems in the South African context, Christopher (1986:330) indicated that "it was a major exercise in land-use planning in order to achieve the separation of the various peoples in South Africa". To Smith (1976) and Christopher (1986) it entailed a strong spatial element which was pursued on a racial basis. When appreciated it becomes fundamental to the understanding of the Political Geography of South Africa. The uniqueness of the spatial structures born out of the planning process according to Christopher (1986), are substantial and are not likely to be easily eradicated.

The basic underlying principle of apartheid planning as a national and urban policy was to assign the different racial groups to distinctive and particular places for what was supposed to be their exclusive occupancy and use. At the national level it was

to ensure white supremacy and total control of the territorial space of South Africa. The principles of apartheid planning were associated with the implementation of a plethora of laws, acts, executive actions, and policies.

According to Smith (1990), apartheid as a spatial planning strategy proceeded through a number of distinct phases and therefore, significant features can be discussed. In diagrammatic form, Smith illustrated the essential phases of the features of apartheid planning which became associated with the homeland political development (Figure 3.7).

According to Figure 3.7 apartheid planning can be divided into four phases. Phase 1 represents a composition of ethnic diversity with segregation in the cities, shanty towns, a large scattered population in the countryside, and the reserves. The traditional subsistence economy was connected to the city by migrant labour flow. Phase 2 illustrates the making of the social geography of the cities by means of the Group Areas Act and the resettlement of urban and rural blacks into what were deemed to be their homelands. In phase 3 a distinction emerged between two kinds of cities; those in which the black townships were assigned to nearby homelands with the residents becoming frontier commuters (for example Selosesha), and those far from the homelands where the black labour force had to be migrants or permanent residents within "white" cities. The entire exercise included the elimination of black spots to promote homeland consolidation. In phase 4, the final spatial political division emerged as follows: independent black states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei); self-governing territories (Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Qwaqwa, and Lebowa); and the Republic of South Africa.

How apartheid planning developed as a dynamic process to influence politico-geographical phenomena in the context of the study is of tremendous importance. In the context of this study, apartheid planning emerged as a dynamic process to the detriment

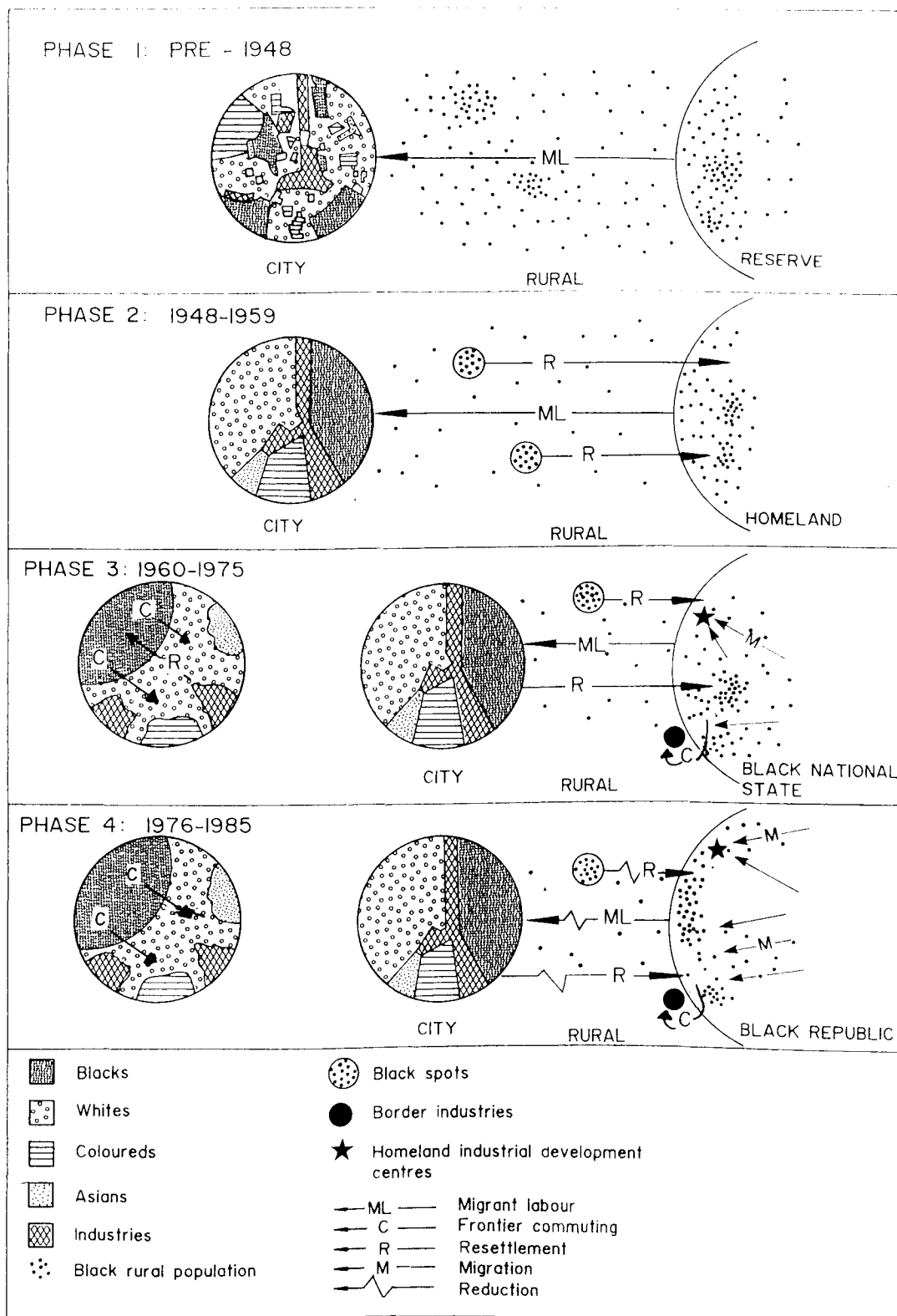


FIGURE 3.7. THE STAGES OF THE SPATIAL MANIFESTATION OF APARTHEID PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA (Source: Smith, 1990:74)

of the locational distribution of phenomena associated with ethnic population groups through the following processes:

- * homeland political development;
- * the transformation of urban areas;
- * forced removals;
- * redrawing of homeland political boundaries;
- * labour movements.

The subsequent section will consider these processes to emphasize the extent of the influence they have on geographical phenomena in South Africa.

3.4.2 HOMELAND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The policy of homeland development was one of the major policies of the political restructuring of the reserves for the exclusive and autonomous occupation of blacks. Against the background of ensuring white supremacy and total control of the majority of the territorial and political space of South Africa, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act 1959 was promulgated. The Act provided for the consolidation of the reserves and the creation of separate sovereign states in which the people could be administered independently by their own government. In this Act, according to Smith (1990), the government was committed to establish homelands, as self-governing or independent republics for black autonomous self-rule.

The policy of homeland development is explained as follows in the book, *Homelands*, which was issued by the government-sponsored Bantu Investment Corporation (1979:1): "Since it is the policy of the white government that the black nations for which it still acts as guardian should eventually be able to exercise the right to full national independence. It is evident that the final geopolitical division of the Republic of South Africa lies at some point in the future. The progressive political development of the Republic's black peoples and their gradual crystallisation into independent nation states (like their independent neighbours

in Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) will obviously demand an adjustment of the current geo-political borders and boundaries of the Republic of South Africa. Once the process of emancipation has reached its conclusion, the Republic of South Africa will become a sovereign, independent white national state which will be associated with her black neighbour states on the basis of political independence and economic interdependence".

The entire planning exercise implies that black independent nations would emerge with political rights in those areas and hence not result in the loss of white control over the remainder of the country.

From the entire apartheid planning strategy there can be no doubt how the objective of the plans could be achieved without inducing a dynamic process which would not influence the location and distribution of geographical phenomena. The salient point of interest in this strategy was how it influenced the emergence and the location of the black autonomous states.

As the policy of separate autonomous states unfolded from 1959, so did the process of the creating and redrawing homeland political boundaries. The removal and relocation of black spots resulted in the expropriation of black-owned areas in predominantly white-owned areas. Many of those areas had originated with the Land Act of 1913. By 1955 it was estimated that approximately 162 hectares of such areas had been expropriated. The number of those affected by such a process were estimated to be 250 000 blacks by the end of 1976.

As the Act continued to unfold the envisaged ten states established for the major ethnic groups resulted in land apportionment and consolidation structures as indicated in Table 3.2 and Figure 3.8. The major groups included the Zulu, Xhosa (divided into two states: Transkei and Ciskei), Venda, Shangaan, Swazi, Tswana, South Sotho (Basotho), North Sotho (Pedi), and South Ndebele. Table 3.2 illustrates land apportionment in the South

African black states.

TABLE 3.2 LAND APPORTIONMENT PROCESS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BLACK STATES IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1973 and 1975.

BLACK STATES	POSITION BEFORE PROPOSED CONSOLIDATION (1973)		POSITION AFTER PROPOSED CONSOLI- DATION (1975)	
	AREA	No. BLOCKS	AREA	No. BLOCKS
	(000ha)		(000ha)	
TRANSKEI	3 871	2	4 501	3
CISKEI	942	15	770	1
KWAZULU	3 273	48	3 239	10
QWAQWA	48	1	62	1
BOPHUTHATSWANA	3 799	19	4 043	6
LEBOWA	2 248	14	2 518	6
VENDA	618	3	668	2
GAZANKULU	633	4	741	3
KANGWANE	208	3	391	1
KWANDEBELE	20	3	73	2
TOTAL	15 662	112	17 006	35

Source: Christopher, 1982:50

It is evident from Table 3.2, that blacks were dispersed in 112 blocks over the entire territorial space of South Africa in 1973, and that these were consolidated into 35 blocks by 1975. It is also depicted in Figure 3.8, that the process resulted in some blocks being consolidated into single blocks, while some blocks were excised, and in others, land was added to them. The entire consolidation process witnessed a regrouping of territory for the establishment of states. The geo-political influence on the political space of South Africa was the shift and relocation of population and re-drawing of political boundaries. In spite of the exchange efforts towards achieving a single territorial unit for each ethnic group, this was far from reality according to Christopher (1982),

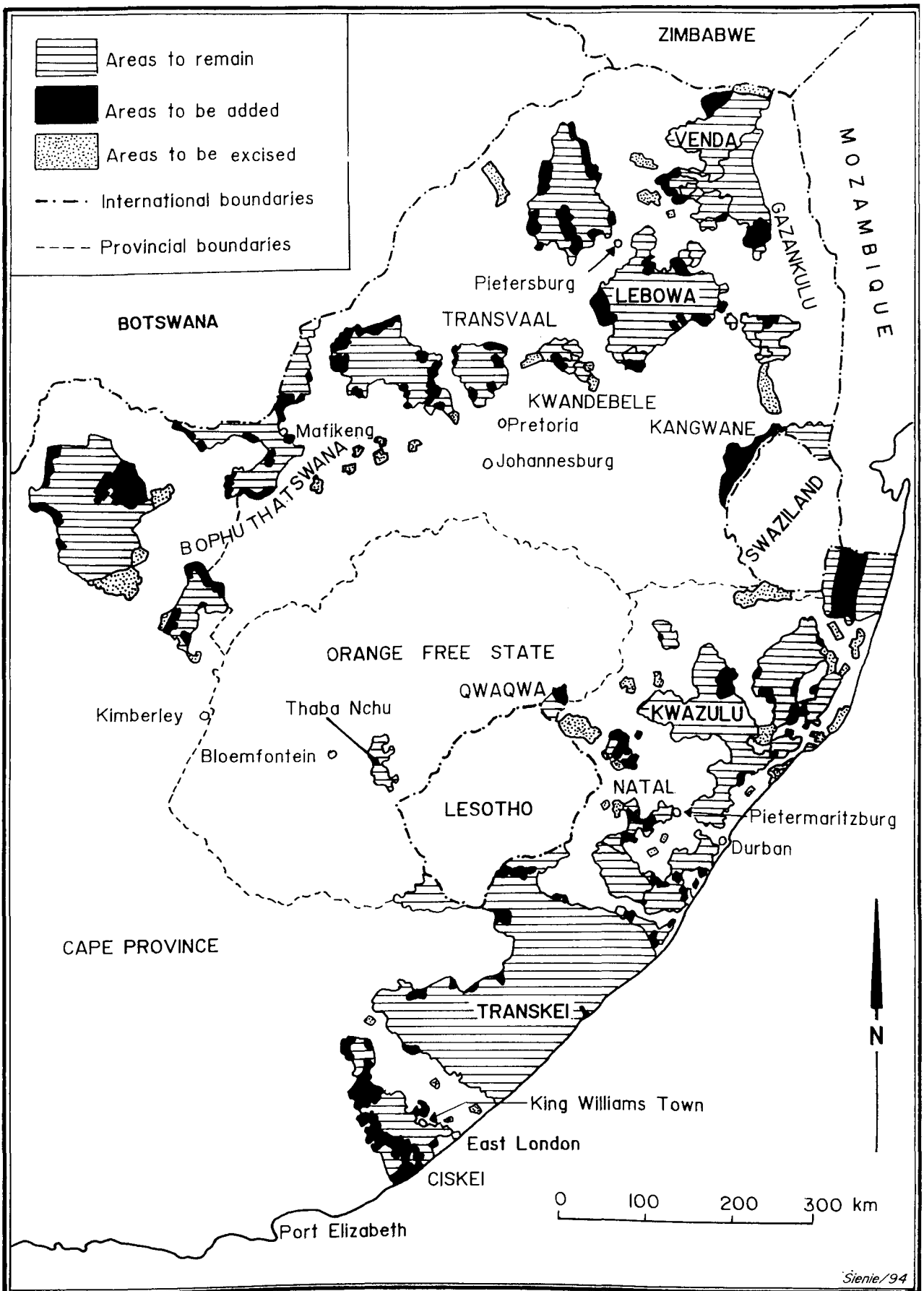


FIGURE 3.8. CONSOLIDATION PROPOSALS FOR BLACK STATES, 1975
 (Source: Christopher, 1982:51)

Finally, three states, namely, Ciskei, Qwaqwa, and Kangwane were consolidated into single geographical units while the independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda were consolidated into three, six, and two portions respectively.

Bophuthatswana was granted independence by the Government of the Republic of South Africa in 1977 after Transkei in 1976 and later Venda and Ciskei in 1979 and 1981 respectively. The others including KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kangwane and KwaNdebele remained as self-governing territories with *ex-officio* traditional leaders as heads of government.

3.4.3 THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN AREAS

The Group Areas Act of 1950 was another piece of racial legislation inherent in apartheid planning strategy which ensured the transformation of urban areas. According to Christopher (1986: 333), the act "provided that all towns should be divided into zones for the occupation of each group. No one could reside, own property or conduct a business outside the group area zoned for the person's own group".

According to Christopher's explanation, the implication of the Act was to segregate each of the racial groups in the country into separate residential and commercial areas. It meant that every person in South Africa was assigned to a racial group and each group occupied a specific area in the town or city referred to as the "Group Area". This strategy was conceived as an urban planning policy which was to ensure that each group area was designed to be physically separated with a buffer strip or no-man's-land between it and the next. However, long before the introduction of the Act, in the minds of the people and officials the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 had already divided the land along racial lines and the Group Areas Act of 1950 merely made it a mandatory urban planning policy. The first step towards the transformation of urban areas was through the process of forced removals.

3.4.4 FORCED REMOVALS

The concepts of removal and resettlement are construed in this study to mean the process of relocation and consolidation of the different ethnic population groups into allocated areas. On a national scale, apartheid planning was pursued on territorial, organizational, and ethnic lines. The consolidation of black states became a process of absolute importance, which of course was the prime objective of apartheid planning. The first step was the removal of black spots from white areas and secondly, the demarcation of land for particular race groups. To achieve this it required the relocation of large numbers of blacks from areas which had been proclaimed for other racial groups. There is conflicting information regarding the figures involved, but the estimated figures cited by the Black Sash Organization put it at approximately 3 million people from 1960 to 1980. A study by the Surplus People Project undertaken by Platzky and Walker (1985) arrived at 3,5 million over the two decades. Table 3.3 illustrates the number of people (mostly black) affected by the various types of removal and relocation according to the Surplus People Project which is considered to be the most comprehensive study yet undertaken in this regard.

The creation of racially homogeneous residential areas in cities and towns affected all of the racial groups. By the end of 1987, 1 321 Group Areas had been proclaimed in all: 576 for the occupation of whites, 495 for Coloureds, and 250 for Indians. Black residential areas in this regard were called townships. The elimination of black spots from "white" areas was part of the process of consolidating land for the homelands and transforming towns and cities. It is from this perspective that the relocation of black spots and the demolition of townships, shanty towns, and other 'unauthorised' settlements should be understood to have erased and influenced settlement patterns.

TABLE 3.3 POPULATION AFFECTED BY REMOVAL OR RELOCATION DUE TO APARTHEID PLANNING BETWEEN 1960-1983

TYPE OF REMOVAL	NUMBERS
Eviction of black tenants, squatters, and surplus labour from "white" farmlands	1 129 000
Clearance of black spots and homeland consolidation	647 000
Urban relocations and removals from "white" areas to homelands townships	670 000
Removals from unauthorised (informal or spontaneous) urban settlement	112 000
Group Areas removals arising from racial re-zoning	834 000
Relocations due to development schemes and clearing sensitive areas	23 500
Political moves such as banishment and flight from oppression	50 000
Others	30 000
Total	3 495 500

Source: Smith, 1990:15

3.4.5 URBANIZATION WITHIN THE HOMELANDS

A major process which became apparent during the 1970's with the unfolding of the homeland development programme was the rapid urbanization of parts of the homelands. This began as a central government policy in 1960 after influx control measures had failed to reduce the African population to the metropolitan white areas of South Africa. Homeland urbanization was also associated with attempts to disperse industries from metropolitan areas to towns close to the borders of the homelands.

The first stage in this process was the proclamation of new townships in the homelands as a means of side-tracking potential

rural migrants to the "white" towns and cities. Secondly, it was also to resettle blacks who had been displaced from "white" farms and black spots in white proclaimed areas. It was subsequently followed by the freezing of family housing development for blacks in townships in "white" urban areas from 1968 and was substituted with the development of townships in the homelands as dormitories for frontier commuters.

The immediate effect of the process was the deproclamation of some townships outside, but close to the homelands, to prevent further settlement and to allow for the relocation of residents to new townships within the borders of the homelands. In some cases the boundaries of homelands were changed to incorporate townships into the homeland. A case in point is the incorporation of KwaMashu into KwaZulu. This process was further accelerated when state expenditure on black housing in "white" areas was diverted to the homelands. It was coupled with the enticing incentive of the right of ownership as compared to rental houses on the periphery of the metropolitan areas. According to the SAIRR (1983: 439-40), between 1970 and 1981 the number of housing units in the proclaimed townships in the homelands increased from about 80 000 to almost 200 000 and the population from 525 000 to almost 1 500 000. Approximately 15 percent of the homeland population was living in urban areas by the early 1980's. Out of this process a number of black urban settlements, including Mdanstane and Ga-Rankuwa emerged which had an influence on the spatial restructuring of labour supply and movement.

3.4.6

INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALISATION

Another process created by apartheid planning was that of industrial decentralization away from the metropolitan centres of South Africa. Decentralization in most developing countries has been a strategy for reducing inequalities between the core and peri-pheral regions of the national space economy. In South Africa, however, the situation was quite different; it was a

disguise to ensure and maintain a developed white core and underdeveloped or developing black periphery.

The use of industrial decentralization as a process was initiated in 1960. The process sought to encourage the development of border areas or selected "white" towns adjoining the homelands. By creating development centres in underdeveloped peripheral regions the underlying objectives were twofold; firstly, to alleviate metropolitan congestion through the reduction of the flow of permanent blacks to the cities; secondly, its success was to be seen in terms of job provision for blacks to contain them in the homelands. The major attraction of the programme to business investors was the cheap available labour which existed in the homelands alongside the financial incentives (e.g. grants towards land, capital, housing costs and tax concessions) offered by the programme implementing agents.

The basic feature of the decentralization programme in this study has its bearing on the emerging spatial patterns in the homelands. According to Krige (1991), the spatial impact was evident in Botshabelo. He indicated that within six years of implementation, 57 factories had been established and were in production employing up to 10 000 local workers. A part of Bloemfontein industrial area had been relocated to about 20 kilometres east of Bloemfontein and 30 kilometres west of Botshabelo in 1988 and was named Bloemindustria. The relocation of Bloemindustria was part of the decentralization drive to restrict the flow of blacks to Bloemfontein and to get job avenues in the industrial areas closer to where the homeland labour force lived.

3.4.7. LABOUR MOVEMENTS

The supply and movement of black labour has a long history in South Africa. It was regulated by the doctrine of the Stallard (Transvaal Local Government) Commission of 1922, which was concerned with the restriction of the number of urban Africans so as to minimize expenditure on their locations. The implication

of this idea had its roots in the threatening African influx which shaped the basis of official attitudes towards urban blacks. For several decades it upheld the doctrine (Transvaal, 1922: paragraph 42) that "the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white, and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister". The attempt to secure and regulate labour supply without accommodating labour permanently in the working residential environment was a characteristic feature of the decentralization policy. It contributed to the freezing of black residential development in white South Africa, as well as the relocation of black residential areas to the peripheries of metropolitan centres of South Africa and in the homelands. The repercussions of these processes on the spatial forms of black labour movement is illustrated in Figure 3.9 and has been conceptualised into three different categories by Smith (1992) which are as follows: migrant workers; frontier commuters travelling daily from the homelands; and permanent residents who are permanent residents of "white" South Africa cities and who travel daily from black townships on the periphery of the city to job opportunities in the urban areas.

The first category of labour movement is migrant labour. The worker lives in a compound, hostel or dormitory at the mine or other place of employment and returns home after the completion of the contract (usually one year duration). The process of oscillating between single existence in the "white" city and brief spells of family life in the homelands (and foreign countries) was also another characteristic feature of the migratory labour movement. Table 3.4 and 3.5 provides a clear picture of the number of migrant workers from the homelands and foreign countries working in the South African economy.

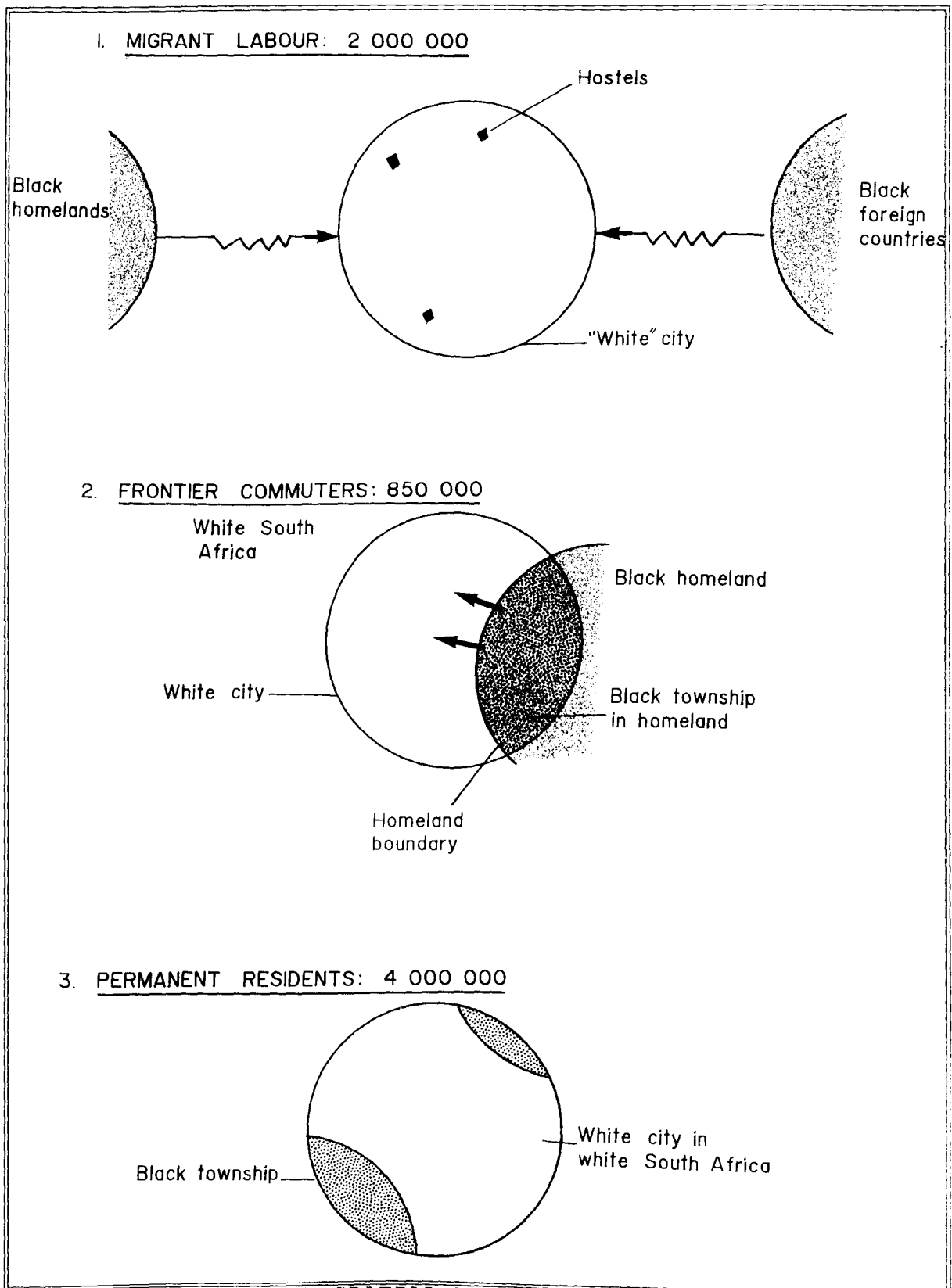


FIGURE 3.9. DIFFERENT SPATIAL FORMS OF BLACK LABOUR MOVEMENT
IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1980
(Source: Smith, 1990:74)

TABLE 3.4 MIGRANT WORKERS FROM THE HOMELANDS, 1970-1986 (1 000s)

HOMELAND OF ORIGIN	1970	1977	1982	1986
Bophuthatswana	150	179	236	261
Ciskei	52	47	59	60
Transkei	268	263	347	337
Venda	22	26	37	49
Gazankulu	40	39	64	99
Kangwane	18	29	67	77
KwaNdebele	11	24	52	71
KwaZulu	270	305	294	449
Lebowa	140	140	180	234
Qwaqwa	4	43	60	67
TOTAL	975	1 095	1 395	1 704

Source: Smith, 1992:48

The number of blacks from foreign countries rose to a peak of 836 000 in 1960 and then declined during the period of decolonization of Southern African countries as is shown in Table 3.5. In 1986 there were approximately 2 million black migrant workers in white South Africa, most of them being from the homelands.

TABLE 3.5 MIGRANT WORKERS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1973-1986 (1 000s)

Country of Origin	1973	1977	1983	1986
Botswana	46	43	30	28
Lesotho	149	161	146	138
Malawi	140	13	30	31
Mozambique	127	111	61	73
Swaziland	10	21	17	22
Zimbabwe	3	33	8	7
TOTAL (including others)	486	392	359	303

Source: Smith, 1992:48

The second category of the black labour movement is that of the

frontier commuter. This is defined as blacks who reside in the homelands but travel daily to work in the urban and rural areas of "white" South Africa. They commute across homeland boundaries and are referred to as frontier commuters.

Table 3.6 shows the trend of frontier commuters during the 1970's and first half of the 1980's. The increasing number of frontier commuters in Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu reflects the proximity of those parts of the homelands to cities in "white" South Africa. The largest commuter flow was from Bophuthatswana into Pretoria and KwaZulu into Durban.

TABLE 3.6 FRONTIER COMMUTERS FROM HOMELANDS INTO "WHITE" SOUTH AFRICA, 1970-1982 (1 000s)

Homeland of origin	1970	1976	1979	1982
Bophuthatswana	84	131	155	173
Ciskei	40	34	37	38
Transkei	3	7	9	8
Venda	3	4	6	6
Gazankulu	3	6	8	8
KaNgawane	3	23	33	44
KwaNdebele	0	0	4	12
KwaZulu	127	279	352	395
Lebowa	26	44	58	76
Qwaqwa	1	2	3	12
TOTAL	291	536	664	773

Source: Smith, 1992:50

The third category of the black labour movement referred to in this study are domestic commuters. This refers to black workers who live permanently in the cities and towns of "white" South Africa and commute from the periphery of those areas to their jobs.

3.5. THE IMPACT OF APARTHEID PLANNING ON THE THABA NCHU DISTRICT

Just as apartheid planning impacted on the geo-political landscape of South Africa at a national level, a similar impact was felt at the regional and local levels. This remaining section considers the impact of apartheid planning on the geographical landscape of the Thaba Nchu district through means of:

- * political developments within the Thaba Nchu district;
- * the trend of urban development;
- * forced removals and resettlements of the dispersed population groups into planned and unplanned settlements; and
- * labour movements from Thaba Nchu-Selosesha.

3.5.1 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE THABA NCHU DISTRICT

With the territorial basis of Thaba Nchu fully established by the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the elaboration of the apartheid strategy into a system of government began with the **Bantu Authority Act** of 1951. The passing of the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act by the South African Government provided for the recognition of exist-ing tribal councils as tribal authorities. Paving the way towards self-governing status was the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, the Bantu Homeland Citizenships Act of 1970, and the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act of 1971. In April 1961 the first major move towards unity was made when separate Tswana-speaking tribes were combined politically with the formation of the Tswana Territorial Authority.

In terms of the administrative reforms en-route to an independent state, the boundaries of the envisaged six blocks were consolidated in 1970 into what would constitute Bophuthatswana and were redrawn to coincide with the eight Regional Authorities. This number was later increased to twelve which included the Barolong Tribal Authority of Thaba Nchu.

On 1 May 1971, the Tswana Legislative Assembly was established

and full self-governing status was obtained on 1 June the following year and Bophuthatswana was bestowed. In 1971 and 1972 twelve magisterial districts came into being. These coincided with the boundaries of the Regional Authorities. It is the application of these ethnic administrative structures which drew the Thaba Nchu district into the national political system of Bophuthatswana. The Thaba Nchu Reserve Board was replaced by the Barolong Tribal Authority after it had been established in 1953 and therefore became a regional structure of the Tswana Territorial Authority which was constituted in 1961.

As part of the redrawing of the boundary of the Thaba Nchu district the "white" Thaba Nchu town was excised from the district and all of the Tswana ethnic villages in the reserve were consolidated to constitute the district. The spatial impact on the district of Thaba Nchu resulted in the dwindling of the large territorial space of the Barolong (Figure 3.10). In terms of the areal limit of jurisdiction, the open space (the buffer strip) between the African residential villages and the "white" Thaba Nchu town became the 'international' boundary between the district and the RSA. Thaba Nchu town and Thaba Nchu district existed as two separate entities under different governments until the incorporation of the town into Bophuthatswana in 1983.

The above-mentioned basic structures were extended in two respects in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which gave recognition to the Tswanas as one of the black national units destined for independence. Firstly, it allowed for the appointment of a South African Commissioner-General in the homeland to serve as a direct link between the South African Government and the Tswana Territorial Authority to guide them in their political development. Secondly, it empowered the Tswana Territorial Authority to make reciprocal representation regarding the same functions.

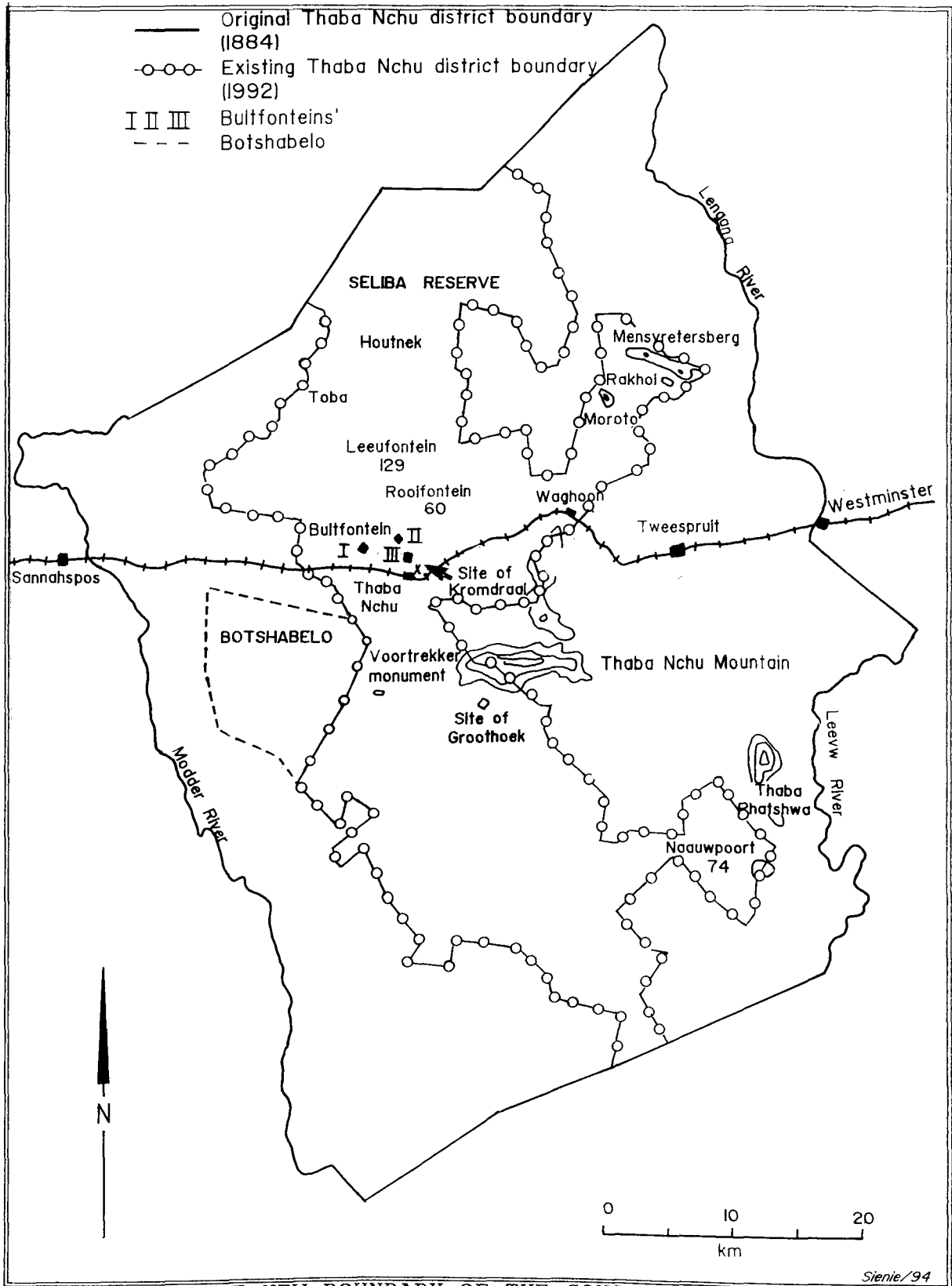


FIGURE 3.10 THE NEW BOUNDARY OF THE CONSOLIDATED DISTRICT OF THABA NCHU, 1960
(Source: Murray, 1992:3)

Another process which influenced the spatial development of Thaba Nchu was the process of industrial decentralization. The trend of accelerating township development in the homelands was made more effective by freezing the construction of family houses for blacks in white areas. This was followed by channelling grants for housing towards the homelands. This situation became evident in the studies of Krige (1991:102) on apartheid planning in Bloemfontein which revealed that "... the temporary status of African residents in Mangaung reached a climax in 1968 when all further land addition to African residential areas were frozen, and it was decided that family housing would be provided for in the Thaba Nchu area in future". The construction of housing units in the proclaimed township of Selosesha adjacent to Ratlou began in 1969. Between 1970 and 1976 the number of housing units in the proclaimed township of Selosesha increased from 790 to 1 120 and the population in this township rose from 3 475 in 1970 to 5 763 in 1976 (Bophuthatswana at Independence, 1977:124).

Administratively, Thaba Nchu town had no link with Selosesha township. The two existed as two separate settlements and the latter, together with the African rural villages was separated by a buffer strip. In March 1976, Selosesha Town Council was established. The administration of Selosesha was placed under the jurisdiction of a Superintendent and members elected to form the Selosesha Town Council.

With a series of valleys and disjointed large tracts of undeveloped land separating neighbourhoods one may think such a small area like Thaba Nchu town and its neighbouring African rural villages would not warrant the implementation of the Group Areas Act. In spite of the built-up environment, the implementation of the Group Areas Act was mandatory for all municipalities to implement and was made evident in the neighbourhood by the demarcation of the buffer strip. The spatial impact of the buffer strip was not to indicate a no-man's area, but to make the boun-

dary of the "white" proclaimed town of Thaba Nchu very clearly discernable. The same boundary marked the "white" area which was excised during the consolidation of the Thaba Nchu district as part of the homeland.

If the Group Areas Act is to be considered a "geographical agent" influencing the spatial distribution of phenomena, then the relocation of the Strydom Teachers' Training College from Bloemfontein to the Thaba Nchu district was as a result of the Act. The relocation of the college to Thaba Nchu enabled the district as a whole to be self-sufficient regarding black teacher training. The same Act was responsible for the transfer of Bartimea Special School for the Blind and the Deaf in Ficksburg to Thaba Nchu. Both institutions were relocated to Thaba Nchu because the specific areas where both institutions were located had been proclaimed for non-blacks.

3.5.3 FORCED REMOVALS AND RESETTLEMENT OF DISPERSED POPULATION GROUPS INTO PLANNED AND UNPLANNED SETTLEMENTS

The removal and resettlement of the black population throughout the reserves was part of a process of consolidating the district. This was one of most important factors explaining of the emergence of settlement patterns in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha.

The Seliba reserve was the prime site which opposed the measures endorsed in the betterment scheme and rehabilitation programmes introduced by NAD on land administered by SANT. During the period of the Orange River Colony, the two African reserves, Seliba and Thaba Nchu, each with its own headmen had established separate reserve boards. Because of SANT jurisdiction over the two reserves, the acquisition of the trust farms between them could be interpreted as an effort to integrate the two reserves for the purposes of consolidation to avoid a duplication of functions in the two adjacent areas. On that note, the NAD accordingly took measures to extend the jurisdiction of the Chief

of the Thaba Nchu reserve to the Seliba reserve. Even though the territorial integration did not materialise, the people of Seliba failed to recognise the Chief of the Thaba Nchu reserve (Murray 1992).

The opposition raised by the people of Seliba did not end with their failure to recognise the Chief, but it was also led to their opposition to the use of the land between them and the Thaba Nchu reserve for the implementation of a betterment scheme and a rehabilitation programme. Resistance at Seliba according to Murray (1992), spurred on and by 1965 forced removals were imminent in line with the resettlement programme. In May 1969 an unplanned settlement (Bultfontein 1), sprang up six kilometres north west of Thaba Nchu town, north of the railway station, as a result of the removal of people from Seliba. It was followed by the construction of Bultfontein 2 on the other side of the road. By mid-1970 the site of Bultfontein 3, near the railway station, had also filled up with refugees displaced from white farms throughout the OFS. In addition to the forced removal of blacks from urban areas in "white" South Africa in the 1960's through to the mid-1970's, tens of thousands of people, mainly Basotho, left "white" farms, smallholdings around Bloemfontein, and small towns all over the OFS and drifted into the Thaba Nchu African villages of Morolong, Mokwena, Moroka, Ratlou, and Mottlatla as well as the Bultfonteins. In addition to the expansion and increased population in those areas, a large concentration of 'illegal' squatters developed in the bend of the railway line east of Thaba Nchu railway station and west of Mokwena village which became known as Kromdraai squatter settlement. Even though population statistics for the early 1960's are not available, Krige (1992) and Murray (1992) have indicated that the population of the Thaba Nchu district increased from 41 986 in 1970 to 116 600 in 1979. This increase in population is a clear indication of how homelands were used as catchment areas for surplus Africans in "white" urban and rural areas.

3.5.4 LABOUR MOVEMENT

The emergence of spatial patterns in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha is viewed to be closely associated with the spatial restructuring of labour movement in the framework of labour supply and movement in South Africa. As a result of successive removals and the displacement of the population from the reserves and other places into planned and unplanned settlements, coupled with the urbanisation trend, the majority of the people were now concentrated into the rural African villages, the three Bultfonteins, and the new township of Selosesha. They became dependent on employment outside of the boundaries of Thaba Nchu district e.g Bloemfontein, the OFS Goldfields, the Rustenburg Platinum mines, and the farms. It could therefore be inferred that three differential spatial forms of labour movement emerged in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, viz. migrants, frontier commuters, and domestic commuters.

The operation of frontier commuter transport was also assisted by the operation of the Thaba Nchu Transport Company, under the name of Lerwanya. According to the company's 1976 analysis of the mode of transport taken by black commuters from Thaba Nchu to Bloemfontein, it was discovered that, among the total of 2 800 day frontier commuters, the train carried 2 300 and other forms of transport 500. The company also operated internally and according to its estimate for 1976/77 carried about 365 000 local passengers per annum.

3.6 THE PRE-INDEPENDENT GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

From the above discussion, the unfolding of the pre-independent political process in a physical form became the geographical imperative determining the different land-uses in the study area. Racial segregation and structural separation and disparity (for example differences in settlement areas) became the pervasive features of the study area's geographical environment. The physical separation which was manifested by the buffer strip in the

geographical space created and emphasized differences in culture, education, settlement, housing, health, and access to recreational facilities.

This study is of the opinion that the making of the OFS, and of course Bloemfontein, as a "white man's land" had a direct impact on the emergence of land-use patterns in Thaba Nchu. As illustrated in Figure 3.11, the consequences of the process in the study area can be said to comprise the following:

- * the political consolidation of the boundaries of the reserves into a homeland block of the Barolong as part of Bophuthatswana;
- * the emergence of Selosesha as a formal settlement for Tswanas due to the impact of Frozen Residential Development (FRD) at Mangaung;
- * the emergence of informal settlements at Bultfontein (1, 2, and 3) and the squatter settlement of Kromdraai due to people being squeezed off OFS farms;
- * Thaba Nchu district became the catchment area for surplus blacks from the "white" areas in the OFS;
- * the separation of the two urban areas by an apartheid buffer strip resulted in Selosesha and Thaba Nchu town being exclusive black and white town respectively;
- * the relocation of the Strydom Teachers' Training College and the Bartimeia Special School for the Deaf and the Blind from Bloemfontein and Ficksburg respectively to Thaba Nchu;
- * the emergence of betterment and rehabilitation schemes contributed to the emergence of trust villages in the district e.g. Moroto, Paradys, Merino, Commissiedrift, and Gladstone, etc;
- * the setting apart of coloureds (from Thaba Nchu to Thaba Patshwa);
- * the emergence of a migrant labour system to Bloemfontein, the OFS Goldfields, Rustenburg and other urban and rural areas; and
- * the emergence of a daily frontier commuting system between Thaba Nchu and Bloemfontein; originally a train link which

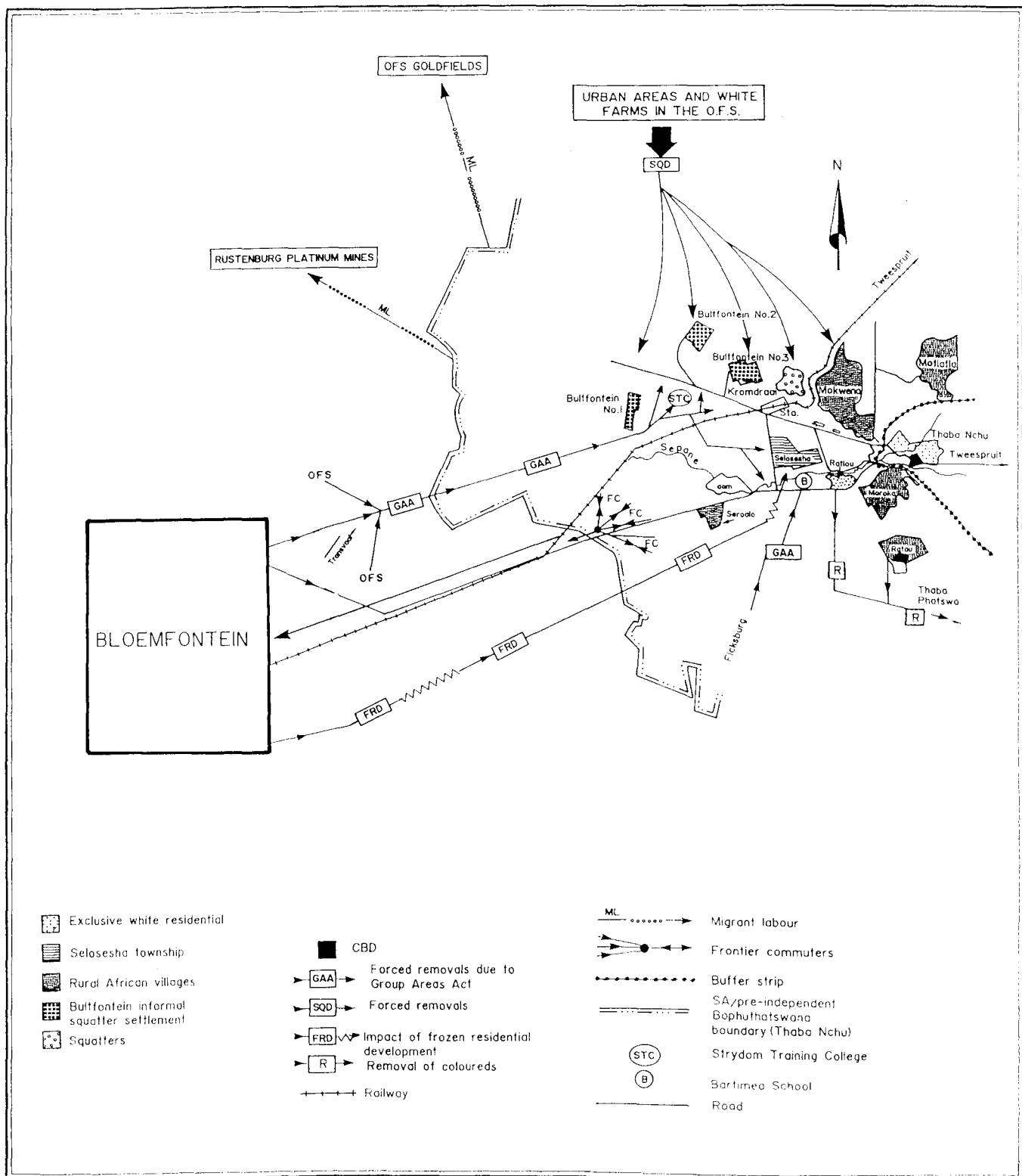


FIGURE 3.11 THE IMPACT OF APARTHEID PLANNING ON THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

developed into a bus service.

Based on this study's classification of the land-use components in terms of political and socio-economic development, the major land-use components in the 1976 geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha are illustrated in Figure 3.12 were identified to be characterised by a dual distinction between two racial population groups, viz. Thaba Nchu town for "white" South Africans and Selosesha, together with the Bultfonteins and surrounding African rural villages, and Kromdraai for blacks. The two major distinctions were evident in the following landscape components (1 - 8). 1. Political; 2. Administrative; 3. Settlement; 4. Housing; 5. Commercial; 6. Educational; 7. Cultural. 8. Health. A descriptive account of the distinctions in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha will follow and summary details are provided in Table 3.9.

3.6.1 POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Between 1948 and 1976 the sovereign authority which presided in the study area was vested in the government of the RSA. The visible evidence of the power of the authority of the government was not limited to the laws and other legislative measures in place, but also national symbols which were associated with the identity of the government. These symbols were limited to the national flag, coat of arms, and portraits of the state president. These were confined to the police station, the magistrate court buildings, and the municipality office at Thaba Nchu. In Selosesha there was no visible evidence of the political symbols even though it fell under jurisdiction of the South African Government. It had, however, been administered by the *ex-officio* self-government since 1972.

In spite of this, the legislative imprint of the power of the government was familiar to the residents of Selosesha, the African rural villages, and the Bultfonteins. It was recognised and evident in the open buffer strip. The buffer strip was approxi-

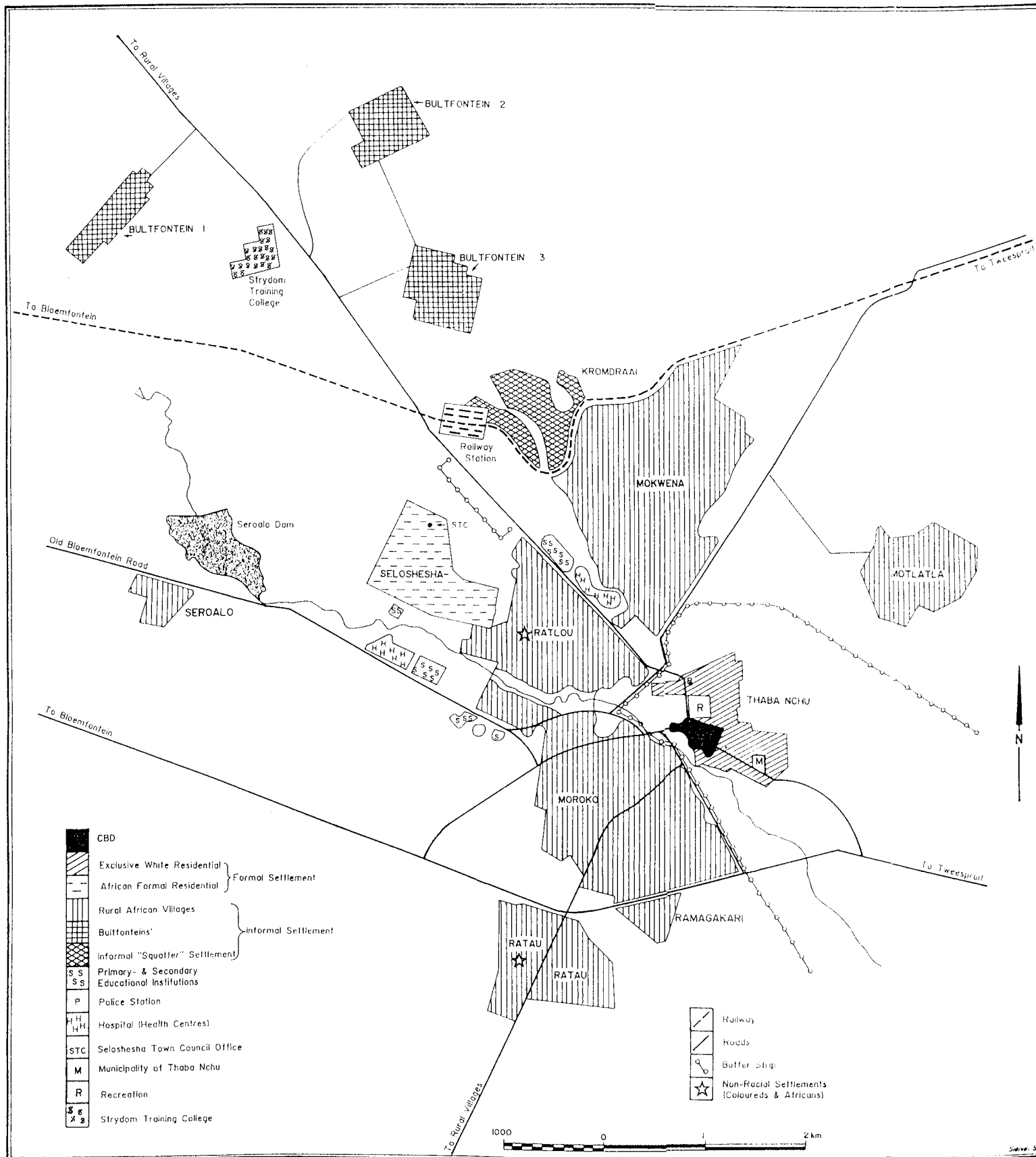


FIGURE 3.12 THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976

matlely 100 - 150 metre in width and almost surrounded the white residential area of Thaba Nchu. It served as a political boundary beyond which the African had no franchise, nor settlements rights.

In the streets of the Thaba Nchu town Afrikaner street names were an exclusive indication of the ethnic identity of the town. In Selosesha the street names reflected the names of some prominent members of the Barolong tribe. However, in the streets the recognition of the government's authority also became evident according to the registration plates (OT) on vehicles in the Thaba Nchu district. In the post offices at Ratlou and Thaba Nchu the sale of South African stamps emphasized the visible national symbols of the South African Government.

3.6.2 ADMINISTRATIVE LANDSCAPE

The pre-independent control of colonial cities and towns was exercised by administrators who constituted the seat of local government. In Thaba Nchu and Selosesha, the existence of a number of administrative institutions and the areas under their jurisdiction was basic to the understanding of the administrative landscape. During the pre-independence era, Thaba Nchu Municipality and Selosesha Town Council were the only significant local government institutions in the study area. Other than for these two, the Barolong Tribal Authority exercised traditional control over the total district as part of the self-government state.

The territorial jurisdiction of Thaba Nchu Municipality and Selosesha Town Council was limited to Thaba Nchu Town and Selosesha respectively. The jurisdiction of the two institutions was separated by the open buffer strip. The residents of the two areas did not have franchise in each others administrative decisions.

The administrative function of Selosesha Town Council was strictly to allocate and maintain state houses. The municipality

was in-charge of the allocation of buildings to businessmen and other basic incentives including the provision of electricity, water, maintenance of the streets and general environment.

3.6.3 SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE

The landscape of settlement was the most spectacular manifestation of the pre-independent political process. It started, initially, with the African rural villages of pre-colonial times and continued through to the establishment of Thaba Nchu town in 1892. Following the implementation of apartheid strategy, the process of settlement development became one of the pervasive features of the Thaba Nchu district. Hence the district became the catchment area for the surplus blacks in the OFS.

It gathered momentum in the study area following the political development of proclaiming the Thaba Nchu district as part of Bophuthatswana. Subsequently, Selosesha was established and proclaimed a township in 1969 with the construction of residential houses for displaced residents of Bloemfontein and Bethany. At the same time, the informal settlements of Bultfontein 1, 2, and 3 and Kromdraai emerged.

The overall pattern was a dispersed settlement of disjointed, large tracts of undeveloped land separating the neighbourhoods. It consisted of the two separate formal settlements of Thaba Nchu town and Selosesha and the informal settlements of the African rural villages of Moroka, Ratlou, Mokwena, Ratau, Seroala, and Motlatla; Bultfontein 1, 2, 3, and Kromdraai squatter settlement. In spite of this, there was no attempt to work towards a unified settlement between Thaba Nchu town and Selosesha. The formal settlements were structured according to a well planned formal layout while the informal settlements followed no definite plan.

3.6.4 HOUSING LANDSCAPE

With the pre-independent process finally set, the housing

landscape which emerged became extricably bound-up in the types of settlement in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. In the formal settlement of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha the houses were laid out in a grid pattern with gravel streets intersecting at right angles. The houses in Selosesha were predominantly planned for the displaced black residents. The 980 houses were of different styles, sizes, rental, and purchase prices as illustrated in Table 3.7. In the exclusive "white" residential area of Thaba Nchu the houses were predominantly privately owned. There was no particular architectural style in the housing landscape. In the informal settlements the houses were mostly privately owned and self-constructed from mud-bricks and corrugated iron sheeting.

TABLE 3.7 PRE-INDEPENDENCE HOUSE TYPES IN SELOSESHA, RENTAL AND PURCHASE PRICE, 1976

TYPES OF HOUSES	RENTAL (R)*	QUANTITY	PURCHASE PRICE (R)*
Tin cottage (2-rooms)	8.88	12	825.00
Prefabricated (1-room)	12.89	50	935.00
56/6 2 room house	14.50	158	3000.00
56/4 4 room house	37.04	710	9000.00
11/1 wooden house	22.54	50	1650.00

Source: SETPLAN, 1992:34

(* prices /rental as at 1992)

3.6.5 COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE

The commercial landscape of pre-independent Thaba Nchu-Selosesha was limited to the small CBD in the Thaba Nchu town. Regulated in terms of the Group Areas Act, it was a business area monopolised by the white business community in the Thaba Nchu town. It was the centre of business activity for the study area and the district. There was no well-developed commercial sub-centres outside of the CBD.

There was no apparent pattern in the occurrence and types of

shops in the CBD as detailed in Table 3.8. The arrangement of shops conformed to the road pattern. The intersection of the two gravel access roads did not constitute the centre of business activity.

TABLE 3.8 AN INVENTORY OF PRE-INDEPENDENT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT OF THABA NCHU, 1976

ENTERPRISE	FREQUENCY
Supermarket	2
Garage/Filling Station	2
Spares/Panel Beating	3
Butchery	4
General Dealer	19
Bottle Store	2
Café/Restaurant	6
Furniture	9
Shoe store	1
Clothes Store	7
Agent/Broker	2
Transport Service	1
Hardware/Building	1
Action	-
Dry Cleaner	1
Pharmacy	1
Hotel	1
Hair dresser	3
Building contractor	3
Professional	1
Bank/Building society	1
Wood/Coal	1

Source: Bophuthatswana at Independence, 1977:133

3.6.6 EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE

In Thaba Nchu-Selosesha the educational landscape of the pre-

independent period had a remarkable imprint of colonial and apartheid political processes. The most important educational institution was the Ereskuld Primary School, which, together with a church and a mission house, was donated as a gift of honour to the Barolong Tribe by the Afrikaner. Moroka School was built and named after Chief Moroka. It serves as a Teachers' Training School in addition to being a high school.

PHOTOMAP 3.1 THE ERESKULD PRIMARY SCHOOL STILL MAINTAINS ITS NAME, A SIGN OF APPRECIATION FROM THE AFRIKANER TO THE BAROLONG OF THABA NCHU



Other important educational institutions include the Strydom Teachers' Training School and the Bartimea Special School for the Deaf and the Blind which were relocated to Thaba Nchu from Bloemfontein and Ficksburg respectively. The missionary role in education is also evident in the number of educational institution bearing christian names. This includes St. Paul's and St. Augustine's Primary schools. During the period of transition to independence, Bophuthatswana was declared a self-government territory in 1972. During this period (1972-1976), a number of schools were established in dilapidated houses which were not conducive to any purposeful learning.

The pre-independence primary schools were ethnic in identity as the medium of instruction was limited to the Tswana language. In Thaba Nchu town the Gerrit Maritz Primary School was the only formal educational facility.

3.6.7 CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Another relevant aspect of the pre-independence landscape was that of culture. It consisted of the Thaba Nchu town hall and of street names mostly to Afrikaners in Thaba Nchu town and of Tswana origin in Seloshesha Township. Other features of the cultural landscape were the Anglican church, the Dutch Reformed Church, and St. Paul's Church. There was a well-developed recreational sports centre for the exclusive use of residents from Thaba Nchu town in addition to a whites only Thaba Nchu Hotel.

PHOTOMAP 3.2 THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN THABA NCHU



3.6.8 HEALTH LANDSCAPE

The most important institutions which took care of the health and welfare of the people were Moroka Hospital, Poloko Sanatorium,

and the Barend van Rensburg Children's Home all in Selosesha. The presence of limited health facilities could be attributed to the lack of any substantive administrative institutions and the limited size of the settlements.

TABLE 3.9 A COMPARISON OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU AND SELOSESHA, 1976

LANDSCAPE COMPONENTS	THABA NCHU	SELOSESHA
POLITICAL		
Government	RSA	<i>Ex-officio</i> self government services starting from 1972
Franchise	Limited to whites	Limited to Africans
Symbols	Flags, coats of arms, national anthem	The same
Stamps	South African	The same
Number Plates	OT	OT
Street Names	Afrikaner	Tswana
ADMINISTRATIVE		
Local	Municipality	Selosesha Town Council, Barolong Tribal Authority
SETTLEMENT		
Formal	Thaba Nchu	Selosesha
Informal	None	African rural villages: Moroka, Ratau, Mokwena, Ratlou, Seroalo, Motlata, Bultfontein 1, 2, 3; Kromdraai squatter settlement
Boundary	Buffer strip	The same
Racial Group	White	Black
Spatial		
Organization	Nucleated	Dispersed
Morphology	Grid layout	Undefined
Transport	Bus and taxi depot	Railway Station

(TABLE 3.9 continues)

Road	Gravel	Gravel
Function	Residential, Commercial, Services Judiciary	Residential and services
HOUSING		
Formal	Privately-owned	Government planned estates
Informal	None	Mud, brick, wooden shacks, and corrugated iron
COMMERCIAL		
	CBD	Variety of dispersed shops
EDUCATIONAL		
Tertiary	No development	Strydom Training College
Secondary	No development	Moroka, Goronyane schools
Primary	Gerrit Maritz	Ereskuld, Tawana, St. Paul's and St. Augustine
CULTURAL		
Church	Anglican, Dutch Reformed	Methodist
Hotel	Thaba Nchu Hotel	No development
HEALTH		
	No development	Moroka Hospital Poloko Psychiatric Barend van Rensburg Children's Home

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPACT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE AS A POLITICAL PROCESS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

In chapter three it was mentioned that an appraisal of the landscape changes cannot be made from a perspective of being ignorant of the initial state of the condition of the phenomenon. Once that state has been uncovered and established it becomes imperative to outline the external factors considered to have influenced the change in order to assess the nature and extent of the change. This chapter represents the climax of this study and its perspective for viewing any landscape changes in Thaba Nchu-Selossha is focused on the political process from 1977 to 1992. Political independence is regarded as the dominant force exhibiting itself in the transformation of the political imprint of the pre-independent geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selossha. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the objective of this chapter is structured as follows:

- * to analyze the political and socio-economic strategies which were initiated by independence as a political process to build Bophuthatswana as a new nation; and
- * to analyze the impact of these political and socio-economic strategies by the Bophuthatswana Government on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selossha from 1977 to 1992.

4.1 INDEPENDENCE OF BOPHUTHATSWANA

The controversy which surrounds whether Bophuthatswana is a product of apartheid or not is not the object of the discussion, but is a point of interest which reflects how Bophuthatswana perceived its independence. In a presidential address to the meeting of the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in Johannesburg on December 1991, President Mangope was quoted as

saying, "Bophuthatswana is not a product of apartheid but the legacy of British imperialism and colonialism that went wrong ..." (Bophuthatswana Pioneer, 1992:2-3). He regarded the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 as "an opportunity provided by the South African Government to regain our sovereignty ...". In the context of the President's utterance, Bophuthatswana crossed the rubicon in December 1977 to a "post-apartheid" society which he described "as a new and glorious opportunity to give rise to the hopes and aspirations of our people, ... scrapped all apartheid laws and created a non-racial society ... to remould our people, who are scattered in groups and tribes over a wide area, and forged them again into a nation, ...".

One significant inference which this study makes from the president's statement and the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 is that both regarded a state's existence as fundamental to the concept of sovereignty, meaning that the concept sovereignty cannot be found in a society where there is no state. Once the concept has emerged in any society, its further development will have an ultimate link with further changes in relation to the society and its government on one hand and the territorial base of the sovereignty on the other. It is through this relationship that the sovereignty exerts its impact on the territorial base. Within the above framework, the opportunities and challenges of independence were numerous. An indication was that the government was faced with the responsibility of building a nation and initiating developments in terms of providing employment, housing, educational facilities, health care, and to develop the human potential. This also included the provision of social services and the creation of physical infrastructure. In the perspective of this study, the government was mandated to institute a process which could not have exerted an impact or transform the political imprint of the pre-independent landscape. It is within this context that a wide range of strategies, programmes, and projects were initiated during the independence.

In the following section the geo-political space of Bophuthat-

swana will be described to show the environment within which the political processes were pursued during the independence period from 1977 to 1992.

4.2 THE GEO-POLITICAL SPACE OF BOPHUTHATSWANA, 1977-1992

There were twelve administrative district into which Bophuthatswana was divided. As illustrated in (Figure 1.2), the twelve districts are as follows: the western block which constituted the districts of Kudumane (previously called the Tlhaping Tlharo) and Ganyesa; immediately to the south of this lies the second block which forms the district of Taung; the central block formed the district of Distsobotla and Molopo where the capital Mmabatho was situated; further north was the fourth block, containing the districts of Lehurustshe, Madikwe, Mankwe and Bafokeng; further east was the block comprising the districts of Odi 1, Odi 2, Moretele No 1, and Moretele No 2 ; about 250 kilometres south east of the district of Taung and quite separate from the rest of the country, is the district of Thaba Nchu.

Against this background of a fragmented geo-political space, the challenges facing Bophuthatswna demanded political and socio-economic processes which would enable it to forge a unified nation. For the purposes of this study, some of the most important strategies which were pursued have been identified to include the following: the process of nation-building; the establishment of national and district centres; the setting up industrial development points; the provision of housing; educational development programmes; health care provision; recreation, cultural and tourism development. These will be discussed, analyzed, and related to the emerging and changing geographical landscape of Bophuthatswana from 1977 to 1992.

4.3 POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORCES IN OPERATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

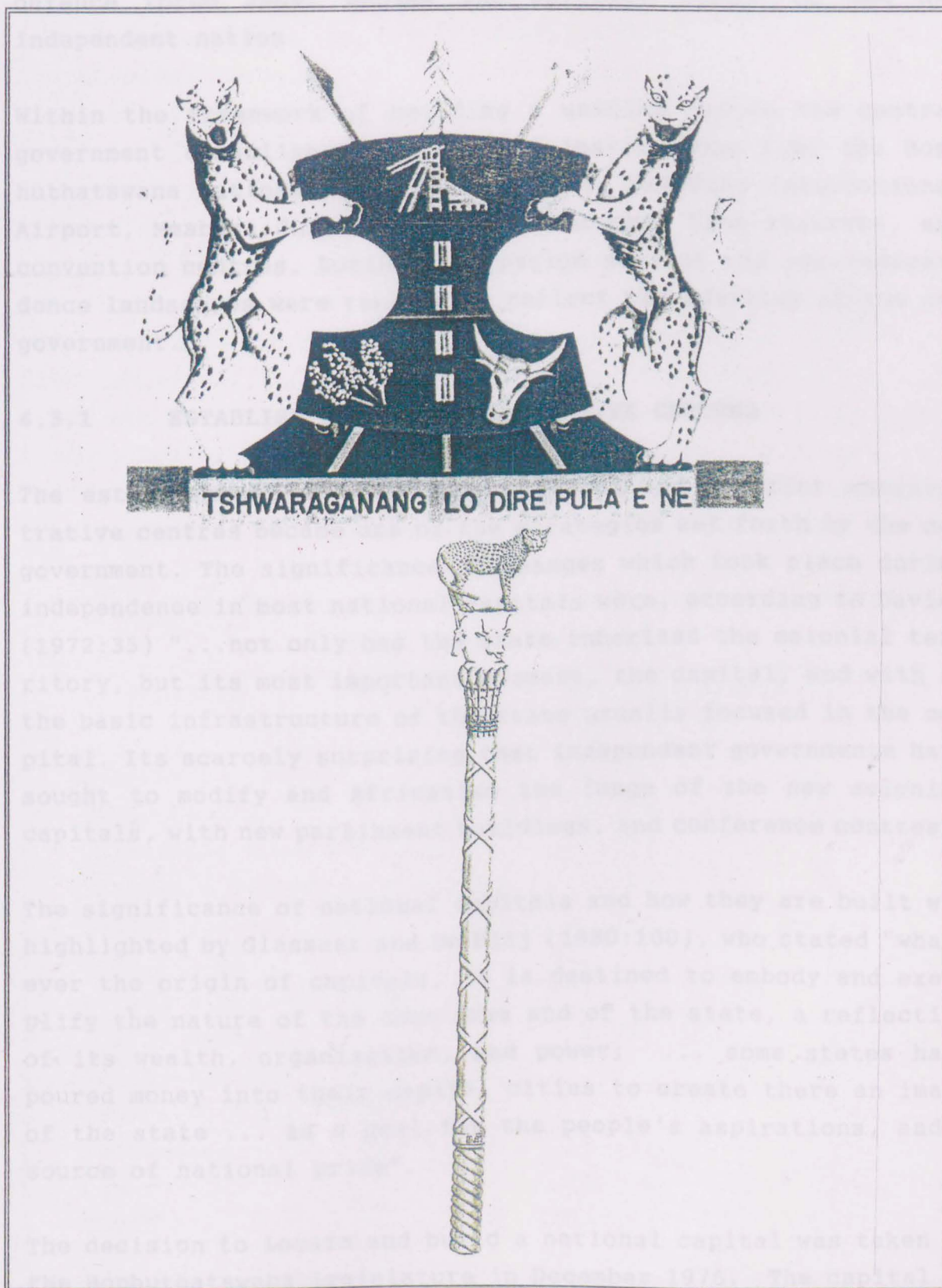
The first strategy initiated during the infant stage and which

has continued for the last fifteen years was to unify and build a nation split by colonial and apartheid strategies. The uneven and fragmentary distribution of the seven blocks containing the twelve districts was a demonstration of the lack of territorial homogeneity which constituted its foremost hurdle in forging a nation. At the same time it was the government's highest priority to encourage the inhabitants of each block to recognise themselves as part of the new nation.

In the context of this study the process of building a nation in a newly-created state is defined as generating and nurturing nationalism to replace segregation and racism and the attempt to create a sense of identification with loyalty to the new nation. It was this strategy of fostering nationalism in Bophuthatswana which induced a process that led to the promulgation of a common constitution. In terms of the constitution, a national assembly was established which coopted all of the traditional leaders and elected members from the twelve districts. The constitution provided for the symbols of an independent statehood; a national flag, a national anthem, a coat of arms (Photomap 4.1), and the recognition of Setswana and English as the official languages. It furthermore provided for three categories of people to become citizens of Bophuthatswana. These are (a) all Batswana as defined by the Act of Parliament; (b) any other person legally domiciled in the Republic of Bophuthatswana at the time of independence for a period of five years; (c) all those who applied and were accepted as citizens. All such citizens were issued with Bophuthatswana identity documents.

The constitution also created a judicial function for the Republic of Bophuthatswana which was vested in the supreme court. The supreme court had jurisdiction over all persons residing in the country. It also established magistrate courts in all of the regions.

While the constitution alone cannot guarantee the security and protection of the nation's people, the establishment of a loyal



police and defence force in highly visible police stations and defence force base, became the physical images of the new independent nation.

Within the framework of building a unified nation the central government established a number of institutions like the Bophuthatswana National Airline (Bop Air), Mmabatho International Airport, Mmabana Cultural Centres, National Game Reserves, and convention centres. During this period some of the pre-independence landscapes were renamed to reflect the identity of the new government.

4.3.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRES

The establishment of a national capital and district administrative centres became one of the strategies set forth by the new government. The significance of changes which took place during independence in most national capitals were, according to Davies (1972:35) "...not only has the state inherited the colonial territory, but its most important element, the capital, and with it the basic infrastructure of the state usually focused in the capital. Its scarcely surprising that independent governments have sought to modify and Africanise the image of the new colonial capitals, with new parliament buildings, and conference centres".

The significance of national capitals and how they are built was highlighted by Glassner and De Blij (1980:100), who stated "whatever the origin of capitals, it is destined to embody and exemplify the nature of the core area and of the state, a reflection of its wealth, organization, and power; ... some states have poured money into their capital cities to create there an image of the state ... as a goal for the people's aspirations, and a source of national pride".

The decision to locate and build a national capital was taken by the Bophuthatswana legislature in December 1976. The capital of Bophuthatswana, to be called Mmabatho, was located on a green

field site seven kilometres to the northwest of Mafikeng. According to Cowley (1985), at the time of the initial decision to locate the capital, the people of Mafikeng attempted to persuade the government to locate the capital near Mafikeng. To many it appeared to be the most appropriate choice because Mafikeng was central to the fragmented state. In addition, the administrative headquarters of the self-governing homeland was located in Mntshiwa, a few kilometres outside Mafikeng.

The significance of the name of the national capital, Mmabatho which in Setswana means "the mother of the people", was a reflection of the historical and cultural development of the Batswana who regarded the capital as a symbol of their spiritual home, a home of freedom, and united nationhood. The building and rapid growth of an administrative infrastructure during the first five years of independence is indicated in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1 DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL
IN MMABATHO, 1977-1982

PROJECTS	ESTIMATED TOTAL COST (R'000)
Government Offices	23 750
Civic Centre	3 218
University Core Building	3 600
Automatic Telephone Exchange	835
Communication Tower	386
High School	3 765
Police Single Quarters	1 980
Police Station	1 880
Infrastructure: road, water, sewerage, electricity, stormwater	15 437
Others	76 612
TOTAL	127 463

Source: Five Years of Independence, 1982:15

While public institutions and facilities are considered a necessity for the normal functioning of a nation, where and when they are established reflects the stages at which a country is in its political history. In most cases in post-colonial Africa some of these institutions are found to be so well established that there is no need to initiate new ones immediately after independence. The situation was, however completely different in Bophuthatswana. It had not inherited any colonial national capital and district centres. The administrative structures of the pre-independent territory was radically changed, and a new one had to be set up to meet the needs of the new administration. As a result, new district boundaries were demarcated and district centres were established. Table 4.2 illustrates the background of the newly-proclaimed districts and their district centres.

TABLE 4.2 THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE DISTRICT CLASSIFICATION

PRE-INDEPENDENT	INDEPENDENT	
DISTRICT CLASSIFICATION	NEWLY PROCLAIMED DISTRICT	NEW DISTRICT CENTRES
Vryburg	Kudumane	Mothibistad
Vryburg	Gyanyesa	Gyanyesa
Mafikeng	Molopo	Mmabatho
Lichtenburg and Mafikeng	Ditsobotla	Itsoseng
Taung	Taung	Taung
Marico	Lehurustshe	Lehurustshe
Pilanesberg	Mankwe	Mogwase
Rustenburg	Bafokeng	Tlhabane
Brits	Odi No 1 & 2	Ga-Rankuwa
Hammanskraal	Moretele No 1 & 2	Temba
Pilanesberg and Rustenburg	Madikwe	Madikwe
Thaba Nchu	Thaba Nchu	Selosesha

The district classification during the pre-independent era was intended to illustrate the district where the newly-proclaimed districts and district centres were previously located. The Bophuthatswana Government had to establish new district centres and build the necessary infrastructure within the shortest possible period if it was to establish its a power base effectively. The establishment of a district administrative infrastructure was a necessity in most of the districts because such facilities were completely non-existent.

Table 4.3 illustrates the locational distribution of administrative and public facilities which were established at the national and district centres of Bophuthatswana between 1977 and 1992. The location pattern of some of these facilities was meant to serve the community in which they were located, but their spatial patterns reflect the demand for these services immediately after independence. The process introduced by the strategy at the onset of independence is evident in the construction of buildings throughout the length and breadth of the country. Every department was in some form or another involved in a building activity to accommodate the function it had to offer to the people in the national and district centres.

4.3.2 INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Another strategy to induce development in Bophuthatswana which has manifested itself spatially was the nurturing of industrial development centres in selected districts of the country. It was a strategy comparable to the growth centre strategy usually employed in most developing countries as an attempt to reduce the inequality in the national space economy. By ear-marking industrial development centres the objectives to be achieved in this particular instance, according to Stohr (1974:24), "... was to establish new centres in lagging or underdeveloped peripheral regions".

TABLE 4.3 ADMINISTRATIVE AND PUBLIC FACILITIES IN THE NATIONAL AND DISTRICT CENTRES OF BOPHUTHATSWANA, 1992

NATIONAL CAPITAL	DISTRICT CENTRES
Ministerial Offices	District Administrative and Departmental Offices
Parliament House	Governors' Offices
BNDC Headquarters	Regional Development Corporation
National Police Headquarters	District Police Stations
National Defence Headquarters	Defence Force Bases
Social Security Headquarters	
National Fire Brigade Headquarters	Fire Service Stations
National Sports Stadium	Sports Complexes
National Convention Centre	Local Halls
National Cultural Centre	Mmabana Cultural Centres
Museums and Art Galleries	Archives
Bophuthatswana University	Colleges of Education
Post and Telecommunication Headquarters	Post Offices
Correctional Services Offices	Rehabilitation Centres
Hospitals	Hospitals and Clinics
Supreme Court	Magistrate Courts
International Hotels	Variety of Hotels
National Park	National Parks
National Prisons	Police Cells
Financial Institutions	Financial Institutions
Mine Headquarters	Mine Labour Recruiting Offices
International Airport	Airports and Airstrips
Shopping Complexes	Shopping Centres

The selected centres included Babelegi in the Moretele No 1 district, Ga-Rankuwa in the Odi No 1 district, Mogwase in the Mankwe district, Selosesha in the Thaba Nchu district, Pampier-

stad in Taung, and Mothibistad in the Kudumane district (Table 4.4). According to Fair (1987:68), the selected towns "...had little economic base of their own and were rather residential areas than towns in their own right, ... their growth potential as industrial centres is therefore limited if by growth one means the capacity for sustained growth base on sure economic foundations".

It was against this background that the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (BNDC) was established in August 1975. The BNDC, however, could be perceived as an off-spring of the Corporation for Economic Development (CED) and the Bantu Mining Corporation (BMC) which were in operation in the homelands. Both had been established as a development and mineral prospecting agency. After the establishment of the BNDC, the CED and BMC were abolished and all of their assets and training facilities were gradually taken over by BNDC and their personnel were seconded to it.

At this stage, the challenges which faced the BNDC gave the government no option but to abrogate the pre-independent industrial concessions and incentives the CED offered during its decentralization programme. Hence, it was restructured and introduced as a new incentive package in April 1982. The new package was a necessity in view of the diversity of the problems, possibilities and the uniqueness of each industrial development centre's relative location in the country. This was demonstrated by the different rates of concessions and incentives offered to industrialists at the distinctive locations of the industrial development point as illustrated in Table 4.4.

The main functions of the BNDC were as follows:

- * to provide infrastructure for the industrial and commercial enterprise development;
- * to create employment opportunities by establishing industrial and commercial enterprises with a separate division handling small businesses;

- * to assist commercial and industrial undertakings in Bophuthatswana with training, counselling, and other after-care services;
- * to promote handicrafts and tourism in Bophuthatswana;
- * to build hotels, shopping centres, and factories; and
- * to participate in joint trading and manufacturing ventures with other organizations.

The BNDC created subsidiary Regional Development Corporations at all of the growth points. It was this role which gave perspective to the industrial development centre strategy which was to transform the territorial space economy of Bophuthatswana from a pre-industrial economy to an industrial economy with a strong centre as evident in most developing countries.

After thirteen years of active participation in the economic development of Bophuthatswana, the BNDC in its 1992 annual report unveiled its impact on the economy. The report indicated that "... the Corporation invests R12 million to R15 million per year on joint ventures, ... the value of the joint ventures are manifold, bringing expertise and technologies, commerce, trade and facilities to Bophuthatswana which may not otherwise have been available". The report further stated "... the commercial interest supported by BNDC, includes the construction of rural shopping centres countrywide, with the most recent one at Lehurutshe at the cost of R15,9 million, while a further R22 million had been earmarked for shopping centre development at Mabeskraal,

TABLE 4.4 INDUSTRIAL INCENTIVES FOR BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POINTS, 1988

	BABELEGI GA-RANKUWA	MOGWASE MMABATHO	PAMPIERSTAD SELOSESHA MOTHIBISTAD
INTEREST RATE SUBSIDY			
For 10 years, interest paid in the form of a taxable cash grant calculated on a pre determined market-related interest rate, on 100% of the outlay on land and buildings and 50% on the additional capital with an investment limit of R7m. (%)	25	45	70
RENTAL SUBSIDY			
For the first 10 years annual rentals on land and building shall be a percentage of erection costs equal to the predetermined market-related interest rate less the specified percentage of that interest rate.	25	45	70
EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVE			
A non-taxable cash incentive for 7 years calculated as a percentage of the total wage bill subject to a			

(TABLE 4.4 continues)

specified amount per worker. Percentage total wage bill.	80	80	95
Maximum amount per worker (R).	35	80	100
TRAINING GRANT			
In addition to the actual cost incurred a training allowance for approved training schemes and centres of 125% of the training cost may be deducted for tax purposes against proof of external audit certificate. The resultant tax savings may be paid as a cash grant.	Yes	Yes	Yes
ELECTRICITY SUBSIDY			
The difference between the local tariff and the ESCOM tariff applicable in the Eastern Transvaal.	No	Yes	Yes
RAIL REBATE			
On selective basis for goods manufactured in the area (In exceptional cases in the Eastern Transvaal).	No	40%	40%
ROAD TRANSPORT			
A general concession			

TABLE 4.4. continues

of one 14 ton truck per undertaking.	Yes	Yes	Yes
RELOCATION ALLOWANCE FROM CERTAIN METROPOLITAN AREAS			
In respect of certain approved relocation costs with a maximum of R500 000 as well as an additional 20% for further quantifiable costs.	Yes	Yes	Yes
HOUSING FOR EXPATRIATE KEY PERSONNEL			
Maximum loan ceilings of R51 000 per dwelling with an exception of one loan for R58 000. Loans for houses in the RSA may be financed by the I.D.C. The subsidy will be paid as a percentage of the applicable bond rate	20	40	40
PRICE PREFERENCE ON TENDERS TO			
(i) Independent and self-governing states (%)	10	10	10
(ii) Other central and provincial authorities (%)	5	5	5

Source: Five Years of Independence Republic of Bophuthatswana, 1982:23

Itsoseng, and Skilpadfontein. A newly created small business division within the corporation put together a selection of financial packages to suit clients from the informal sector to big achievers in the small business world. They range from the start-up loan, the size which depends on the project, to a comprehensive assistance programme ... The extent of support for the small business ... extends to counselling and training in all aspect of business management, including the provision of infrastructure facilities..." (BNDC, 1992:2).

Table 4.5, shows the expansion of BNDC and Figure 4.1 the growth of manufacturing industries in the industrial regions of the space economy of Bophuthatswana since independence. From Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1 it is evident that a substantial impact had been exerted on the geographical landscape in terms of industrial and commercial development. At the same time, shopping centres emerged during the period 1977 to 1992. The growth of manufacturing industries was obvious in the new land-use pattern of the industrial development centres. These factories employed some 10 000 workers in 1977 and this rose to 47 000 in 1992. Most of the employment was created by the clothing factories. By 1992 industrial investment had risen from R63 million in 1978 to R847 million in 1992 and the total number of industries in Bophuthatswana had risen to 392 (Figure 4.1).

From 1977 to 1992 the spatial impact of the industrial development points, together with other developments, emphasised the existence of a strong localising or polarizing principles in the spatial organization of political and economic activities in Bophuthatswana. The industrial development points attracted the agglomeration of various factors of production, viz. capital, labour, technical skills, and entrepreneurial advice.

TABLE 4.5

BNDC DEVELOPMENTS, 1978-1992

	MARCH 1978 (R) (in millions)	FEBRUARY 1992 (R) (in millions)
BNDC INVESTMENT INDUSTRY		
Buildings	29,9	297,5
Loans	10,8	53,2
COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT		
Small Business Loans and		
Buildings	3,2	14,4
INFRASTRUCTURE		
Shopping Centres	-	46,5
SHAREHOLDING IN ASSOCIATED/ SUBSIDY COMPANIES		
Shares at Cost	0,6	134,0
Loans	0,8	60,4
INDUSTRIALIST'S INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRY		
	63,0	847,0
EMPLOYMENT		
	10 000	47 000 (Of which 43 000 are citizens)
CURRENT STATUS		
<p>BNDC's Investment is reflected by the following: a work force of 47 000 (of which 43 000 are citizens) 392 factories, 80 mini factories and 357 workshops have been erected at an investment of R247,94 million. The total value of investment in shares in 1992 was, at market value, in excess of R1 billion.</p> <p>In 1992 jobs by small businesses in Bophuthatswana are in the region of 20 000.</p>		

Source: BNDC, 1992

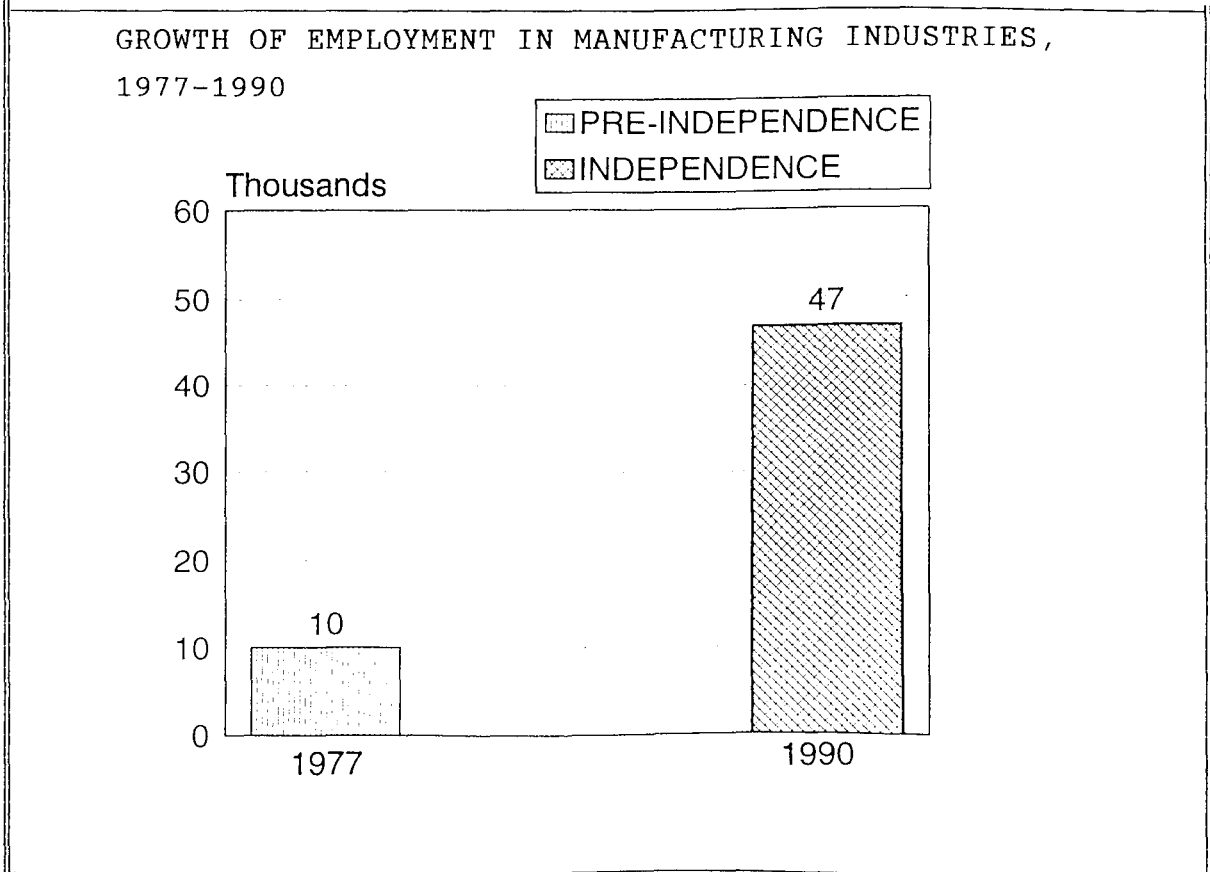
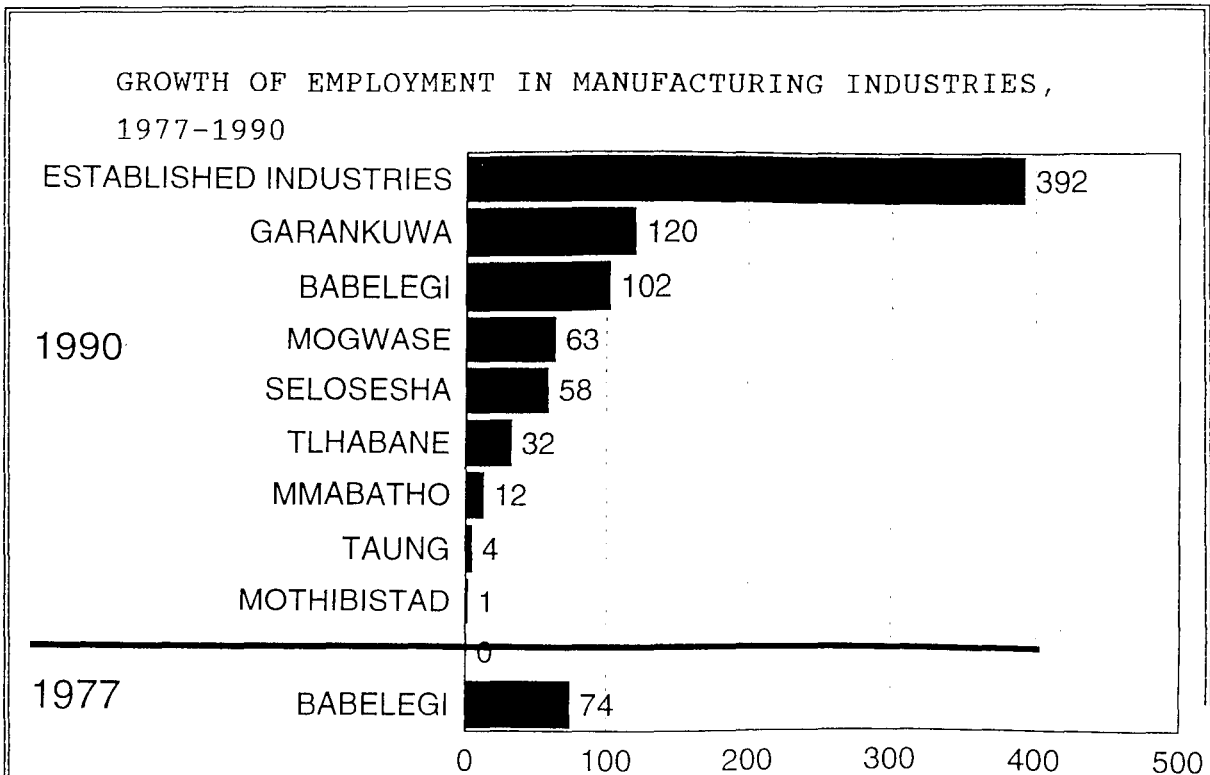


Figure 4.1 GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AND EMPLOYMENT IN BOPHUTHATSWANA, 1977-1990
(Source: BNDC, 1992:4)

According to Fair (1982:11) "... the fact that development occurs in some localities and less so or not at all in others has two significant effects". The implication of Fair's statement could be witnessed in the disparity in the pattern of economic activity between the national and district centres and their surrounding rural areas. The rural hinterland and district centres did not experience growth at the same rate. As a result, the space economy which emerged comprised a strong national and district centre core and peripheral rural areas.

By 1992 the space economy of Bophuthatswana could be hypothesized to have developed to a point where national and district centres exhibited strong political and socio-economic ties such that strong interactions had developed between them. The ties existed in almost every aspect of economic, political and social respect in such a way that the national and district centres stood were inter-dependent to each other. This relationship was expressed by two major flows of resources and transactions between them. Firstly, the flow from the national centre to the district centres came in the form of decisions and supportive resources; secondly, the district centres predominantly contributed to the flow of labour to the cores in South Africa.

4.3.3 HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

Independence meant that individuals should be able to become home owners. Private individuals were encouraged to purchase houses. Housing development gathered momentum with industrial development and the establishment of new administrative centres in the districts. Subsequently, housing became one of the country's priorities and this led to the establishment of the Department of Local Government and Housing in December 1982. Between 1977 and 1982, housing provision was a function of the Department of Urban Affairs and Land Tenure. Within that period, the BNDC, as a Development Corporation, constructed 1 500 houses in Mmabatho, Mogwase, Babelegi, and Selosesha. Between 1977 to 1987, according to the Bophuthatswana Information Bulletin 10 Years of Indepen-

dence 1987, about 6 300 houses of different specifications had been constructed at the cost of R126 million. Some of the housing projects are indicated in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6 HOUSING PROVISION BY THE BNDC,
1977-1987

TOWN	1977-1987
Mmabatho	1 200
Mogwase	500
Ga-Rankuwa	412
Selosesha	488
Lehurutshe	300
Winterveld	538
TOTAL	3 438

Source: A Nation On The March, 1987:106

In the areas indicated in Table 4.6 about 1 800 serviced sites were developed and provided with facilities such as water, sewerage, roads, stormwater drainage, and electricity at a cost of R16 million. It was estimated that about 8 900 serviced sites had been sold countrywide, of which 5 000 houses had been built by individuals.

In 1992, the Bophuthatswana Housing Corporation (BHC) was established as an independent corporation with the sole responsibility of providing "Housing to all the people of Bophuthatswana by the year 2000". The spatial impact of BHC, according to its News Bulletin of 1992, ranged from selling serviced stands to individuals; selling stands with houses to individuals financed by financial institutions such as Bophuthatswana Building Society (BBS), Standard Bank of Bophuthatswana (STANBO), and the First National Bank (FNB); selling stands with houses to individuals financed by BHC where other financial institutions lending criteria are not met by the individuals concerned; and to renting stands with houses or flats to individuals.

In the absence of a national education strategy, the First National Education Commission of 1978 was established one year after independence. Its terms of reference included the need to survey and analyze, not only the educational challenges facing the newly independent nation, but also to determine to develop Bophuthatswana's own educational system to replace the inherited Bantu Education System. Eight years later the Second National Education Commission of 1985-6 was set up to evaluate progress made regarding the implementation of the recommendations by the first Commission. It recommended further ways to the education system in all of the sectors. In addition to these Commissions, other Commissions such as Mokitime's Commission of Inquiry into the Education Act of 1979 and the Provision of Physical Facilities for Education in Rural Areas in 1984 could be said to have contained the blueprint for the Bophuthatswana's educational development.

The interest of this study lies in the spatial perspective of the implementation of the Commission's recommendations to replace the inherited educational system. Therefore, educational development is defined to mean the establishment of physical infrastructure for the purposes of providing services and opportunities for learning useful skills and knowledge to further the development of the individual and the nation. It is in this context that the blueprint of the Commission's recommendations are perceived to have made an impact on the territorial base of the new sovereignty. This could therefore be analyzed to uncover its spatial impact on the emerging land-use patterns in urban areas of Bophuthatswana from independence.

Prior to the implementation of the First Education Commission's recommendation, a preview of its findings indicated the extent of the conditions of educational developments. It was indicated in the First Educational Commission Report (1978:35), that "some schools are old and dilapidated, toilet facilities are sometimes

totally absent; only a few schools have offices, staff rooms, laboratories and libraries that could comply with basic educational needs Qualifications of teachers are far worse in certain areas than in others . . . although statistics are hard to come by, it is clear that many children hardly complete standard 10, and those who leave with standard 10 certificate find it difficult to obtain employment or avenues for further education, the fact was the curricular offered at high school is hardly ever vocationally orientated. Although, the sole purpose of high school was not necessary for employment, the 'products' of the system are not fitter for opportunities available in the outside world, at the same time avenues for further studies were limited".

From the above preview of the old educational system, a picture of two levels of inadequate educational development emerges. The first level indicated inadequate and non satisfactory facilities for any purposeful learning. The second level also projected a pattern of non-existing vertical linkage from one educational structure to the other as well as spatial inequality in terms of "what is where?" and "what is offered?" and who offers it?" with regard to the availability of schools, the nature of the curricular, and the quality of teachers implementing it.

If the new educational development was to play a useful role in providing quality education, the view of the First National Education Commission was that "initially 25% of the national budget should be devoted to education and that this amount should gradually taper off to 15,5%". This was to be regarded as a first stage for an infant nation which would be required to erase the spatial inequality in education and to provide avenues for a diversity of vertical educational structures.

However, the trend in the national budget, as illustrated in Table 4.7, indicates a declining financial allocation for educational development, which in the view of the Second National Education Commission of 1985-6 (1985:11) showed that "education has

continually been relegated to a lower order of priority". In spite of the initial lowering percentage from the financial allocation for education, the year 1986-7 was an exception in which the salary quota the entire education allocation.

TABLE 4.7 PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL BUDGET ALLOCATED TO SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF EDUCATION, 1978-1986

1978	1983	1984	1985	1986
17,2%	17,7%	15,9%	15,5%	18,1%

Source: Report of the Second National Commission, 1986:11

In a separate analysis of the educational budget from 1981-85, the Second National Education Commission discovered that only 10% of the education budget was being spent on building schools, libraries, and on special education. The education budget allocation for the period 1987-92 was inaccessible, but Table 4.8 attempts to provide a picture of educational development in Bophuthatswana for the period 1977-92.

Table 4.8 illustrates the growth in educational facilities since independence. According to the table the first national university was established in addition to other tertiary institutions. The growth in educational facilities was also associated with a relocation of centres of learning from old buildings into new ones. In most cases the relocated schools were renamed after prominent members of society or to reflect the identity of the district.

TABLE 4.8 GROWTH IN EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN BOPHUTHATSWANA,
1977-1992

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES	1977	1985	1992
Primary schools (classrooms)	727 5 200	838 7 299	932 8 930
Middle schools (classrooms)	-	284	364 3 439
High schools (classrooms)	42 640	93 1 119	163 2 677
Early Education centres	-	-	498
Schools For the Disabled	-	-	23
Adult Education Centres	-	201	201
Colleges of Education	-	5	8
Circuit Education Offices	-	-	17
Manpower Training Centres	-	-	4
Technikons	-	-	4
Agricultural Colleges	-	-	1
In-Service Training Centre	-	-	1
University	-	-	1

Sources: Bophuthatswana at Independence, 1977:89.

Report of the Second National Educational
Commission, 1986:23.

The National Educational Reports, 1992:15.

4.3.5 HEALTH AND WELFARE PROVISION

Bophuthatswana, in its effort to keep up with the goals of other nations and international world bodies' commitments to "Health for all by the year 2000", initiated a comprehensive primary health care programme. Even though health care and welfare are services rendered to individuals, health care and welfare is used in this study to connote the establishment of institutions where health and welfare services are rendered.

In early 1977 Bophuthatswana had 116 clinics and nine hospitals,

of which eight were mission hospitals: thus only one belonged to the government. In instituting its health care programmes, the government took over the control of mission hospitals. By 1982, according to *Five Years of Independence*, over R16 million had been spent on upgrading hospitals and building new clinics. By 1992, the number of clinics had increased to 138. During fifteen years independence, 26 of the clinics and 10 hospitals in Bophuthatswana had been rebuilt or upgraded with modern medical facilities.

4.4 THE SPATIAL IMPACT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1977-1992

The period 1977-1992 was a very significant period in the history of the district of Thaba Nchu. It marked the period when the district came under the direct administration and jurisdiction of the Bophuthatswana Government. This important event took place on 7 December 1977. With independence the territorial supremacy was vested in the new state government which never had the legal authority and power to make decisions at will within its own jurisdiction. It was this vested authority which has directly influenced in the changes which had taken place in the geographical landscape of Selosesha, its immediate residential surroundings, and the former "white" town of Thaba Nchu. Even though this study recognises that the strategies emanating from the independence were made from the national headquarters, the spatial manifestation of its implementation spread throughout the national space. It is from this perspective that this study believes that independence as a political process entails the strategies of nation-building, land consolidation and integration, the establishment of district centres, economic development through the industrial development strategy, housing, educational and health policies, as well as tourism and cultural developments. Therefore the process is the force which can be correlated to the transformation of the landscape of pre-independence Thaba Nchu-Selosesha.

However, this study is of the opinion that within the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, area changes associated with independence as a political process may be witnessed in the growth of the population, and that population dynamics should become the basis for assessing the impact of independence as a political process.

The objective of the subsequent section is, firstly, to discuss the population dynamics of the Thaba Nchu district, and secondly, to analyze the extent to which independence as a political process manifested itself in changing the geographical landscape of the pre-independent Thaba Nchu-Selosesha according to the components being discussed in 4.3.1 to 4.3.5.

4.4.1 POPULATION DYNAMICS OF THABA NCHU DISTRICT, 1970-1992

The population of Thaba Nchu district for 1992 totaled 62 474 according to the 1992 Bophuthatswana Population Census. Out of the total population, 75% were concentrated at Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. Since 1970 the growth of the population in the district has undergone rapid fluctuations. According to Figure 4.2, four distinct stages can be recognised which at the same time mark the epoch of memorable political developments in the district.

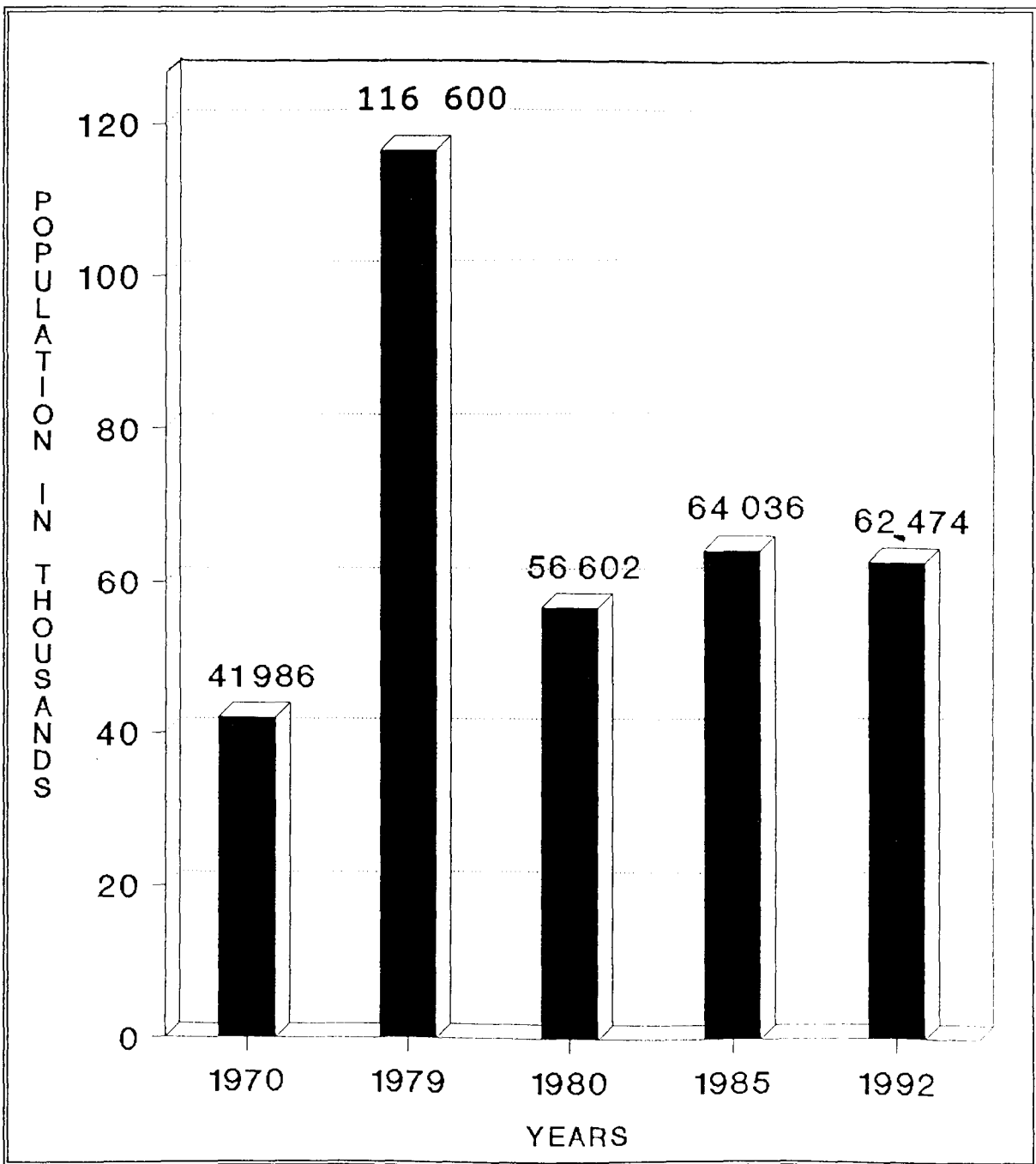


FIGURE 4.2 STAGES OF THE POPULATION DYNAMICS OF THABA NCHU DISTRICT, 1970-1992

(Sources: Krige, 1987:56 (for 1970, 1979 and 1980); Bophuthatswana Population Census for 1985 and 1992)

The first occurred between 1970 to 1979. The high population figure in 1979 shows an influx of people to the district. In 1979 there was an approximately 300% increase in the population

from 1970 (from 41 986 in 1970 to 116 600 in 1979) due to the influence of apartheid policies which made the Thaba Nchu district a catchment area for surplus blacks in "white" OFS. (see Section 3.5.3).

The emergence of Kromdraai squatter settlement as a factor in the increase of the population was uncovered in the studies of Krige (1991) and Murray (1992). The spontaneous rise of this large population in Thaba Nchu, according to Krige and Murray occurred in 1970 when tens of thousands of people, mainly Sothos, were evicted from white farms, small holdings around Bloemfontein and urban areas all over the OFS. As a result a large concentration of squatters developed in the bend of the railway east of Thaba Nchu station and west of Mokwena location in an area which came to be called Kromdraai. In 1978 the population of Kromdraai was estimated to be 38 000 and they were declared illegal squatters.

Owing to the exclusion and expulsion of blacks from "white" towns in the OFS, especially Bloemfontein, funds for residential development in townships, e.g. Mangaung, were frozen and rediverted for residential development in Thaba Nchu district which had already become the catchment area for blacks fleeing as a result of apartheid policies. The funds for residential development became evident in the construction of Selosesha township. By 1969 about 488 houses of various sizes were constructed at Selosesha to relocate blacks from Bloemfontein and other areas including the black spot at Bethany. Selosesha was subsequently proclaimed a township. During the same period two prominent institutions, the Strydom Teachers' Training School and Bartimea School for the Blind and the Deaf from Bloemfontein and Ficksburg respectively were also relocated Thaba Nchu. The numerical strength of the two institutions contributed to an increase in the population towards 1979. Between 1970 and 1976 the number of houses in Selosesha township increased from 790 to 1 120 and the population, which was estimated to be 3 475 in 1970 had increased to 5 763 in 1976.

The spatial impact as mentioned in chapter 3, led to the large

expansion of four informal settlements, viz. Bultfontein 1, 2, 3 and Kromdraai. The most prominent was Kromdraai, while the Bultfonteins were just emerging (see Figure 3.12). The growth in population at the same time stimulated the in-filling densities of African rural villages in the study area.

The second stage in the trend of population dynamics was witnessed during the period 1979 to 1980. The sharp drop in the population from 116 600 to 56 602 during this period illustrates the implications of two significant policies. Firstly, it marks the "reduction or the end" of the impact of apartheid policies on Bophuthatswana owing to its recognition as a sovereign nation by the Government of South Africa. Secondly, within the district it marks the beginning of the new era of ethno-nationalism.

The emergence of enthno-nationalism in the Thaba Nchu district was a direct result of policy which emanated from Bophuthatswana's independence process of nation-building through the consolidation of its fragmented blocks of land which constituted the country. Even though the numerical strength of the population composition was not known, it was estimated that there were approximately 60 000 non-Tswana citizens in the district of Thaba Nchu in 1979. This group of people were considered 'illegal foreigners' and were found to be incongruous to the on-going process and according to Murray (1992), were subjected to continuous harassment by the Bophuthatswana police.

The problems encountered by the illegal squatters in Kromdraai coincided with the on-going transformation process of uniting the Batswana in the district of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as part of Bophuthatswana. The presence of large numbers of other ethnic groups, estimated to be 65 000 people in 1979 and predominantly South Sothos, was a threat to this unity. The problem which arose from this process, according to Murray (1992:291), was that "the immigrants, most of whom were Sothos, found it difficult in obtaining residential permits and could not register as worker-seekers at the Tribal Labour in Thaba Nchu. Their children could

not be taught in Sesotho since Setswana was the only official medium in the primary schools within Thaba Nchu". Following a public row between the Governments of Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa, it was reported by *The Friend* (17 May 1979) that "the authorities of Thaba Nchu (Bophuthatswana) do not want them and they say they must go to their place - Qwaqwa".

Immediately after independence, the Bophuthatswana Government felt this was one of the changes it could deal with in the district in order to foster unity in the district of Thaba Nchu. This resulted in a bone of contention between the so-called 'foreigners' and the Bophuthatswana Government on one hand and the Governments of Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa on the other. In 1978 negotiations took place between the two governments and the RSA to provide land to relocate the 'foreigners', mostly considered to be South Sothos. The South Sothos were considered 'foreigners' because in terms of the ethnic homelands policy, they should belong to Qwaqwa. Emanating from the negotiations, Murray (1992:220) indicated that " an agreement was reached by which 25 000 hectares of land in the Bophuthatswana region of the Northern Cape would be excised in exchanged for an additional 25 000 hectares of land in the OFS of which 10 000 hectares would be for the resettlement of the South Sothos from Thaba Nchu and elsewhere".

The population of Kromdraai squatter settlement in May 1979 were forcedly resettled west of the Thaba Nchu district in an area known as Onverwacht (later Botshabelo). During the same period according to Murray (1992), South Sothos were removed from the Bultfonteins, the African rural villages, the freehold farms like Meloendrift 128, Trust villages like Paradys and Longride in the north, and Dipudungwaneng (Gladstone). It was estimated that approximately 64 000 people were removed during 1979 and 1980 to Onverwacht. This contributed to a sharp decline in the population by 1980.

The spatial impact on the geographical landscape of the study

area was that, after the evacuation of the South Sothos, the slum of Kromdraai was razed to the ground and the site reversed to bare land. Today the area has become part of an expansion of the Bultfontein 4 informal settlement (Figure 4.3).

The period 1980 to 1985 represents the third stage in population dynamics during which the population started to increase after the sharp decline. The steady population growth can be attributed to the industrial development strategy, the building of Selosesha as a district centre, and the incorporation of Thaba Nchu town into Bophuthatswana.

After independence Selosesha was proclaimed one of Bophuthatswana's industrial development points and two industrial areas emerged at Selosesha and Thaba Nchu town. This was clear proof of the impact of independence as a political process. In terms of Bophuthatswana's Industrial Development Point Strategy, Selosesha industrial area became a modest success. By 1985 there were 13 factories employing 1 700 local workers. This had which expanded to 60 factories employed 5 224 local workers in 1989 (see Table 4.12). Selosesha as one of the industrial development points, received state incentives (as indicated in Table 4.4.) which attracted international and local investors to the area. The industrial growth in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha became the focal point of rural-urban migrants within the district. It therefore contributed to the increased population density of the informal settlements of the Bultfonteins and the African rural villages, and eventually to the emergence of Bultfontein 4.

The reason for the steady growth of population is also seen as a direct result of independence as a political process. Immediately after independence, Selosesha which was predominantly a residential area, was proclaimed a district administrative centre for the Thaba Nchu district. The infrastructure needed at Selosesha to enable it to fulfil the functions of a district administrative centre became a priority for the government. The government significantly changed new land-use in the study area

(shopping centres, a defence force base, an administrator and Governor's offices).

In 1983 Thaba Nchu town was incorporated into the district. It could be anticipated that it would contribute to population growth in the Thaba Nchu district because Thaba Nchu town's population was, for the first time, to be counted as part of the district. The incorporation process was initially resisted by some of the white residents, but was finally approved by the residents as reflected in the referendum held in 1982. According to Krige (1992), a total of 173 taxpayers representing 560 inhabitants voted in favour of incorporation.

The last stage in population dynamics was witnessed from 1985 to 1992. The population declined from 64 036 in 1985 to 62 474 in 1992. This was as a result of the adverse effects of the emerging political developments in the district. There were three factors responsible for the drop in population.

Firstly, the abolition of influx control laws in South Africa in 1986 was a major factor for the decline in the population of the district. Some were victims of apartheid removals and have returned to their places of origin. Increasing transport fares from Thaba Nchu to Bloemfontein, and for Welkom frontier commuters have caused migrant workers to settle closer to their places of work.

A second factor was the decline in job opportunities in the Thaba Nchu district. This was reflected in the reduction in the number of industries in operation in the industrial area. From the industrial peak of 69 industries employing 5 224 in 1989, industries in operation dropped to 49 in 1992 which led to a decrease in the labour force to 4 270 (see Table 4.12). The drop in industrial activity can also be attributed to the impact of the global recession, international sanctions, the trade embargo against South Africa, and a change in the incentive package offered by the Bophuthatswana Government which was no longer able

The incorporation of the Thaba Nchu town is a third factor for the decline from 1985. The overall impact in the town according to the population census information in Table 4.9 indicates that the population of Thaba Nchu town dropped from 402 in 1985 to 114 in 1992. Again, the withdrawal of white pupils by their emigrating parents also contributed not only to the declining population, but also led to the closure and abandoning of the only white primary school in the district. In 1987 the school reopened as a non-racial English medium primary school with only of black pupils attending

TABLE 4.9 POPULATION CHANGES IN SETTLEMENTS OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1985-1992

SETTLEMENTS	1985	1992
SELOSESHA	6 034	8 798
THABA NCHU TOWN	402	114
BULTFONTEIN 1	3 966	4 377
BULTFONTEIN 2	8 283	5 563
BULTFONTEIN 3	6 326	7 255
BULTFONTEIN 4	1 833	791
RATLOU	6 211	5 366
MOTLATLA	919	1 073
MOKWENA	6 550	6 027
RATAU	1 530	2 120
MOROKA	5 635	4 523
TOTAL	49 291	46 932

Source: Bophuthatswana Population Census, 1985 and 1991

Table 4.9 indicates the population change according to settlement area in the study area from 1985 to 1992. From the table, it is clear that Selosesha especially has experienced growth and also to a lesser extent Bultfontein 1 and 3, Motlatla, and Ratau. The severe drop in Thaba Nchu town's population, Bultfontein 2 and 4, is also clear as is as a drop in that of Ratlou, Mokwena, and Moroka. This indicates that the growth rate is abating which proves the weakness of the industrial development point strategy to sustain population growth in the study area which should be

a case of serious concern. Again it is evident that one of the main reasons for the population decline is the exodus of white residents from Thaba Nchu town as a result of incorporation. There is evidence of change in the population composition of the area as the area becomes more cosmopolitan, urbanised and the place being filled by blacks.

4.4.2 THE PROCESS OF NATION-BUILDING THROUGH LAND CONSOLIDATION AND SPATIAL INTEGRATION

As indicated in earlier sections of this chapter, the foremost hurdle in the independence process was the lack of territorial homogeneity in the territorial base of Bophuthatswana. When Bophuthatswana attained independence, the study area constituted the following settlements: Selosesha and the white town of Thaba Nchu; six African rural villages and three informal settlements at Bultfonteins; and the Kromdraai squatter settlement. As a result of the long history of segregation and apartheid all the African settlements were separated from the "white" town by a buffer strip. This was a physical strip of land approximately 100-150 metres in width which acted as a no-man's land. The division apparently distinguished the dominant functions of the two major towns: Thaba Nchu and Selosesha. Thaba Nchu town constituted the urban area in terms of its function. Most prominent among its functions were commercial and service sectors e.g. the post office, magistrate court, police station, private, legal, and medical practitioners' offices etc.

The African settlements on the other hand were mainly residential in nature. They acted as dormitory settlements for Thaba Nchu, Bloemfontein, OFS Goldfields, and the surrounding farming communities. Selosesha was established for the "elite" who were removed for political and economic reasons. The entire African settlement had no economic base of its own and they were more dormitory residential areas than towns in their own right. This dependency on Thaba Nchu had several implications of which the need for the territorial and administrative integration of Thaba

Nchu town with Selosesha and the rural villages was the most obvious.

After protracted negotiations, fraught with resistance, the town of Thaba Nchu was incorporated into the district of Thaba Nchu in 1983 (see Photomap 4.2). In the framework of Bophuthatswana's independence, Thaba Nchu became the second "white" town to be incorporated into Bophuthatswana during its independence. The first being Mafikeng in 1980.

PHOTOMAP 4.2 BOPHUTHATSWANA'S FLAG (RIGHT) HOISTED ALONGSIDE THE FLAG OF THE RSA DURING THE INCORPORATION OF THABA NCHU TOWN IN 1983



According to Krige (1992) the geographical proximity of an area free of general sales tax, with cheaper fuel prices, and the establishment of well-known chain stores in Selosesha were influential factors for the incorporation of Thaba Nchu town. The contribution of a local technical committee established to investigate the process of incorporation and the referendum result by taxpayers in Thaba Nchu cannot be ruled out in this exercise. During the referendum in 1982, 173 taxpayers representing the 560

taxpayers in Thaba Nchu cannot be ruled out in this exercise. During the referendum in 1982, 173 taxpayers representing the 560 inhabitants voted overwhelmingly in favour of incorporation on the condition that certain stipulations were honoured. As a result 570 hectares comprising the urban area and a part of the commonage north of the Bloemfontein-Ladybrand road, were added to the Thaba Nchu district. The remaining 572 hectares, located south of the said road, were taken over by the South African Government as settlement for municipal debt. The implication of the entire process for the fostering of nationalism witnessed significant changes in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu town in the period 1983 to 1992.

The incorporation effectively ended most of the statutory race discrimination in Thaba Nchu town which was most significant in the CBD. It erased the buffer strip which separated the two urban settlements and initiated an opportunity for residential mobility into the white residential area. To date people of other racial groups have moved into the previous white residential area while a substantial number of black businessmen and street vendors have moved into the CBD. In the CBD, the display of licence plates and the sign boards of black businesses connoted the new image of black economic mobility towards the CBD. Since then, a significant number of urban renewal programmes including demolition, renovation and street construction, has have changed the image of the original CBD.

This change can be witnessed in the number of abandoned and dilapidated shops which characterised the pre-1983 CBD of Thaba Nchu town as shown in Photomap 4.3. Other changes which took place in the town of Thaba Nchu include the withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa's civil servants in the magistrate court and police station. Appointments of African civil servants were made in their place.

PHOTOMAP 4.3 (Above) SOME ABANDONED SHOPS WHICH CHARACTERISED THE COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE (Below) OF THABA NCHU TOWN BEFORE INCORPORATION

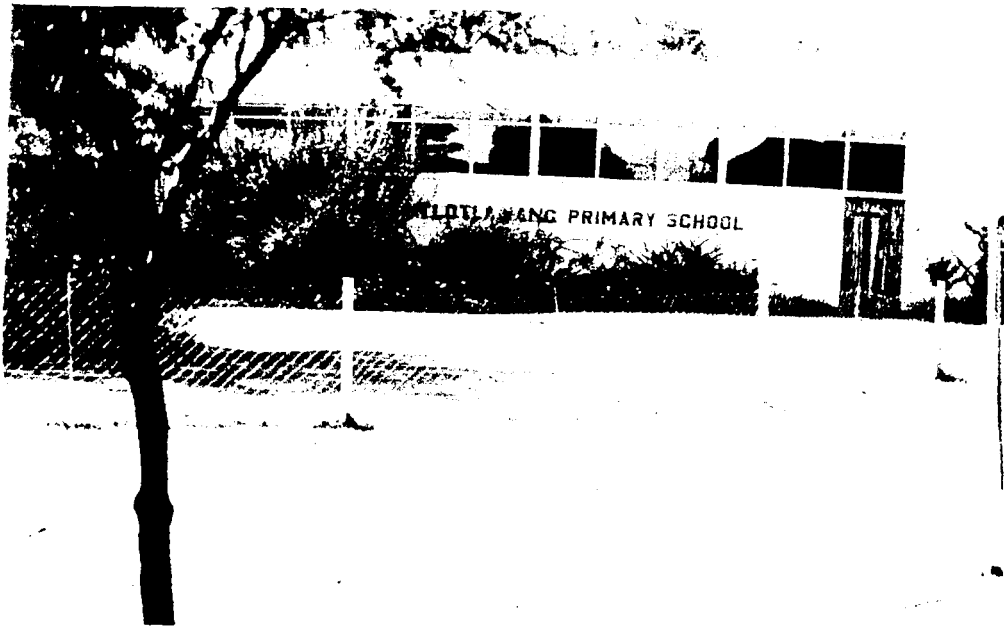


The spatial integration did not take place concurrently with the administrative integration of the Thaba Nchu Municipal Council and Selosesha Town Council. Between 1985 and 1991 the two areas were still administered separately by their respective councils until 1992 when the two were amalgamated. The administrative integration was another symbolic indication which accelerated the transformation process. The spatial impact was the re-drawing of the new urban boundary to integrate the two major settlements of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha and all of the other associated urban developments, excluding the rural African villages and the Bultfonteins.

On the other hand, incorporation had a different meaning for some South African whites who could not give their loyalty to the new sovereignty. A spatial effect was the exodus of an unspecified number of white residents to the surrounding towns in the OFS. The racially white primary school was vacated and closed as parents moved their children to nearby towns for fear that the school would be opened to all races. This did not take place immediately after incorporation. In 1987 the school building was converted into a non-racial school. The name of the school has changed from Gerrit Maritz to Tlotlanang and the composition of the pupils changed from exclusively white to predominantly black (Photomap 4.4).

The second phase of consolidation in the district, the addition of 4 000 hectares of land north of Botshabelo, was added to Thaba Nchu in 1983. This land according to Krige (1992), constituted part of the 25 000 hectares quota land in the Vryburg district which in terms of 1975 consolidation proposal should have been integrated into Bophuthatswana but was transferred to the Orange Free State instead.

PHOTOMAP 4.1 GERHIT MARTI'Z PRIMARY SCHOOL TRANSFORMED INTO
THE NON-RACIAL TLOTLANANG PRIMARY SCHOOL 5
YEARS AFTER INCORPORATION OF THABA NCHU TOWN



4.4.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA
AS A DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

The fact that Thaba Nchu town was initially not part of the district of Thaba Nchu meant that plans for building Selosesha as the district administrative centre were well advanced before its incorporation. For this reason, most of the district offices may be found in Selosesha. Between 1977 and 1992 a number of projects which had been undertaken by the Bophuthatswana Government which attest to the spatial impact of the strategy of establishing Selosesha as a district centre. Table 4.10 illustrates the number of projects constructed in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as part of the process of reconstruction and development of the district centre. The projects range from the construction of roads, post offices, sport stadiums, a defence force base, the office of the Governor, the police station, and the magistrates court offices.

For the purposes of this study, the numeration of the projects

in Table 4.10 are inadequate to reveal and indicate the extent of the geographic expression of the projects. Therefore, as illustrated in Table 4.11, the construction of each project should be seen in the perspective of the impact it has made on the pre-independent landscape.

TABLE 4.10 GOVERNMENTAL PROJECTS CONSTRUCTED IN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1977-1992

PROJECTS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	DEPARTMENT IN-CHARGE
Selosesha Bulk Services	Bulk infrastructure for private township development; Engineering infrastructure: sewerage and electricity	Local Govt & Housing and Thaba Nchu Town Council
Thaba Nchu Roads	Construction of roads between Thaba Nchu and Selosesha and access roads to Selosesha and over railway bridge	Dept of Local Govt
Selosesha Road	Dual Carriage road	Dept of Local Government
Fire Service Station	Construction of Fire Service Station and the provision of facilities	Dept of Local Government
Thaba Nchu Post Office	Construction of a new Post Office	Dept of Local Government
Mmabana Cultural Centre	Construction of a cultural centre	Dept of Local Government
Regional Magistrates Court	Construction of regional court	Dept of Local Government

(TABLE 4.10 continues)

Military Base	Construction of Base	Dept of Local Government
Sports Stadium	Construction of Sport Stadium and Recreation	Dept of Local Government
District Police Station	Construction of District Headquarters	Dept of Local Government
Thaba Nchu College of Education	Construction of a new College of Education	Dept of Education
Special School	Rebuilding of Bartimea School for the Deaf and the Blind	Dept of Education
Manpower Centre	Construction of Manpower Training Centre	Dept of Manpower
Moroka Hospital	Construction of New Hospital	Dept of Health
Office of the Governor	Construction of Governor's office	Dept of Local Government
Recreational Centre	Construction of Naledi Sun	The Sun Hotels

Source: SETPLAN, 1991:58

Table 4.11 THE SPATIAL IMPACT OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AS ILLUSTRATED IN TABLE 4.10

PROJECT	PRE-INDEPENDENCE LAND- USE OF SITE	SPATIAL IMPACT OF PROJECT, 1977-1992
Selosesha Bulk Services	Non-existing public water stands in the rural villages and Bultfonteins Absence of reticulation system of electricity supply in Selosesha, rural villages and Bultfonteins	Erection of public water stands in rural villages and Bultfonteins Reticulation system of electricity supply to Selosesha rural villages and Bultfonteins
Thaba Nchu- Selosesha roads; Dual carriage roads	Gravel and unsurfaced roads	Major bus routes in the Bultfonteins, Selosesha, and two Thaba Nchu access roads tarred; station road constructed and up-graded to a dual carriage way; CBD connection to station road via Naledi Sun and Bridge Street tarred
Fire Service Station	Open undeveloped veld	Fire Service Station including training facilities
Post Offices	Old Thaba Nchu Post Office	New District Post Office erected and old buildings renovated for use

(TABLE 4.11 continues)

	Ratlou village Post Office	as offices Relocated at O.K Shopping Centre and renamed Rapulana Post Office
	Old Ratlou village Post Office	Converted to a nursery school and additional building erected
Mmabana Cultural Centre	Thaba Nchu Town Hall and undeveloped taxi rank	Town hall renovated to a theatre; modern cultural centre erected; Taxi rank relocated
Regional Magistrates Court	Buffer strip	Regional Magistrates Court erected
Military Base	Open veld	Military Base, offices and training centre erected.
Sports Stadium	Open undeveloped veld	A local sports stadium erected to include a football field, lawn tennis courts, basketball field, athletic field, and stands
Police Station	Open undeveloped space and previously part of buffer zone	New district Police Station, CID offices, residence for police staff and car park

(TABLE 4.11 continues)

Office of the District Governor	Open undeveloped space previously part of buffer zone	Offices of the District Governor erected
District Police Station	Part of buffer zone	District Police Headquarters
Thaba Nchu College of Education	Open veld	New College of Education erected
Bartimea Special School for the Deaf and the Blind	Open veld	Bartimea School for the Deaf and the Blind erected
Manpower Centre	Open veld	Manpower Centre erected
Moroka Hospital	Undeveloped veld	Extension of Moroka Hospital
Office of the Governor	Buffer strip	Erection of Governor's office
Naledi Sun	Undeveloped marshy veld	Naledi Sun Hotel Casino erected

4.4.4 INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

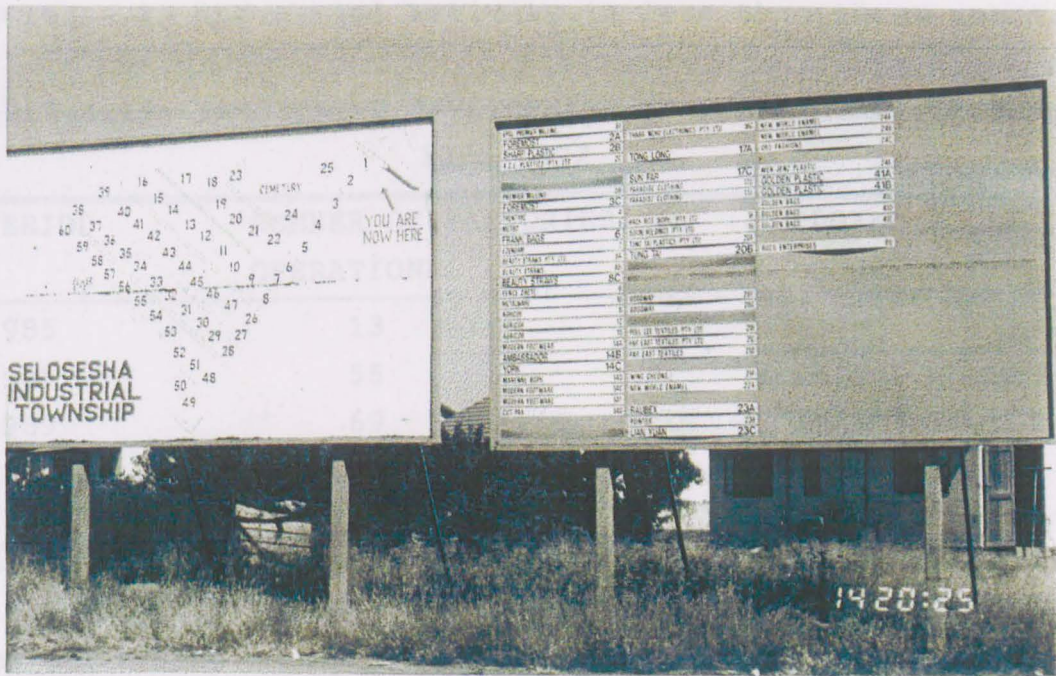
Thaba Nchu-Selosesha dominates the space economy of the Thaba Nchu district of Bophuthatswana. It is the centre of industry and commerce, the seat of the district administration, and the agricultural service centre for its hinterland.

Thaba Nchu-Selosesha holds the status of an Industrial Development Point. It was for this reason that the office of the Regional BNDC - a subsidiary of the National BNDC - was established at Selosesha. The Regional BNDC is represented by a total of 69 staff at its office in Selosesha (Setplan, 1992). They are the regional liaison in terms of finance and administration, technical services, small business development, and industrial after-care services, which include loans and marketing assistance to commercial and industrial entrepreneurs.

The spatial impact of the BNDC in terms of IDP in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha can be categorized according to three aspects. Firstly, the BNDC has established a total of 103 974 square metres of industrial factories in sizes which range from 500 square metres to 2 000 square metres in two industrial areas in Thaba Nchu and Selosesha respectively (Photomap 4.5 and 4.6). Secondly, it has established a shopping centre consisting of 16 125 square metres, with rental space from 95 square metres to 4 000 square metres. Finally, 1 000 square metres of small industrial workshops in units of 100 square metres along the Manyane Highway.

Table 4.12 indicates the development of factories in operation as well as the number of employed worker from 1985 to 1992. The types of activities in the industrial areas as contained in Table 4.13 are more in the textile and clothing manufacturing industries. The industrial area came into operation in 1985 with only 13 industries and employed a labour force of 1 700. In 1989 industrial activity reached a peak with 69 factories offering 5 224 jobs. From that peak the situation has deteriorated

PHOTOMAP 4.5 THE ROAD GUIDE TO SELOSESHA INDUSTRIAL TOWNSHIP, 1992



PHOTOMAP 4.6 SELOSESHA'S TOWNSHIP INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE: THE NEW FACTORIES REFLECTS THE GOVERNMENT'S IDP



rapidly. In 1992 there were only 49 operational factories. This decline represents a drop in employment and also a 32 per cent decrease in industrial activity in less than three years.

TABLE 4.12 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA,
1985-1992

PERIOD	NUMBER OF FACTORIES OPERATIONAL	EMPLOYED LABOURERS
1985	13	1 700
1988	55	4 463
1989	69	5 224
1990	53	4 293
1992	49	4 270

Source: Setplan, 1991:47

The declining rate, according to a report prepared for the Greater Thaba Nchu Urban Development Planning Steering Committee (1992), could be attributed to the following:

- * the impact of the international recession;
- * the inability of the old incentive packages to attract sustainable, profitable industries;
- * the fact that Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha has lost its comparative advantage over the other industrial centres in Region C, especially Bloemfontein and Harrismith in terms of the new industrial decentralization policy; and
- * the uncertainty surrounding the role of Bophuthatswana in the new South Africa.

With regard to commercial development, the rapid growth and the changes in the pre-independent commercial landscape is the direct response to many factors. These factors range from changes in deregulation regarding the acquisition of licences to operate a business in the study area; the incorporation of the town of Thaba Nchu into Bophuthatswana; the changing location of retail shops, the new pattern of urban renewal programmes in the CDB; and the rapid population growth of Botshabelo where few shopping opportunities exist.

TABLE 4.13 INDUSTRIES IN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1992

INDUSTRIES	PRODUCTS	ESTABLISHED
AGRICOR	AGRICULTURAL DRIP TUBES	1990
ALFA COMFORT	CLOTHING	1991
BEAUTY STRAWS	DRINKING STRAWS	1987
CHIEFS DENIM	CLOTHING	1988
CHINA ENTERPRISES	NOODLE	1990
CUTPAX	CHEESE POPS, MILLED GRAIN	1991
DIARA HOUTWERKE	PINE FURNITURE	1991
ELITE CLOTHING	CLOTHING	1988
ENERGY ENTERPRISE	STEEL PRODUCTS	1988
FAR EAST TEXTILES	CLOTHING	1987
FENCE CRETE	CONCRETE PRODUCTS	1991
FRANK FEHR	HESSIAN & JUTE BAGS	1980
GA EZENDAM	FURNITURE	1985
GOCO INDUSTRIAL	SPECTACLE FRAMES	1991
HD DEVELOPMENTS	FURNITURE	1992
IMPRO-FURNITURE	CANE FURNITURE	1991
LIAN YAUN KNITTING	GARMETS	1988
LING PAO INVESTMENT	FABRIC TOYS	1987
LUN FA TEXTILE	CARMATS	1992
MEL LAHNER	SHELVING, BEDS, LOCKERS	1988
METALWARE	CUTLERY	1985
N&M NICOLAS	CLOTHING	1988
NEW WORLD ENAMEL	METAL CROCKERY	1988
ORS FASHIONS	FASHION ACCESSORIES	1987
PARADISE CLOTHING	CLOTHING	1989
POINTER INDUSTRIES	CLOTHING	1990

(TABLE 4.13 continues)

RACK RITE & SISON	SHELVING, BEDS, LOCKERS	1988
ROCCO	LEATHER GLOVES	1988
SELOSESHA REPAIRS	SLEEPER FURNITURE	1989
SUNSHINE DENIM	DENIM CLOTHING	1988
TECONIT	KNITWEAR	1989
T-NCHU ELECTRONICS	CAR ALARMS	1987
T-NCHU HANDKNITS	JERSEYS	1986
TN MEAT PROCESS	MEAT PROCESSING	1990
TS CLOTHING	CLOTHING	1988
TUNG TAI PLASTICS	PLASTICS	1989
WEBER INDUSTRIES	BAGS	1988
WEN JENZ	SUITCASES	1987
WESSELS BOU & BETON	CONCRETE PRODUCTS	1986
WING CHEONG	DENIM CLOTHING	1989
WITSTAAL	PLOUGH SHEARS	1990
YING TA ENTERPRIZES	BAGS	1986
YORK ENCLOSURE	FIBREGLASS BOXES	1989
PUN FOUNG	PLASTICS	1989

Source: SETPLAN, 1992:48

According to a report on a survey undertaken in 1988 prior to the establishment of the Thaba Nchu Manpower Centre, it was indicated that on attaining independence the Bophuthatswana lawmakers changed a large number of acts and legislations which had subjected black business to discriminatory controls. The Group Areas Act to some extent also affected blacks competing with white traders as well as the spatial location of black business. In Selosesha the removal of the discriminatory laws and new procedures for granting licences to do business boosted commercial development in the study area. However, in the CBD, the incorporation of Thaba Nchu town into Bophuthatswana swept away all discriminatory laws which prevented black businesses from locating in the area and competing with white business. The change in the political climate also led the municipality to

grant business premises to black businesses wanting to locate their businesses in the CBD.

The pre-independent CBD landscape, as compared to the present CBD reflects a remarkable change. This can be attributed to the number of urban renewal and in-filling projects which have rejuvenated or replaced obsolete and decaying stores (Photomap 4.3). The renewal and in-filling developments have resulted in the upgrading and modernization of existing facilities. One of the most significant changes to have altered the spatial organization of the CBD are the two tarred access roads and the station road which all converging at the centre of the CBD. The infilling projects involved the demolition, relocation, and construction of new shopping buildings, offices, and a cultural centre. The predominant amount of commercial development consists of rapid modernization of planned shopping centres which include a variety of furniture stores, clothing stores, and supermarkets.

In Selosesha, the establishment of the Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre (Photomap 4.7) by the BNDC in 1983 also contributed to the emergence of a new commercial landscape which contained a variety of commercial and service institutions.

PHOTOMAP 4.7 THABA NCHU SHOPPING CENTRE, A FEATURE FOR PROMOTING COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN BOPHUTHATSWANA



The construction of the Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre was politically motivated and was carried out before the incorporation of Thaba Nchu town in an attempt to promote economic development within the boundaries of Bophuthatswana.

Other areas where commercial activities expanded were in the African rural villages and the Bultfonteins as a result of the upgrading and development of these settlements including the increase in the population. Table 4.14 indicates the number of commercial activities which were concentrated in Thaba Nchu town in 1976 and the growth in all areas since 1977.

4.4.5. HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

The Selosesha residential area (commonly referred to as Unit 1) represents the greatest spatial impact of independent housing on the landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. The construction of the new residential area started in 1980 and contributed to the expansion of Selosesha which was transformed from a predominantly residential area to a district administrative centre. After independence administrative offices of the district departments were established there. An area next to Selosesha township (comprising 1 120 houses constructed by 1976) was identified for housing and construction began in 1980 with 488 houses in Unit 1.

In Selosesha, apart from the pre-1976 housing stock, an additional 556 serviced sites were developed and allocated for private residential construction. The serviced sites were provided with electricity, water, and telephone lines, and the streets were tarred afterwards. These developments contributed to the territorial expansion of the residential area of Selosesha.

In the former "whites only" residential area of Thaba Nchu, the building of new private houses has been slow even though the SADT released land to people of all races. The most recent housing development is that of the BNDC for industrialists and staff of

the BNDC and employees of the District Governor's office.

TABLE 4.14 A COMPARISON OF THE GROWTH OF LICENCED COMMERCIAL AND SERVICE ENTERPRISES IN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976-1992

ENTERPRISE	1976	1977 - 1992			
	THABA NCHU	THABA NCHU	SHOPPING CENTRE	SELOSESHA	RURAL VILLAGES
Supermarket	2	3	1	1	-
Garage	2	3	1	-	-
Panelbeating	3	3	1	3	-
Butchery	4	4	3	1	8
Bakery	-	1	-	-	-
General Dealer	19	44	1	5	42
Bottle Store	2	3	2	1	5
Café	6	14	2	5	11
Furniture Shop	9	16	1	-	-
Agents/Brokers	2	5	-	-	-
Hardware/Building	1	1	-	-	-
Action	-	1	-	-	-
Dry Cleaner	1	2	1	-	-
Pharmacy	1	2	1	-	-
Hotel	1	2	-	-	-
Repair Shop- TV	1	1	-	-	-
Photographic	-	1	1	-	-
Hair Dresser	3	5	-	3	-
Video Shop	1	1	-	-	-
Bank/Building					
Society	1	2	1	-	-
Bookshop	-	1	1	-	-
Wood/Coal	1	1	-	2	-
Auctioneer	-	1	-	-	-
Clothing Shop	7	16	1	-	-

Source: Bophuthatswana at Independence, 1977:133 (for 1976)
Setplan Report, 1992:52 (for 1992)

The informal settlements are characterised by an expansion of informal housing as well as the upgrading of individual housing units where there was no previous significant housing development. Newcomers found accommodation on tribal lands where a minimal fee was payable to the the tribal chief. Hence they were able to construct their own temporary houses, mostly of mud brick and corrugated iron sheeting.

4.4.6 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Since independence, educational development has exerted a significant impact on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha and the peri-urban settlements. This was in spite of the fact that from 1985 to 1988 the percentage of school-going pupils dropped from 8.6% to 2.6% according to SETPLAN (1991).

As a result of educational development since independence, the old image of some educational structures has been replaced while colonial names have been changed. The relocation and naming of some schools after prominent individuals reveals the heritage of the ancestors of the present Barolong, which in a way connotes the new image of educational development (Table 4.15). At the same time, the retention of Christian and Afrikaner names is an indication of the recognition the independence process attaches to the missionaries' role in education in the area.

The most significant image in the educational landscape of the independence process was the relocation and construction of the new College of Education north west of the old site and the name change in 1992 from Strydom Teachers' Training College to Thaba Nchu College of Education. The Bartimea Special School for the Blind and the Deaf was relocated and rebuilt in 1992. Other prominent new additions are the R.T. Mokgopa High School (1989) and the Manpower Training Centre (1991) including extension to the hostel facilities at Moroka High School (1990).

In addition, the list of primary, secondary and high schools

TABLE 4.15 EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN
THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976-1992

INSTITUTION	1976	1992
Goronyane High	Established	Relocated to new site
Christian Liphoko Mid.	Established	Relocated to new site
Moroka High	Established as a high school and teacher training school	Function limited to high school only
Ereskuld Primary; church and a mission house	Built and donated to the Barolong as gift of honour by the Afrikaner	School and church relocated, and converted to a nursery school; mission house converted to a private home
St Augustine Primary	Established at the present location of Moipone Primary school	Relocated to new site
St Paul Prim	Established as a missionary school	Relocated to new site
Thubisi Prim. School	Established by the Methodist missionary	Relocated to new site
Bartimea School for the Blind and the Deaf	Established	Relocated to new site old buildings converted to a Middle School
Strydom Training College	Established	Relocated to new site: renamed Thaba Nchu College of Education Old buildings converted to a secondary school

(TABLE 4.15 continues)

Gerrit Maritz Prim;	Established as a "white" school in 1936	Re-established as a non-racial sch; renamed Tlotlanang in 1987
Circuit Education Office	Established at Moroka village at chief Fenyang's house	Relocated to new site

TABLE 4.16 EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1992

INSTITUTION	CLASSROOMS	PUPILS	TEACHERS	TEACHER/ PUPIL RATIO
TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS				
THABA NCHU COLLEGE OF EDUCATION		700	60	
MANPOWER TRAINING CENTRE		120	16	
HIGH SCHOOLS				
Albert Moroka	19	726	28	26
Goronyane	19	742	24	31
Moroka	27	977	44	22
R.T.Mokgopa	-	-	-	-
SECONDARY SCHOOLS				
Christian Liphoko	19	920	26	35
Ikaeleo	13	697	22	32
Moutloatsi	-	911	27	34
PRIMARY SCHOOLS				
Phetogane	10	726	21	35
Emang	10	629	16	39
Ereskuild	15	629	16	40

(TABLE 4.16 continues)

Moipone	11	559	15	37
Mokae	2	75	4	19
Mokitlane	-	865	24	36
Mokwena	8	374	11	34
Motlatla	7	317	11	29
Namanyane	8	434	15	29
Ratau	7	505	12	42
Selosesha	11	477	14	34
St. Augustine	12	698	17	41
St. Paul's	16	678	15	45
Thubisi	10	1070	32	33
Tlotlanang	16	106	10	11
Bartimea Special Sch.	-	267	7	38
NURSERY SCHOOL				
Tweety-bird	2	50	2	25

Source: SETPLAN, 1992:47

indicated in Table 4.16 testifies to the impact of educational development programmes during the upgrading and relocating of schools to new sites whereby the educational landscape was changed substantially since independence.

4.4.7 HEALTH AND WELFARE PROVISION

The impact of Bophuthatswana's health and welfare programme is also evident in the spatial pattern of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. The Moroka Hospital was upgraded to a Nurses' Training College and a new hospital was erected to replace the old one. Today Moroka Hospital is the only hospital in the district with a bedding capacity of 400, including the following facilities: TB Clinic, Psychiatric Clinic, Family Planning Clinic, and an expanded programme of immunization and school health services. Other clinics were established in the Bultfonteins, Selosesha, Mokwena, Serwalo, Barend van Rensburg Children's Home, and Boiketlong Old Age Home.

4.4.8 RECREATION, CULTURE, AND TOURISM

Recreation and tourism facilities in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha are another landscape image which visibly illustrates the changes which independence has contributed to the transformation of the geographical landscape. The construction of Naledi Sun Hotel has not only served to boost the hotel industry in the area, but also serves as a spatial key between Thaba Nchu and Selosesha. In addition to the Naledi Sun, the main nucleus of tourism is the Thaba Nchu Sun Hotel which is located about 25 kilometres from Thaba Nchu (outside the study area).

Recreation centres, which in this study are defined to include sports complexes and undeveloped football fields, are also evident in the landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. The largest is the Selosesha Stadium. The sports centre in the Thaba Nchu opposite the Naledi Sun has been upgraded and some of the facilities are used by the Mmabana Cultural Centre. The only recreation centre which seems to have been abandoned or not fully utilised are the tennis courts located on the outskirts Thaba Nchu.

Another spatial impact was the construction of the Mmabana Cultural Centre next to the former town hall. The demolition of a few offices of the municipality and part of the town hall, including an undeveloped taxi rank paved the way for the construction of Mmabana (Photomap 4.8). Within the same area, a monument to deceased Afrikaner soldiers was preserved while part of the undemolished town hall was renovated and changed into a theatre as part of the cultural centre. Today the Mmabana Cultural Centre represents a cultural institution where the community are taught both African and European cultures.



4.5 SYNTHESIS

Arising from the analysis, it has become evident that since 1977 independence as a political process in Bophuthatswana has substantially manifested itself as evident in the study area (Figure 4.3).

The political landscape was transformed from a South African homeland, together with an adjacent white town (Thaba Nchu) landscape into a unique landscape typical of Bophuthatswana nationalism. The administrative infrastructure was developed into a district administrative centre for the Thaba Nchu district. The amalgamation of the Selosesha and Thaba Nchu Municipal Councils emerged when a new urban boundary was drawn.

The settlement landscape has been moulded during the pre-independent era into three settlement patterns, viz. formal urban (Selosesha and Thaba Nchu), informal settlements (African rural villages and the Bultfonteins), and the informal squatter settlement (Kromdraai). Since independence the most major transformations of the settlement landscape were the evacuation of the Kromdraai

FIGURE 3.1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU

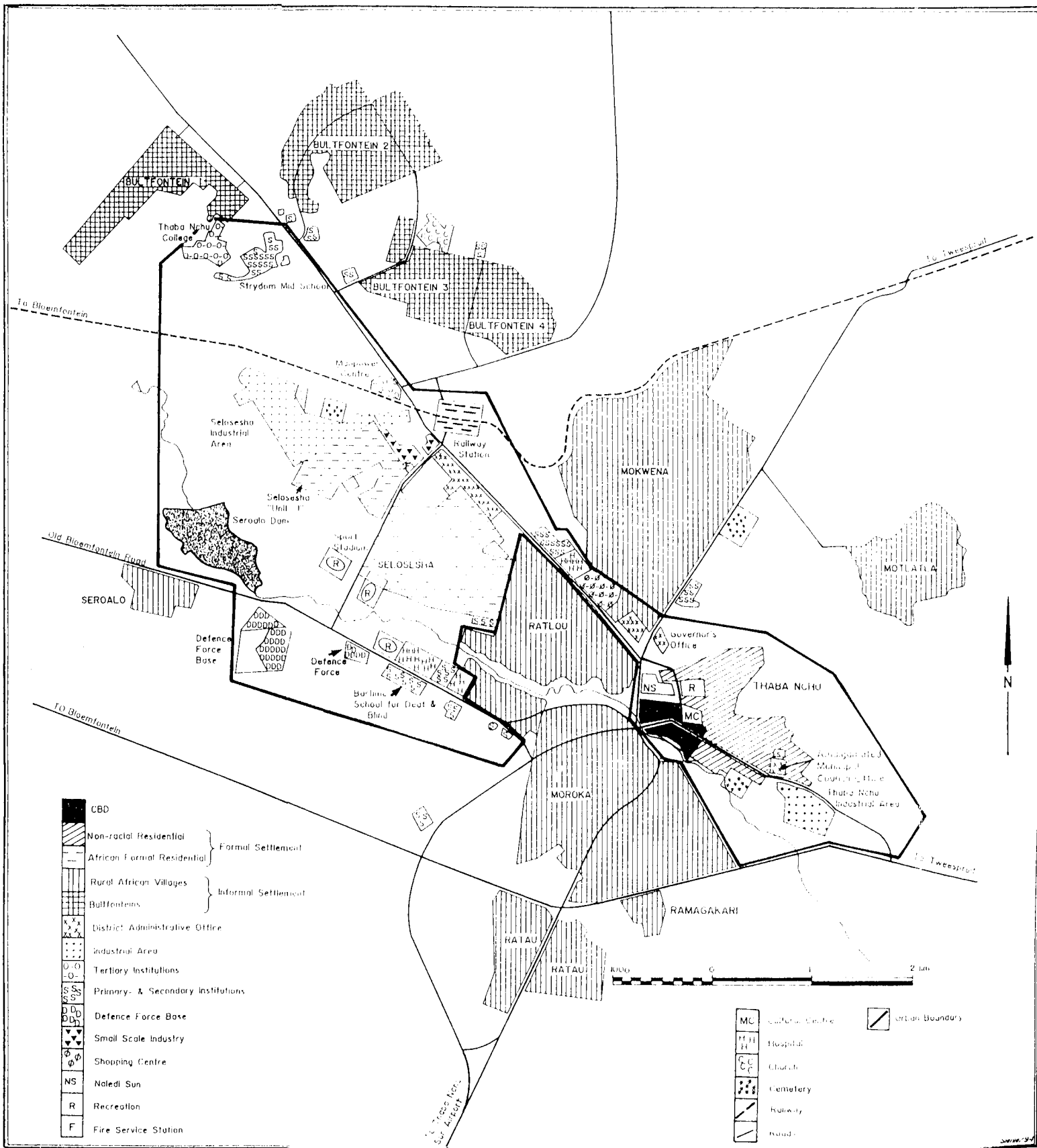


FIGURE 5.1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1992

squatter settlement in 1979; the political, administrative, and spatial amalgamation of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha towns; the expansion of Selosesha towards Unit 1; the emergence of an elite suburb on the northern slope of Thaba Nchu town; and the continuation of an informal housing sprawl in the informal settlements where some *ad hoc* upgrading of individual housing units materialised.

The industrial landscape only emerged after independence when Thaba Nchu-Selosesha was proclaimed an Industrial Development Point within Bophuthatswana's space economy. Industrial development is not only the largest financial injection from the national government towards Thaba Nchu-Selosesha since independence, but it also reflects the greatest scale of landscape transformation in the study area. The commercial landscape did not only expand towards Selosesha and the surrounding informal settlements, but the original CBD of Thaba Nchu town is virtually unrecognisable as new buildings were erected to replace the old ones together with infrastructural development in a spatially integrated planning approach to unite the Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre in Selosesha with Thaba Nchu's CBD.

The educational landscape expanded by means of a number of new educational facilities (of which the Thaba Nchu College of Education and the Manpower Training Centre are the most prominent) and as a result of the upgrading and relocation of educational facilities. The health landscape was transformed by larger and more sophisticated varieties of health facilities. The cultural landscape is dominated by the Mmabana Cultural Centre in the CBD while the tourist landscape was expanded by the Naledi Sun.

It is thus clear that a large variety of types and scales of landscape transformations have occurred in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as a result of the political independence of Bophuthatswana in 1977 of which the settlement, industrial, commercial, and educational landscape transformations are the most prominent.

There are, however, instances where the pre-independent physical pattern remained (e.g street names, churches, town hall etc).

The scale of landscape changes impacted on the study area is fundamental to the understanding of the potent force of independence as a political process. No matter what reservation opponents may have about Bophuthatswana's independence, the unfolding of the process in Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha is a significant factor which overrides any alternate explanation of the transformed landscape.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976-1992

This chapter is intended to compare the 1976 and 1992 spatial patterns of the study area (Figure 5.1).

5.1 POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

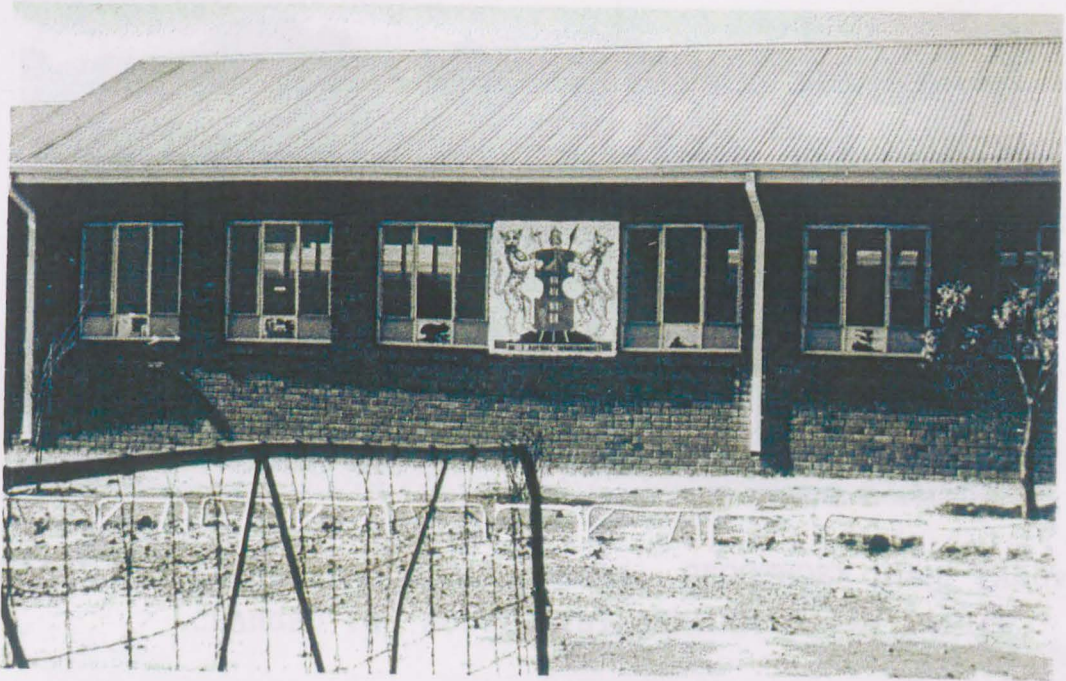
Following independence, the pre-1976 homeland landscape was transformed to an independent Bophuthatswanan landscape. After independence all the South African political symbols were replaced by Bophuthatswana symbols, e.g. the flag, coat of arms, and national anthem, and there were imprinted on government buildings, schools, police stations, and the defence force base (Photomap 5.1)

After the incorporation of Thaba Nchu town into Bophuthatswana in 1983, a variety of additional changes have materialised (see Photomap 5.2). The district magistrates court's judicial system was replaced with that of Bophuthatswana.

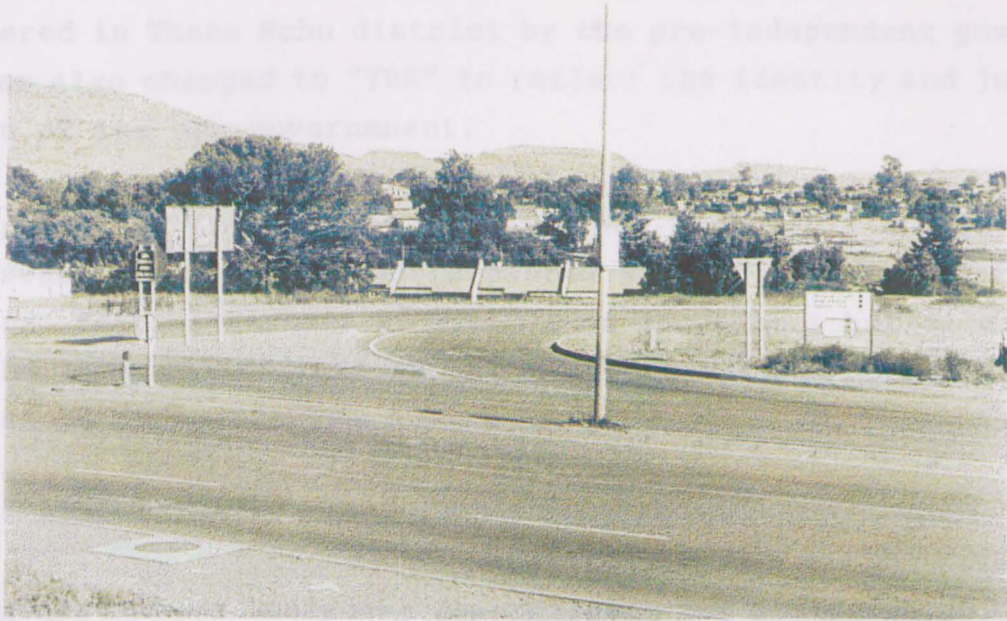
At the post office, the issuing of South African stamps was replaced by issuing of Bophuthatswana stamps to commemorate the historic event of Bophuthatswana's sovereignty. The replacement of the RSA police force with Bophuthatswana's brought with it a new police uniform. On government buildings, the iron-plated inscriptions dating from when such buildings were officially opened by the State President bear vivid, visual testimony which enable one to identify the developments which have emanated from the independence process.

Symbolic pre-independent Afrikaner street names (Voortrekker) are still preserved in Thaba Nchu town, but outside Thaba Nchu town such names have been replaced (Photomap 5.3). In Selo-sesha the new street names reflect the names of the Barolong

PHOTOMAP 5.1 (Above) THE IMPRINT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S COAT OF ARMS ON THE WALL OF A LOCAL PRIMARY SCHOOL
(Below) A STATUE TO COMMEMORATE THE 10 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE



PHOTOMAP 5.2 BUFFER STRIP DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN THABA NCHU AND SELOSESHA



PHOTOMAP 5.3 CHANGE OF PLACE NAMES: GROOTHOEK DAM (Above) CHANGED TO MOUTLOATSI SETLOGELO DAM (Below)



tribe and other prominent local and national celebrities (Moroka, Nyankansti, Manyane etc). The "OT" number plates of vehicles registered in Thaba Nchu district by the pre-independent government was also changed to "YBK" to reflect the identity and jurisdiction of the new government.

Other political imprints of independence were reflected in Bophuthatswana's own newspaper (Sepione) and television and radio stations. The inscription of symbols on government buildings has been the most politicized aspect of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha landscape since independence.

5.2 ADMINISTRATIVE LANDSCAPE

The administrative landscape demonstrates the status which Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha had reached within the district and in Bophuthatswana (see Photomap 5.4). The role which Seloshesha played in 1976 was minimal if not completely unknown. However, the situation has changed greatly since 1977. The greatest impact since independence regarding the political landscape has been the drawing of new urban boundaries (Figure 4.3) which have territorially and administratively integrated Thaba Nchu and Seloshesha. This has also erased the buffer strip which served as an 'international' boundary between the RSA (Thaba Nchu) and Bophuthatswana (Seloshesha) before incorporation.

From a predominantly residential function and a local council office, following the transfer of the sovereignty of the district it has developed into the administrative centre for the Thaba Nchu district. The administrative functions of Thaba Nchu are evident in the land-use patterns which emerged after independence. The district administrative functions of Seloshesha are visible in the inscriptions on sign boards in front of the state buildings. The buildings include the Department of Internal Affairs, the Office of the District Governor, the Magistrate Courts, the District Police Headquarters, the Defence Force Base, the District Post Office, the Regional Office of the BNDC,

PHOTOMAP 5.4 THE ADMINISTRATIVE LANDSCAPE OF THE DISTRICT CENTRE.

DEPARTMENT
OF
INTERNAL
AFFAIRS



THE OFFICE
OF THE
GOVERNOR



THE
B.N.D.C.
OFFICE



Department of Works and Local Government, the Circuit Education Office, to the and Moroka Hospital.

The two most significant changes which have emerged since independence are firstly, the territorial integration and the amalgamation of the Selosesha and Thaba Nchu Municipalities. Which gave the residents of the integrated urban area the franchise to be elected as members of Municipal Council and to participate in the decision-making body of the Amalgamated Municipal Council. In addition, after incorporation, the provision of environmental services (street cleaning, garbage collection and tariffs) were extended to the rest of the new urban area.

The second was the upgrading and relocation of the pre-1976 local magistrates court from Thaba Nchu to Selosesha. The construction of the district post office near the old local post office represents another political change independence has impacted at Thaba Nchu.

5.3 SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE

For the purposes of this analysis, the residential area has been classified into two categories, viz. formal and informal settlements. The formal residential areas are used to denote all residential areas under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Municipal Council which falls within the newly-defined urban boundary. They are identified as Thaba Nchu and Selosesha. The informal on the other hand is used to refer to the residential areas where the land is administered by the Barolong Tribal Authority. It includes all the rural African villages, the Bultfonteins, and the informal squatter settlement at Kromdraai which was evacuated in 1979.

The changing settlement landscape is perhaps the greatest spatial impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on the study area. By comparing the 1976 map with that of 1992 map, it is clearly evident that about 60% of the land-use expansion within the study

area occurred as part of the settlement landscape (see Figure 5.1). In spite of the expansion the boundaries of the dispersed residential areas have not changed, however extreme the differences which exist between the residential densities of the formal and informal residential areas. The residential densities of the formal and informal settlements are estimated to be about 3 to 4 and 9 to 13 dwellings per hectare respectively.

In Thaba Nchu town incorporation has altered its exclusive organization as a "whites only" residential area to a non-racial one. The change from a homogenous population to a diverse population composed of Chinese, Indians, Coloureds, Whites and Africans is one of the most obvious features. Additional expansions have also taken place through the construction of individual private houses; BNDC official rental houses as well as the Governor's Bungalow.

On a super-imposed map the boundaries of the formal settlement on the 1992 map shows a significant change over the pre-1976 map. (see Figure 5.1). Extreme changes occurred around the residential area of Seloshesha. The entire built-up environment has coalesced due to the infilling of private residential development and the construction of planned estate houses in the area called Unit 1.

In the informal settlements the African rural villages show no significant changes to their pre-independence boundaries. This can be attributed to an increased residential density due to open spaces for informal and formal development. The formal development can be found in terms of schools, church buildings, and shops. The informal exists in the form of sports fields. The same pattern of formal and informal development exists in the Bultfonteins. The most visible change was the emergence of Bultfontein 4 and its subsequent coalesce into Bultfontein 3.

The greatest impact of modern time political behaviour in the study area was the forced removal of the squatters from Kromdraai and elsewhere within the Thaba Nchu district to Botshabelo.

The change which occurred in the bend of the railway, north-west of Mokwena, represents the most immediate after independence. The political imprint was the complete evacuation of the Kromdraai squatter settlement in 1979. In the minds of the affected people it represents the inhumane treatment by an African government whom they thought would grant them refuge from apartheid. The squatters were forcibly relocated to Botshabelo about 10 kilometres from the study area.

5.4 HOUSING LANDSCAPE

In this section, the nature of changes in the housing landscape are analysed from the perspective of the type of houses which are evident in the settlement areas. Attention is given to the type, ownership of houses, and infrastructure which exists. The settlement landscape as identified and defined in this study is categorised into two categories, viz. the formal settlement of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha; the informal settlements of the African rural villages, and the Bultfonteins, excluding the squatter settlement of Kromdraai.

5.4.1 HOUSING LANDSCAPE OF URBAN THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA

The two types of houses which dominate the formal settlement landscape can be distinguished as planned estates houses in Selosesha and individual private houses in Thaba Nchu town. The former is used to denote state-built houses, either for sale to individuals or for rental purposes. The individual private houses, on the other hand, are defined as houses which have been financed and built by individuals. In this respect, the change has become evident in terms of expansion, number, and size of houses, as well as infrastructure.

Selosesha was proclaimed a township after the construction of 790 planned estate houses in 1969. It was initially regarded as a dormitory residential area for frontier commuters to Bloemfontein. Between 1970 and 1976 the number of houses increased from

790 to 1 200 without any private individual houses in the vicinity. In the same period, the population grew from 3 475 in 1970 to 5 763 in 1976. The greatest imprint of the independence process came with the establishment of another residential area, designated Unit 1, which was designed to cater for the accommodation needs of the staff of the newly-established offices of the district administration centre at Selosasha(Photomap 5.5). In this

TABLE 5.1 PROVISION OF HOUSES IN SELOSESHA, TILL 1976 AND 1977-1992

TYPE	TILL 1976		1977- 1992		
	RENTAL *(R)	PURCHASE *PRICE	TYPE	RENTAL *(R)	PURCHASE *PRICE
Tin cottage 2-ROOMS (12)	8.88	825.00	1 BR 4 ROOM HOUSE (193)	171.61	24 576.00
Prefabricated 1 room house (50)	12.89	935.00	2AR 4 ROOM HOUSE (158)	178.12	25 545.00
51/6 2 ROOM HOUSE (158)	14.50	3 000.00	3AR 5 ROOM HOUSE (38)	195.20	28 087.00
51/6 4 ROOM HOUSE (805)	37.04	9 000.00	4 BL 5 ROOM HOUSE (99)	200.87	29 535.00
11/1 WOODEN HOUSE (50)	22.54	1 650.00	4 BR 5 ROOM HOUSE (38)	205.26	28 935.00
51/9 4 ROOM (50)	-	3 300.00			
TOTAL¹	1 100			488	

Source: SETPLAN REPORT 1992

(* Prices/rents as in 1992; Quantity of houses in brackets)

¹ The difference in the total number of houses was quite large during 1976, but in terms of size, rental, and purchase price, it is quite clear why many houses could be built in 1976.

new residential area, 488 planned estate houses were erected that differed from the old Selosesha in term of size, number, rental fee, purchase price and infrastructure, and services as is illustrated in Table 5.1.

The contrast in the change also became evident when infrastructural development, electricity, tarred streets, and a direct automatic telephone subscription for the designated planned estate houses were developed in Selosesha.

During the period 1977-1992, the development of private individual houses emerged as a significant change in the formal settlement landscape. This was also evident in the spatial infilling next to the pre-1976 planned estate houses in Selosesha. The contrast in the type of housing is evident in terms of the architectural style, size, and spacious environment in which the houses were built.

PHOTOMAP 5.5 SELOSESHA (UNIT 1) HOUSING SCHEME



The incorporated town of Thaba Nchu, where most of the houses were privately owned by individuals has also undergone significant change. The change came in the form of a change in ownership from private individuals to the SADT when the latter pur-

chased houses from white residents. The legalised movement of black residents to the vacant houses not only changed the residential area from a racial to non-racial one, but also gave it a cosmopolitan character. The rental houses depict old, unpainted, run-down structures; a change from the by-gone pre-incorporation era. In addition to this change, black, private individual houses have become a significant feature, together with the planned estate houses constructed by the BNDC for its staff and industrialists. Photomap 5.6 indicates the improvements of infrastructure at Thaba Nchu town after incorporation.

5.4.2 HOUSING LANDSCAPE OF THE AFRICAN RURAL VILLAGES AND THE BULTFONTEINS

The housing landscape in the African rural villages and Bultfonteins in term of ownership has not shown much change. The houses are mainly privately owned without any planned estate houses. Change can be recognised in the expansion of private individual houses. However, a significant change became apparent during the industrial peak from 1985 to 1989. The change in land tenure practices from leased to freehold land has also influenced the type of houses which are evident in the area. From a predominance of traditional mud houses or shacks, which characterised the squeeze-out drive in the 1960's and late 1970s in the OFS, the additional change brought about during the period 1977 to 1992 is evident in well-planned architectural style of both cement blocks and brick houses existing in juxtaposition with mud-brick and run-down houses with corrugated iron roofing.

PHOTOMAP 5.6 THE PRE-INDEPENDENT (Above) AND THE INDEPENDENT INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT (Below) THE CONTRAST LIES IN THE TARRED STREETS, ELECTRICITY, AND STORM WATER DRAINAGE



5.5 ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE

The economic landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha can be classified into an industrial and a commercial landscape. For the purposes of this study, each will be analysed separately.

5.5.1 INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE

The industrial landscape is one of the few new land uses which was completely unknown in the pre-independent study area. Two distinctive areas can be identified as a change from the pre-1976 geographical landscape. They are the Selosesha and Thaba Nchu industrial areas which include small scale industrial areas. The number and types of activities in the industrial areas were illustrated in Table 4.14. The firms were more of an assemblage and manufacturing nature.

5.5.2 COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE

The geography of the wholesaling and retailing activities in the commercial landscape has undergone many significant changes since Bophuthatswana's independence. Most of the changes are reflected in the number of shops, their types, and their distributional pattern in the study area. Since 1977 the number and variety of shopping establishments has increased in the CBD, Selosesha, and in the informal settlements. The most outstanding among them is the Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre which was built because of political reasons namely to promote commercial activity in Selosesha and the African rural villages beyond the former buffer strip.

Table 4.16 shows that in terms of the number and variety of shopping units significant changes occurred in the distributional patterns and the variety of shopping units. This can be attributed to deregulation of retail activities after independence and the changing urban environment.

In the CBD, changes occurred firstly due to the movement of black

businessmen into the pre-1976 'white' monopolised business area. Secondly, demolition, development, and conversion of non-commercial buildings into retail stores also altered the morphology of the CBD (Table 4.14 provides a summary of the frequency of stores in the CBD). Within the CBD, apart from the expansion, there has been a remarkable shift in the centre of activity towards the nodal point where the station road adjoins the long stretch of Thaba Nchu access roads. The effect of the shift of the pre-1976 centre of activity has been the disappearing of many businesses from the area and buildings have been left to decay (Photomap 5.7). The creation of parking areas in the CBD have also improved and increased the retail strength of the CBD.

5.6 EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE

In terms of the educational landscape, changes are analysed from the perspective of the new educational infrastructures which have been built since 1977. Since independence there has been a significant increase in the number of educational institutions erected in Selosesha and the surrounding rural villages. The change can be witnessed in the number and variety of institutions as shown in Table 4.16. They range from primary to tertiary institutions, and from the relocation from poor school buildings to new infrastructures as illustrated in Table 4.15. The most remarkable imprint of independence is the relocation and construction of Thaba Nchu College of Education, the Bartimea Special School for the Blind and the Deaf (Photomap 5.8), the Manpower Centre, and R.T Mokgopa High School. The first two institutions were relocated to Thaba Nchu as a result of the Group Areas Act. The establishment of a Manpower Training Centre and R.T Mokgopa High School are additional developments in the independence period (Photomap 5.9).

The naming of schools after prominent members of the Barolong Tribe and other dignitaries from their society reflects, not only a change in the landscape, but the important contribution those people made to education.

PHOTOMAP 5.7 THE PRE-INCORPORATION (Above) AND THE INCORPORATION COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE (Below): THE CONTRAST LIES IN THE SHOPS, STREETS AND PARKING AREAS



Other institutions still maintain their old names in spite of the fact that they were been relocated to new structures during independence. The symbolic gestures attached to those institutions are implicit in their names and the specific organization which established them. Ereskuld Primary school is a good example.

PHOTOMAP 5.8 THE ORIGINAL BUILDINGS OF BARTIMEA SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND AND THE DEAF (NOW SERVES AS A MIDDLE SCHOOL)

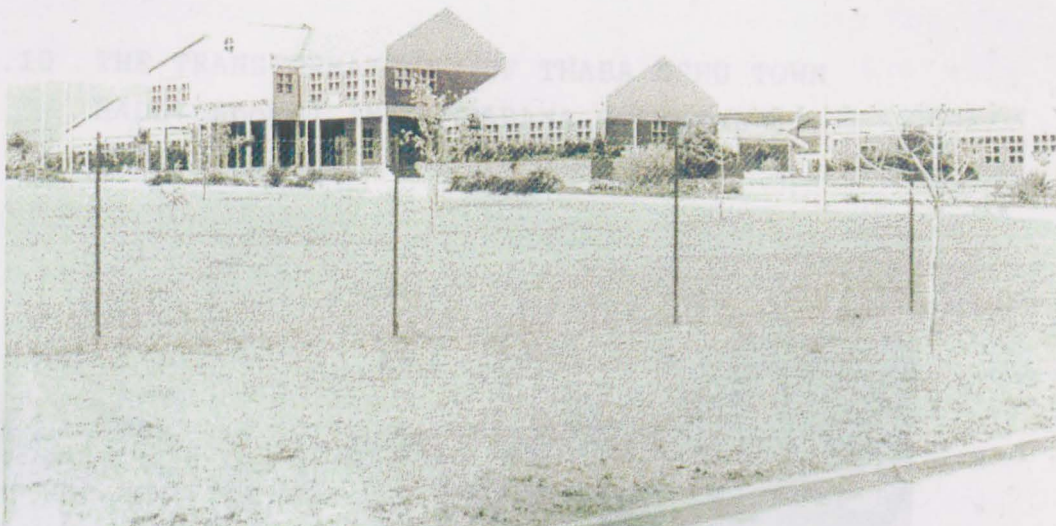


In Thaba Nchu, the incorporation of the 'white' town into Bophuthatswana had a different meaning for the white residents. The perception emerged among white parents that educational standards would be lowered if black children were to be admitted to the white primary school. The withdrawal of pupils by their parents led to closure of the school which was later abandoned. The school was re-opened as a non-racial English-medium school and the name of the school was changed from Gerrit Maritz to Tlotlanang Primary School.

PHOTOMAP 5.9

THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE OF TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

THE MANPOWER CENTRE



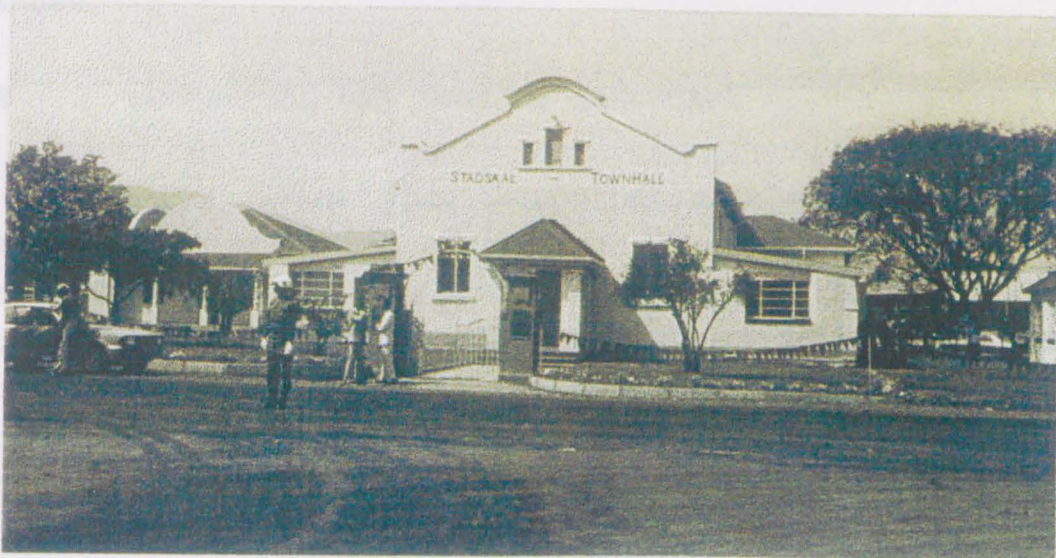
THABA NCHU COLLEGE OF EDUCATION



5.7 CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Visible evidence of change in the cultural landscape as shown in the Photomap 5.10 is obviously an indication of the imprint of independence as a political process.

PHOTOMAP 5.10 THE TRANSFORMATION OF THABA NCHU TOWN HALL (Above) INTO MMABANA CULTURAL CENTRE (Below)



However, the significant changes which have emerged in the cultural landscape according to this study are attributed to the changing urbanising environment from 1977 to 1992. The steady growth of the population and the cosmopolitan character of the population are considered as the supportive ingredients for the existence and expansion of the cultural landscape. The only significant changes were the renovation of Thaba Nchu town hall, the construction of the Mmabana Cultural Centre, and name place changes.

5.8 RECREATION AND TOURISM LANDSCAPE

In the early 1980s when Bophuthatswana's independence was imminent, the promotion of recreation and tourism in the study area became a necessity, not only to create jobs, but for the expansion of air transport and the upgrading of roads and national parks. Conveniently situated a kilometre from the town centre, Naledi Sun (Photomap 5.11) was erected with 30 air-conditioned rooms which offered all of modern conveniences, in addition to slot machines, a disco, a bar, and a swimming pool as places for recreation for the inhabitants. In Selosesha, the establishment of the Selosesha Sports Stadium was one of the most visible results of independence.

Outside the study area one finds the Thaba Nchu Sun Hotel, Thaba Nchu Airport and the Maria Moroka National Park. These tourist attractions serve to illustrate how Bophuthatswana's independence has manifested itself within the district of Thaba Nchu.



5.9 HEALTH LANDSCAPE

The health landscape is another area where independence changes have resulted in the upgrading of the pre-independent Moroka hospital into a Nurses' Training College and an additional hospital was erected to replace the old one (Photomap 5.12). Today Moroka Hospital is the only hospital in the district with a bedding capacity of 400 which includes the following facilities: TB Clinic, Psychiatric Clinic, Family Planning Clinic, an expanded programme on immunization, and school health services. Other clinics were established in the Bultfonteins, Ratlou, Selosesha, Mokwena, Serwalo, Barend van Rensburg Children's Home, and Boiketlong Old Age Home.

PHOTOMAP 5.12 THE CHANGING HEALTH LANDSCAPE: THE CHANGE LIES IN THE ERECTION OF A NEW HOSPITAL AND THE CONVERTING OF THE OLD INTO A NURSES TRAINING COLLEGE AS PART OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S HEALTH PROGRAMME.

THE NEW MOROKA HOSPITAL



MOROKA NURSES' TRAINING COLLEGE



5.10 A COMPARISON OF THE CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA: 1977-1992

The objective of this section is to compare the 1976 geographical landscape (Figure 3.12) with the 1992 spatial presentation of the study area (Figure 4.3) in order to identify the type and scale of changes in the land-use patterns evident on the 1992 map.

In Figure 5.1 the colours red and yellow are used to illustrate the spatial impact of the scale of development, expansion, conversion (red) and evacuation e.g. (Kromdraai squatter settlement (yellow). Table 5.2 is intended to support this method and shows, by comparison, the changes in the landscape during both periods. The entire exercise is to have a detailed list as a stock and documentation for the general conclusion of the foregoing chapters and to amplify for the general discussion the pattern of changes and features associated with each landscape component.



FIGURE 5.1 THE IMPACT OF REPUBLICANISM'S INDEPENDENCE ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1977

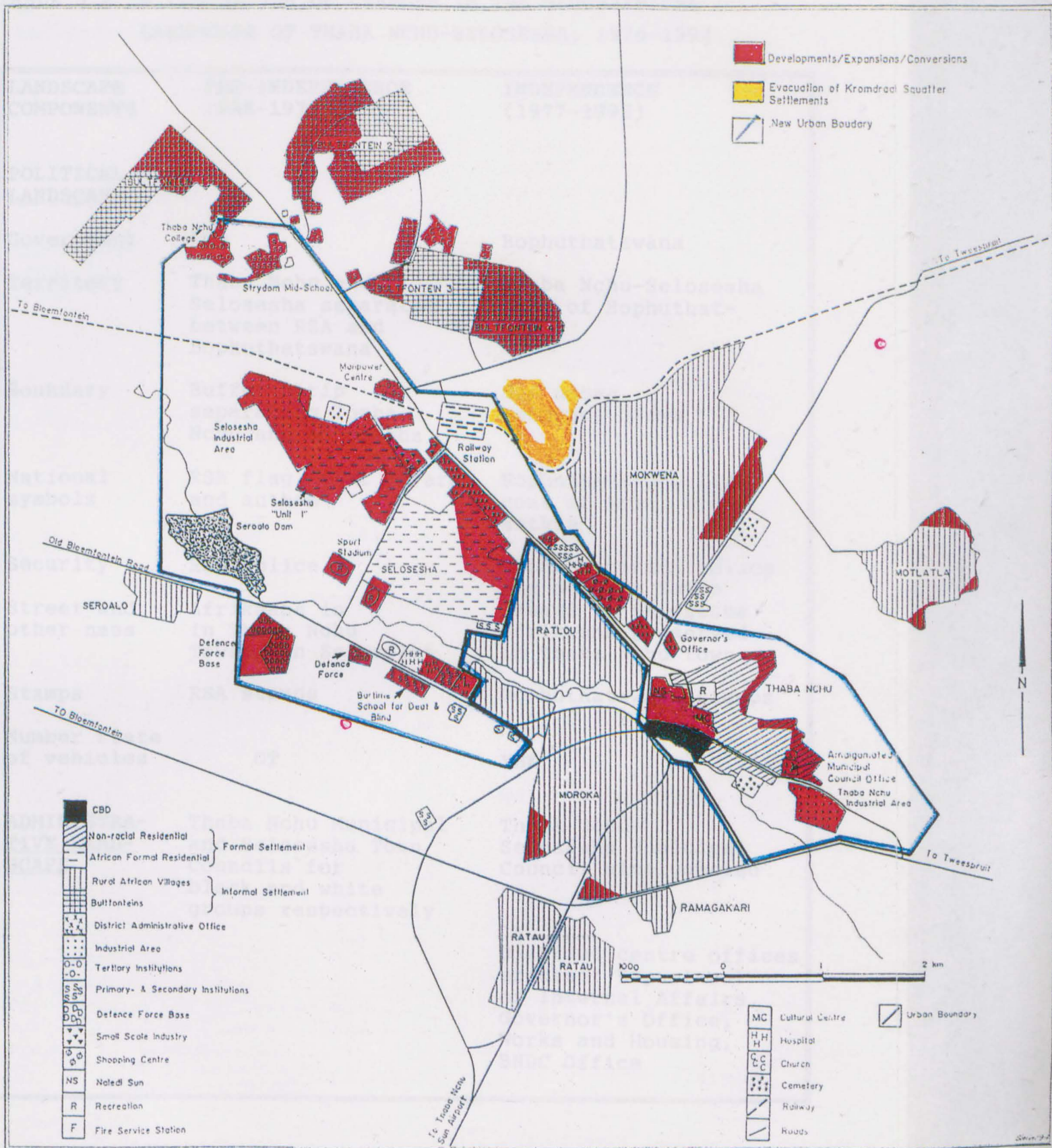


FIGURE 5.1 THE IMPACT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976 - 1992

TABLE 5.2 A COMPARISON OF CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL
LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA, 1976-1992

LANDSCAPE COMPONENTS	PRE-INDEPENDENCE (PRE-1977)	INDEPENDENCE (1977-1992)
<u>POLITICAL LANDSCAPE</u>		
Government	RSA	Bophuthatswana
Territory	Thaba Nchu and Selosesha separated between RSA and Bophuthatswana	Thaba Nchu-Selosesha part of Bophuthatswana
Boundary	Buffer strip separating Thaba Nchu and Selosesha	New urban boundary drawn
National symbols	RSA flag, coat of arm and anthem	Bophuthatswana flag coat of arms, and anthem
Security	RSA police	Bophuthatswana police and defence force
Street and other nmes	Afrikaans in Thaba Nchu Tswana in Selosesha	Tswana in Selosesha Afrikaans preserved in Thaba Nchu town
Stamps	RSA stamps	Bophuthatswana stamps
Number Plate of vehicles	OT	YBK
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE LAND-SCAPE</u>	Thaba Nchu Municipal and Selosesha Town Councils for black and white groups respectively	Thaba Nchu-Selosesha Municipal Council amalgamated
		District centre offices erected: Department of Internal Affairs, Governor's Office, Works and Housing, BNDC Office

(TABLE 5.2 continues)

Security and Defence	Thaba Nchu and Selosesha local police stations	District Police Headquarters erected; Defence Force base and Fire Station
	Thaba Nchu magistrate court.	Thaba Nchu magistrate court upgraded and relocated at Selosesha.
SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE		
Formal	Thaba Nchu and Selosesha as separate entities	Thaba Nchu-Selosesha spatially and politically integrated
Informal	Bultfontein 1, 2, 3	Expansion of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha Bultfontein 4 established. Bultfontein 3 boundary coalesced with 4
	Kromdraai squatter settlement emerges	Kromdraai squatter settlement evacuated
	African rural villages: Moroka, Mokwena, Ratau, Ratlou, Motlatla, Seroala	No boundary change (in-filling increased)
Infrastructure	Majority of roads gravel.	Major bus routes in the Bultfonteins and Selosesha tarred.
	Station road gravel	Station road upgraded to a dual carriageway and tarred.
	Water and electricity limited to Thaba Nchu	Expansion of water and electricity to the Selosesha and informal settlement areas. *Thaba Nchu Airport
HOUSING LANDSCAPE		
Formal settlement areas	Private individual houses at Thaba Nchu town	Expansion of private individual houses;
	Planned estate houses at Selosesha.	Expansion of planned estate houses to Unit 1; Development of private individual houses

(TABLE 5.2 continues)

Informal settlement areas	Mud, and corrugated roofed houses	Clay brick and block houses in juxtaposition with mud and corrugated roofed houses
<u>COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE</u>	CBD in Thaba Nchu Town	CBD expanded towards Selosesha area; O.K. shopping centre established
<u>INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE</u>	None	Selosesha and Thaba Nchu industrial areas established.
<u>EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE</u>	Strydom Training College Few schools and Bartimea Sch; relocated Gerrit Maritz Prim; Sch for white pupils	College rebuilt and renamed after Thaba Nchu, old buildings converted to a Middle School to maintain old name; Manpower Centre erected; number of schools increased School rebuilt School abandoned after incorporation, re-opened as non-racial English-medium school, named changed to Tlotlanang
<u>TOURIST LANDSCAPE</u>		
Hotel	Thaba Nchu Hotel	Naledi Sun Hotel (a four star hotel), *Thaba Nchu Sun Hotel (five star hotel)
Game reserve	No game reserve	*Maria Moroka Game Reserve

(TABLE 5.2 Continues)

HEALTH LANDSCAPE	Moroka Hospital Poloko Psychiatric hospital	New Moroka Hospital erected; old hospital turned to a Nursing Training College; medical staff quarters erected; Selosesha clinic built.
Home for the Mentally Retarded Home	Barend van Rensburg	None
Old Aged Home	None	Boiketlonog
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE	Thaba Nchu Town Hall	Mmabana Cultural Centre erected, town hall renovated and changed into a theatre as part of Mmabana Cultural Centre
Sports complexes	Thaba Nchu Sports field	Selosesha Sports stadium erected and and a number sports fields created in rural villages and the Bultfonteins
Church	Dutch Reformed Church Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist	Varieties of new churches built

(* out of study field)

CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS

As the final section of this study, it would be academically naive not to revisit the objectives, the need for the study, the motivation, and the proposed contribution which was initially set out at the beginning of this study. Within that perspective, the objectives of this section are firstly, to put the summary of the findings of this study into the context of the study's objectives in order to elucidate its contributions to Political Geography. Secondly, to provide a realistic projection and orientation for future Political Geographical studies which might focus on the study area and other similar ones in a post-apartheid South Africa.

6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Based on the reasons which motivated the need for this study and the findings outlined in chapter 5 it is the opinion of this study that the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence as a political process on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha has been revealed. The changing geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha is a phenomenon which has to be reckoned with in this study in terms of land-use development and changes in the morphology as caused by the process of continuous political change of pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid, and most significantly independence Bophuthatswana. For each phase there was a resultant imprint on the geographical landscape of the study area, which in some cases, is still evident.

This study of the geography of the landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, when compared to political process studies available in the literature review, can lay claim to the fact that it falls within the context of the academic sub-discipline. Apart from enriching one's knowledge about the impact of independence as a

political process, it can serve as a stock or an inventory of what is evident in the geographical landscape of the study area at the time when Thaba Nchu-Selosesha has entered a new political dispensation in the new South Africa.

Within the context of this study, its contributions to Political Geography can be seen in the findings about the study area in which most of the changes were reflected in all ten landscape components which have been examined (Figure 1.8). If an assessment is made of the changes in landscape in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from 1976 to 1992, it appears that all ten landscape components were transformed as a result of Bophuthatswana's independence as a changing political process. The political landscape was transformed from a South African homeland, together with an adjacent white town (Thaba Nchu) landscape, into a unique landscape typical of Bophuthatswana nationalism. The administrative infrastructure was developed into a district administrative centre for the Thaba Nchu district. The amalgamation of the Selosesha Town Council and Thaba Nchu Municipal Council merged the two boundaries and a new urban boundary was drawn.

The settlement landscape has been moulded during the pre-independence era into two settlement patterns, viz. formal urban (Selosesha and Thaba Nchu) and informal settlements (African rural villages and the Bultfonteins) which included the squatter settlement at Kromdraai. Since independence the most significant transformation in the settlement landscape was the evacuation of the Kromdraai squatter settlement in 1979; the political, administrative, and spatial integration of Thaba Nchu and Selosesha; the expansion of Selosesha towards Unit 1 and the emergence of an elite suburb north of Thaba Nchu town; and the continuation of an informal housing sprawl in the informal settlements where some *ad hoc* upgrading of individual housing units have materialised.

The industrial landscape only emerged after independence when Thaba Nchu-Selosesha was proclaimed an Industrial Development

Point. Industrial development was not only the largest financial injection from the national government into Thaba Nchu-Selosesha since independence, but it also reflects the greatest landscape transformation in the study area. The commercial landscape did not only expand towards Selosesha and the surrounding informal settlements, but the original CBD of Thaba Nchu town is virtually unrecognisable as new buildings have been erected, old buildings converted, and infrastructural developments promoted in a spatially integrated planning approach to unite Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre in Selosesha with Thaba Nchu's CBD.

The educational landscape was expanded by means of a number of new educational facilities (of which the Thaba Nchu College of Education and the Manpower Training Centre are the most prominent) as well as the upgrading and relocation of educational facilities. The health landscape was transformed into a larger and more sophisticated variety of health facilities. The cultural landscape is dominated by the Mmabana Cultural Centre in the CBD, while the tourist landscape was expanded by the construction of the Naledi Sun.

It is thus clear that a wide variety of types and scales of landscape transformations have occurred in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as a result of the political independence of Bophuthatswana in 1977. Of these the settlement, industrial, commercial, and educational landscape transformations are the most prominent. Within the study area, new landscapes, e.g. political, administrative, industrial, commercial, educational, cultural, health and tourism have emerged. There are instances where the pre-independence landscape has remained e.g. formal and informal settlements and formal and informal housing.

The importance of this study and its contribution to Political Geography also lies in the geographical model (Figure 1.8), which has been designed for this study. This model differs from other conventional models in three aspects:

- * it helps to elucidate the political process in different time periods and in a sequential order as a basis for assessing the respective impact on the landscape; it is an indication that changes in the geographical landscape are associated with time lag;
- * it outlines their characteristics and shows the inter-relations of parts of the general structure of a particular political system; it therefore makes it possible, not only to compare, but also to differentiate the respective impact;
- * it moves away from the generalization approach of the studying landscape changes towards a more specific approach in that it focuses on each aspect of the various land-uses as a component in a system framework in order to identify and indicate the impact of the political process and the gravity of the pattern of change.

In terms of its application, this model can be applied to local levels universally in the study of a particular political process in a particular place as it unfolds its imprint on the landscape.

6.2 BOPHUTHATSWANA'S INDEPENDENCE: EXPERIENCES FOR POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

At the time of writing, South Africa has moved into a new political dispensation as a non-racial democratic government of national unity. The significance of the new political dispensation implies that there is much to be learnt from the experiences of the transformation of the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha.

Dismantling apartheid was not an easy task. Wherever apartheid walls started to crumble, the process was met with some resistance. However, experience in Thaba Nchu has shown that desegregation and deregulation of residential and commercial areas need not encourage racial hostility. At the same time, the atmosphere of racial reconciliation and tolerance in the perspective of Bop-

huthatswana's experience should also be seen in the context of mixed marriages and the co-existence of a cosmopolitan community.

Secondly, the impact of a new political dispensation will also influence a wide range of landscape patterns. However, the major impact which will be contended with are the proposed political boundaries of the nine new provinces which will not coincide with the four old provinces and ten previous homelands. It is likely that the new boundaries will create new spatial and landscape patterns. The new political boundaries also imply that the old apartheid political administrative structures will be widely affected as new ones are put in place. As the new government carries this out, new administrative landscapes will be formed. National, provincial, and sub-regional capitals will emerge. Some capital towns will lose their functions while others will maintain their role. Place and symbolic names are likely to be replaced to erase perceived immoral connotations associated with apartheid. At the time of writing, there are proposals to change the names of Bloemfontein and Cape Town to Mangaung and Cape of Good Hope respectively. Again, as a new political process unfolds, new landscapes will emerge and significant changes will be wrought on the old landscape.

6.3 A SCENARIO OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA TOWARDS THE NEXT CENTURY

The conclusion of this study must surely concern itself with the South African post-apartheid political process and its impact on Thaba Nchu-Selossha towards the next century. That is an extrapolation of the pattern which might change or emerge with a new non-racial, democratic South Africa. In this section the scenario of the expected spatial patterns on the study area are proposed.

During the political unrest in Bophuthatswana, the government was toppled and replaced on 11 March 1994 with *ex-officio* and *de-facto* Joint Administrators by the South African Government and the Transitional Executive Council. Prior to this new political

development Bophuthatswana was the only independent homeland which was holding on to its apartheid-conferred independence.

Recent trends have facilitated the integration of Bophuthatswana into the new South Africa. The process of re-incorporation proceeded as follows: firstly, on 26 April 1994, Bophuthatswana and of course Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha, rid itself of the symbols which distinguished it as an independent nation by lowering the national flag, removing the coat of arms, and abolishing the national anthem. These symbols were replaced with the new interim South African flag and national anthems. The name of Bophuthatswana Airlines (Bop Air) was changed to Sun Air. Secondly, Bophuthatswana participated in the South African national and provincial non-racial election on 27 April 1994. Even though the party of the deposed ruling government - the Christian Democratic Party - did not participate in the election, the election result in Thaba Nchu district illustrates the willingness of the majority of potential voters to be part of the new South Africa. The local election results indicates that the majority of eligible voters in the Thaba Nchu district were members or supporters of the African National Party (ANC), which won the election in the Thaba Nchu district (Table 6.1).

It can be expected that major changes will have to take place in the interim to fully integrate Bophuthatswana. The first major change to become evident is the new political map of South Africa (Figure 6.1) is integration of Bophuthatswana's seven blocks of territory into the nine provinces of the new South Africa. In the nine provinces, Bophuthatswana's seven blocks of land which contained the twelve districts have been split into three provinces as follows (Figure 6.1):

- * the blocks which constituted the districts of Kudumane, Ganyesa, Molopo, Ditsobotla, Mankwe, Bafokeng, Odi, Moretele No 1 and 2, Madikwe, Lehurustshe, and Taung have been integrated into the **NORTH WEST PROVINCE**;
- * the isolated block of Thaba Nchu in the heart of the Orange Free State automatically forms part of the

TABLE 6.1 THE RESULT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION IN
THABA NCHU DISTRICT, 1994

POLITICAL PARTIES	NATIONAL	PROVINCIAL
PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS (PAC)	639	845
FREEDOM FRONT (FF)	66	129
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ACDP)	89	152
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (ADM)	16	71
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)	30 642	30 078
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)	203	315
NATIONAL PARTY (NP)	3 538	3 753
INKHAITA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP)	9	104
OTHERS	39	37
TOTAL	35 241	35 484

Source: Die Volksblad, 3 May 1994.

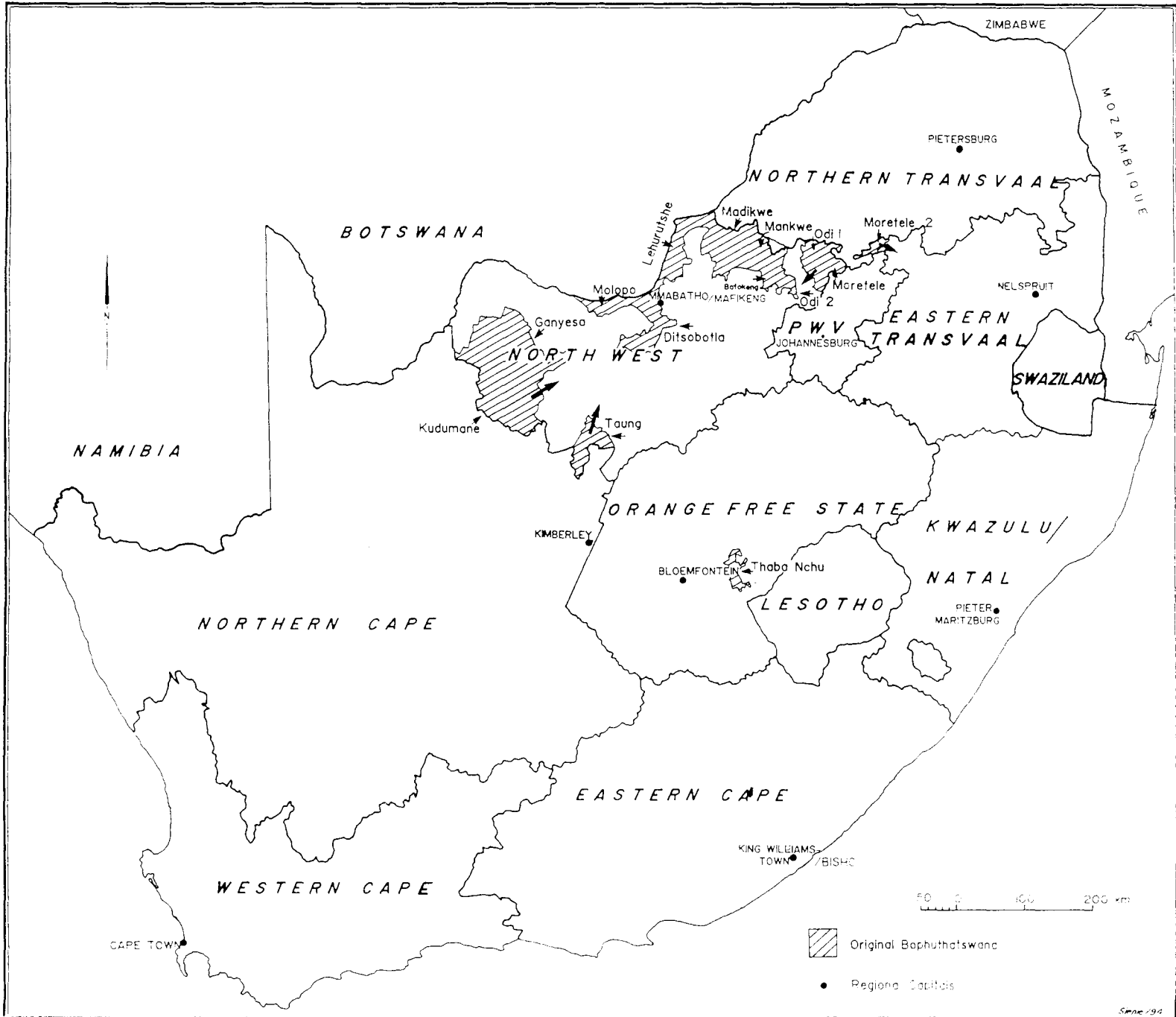
ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCE; and

* the district of Moretele No 2 has been integrated into the
EASTERN TRANSVAAL PROVINCE.

The integration of the districts as illustrated, leaves room for two scenarios with regard to the future position of the ex-home-land capitals, districts, and the role of the district administrative centres in the new provinces. The scenarios are: would the capitals and the district centres continue to maintain their functions and roles or will the functions and roles be increasingly lost. The question is, which one will prevail?

In terms of the proposed regional capitals, Mmabatho has been selected as the capital of the North/West Province. The future role of Thaba Nchu and the district centre hangs in the balance. At a South African National Civic Association (SANCO) meeting held at Selosesha on 8 May 1994, the following options for Thaba Nchu-Selosesha were proposed: " The establishment of local government... Do you want to fall under Bloemfontein, Botshabelo or do you want to be a STAND ALONE TOWN...? STAND ALONE TOWN

FIGURE 6.1 THE INCORPORATION OF BOPHUTHATSWANA INTO THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA



means that you will decide as a community and other relevant parties as to the radius of Thaba Nchu and you will receive your own budget for development of Thaba Nchu...".

From the above agenda, firstly, there is the possibility that a political uncertainty exist with regard to the position of Thaba Nchu as a district centre in the new Free State. Secondly, in terms of its proximity to Bloemfontein (65 kilometres) and Botshabelo (10 kilometres), Thaba Nchu might eventually become part of a greater Bloemfontein local authority structure. The internal strengths of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha can be summarised as follows:

- * diversified economic base;
- * strong retail sector;
- * historic origins and culture;
- * well-developed service sector;
- * established infrastructure and facilities;
- * high percentage skilled resident population.

Therefore, given the internal strengths as listed above which exist in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, it will be reasonable to assume that the new regional government would give serious attention to the future role the town could play. It is expected that the only means of preserving these facilities will be to maintain the identity of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as a cultural centre within a larger region.

Other than for the above, some of the administrative offices will lose their function and others will change to local authority offices or will have to be used for a different purpose. However, those which remain will continue to play a vital role in serving the surrounding community.

Since Bophuthatswana's independence in 1977, the industrial development points have expanded due to the industrial incentives and concessions. With no support from the new government, in terms of industrial incentives and concessions there will be little

productive base for the survival of industries in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha. In addition, if re-integration was to rob Thaba Nchu-Selosesha of its functions, then most of the industries will probably relocate elsewhere or decline. As a result a large number of unskilled labour will be laid off.

Thaba Nchu-Selosesha will most probably be integrated into a wider economic region of the Bloemfontein-Botshabelo-Thaba Nchu (BBT region). However, Thaba Nchu-Selosesha with a population of 62 000 compared to Botshabelo with a population of 220 000, and Bloemfontein with 350 000 inhabitants could not be left to constitute a "stand alone town" within the region. As a result of the changing political and economic climate in the new South Africa, it is expected that there will be a decline in the volume of commuters and migrant labourers. Those involved may choose to reside closer to or in the areas where their work is located. In the event of this happening, it is expected that the Interstate Transport Service which is a characteristic feature of apartheid long distance travel will decline and eventually change into a domestic transport service.

If the experience of change in political processes are repeated, landscape and symbolic changes like the renaming of places, including streets, will occur in the future. From the independent experiences of the changing geographical landscape in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha, it is apparent that the lessons will be applicable to the South African post-apartheid situation as regards the changing landscape due to new political processes.

6.4 EXPERIENCES AND SUGGESTIONS

There are few experiences which this study has gained which should be shared. Firstly, because of the turmoil associated with the homelands' independence, a study of the political process as a geographical theme in a black area by an expatriate is a delicate issue and is viewed as a cover-up for something else. However, it became less difficult because the writer does live

in the community in which the study was undertaken. This experience may deter other Political Geographers from undertaking research work in black areas, but it also offers useful experiences which require attention.

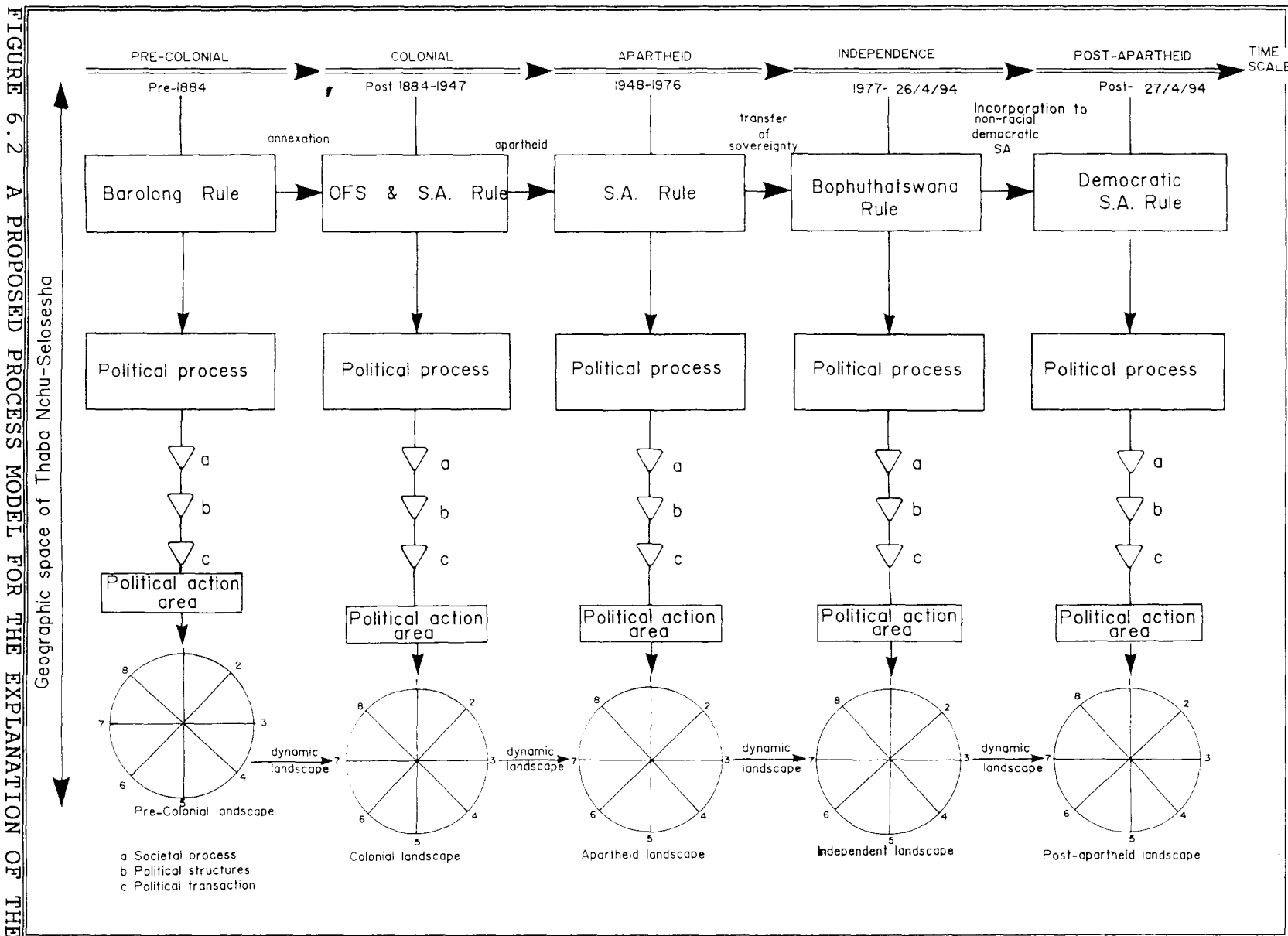
Secondly, it highlights a lack of knowledge, not only among the illiterates, but also among students, academics, and administrators about Political Geography as a discipline and its role in the community. Therefore, there is a possibility that a few black students may pursue Political Geography as an area of study. In that sense, in the light of this study's experience, the vital politico-geographical facts hidden in these areas would not have been uncovered. This calls for a new orientation regarding the organization and course content of the Geography syllabus in schools to incorporate all branches of Geography.

The experiences of this study confirms the reasons given for white South African Geographers not devoting much attention to the study of Political Geography in black areas in South Africa. At the same time, a lack of black South African Political Geographers is obvious.

This study is of the opinion that research work in these areas should be published in the community to educate the community about the significance of such studies. This may not only challenge the authenticity of the findings but will also provide significant information to the community which will make their interaction with the environment more realistic.

Lastly, a process model (Figure 6.2) has been proposed which may be used to explain the changing geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha (past, present, and future perspectives). During each of the five political phases, certain spatial strategies are designed to activate influencing political processes.

FIGURE 6.2 A PROPOSED PROCESS MODEL FOR THE EXPLANATION OF THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF THABA NCHU-SELOSESHA: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVE



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ABSTRACT

TITLE OF THESIS:

The impact of Bophuthatswana's independence on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha.

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This study focuses on the impact of Bophuthatswana's independence as a political process on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Seloshesha from a political geographical perspective in the period from 1976 to 1992.

In spite of a lack of international acceptance of Bophuthatswana's independence, independence as a political process is a fact that cannot be disputed. From the time of the country's inception, a number of strategies and policies were instituted to meet the aspirations of the people. These strategies and policies include the following:

- * the process of nation-building and fostering unity among the fragmented blocks of land which constituted Bophuthatswana;
- * to promote industrial development at a given centre supported by industrial incentives to attract local and foreign investors which aim to develop the economic potential of those centres;
- * to establish district administrative centres;
- * to stimulate housing development;
- * to promote educational development;
- * to improve health development; and
- * to promote the development of recreational, culture and tourism facilities.

This research attempts to unveil the spatial manifestation of the

implementation of the strategies and policies on the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from 1976 to 1992. The overall objectives of the research include the following:

- * to review the literature on the impact of political process on land-use patterns, and to identify process models which have been used for political geographical analysis;
- * to examine the pre-independent political processes and to give a description of the pre-independent geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as in 1976;
- * to analyse independence as a political and socio-economic process associated with the transformation of the pre-independence geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from 1977 to 1992;
- * to serve as a stock-taking of the landscape patterns created by independence as Bophuthatswana enters a new political dispensation resulting from the country's re-incorporation into a democratic South Africa;
- * to provide scenarios of possible changes in the geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha in a changing South Africa; and
- * to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the impact of independence as a political process on landscape patterns.

In trying to achieve the above objectives, the research placed the study area in the context of the pre-independent geographical landscape and its salient morphological features were identified as a basis for assessing the impact of independence as a political process.

The aerial photographs of the study area for 1976 and 1992 were extrapolated on a scale of 1:50 000 and the former was superimposed on the latter to identify expansion and new land-use patterns which have emerged in the study area. In addition, horizontal photographs were taken of the visible evidence of changes which cannot be discerned on the 1992 map. The landscape components studied included the following: political, administrative,

settlement, housing, commercial, industrial, educational, cultural, recreational and tourism, and health.

The ultimate findings about the spatial manifestation of the impact of independence as a political process after fifteen years indicated that the physical structures, forms and functioning of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha had undergone a tremendous transformation. If an assessment is made of the changes in the landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha from 1976 to 1992 it appears that all ten landscape components being analysed had been transformed as a result of Bophuthatswana's political independence as a changing political process. The political landscape was transformed from a South African homeland, together with the adjacent white town (Thaba Nchu) landscape into a unique landscape, typical of Bophuthatswana nationalism. The administrative infrastructure was transformed into a district administrative centre for the Thaba Nchu district as a whole. The amalgamation of the Selosesha Town Council with the Thaba Nchu Municipal Council merged the two boundaries and a new urban boundary was drawn.

The settlement landscape had been moulded during the pre-independent era into two distinct settlement patterns, viz. formal urban (Selosesha and Thaba Nchu) and informal settlements (African rural villages and the Bultfonteins), including the squatter settlement of Kromdraai. Since independence the most major transformation of the settlement landscape was: the evacuation of Kromdraai squatter settlement in 1979; the political, administrative, and spatial amalgamation of the Thaba Nchu and Selosesha towns; the expansion of Selosesha towards Unit 1, the emergence of an elite suburb north of Thaba Nchu town; and the continuation of an informal housing sprawl in the informal settlements where some ad hoc upgrading of individual housing units materialised.

The industrial landscape only emerged after independence when Thaba Nchu-Selosesha was proclaimed as an Industrial Development Point within Bophuthatswana's space economy. Industrial development was not only the largest financial injection which Thaba

Nchu received from the national government since independence but is also caused the greatest scale of landscape transformation in the study area. The commercial landscape did not only expand towards Selosesha and the surrounding informal settlements, but the original CBD of Thaba Nchu town is virtually unrecognisable as new buildings were erected to replace the old ones. Infra-structural development, in a spatially integrated planning approach to unite the Thaba Nchu Shopping Centre at Selosesha with Thaba Nchu's CBD, was undertaken.

The educational landscape was expanded as a result of the construction of a number of new educational facilities (of which the Thaba Nchu College of Education and the Manpower Training Centre are the most prominent), as well as the upgrading and relocation of educational facilities. The health landscape was transformed by the establishment of a larger and more sophisticated variety of health facilities. The cultural landscape came to be dominated by the Mmabana Cultural Centre in the CBD, while the tourist landscape emerged with the building of the Naledi Sun.

It is thus clear that a large variety of types and scales of landscape transformations occurred in Thaba Nchu-Selosesha as a result of the political independence of Bophuthatswana in 1977 of which the settlement, industrial, commercial, and educational landscape transformations are the most prominent. At the same time, new landscapes, e.g. political, administrative, industrial, commercial, educational, cultural, and tourism emerged. There are instances where the pre-independent physical patterns remained e.g. formal and informal settlements and formal and informal housing.

In conclusion, a process model has been proposed by which the changing geographical landscape of Thaba Nchu-Selosesha can be explained.

