

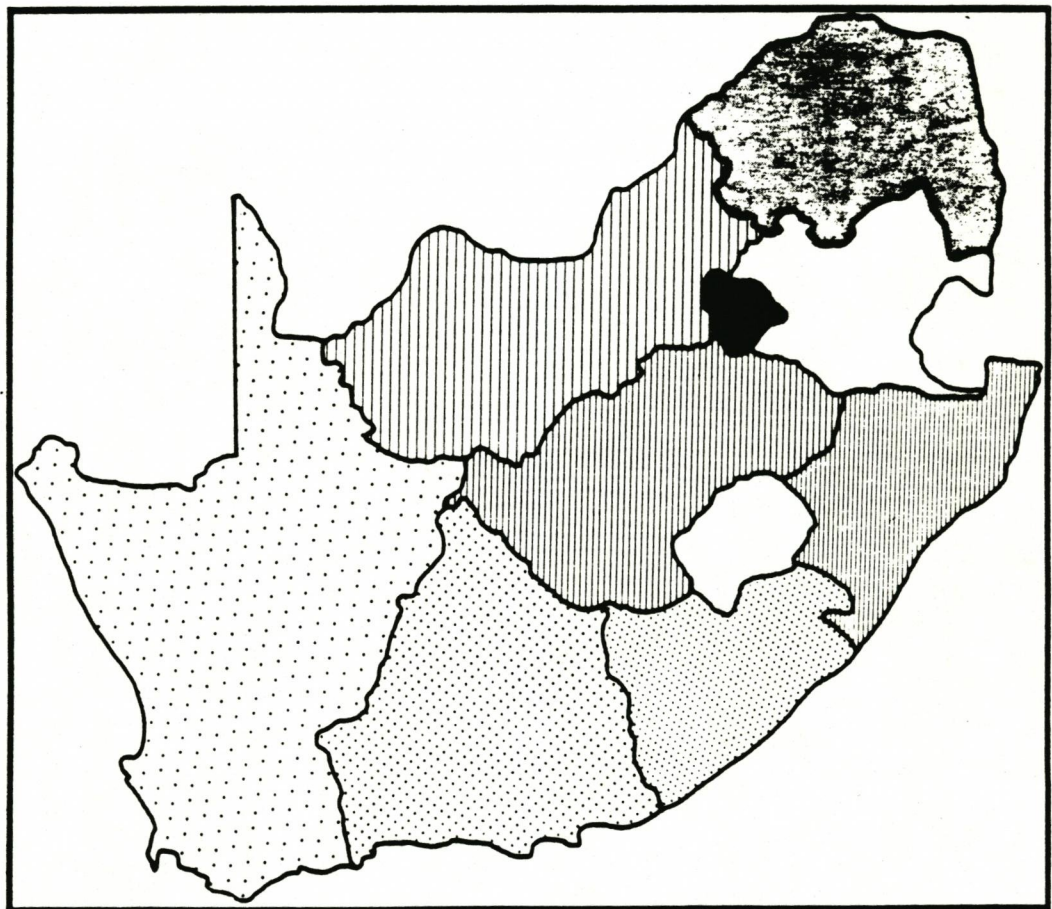
# A Model for

SUBMISSION TO THE  
COMMISSION ON REGIONS

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# the Delimitation of AUTONOMOUS REGIONS

## in South Africa



P A Pienaar

**A MODEL FOR THE DELIMITATION  
OF AUTONOMOUS REGIONS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA**

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## A BACKGROUND

February 1990 heralded a new era in South Africa's political history. The prospect of greater democracy which thus became a reality, has also given more relevance to those constitutional models that strive to balance the centrifugal and centripetal forces inherent in a highly diverse society such as that in South Africa. A new momentum in the topical debate on a suitable constitutional form that can adequately accommodate the diversity and distinctiveness of South African society and its geographic environment has placed regionalism in the spotlight more than ever before.

### Regionalism and South African society

Definitions and descriptions of the concept "regionalism" refer to a process or movement aimed at protecting or allowing an indigenous culture to prosper in its own region. This may take the form of formal action on the part of the state when administrative or political regions are created, or informal action when a minority group manifests a degree of self-determination, arising from an emotional sense of territoriality, or identifies strongly with a specific region.

The term regionalisation refers to an action in which regions that manifest a distinctiveness and differ strongly from other regions, are delimited. Different regions can be classified in different ways, depending on the specific criteria used. Hence each classification criterion may indicate another region, but greater homogeneity within a specific region is a distinctive characteristic.

South African society is characterised by great diversity comprising a wide variety of languages, cultures and interest groups, while this diversity often coincides with noticeable spatial variation. A case in point is the clear regional concentrations of language diversity (fig 1). Language diversity correlates largely with cultural diversity - hence a regionally perceptible language pattern may also serve as an indicator of other possible underlying but divergent culturally-based interest groups. The conflict between political interest groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha



# RSA: LANGUAGE CONCENTRATIONS, 1980

## AREAS WITH SINGLE LANGUAGE MAJORITY

AFRIKAANS

ENGLISH

XHOSA

ZULU

SOUTHERN SOTHO

TSWANA

NORTHERN SOTHO

SISWATI

TSONGA

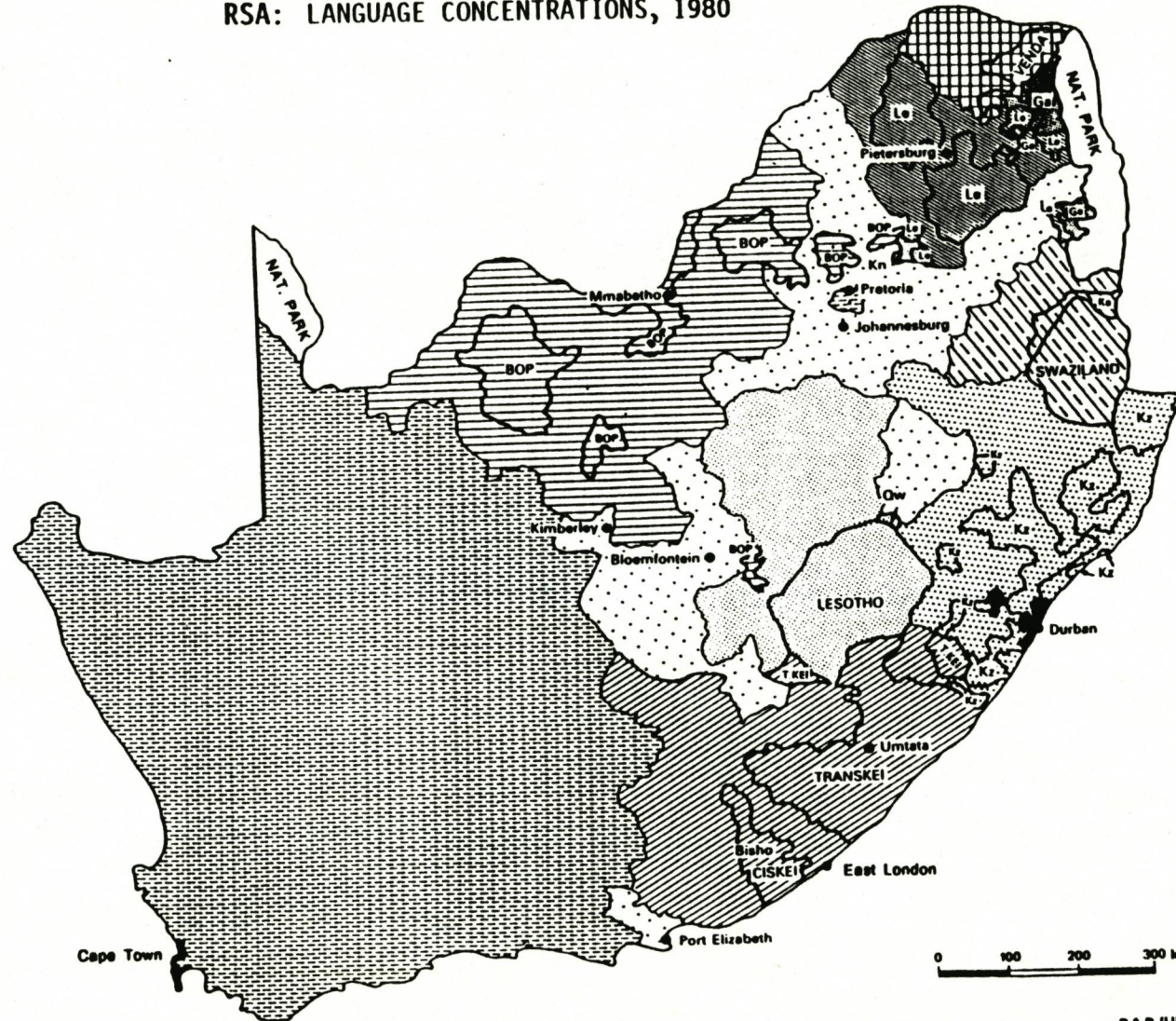
VENDA

NDEBELE

## AREAS WITH NO SINGLE LANGUAGE MAJORITY



Bop: Bophuthatswana  
 Le: Lebowa  
 Ga: Gazankulu  
 Ka: KwaZulu  
 Kz: KwaZulu  
 Ow: OwaOwa  
 Kn: Kwandebele



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Figure 1



Freedom Party (IFP), or the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) and the National Party (NP) is symptomatic of serious political polarisation and a power struggle in the RSA in which rivalry frequently goes hand in hand with political intolerance and violence.

At present serious centrifugal forces stemming from the diverse population composition threaten the unity of the state while the present unitary political dispensation seemingly lacks the ability to offer proper politico-spatial accommodation to these forces. There is a lack of strong centripetal forces able to balance the centrifugal effect of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and ideological diversity to the extent that the present dispensation faces possible disintegration. In their efforts to solve this problem the authorities will have to reflect seriously on seeking a solution in a regional context. This entails significant devolution of power to autonomous regions which can be strengthened by constitutional guarantees according to federal principles. If the divergent interest and population groups can find politico-spatial accommodation in their own regions through a process of regionalisation, there is a chance that a dispensation that ensures unity, in spite of diversity, could be found. Thus if the divergent regions could obtain self-government this would also serve the interests of democracy in that the government would be brought closer to the people whose unique interests could be served by a bottom-up approach in their respective regions. This would foster greater political participation as well as accountability and would prevent all political power being concentrated in one party or ruling interest group.

#### Criteria for delimitation

Different criteria can delimit divergent regions in the same territory - hence the choice of suitable criteria will vary from one case to the next. Where existing historical constitutional entities are joined together in a federal dispensation, for example, Germany (Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg, etc) or Switzerland, with its existing cantons (Ticino, Valais, etc) political regions already exist. However, the situation becomes problematic when regional states or provinces have to be carved out of a unitary system.

For the sake of equilibrium the ideal situation would be to divide regions symmetrically so that each province could have a more or less equal number of people, territory and cultural diversity. Not only does the geographic nature and population distribution pattern make this impossible for South Africa, but it is also undesirable since the regional diversity cannot be addressed, and the present state's potential for conflict will probably only be duplicated according to the number of provinces. If the distinctiveness and uniqueness of each region is not affirmed by means of greater cultural homogeneity, regionalism in the true sense of the word is out of the question. In a meaningful effort to delimit, a wide range of criteria should be studied in conjunction. These include the following:

1. Language is the main medium of communication between the people of a particular cultural group. Hence it is pre-eminently a cultural symbol but also a medium of communication between government and subordinate. For the successful application of a future language policy in a multilingual state such as the RSA, the **spatial language pattern** will have to be considered as one of the most important variables in the choice of suitable criteria for demarcation. However, the negative perception of a purely ethnic division could make a demarcation that coincides too closely with the existing homeland boundaries unacceptable. This important criterion will therefore have to be considered with a great deal of circumspection; in areas where no language has an absolute majority (figure 1) the boundaries will have to be delimited carefully, and it may even be necessary to closely study the language distribution pattern in census enumeration areas within magisterial districts.
2. **Functional areas** should be a second important consideration. A case in point is the Pretoria- Witwatersrand-Vereniging complex (PWV) which is not a formal region, but is recognisable by its peculiar interlinked metropolitan character. The individual urban and industrial complexes are mutually linked in one integrated spatial urban framework characterised by a high density of traffic networks and residential and production systems. The growth of the four smaller metropolises that have developed around the coastal cities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban (fig 2) is the result of their productive hinterlands (tributary



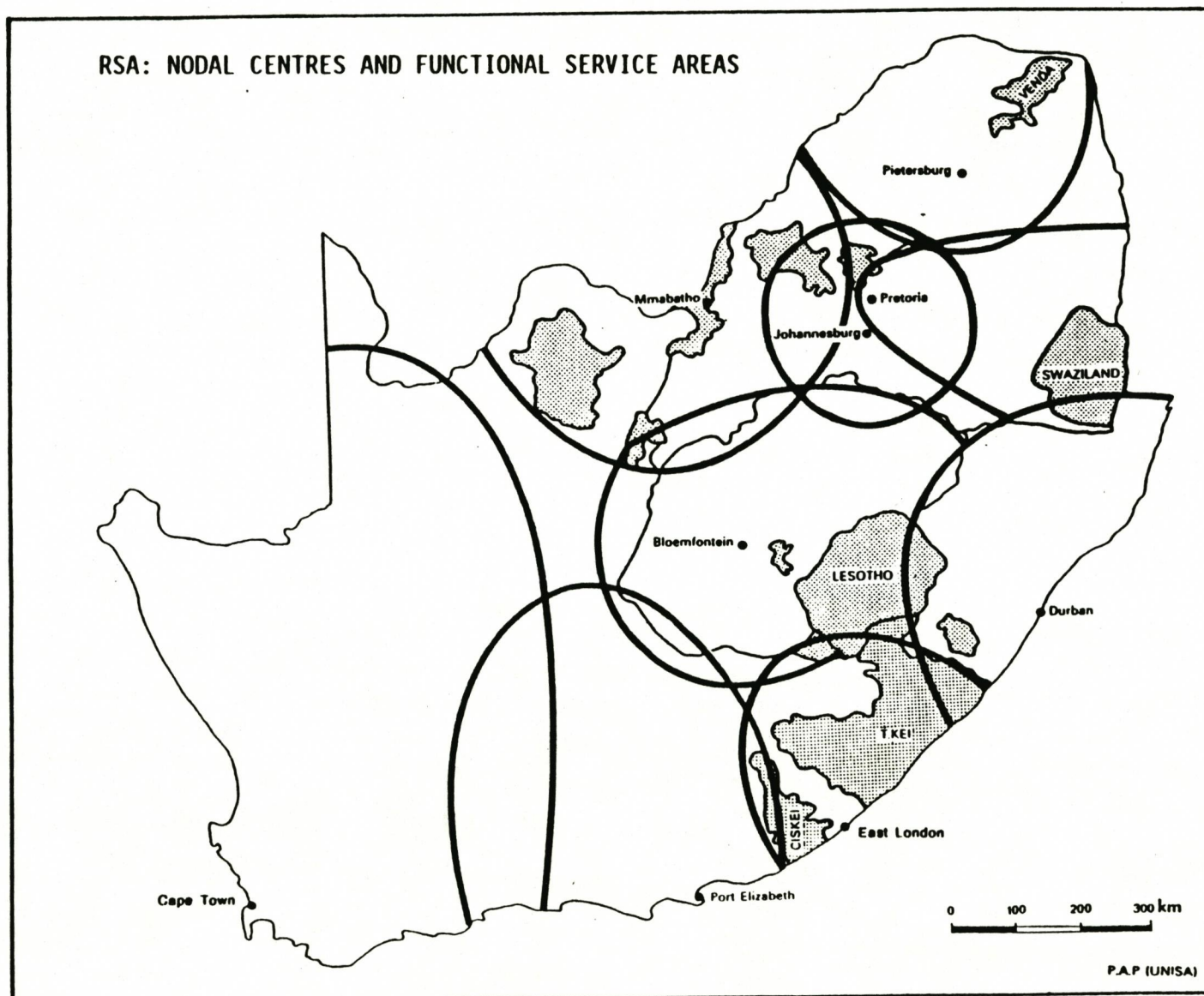


Figure 2



or functional service areas) within which the cities form integrated nodes in a functional communication network. In this way a spatial interdependence has developed between the Boland and Cape Town, the Cape Midlands and Port Elizabeth, the Border region and East London and the Natal interior and Durban. Hence these cities represent natural functional capitals in their surrounding areas.

3. Thirdly, **traditional or historical boundaries** are important because over many decades they have acquired a fair amount of acceptability and hence credibility. The present provincial boundaries have been in existence since the previous century and geographical phenomena such as the Orange and Vaal Rivers, as well as the Drakensberg escarpment should therefore enjoy wide acceptance, notwithstanding the administrative areas that have been defined by them for decades.

In a process of regional demarcation, the approach should not be to focus on the number of regions as such, but on the viability of and balance between regions. Hence there are four remaining interrelated criteria: demography, resources, development and administration.

4. **Demographic characteristics** refer not only to the total population of the region but also include factors such as population growth, distribution and density, literacy and health considerations. It is desirable to strike a balance between demographic interests and the composition of regions as far as possible, without jeopardising regional distinctiveness.
5. **A meaningful resource base** in each region is necessary to eliminate as far as possible conspicuous imbalances. In this context reference is made not only to physical geographical factors such as territory, land and water provision, but also to developed human and economic resources such as communication and traffic infrastructure, level of urbanisation, as well as differentiated urban functions and services. The effect of underdevelopment in vast rural areas with low population densities should be balanced by the inclusion of developed urban core areas.

6. The **development potential** of each region relates directly to its resource base. Indicators of development can be found among others in each region's contribution to the gross geographical product (GGP) of the state, the per capita income of each region in comparison with the national average, as well as the rural-urban distribution of the population. As a rule, greater urbanisation is indicative of greater development potential. Finally, the boundaries of regions should not unnecessarily split up integrated development axes, industrial complexes and growth points or other productive assets of significant spatial extent.
7. Regional government requires the creation of new administrative structures. For this purpose each region needs an administrative capital with a suitable administrative infrastructure able to accommodate legislative and executive functions. Each magisterial district further requires a particular manpower component with related administrative expenditure. The number of districts in each region, together with the number of local authorities in each district, as well as the regional service councils can provide a reasonable indication of the extent of the **administrative load** and expenses that a region should be able to afford or finance. The implication of this reality is that each region's developed resource base and potential should be able to provide an adequate financial return to support a viable tax basis. In short, each region must be able to afford its own administration.

The above-mentioned four criteria support the principle that *de jure* regions should also be able to maintain a *de facto* autonomy by means of viable economic, financial and fiscal qualities. The number of regions should therefore be the result of a fine balance in which cultural, linguistic, functional, historical, economic and development criteria, together play a collective role, against the background of viability.

#### The validity of development regions

At the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), the National Party (NP) was one of the parties that advocated a strong regional government in the



new South Africa. At that stage an appropriate blueprint for political regions was not available to give spatial substance to the plea, and this is probably why the nine regions for development planning were submitted as a model (the boundaries of regions A to J have been superimposed over the language areas in fig 3). The Department of Constitutional Development first defined eight regions (1981) and subsequently nine (1985) for economic development at regional level. Although the regional model does have certain merit, its validity as a political framework is open to question.

It is clear from, *inter alia*, the orientation of the boundaries in relation to the language regions, that demarcation was not aimed at regional political regions. In a new regional dispensation, the reintegration of the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) is presupposed - hence one cannot expect Boputhatswana to be divided into four regions (B, C, H and J), or Transkei cannot continue to exist as two regions (D and E). In region D, two functional areas, namely, the coastal nodes of Port Elizabeth and East London and their respective hinterlands in the Cape Midlands and the Border region, are merged in one region. However, region B, with its extremely low population density has no obvious urban cores of nodal significance for virtually the entire area is situated in the highly marginal peripheral area of the South African spatial economic system. Although the area comprises one quarter of the national surface area, it contributes less than 2 percent to the RSA's GGP. At the other extreme of the imbalance nearly 40 percent of the present total GGP is generated on only three percent of the national territory in region H (PWV).

Although the ANC appeared to be opposed to autonomous regions with strong powers, in February 1992 the organisation itself proposed a regional plan that does not deviate much from the boundaries of the development regions. In their proposal, a tenth region, "Border/Kei" is delimited (dotted line in fig 3), in which a consolidated Xhosa area is created between the Fish and Umzimkulu Rivers. Incidentally, although this satisfies the historical demands for a "Greater Xhosaland", its actual merit (it is unlikely that this was the



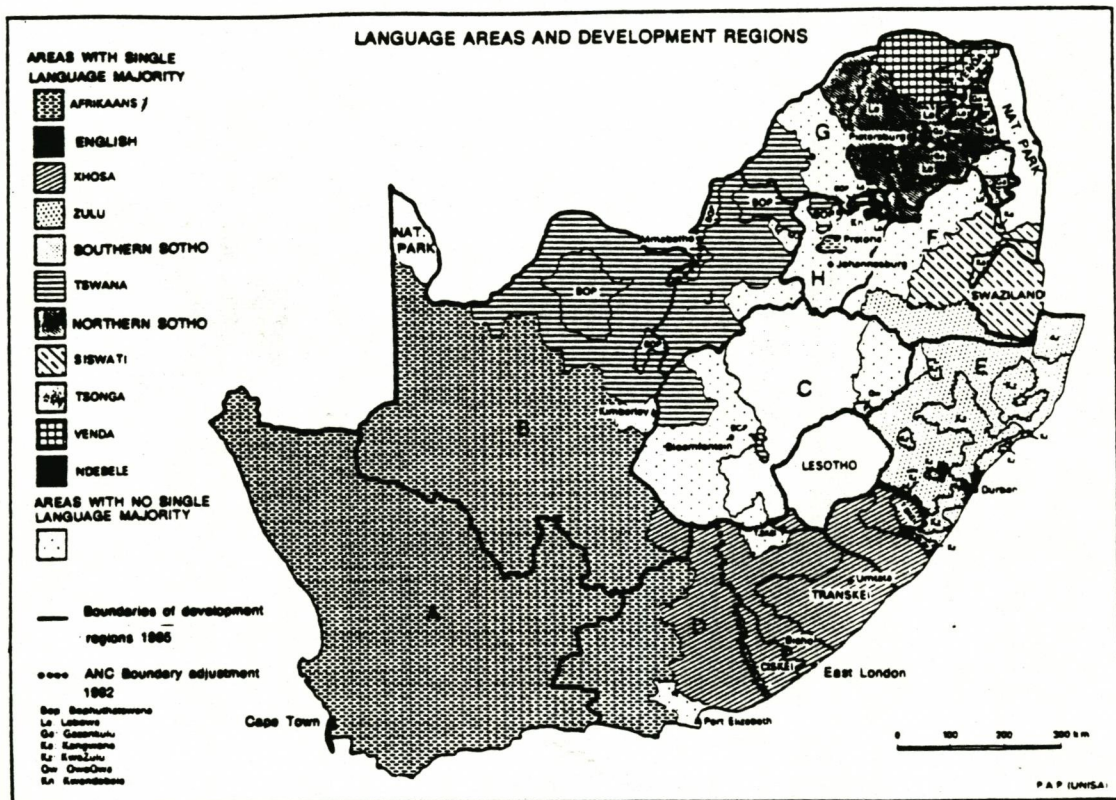


Figure 3

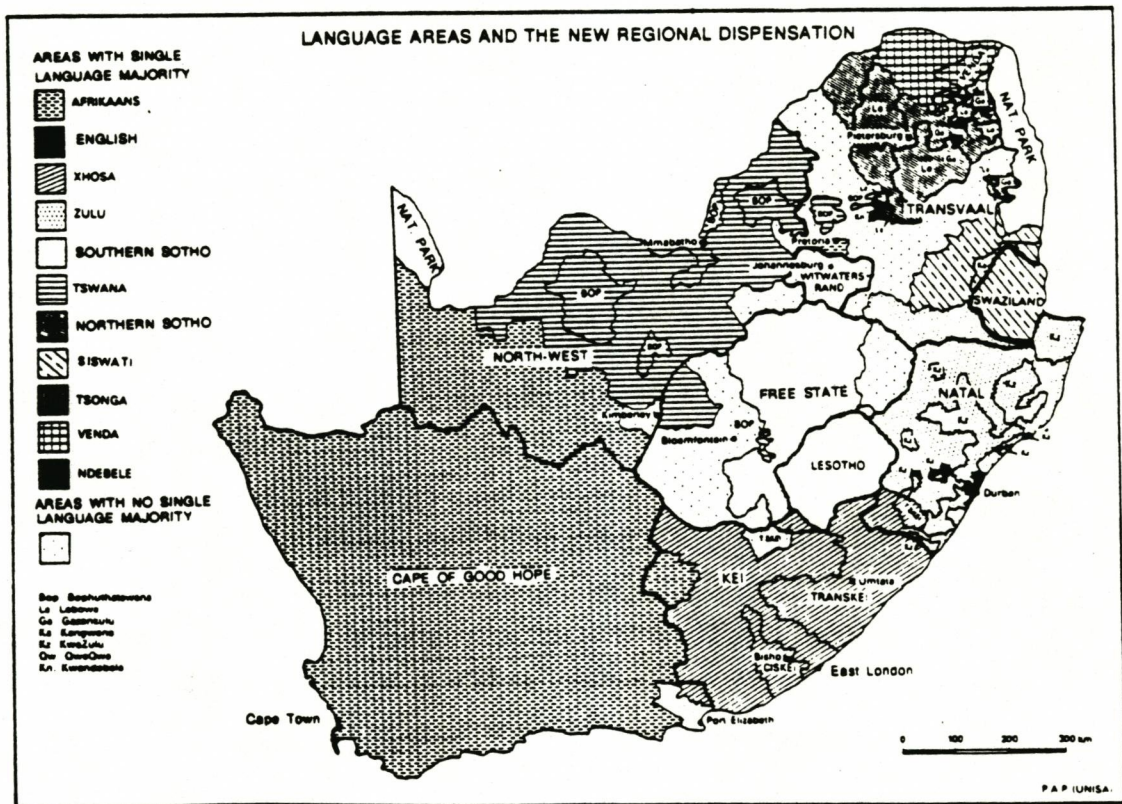


Figure 4



intention) lies in the fact that the two separate functional hinterlands around Port Elizabeth and East London are restored in their distinctiveness.

### **A new regional dispensation**

Early in September 1992 President, FW de Klerk convened a conference for parties supporting the federal principle. At the conference a document entitled **A New Regional Dispensation** was issued in which seven regions known as "provinces" were proposed (the boundaries are superimposed over the language boundaries in fig 4).

It would appear from an examination of the spatial characteristics of the proposal that only the Free State (region C) remains unaltered. Regions F and G, as well as the northern half of H, are merged in a new vast region (Transvaal) in which seven dominant language areas prevail. Although the language principle in the new Transvaal does not appear to be a consideration, it must have played a role in the creation of a Greater Tswana land ("North West") stretching as far as the Orange River, with three times the size of the original region J. Language appears to be an important consideration in the demarcation of the boundary between the predominantly Afrikaans Cape of Good Hope, and a new "Super Xhosaland" (even larger than the original Transkei claim), known as "Kei". Yet the rationale of the deviation from the language norm in the districts of Middelburg (Cape) and Kirkwood (north of Port Elizabeth) is not clear. What is clear, however, is the fact that the eastern half of Port Elizabeth's traditional functional hinterland disappears in the process while the important port city's status will probably be reduced to that of a frontier post of the Cape of Good Hope.

Although the north-eastern boundary of the new region, Kei, ultimately moves further north, the Umzimkulu district of the Transkei, as well as Griqualand East (with a Xhosa majority of 60 percent) is still allocated to Natal despite friction in the region at present. The shrinking of the extremely dominant region H in the new shape of "Witwatersrand" is a step in the right direction. The reduction in the number of regions is obviously an effort to create larger provinces for the sake of greater economic viability. Although this is a healthy approach it should not be at the expense of true regionalisation,



which is aimed at greater homogeneity and distinctiveness within regions. As a contribution to the debate on regionalism the **New Regional Dispensation** does succeed, but as a serious blueprint for future political regions it poses too many questions.

## **B APPLICATION**

### **Conditions and considerations**

The delimitation of the nine proposed autonomous regions that follows is the result of a cohesive application of all the criteria mentioned in the preceding discussion. The following conditions, reservations and considerations however apply in drawing up the proposal:

1. The model focuses on the spatial possibilities, aspects, implications and delimitation of future regional government. Constitutional considerations fall outside the ambit of this presentation.
2. The proposed model is tentative because further detailed studies within regions may necessitate the adjustment of boundaries.
3. The names proposed for the regions are also tentative and relate to neutral geographic phenomena or historical associations to avoid possible controversial ethnic connotations.
4. The principles and objectives of regionalism are pursued - hence the point of departure is to establish the maximum number of regions that can be demarcated meaningfully, viably and are affordable. The aim is that these political regions or provinces should have the greatest possible legislative and executive powers to make meaningful autonomy possible.
5. A presupposition is that the TBVC states **should** form integral parts of the regions in which they fall, and that the self-governing states should also be fully integrated. However, each region should have the freedom to decide for itself how former self-governing and independent areas are to be structured in their new distinctive constitutional dispensations because each region manifests unique circumstances and interests in this regard.

6. Furthermore, each province or region should have the freedom to decide for itself on its own language preferences and official languages.
7. Structures should be created for mutual cooperation between regions and between regions and a central (federal) government. The latter government should preferably control only those functions that cannot be handled on a regional basis.
- 8.1 Magisterial districts are the units used in all the analyses relevant to this proposal, for all data are available on a district basis. Hence language and functional, demographic and economic demarcations correspond to district boundaries.
- 8.2 The data bases used in this study and analyses, are unofficial figures, since the latest available official figures were only obtainable in the form of the 1985 census (Oct./Nov. 1992). The population figures of the 1991 census used in this study, were adapted and made available by demographers of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. To date (Nov. 1992) the Central Statistical Service had only (unreliable) provisional figures available, prior to adjustments for undercounting in this population census (CSS Report no 03-01-00, 1991).
- 8.3 The gross geographical product figures represent adjustments for 1990 of constant 1985 prices obtained from the application of econometric models by staff of the Economics Department at the University of South Africa.
- 8.4 Unfortunately, the latest available census figures (at the time of this analysis) on language data are somewhat obsolete since no new data have been published since the 1980 census.
- 8.5 The statistical analyses on which the proposed model is based are thus regarded as tentative until such time that official new figures become available.



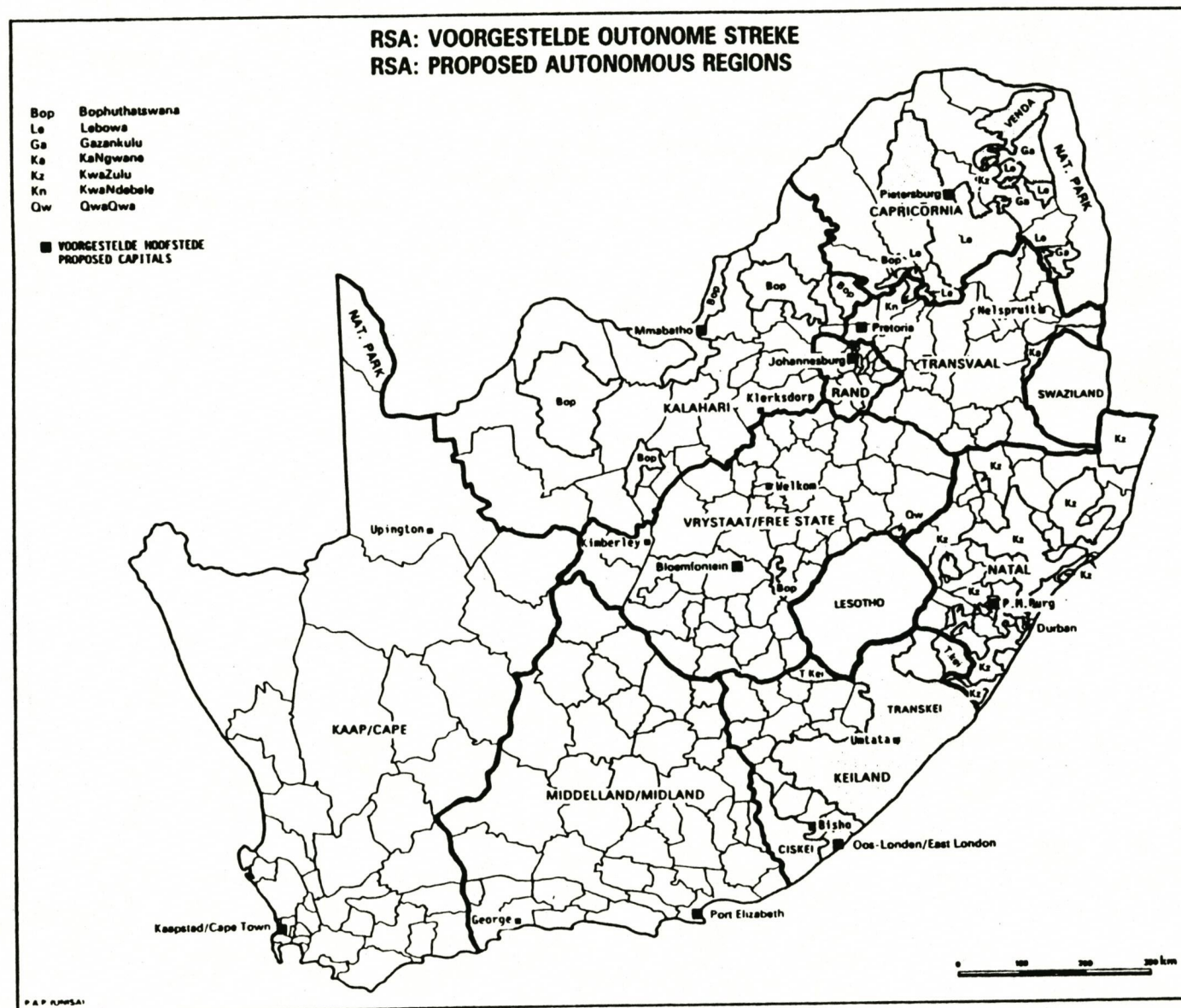


Figure 5

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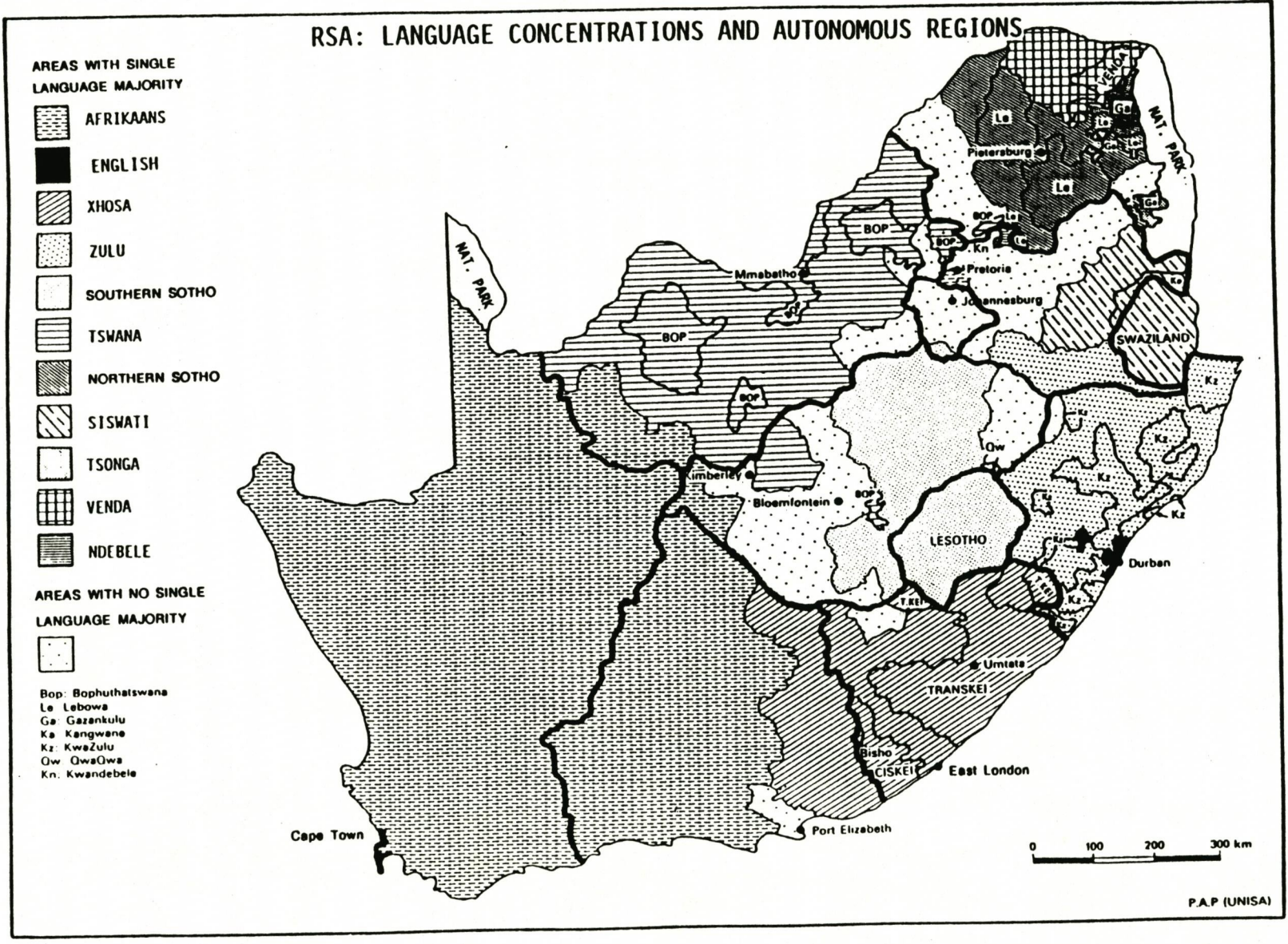


Figure 6



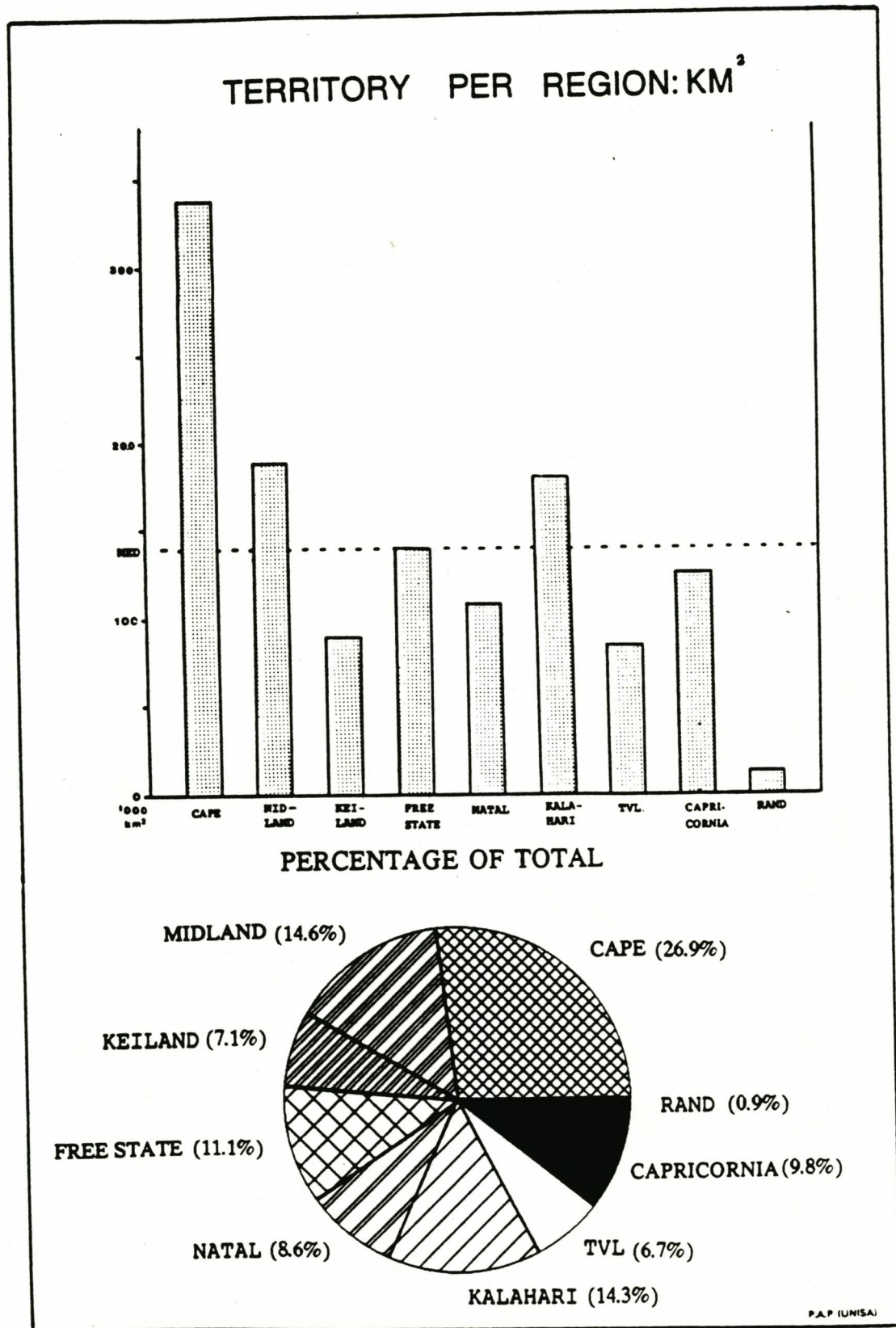


Figure 7

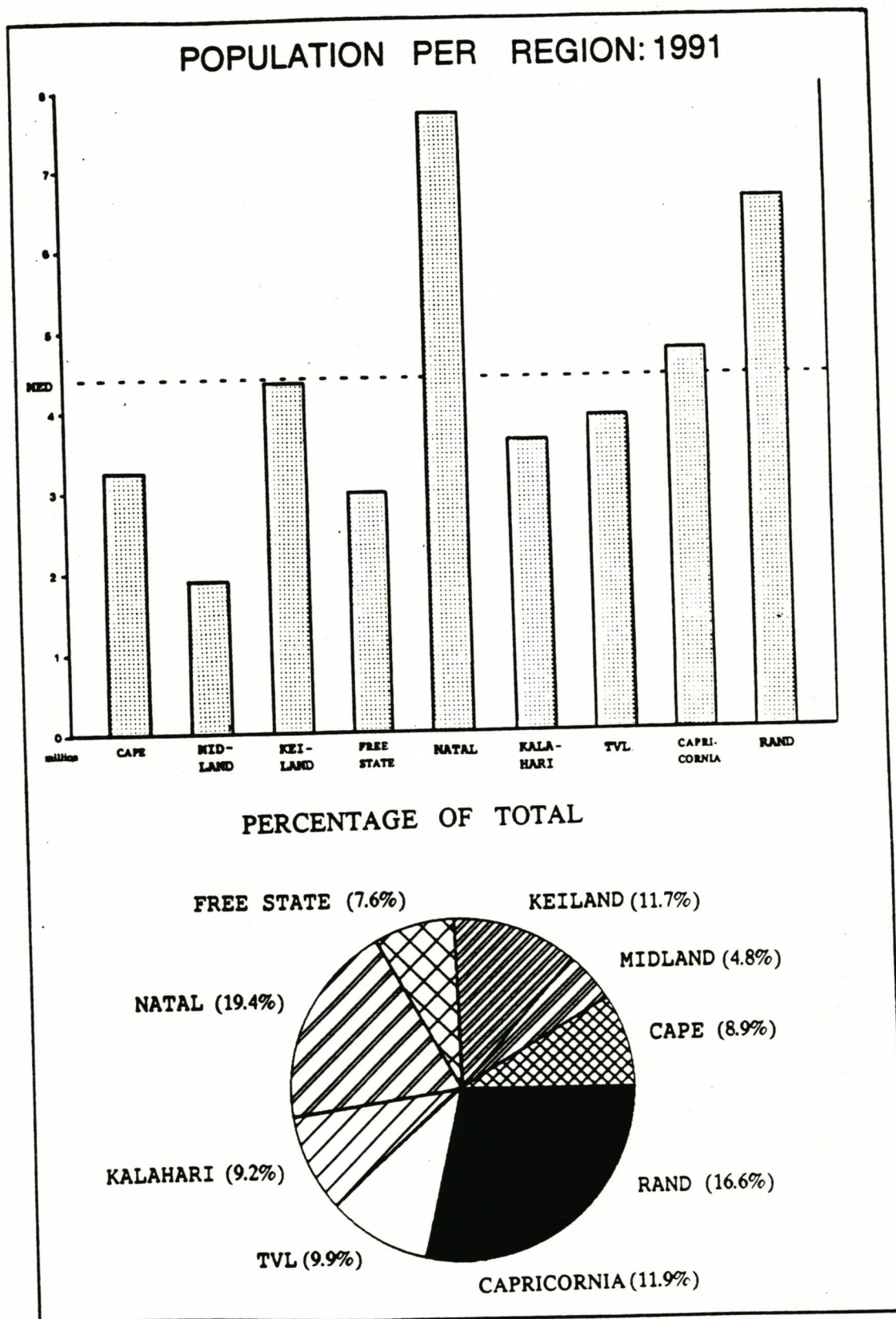


Figure 8



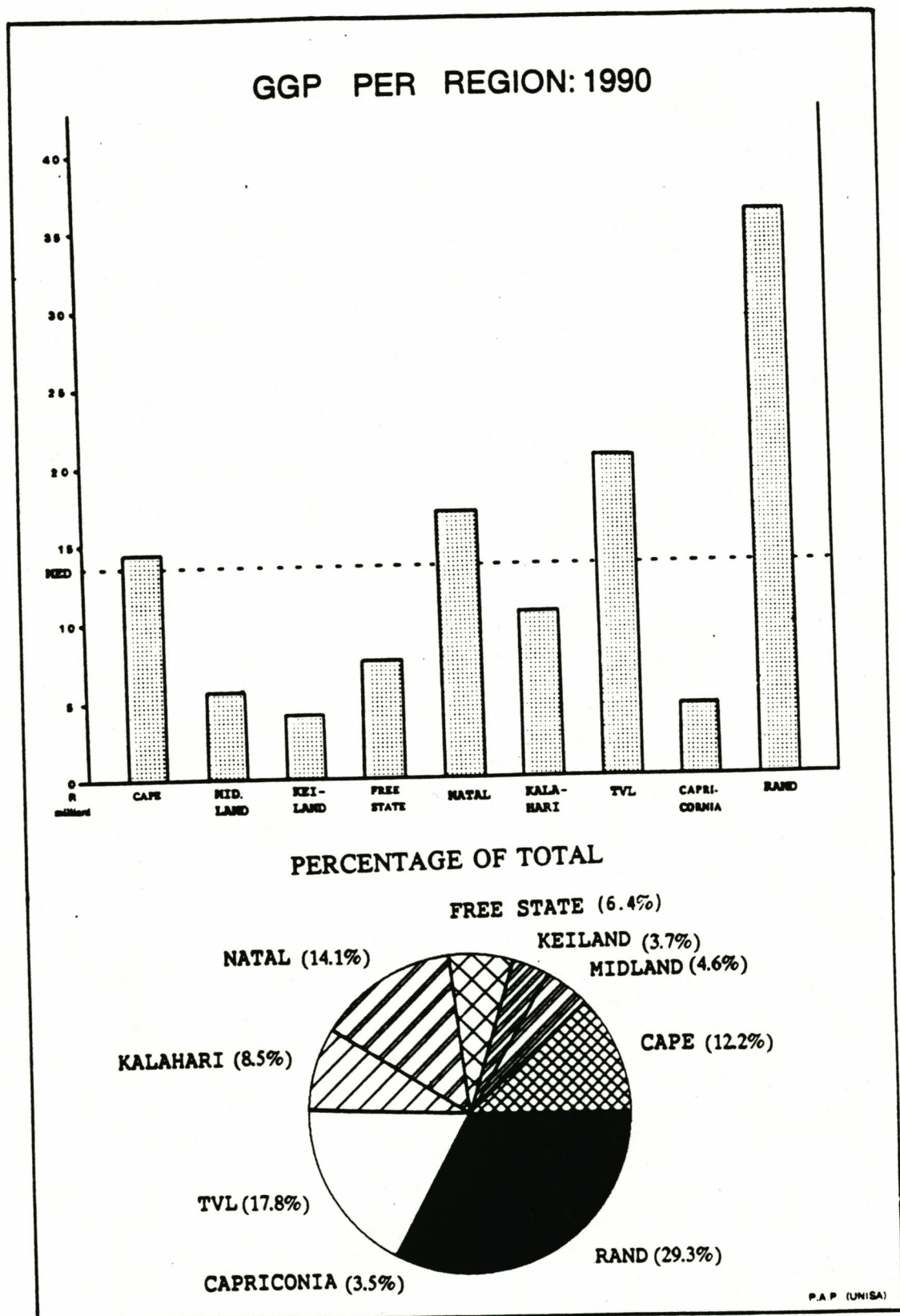


Figure 9

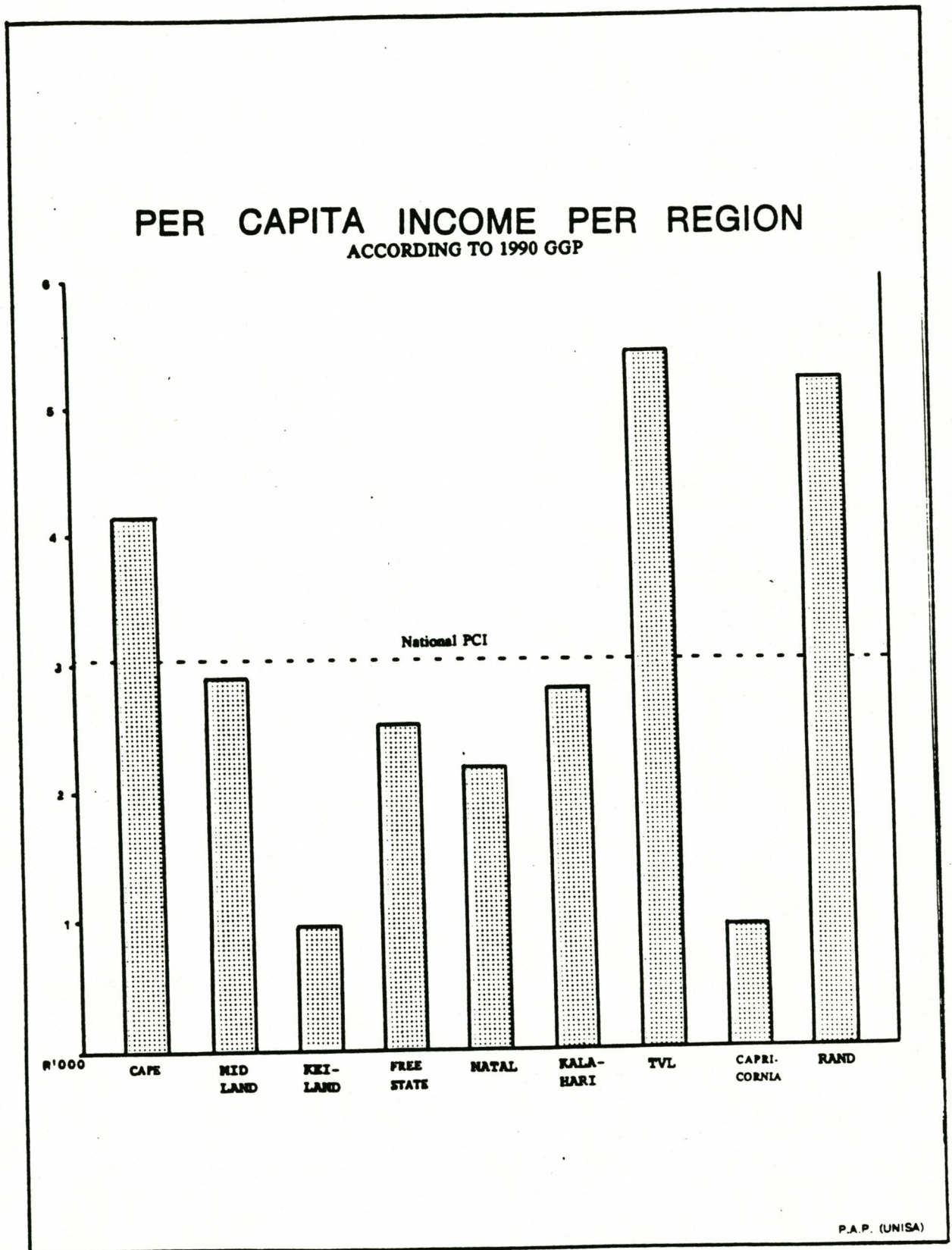
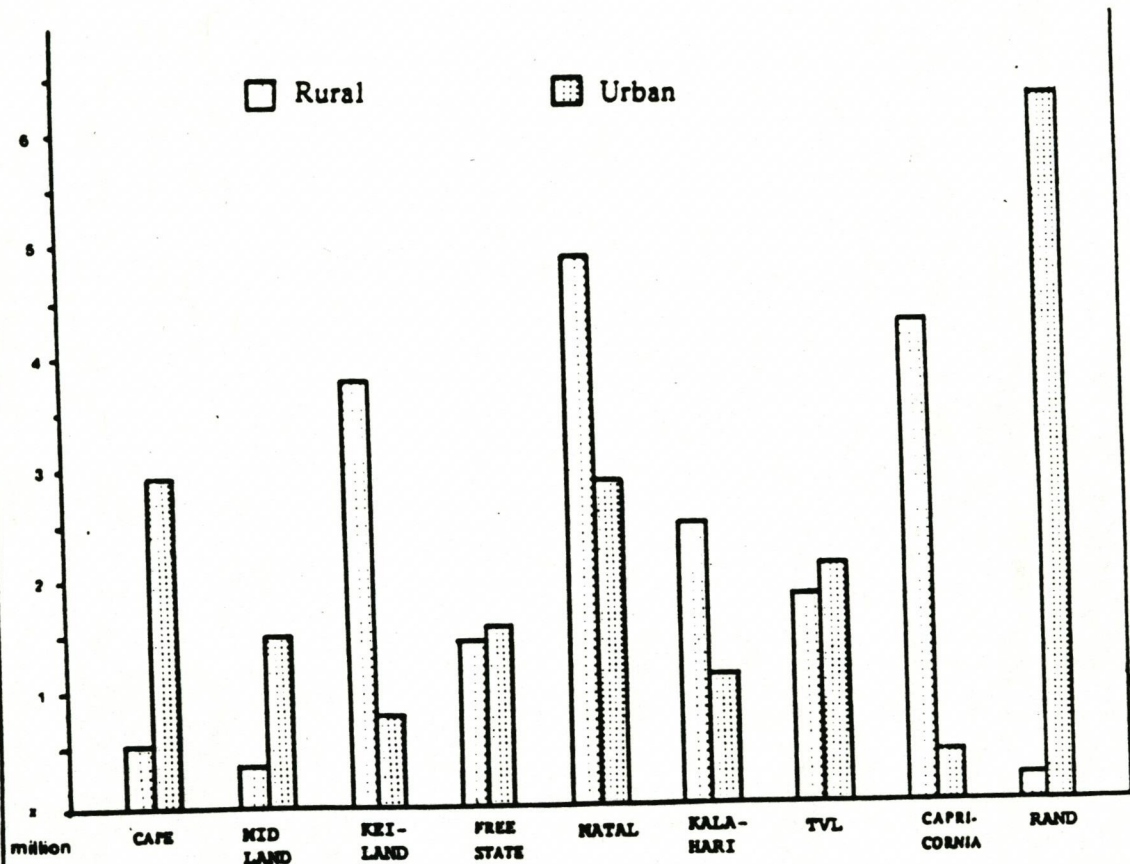


Figure 10



# RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION 1991



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Figure 11

## A MODEL FOR AUTONOMOUS REGIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following nine regions are represented cartographically in figure 5:

Cape, Midland, Keiland, Free State, Natal, Kalahari, Transvaal, Capricornia and Rand. The nine regions will now be discussed individually:

### 1. CAPE/KAAP

Name. "Cape" is the abridged (easier to use) version of "The Cape of Good Hope".

TABLE 1: STATISTICAL PROFILE: CAPE

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
338 516	26,86	10	41	7
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 518 473	8,90	581 226	2 937 246	16:84
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
14 639	12,21	R4 160	Above nat. average	+ R1 127
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	XHOSA	OTHER	-
69,6%	19,9%	9,6%	0,9%	-

**Location and size.** The region stretches from the Cape Peninsula in the south-west over a distance of 300 km eastwards to Riversdale (fig 5), and then through the Little and Great Karoo to where the districts of Hay and



Gordonia are included north of the Orange River. The Cape is by far the largest province (fig 7) but the low population density of 10 per square km is misleading because virtually 79 percent of the population resides within a radius of 100 km of Cape Town in an area with a high density of 184 persons per km.

The province manifests a vast expanse from the core area in the south around metropolitan Cape Town (2 036 808 inhabitants) to the sparsely populated peripheral area in the north where the furthest districts are situated about 800 km from Cape Town. Cape Town is the natural capital and convergence point of a well-developed traffic network that functionally integrates the whole area.

**Subregions.** The region can effectively be divided into two areas. First, there is the developed south with its relatively high rainfall, intensive agricultural production systems, high level of urban and industrial development, and a diversified economy. The accompanying high population density on approximately 15 percent of the territory, is responsible for more than 75 percent of the region's GGP. Secondly, there is the northern periphery with the largest portion of the territory. This area reflects an extremely low population density because some of the most arid parts of South Africa (eg, Namaqualand) are found here. Because of the remoteness of these northern districts which manifest totally different (rural) interests compared to the metropolitan south, it would be desirable to decentralise some administrative functions to Upington as a subcentre.

**Language and culture.** Afrikaans is by far the predominant language followed by English which represents about one-fifth of the inhabitants but is concentrated mainly in greater Cape Town. Because of strong migration from Keiland, the Xhosa component is increasing in size as a result of more recent settlement which is mainly focused on greater Cape Town. The Xhosa component is thus expected to be far greater than the 9,6 percent of 1980. However, the greater part of the region manifests a rural (Afrikaans) character.

**Prognosis.** With a slightly above average contribution to the GGP (fig 9) and the third highest personal income (fig 10), which is significantly higher than the national average of R3 033, the region is in a relatively favourable position. The high level of urbanisation helps to support a sound development potential. In spite of a relatively big administrative load due to the remote districts and seven regional service councils, the region should easily be able to finance its own administration and possibly even be able to generate funds to support the underdeveloped regions.

## 2. MIDLAND/MIDDELLAND

**Name:** The name refers to the traditional hinterland or functional area of Port Elizabeth, namely the Cape Midlands. It can also be referred to as the area in the middle, between the Cape and Keiland - a symbolic and actual transition area.

TABLE 2: STATISTICAL PROFILE: MIDLAND

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
184 560	14,64	10	43	7
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
1 896 348	4,80	354 791	1 541 557	19:81
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
5 842	4,60	R2 891	Slightly below ave.	- R142
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	ENGLISH	OTHER	-
46,5%	43,8%	9,4%	0,3%	-



**Location and size.** The region stretches from Mossel Bay in the west to the traditional eastern frontier, the Fish River, where the Ciskei and Border region is situated. The Orange River also forms a historical boundary in the north. Midland has the second largest territory, and because of the vast Karoo region in the central and northern parts, the region has an extremely low average population density of 10 people per square km. Although the arid Karoo comprises more than 60 percent of the territory the southern area near the coast, with the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropolitan area in particular, is dominant with a density of 231 people.

**Subregions.** Three subregions can be distinguished, namely the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropolitan area (895 318 inhabitants) and environs along the eastern coastal region with about 57 percent of the total population, the southern coastal region and Little Karoo in the south-west with George as an important subcentre (about 18 percent of the population), and the vast Karoo with the remaining 25 percent of the population, in which area primary production systems predominate. Graaff-Reinet could possibly be developed as a subcentre to serve rural interests in the Karoo.

The inclusion of districts as far west as Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Prince Albert, Beaufort West, et cetera, may be questioned. However, the functional boundary between the service areas of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth runs through the districts of George and Oudtshoorn (fig 2), and because it is undesirable to divide the functional subregion Knysna-George-Mossel Bay, it was included in its entirety. The lines of communication from the north-western districts of Victoria West, Britstown and Hopetown to Port Elizabeth, the natural capital of the area, are considerably shorter than those to Cape Town. Communication networks from the west, north-west, north and east converge on Port Elizabeth as the nodal point with the most developed service infrastructure and diversified economy in the region. In the northern districts of Venterstad, Colesberg, Philipstown and Hopetown there is competition for services from Bloemfontein, but the Orange remains the established boundary.

**Language and culture.** Two important languages, namely Afrikaans and Xhosa are dominant, while English is clearly in the minority. Afrikaans is dominant along the coastal area west of Port Elizabeth and the western districts of the Karoo (fig 6), while Xhosa is dominant east and north-east of Port Elizabeth. There may be a temptation to use the dividing line between Afrikaans and Xhosa (fig 6) as the boundary (as in the 'New Regional Dispensation'), but this line does not define a sharp boundary since it only indicates an absolute majority (more than 50 percent) per district. Rather there appears a gradual transition from an Afrikaans dominated west to a Xhosa dominated east. In the east there are significant numbers of Afrikaans-speaking people as well. English as home language is spoken only in the districts of Port Elizabeth, Albany (Grahamstown) and Knysna in significantly large concentrations.

**Prognosis.** The province has the smallest absolute population (fig 8) but an urban population larger than Keiland, Kalahari and Capricornia (fig 11), while its population figure is almost on a par with that of the Free State. The high level of urbanisation (81 %), as well as a per capita income close to the national average, indicates a fairly good development potential. However, the area has a fairly large administrative load of 43 districts and seven regional service councils because of the extensive rural interior. Nevertheless, the region should remain economically viable thanks to a relatively greater diversification of the economy and concomitant higher GGP figures in Port Elizabeth and the southern coastal region, as well as a number of prominent productive districts in the Karoo.

### 3. KEILAND

**Name.** This is the name of a linguistically homogeneous (Xhosa) region on both sides of the Kei River. This river is a dividing phenomenon between "Ciskei" and "Transkei", while "Keiland" should have a symbolically unifying effect because the area on this side ("Cis") and on the other side ("Trans") of the Kei is united with a large number of districts of the RSA.



**Location and size.** The historical boundary that corresponds to the Fish River in the west, is also the western boundary of Ciskei and therefore still has a functional role. In the north the Orange River, Lesotho and the Umzimkulu River are obvious boundaries, although the Natal district with a Xhosa majority, Mount Currie (Griqualand East), is also included. The area that coincides in passing with the ANC's delimitation of "Border/Kei" comprises one of the relatively smaller areas but accommodates the fourth largest population and has the third highest population density.

**Subregions.** Three clear politico-spatial entities are united in this province, namely Transkei, Ciskei and the RSA districts stretching from East London, through the corridor between Transkei and Ciskei, as far as the Orange River (fig 5).

TABLE 3: STATISTICAL PROFILE: KEILAND

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
89 840	7,1	51	53	6
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
4 624 215	11,7	3 797 710	826 505	82:18
ECONOMY (1990)				
GDP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
4 406	3,7	R 953	Far below average	- R2 020
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
XHOSA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	S. SOTHO	OTHER
93,1%	2,3%	2,1%	1,7%	0,8%

TABLE 3.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - KEILAND

DESCRIPTION	TRANSKEI	CISKEI	RSA DISTRICTS
TERRITORY SQ KM	43 654	8 231	37 955
POPULATION	3 210 259	836 651	577 305
URBANISATION	5,7%	35,2%	60,7%
GGP/R' MILLION	1 513	493	2 400
PERSONAL INCOME	R 471	R 589	R4 158

Transkei houses almost 70 percent of the total population with a density of 74 people per square km, while Ciskei has approximately 18 percent of the population but with a high density of 102. The RSA districts, however, house only 12 percent of the population which is relatively sparse (15 per sq km).

However, the RSA districts generate more than half the region's total GGP and register a per capita income figure more or less on a par with that of the Cape. Although the absolute GGP figures per district in the Transkei compare fairly well with those of the RSA districts in the region, the high population figures neutralise the situation to such an extent that extremely low per capita figures (table 3.1) are registered. Hence the region is "carried" financially by the RSA districts to be able to register an average figure of R953. However, this support is inadequate and the province will have to receive financial assistance from other more prosperous regions, or from the central government. The extremely low level of urbanisation which is especially noticeable in the Transkei, further confirms that the region's development potential is relatively low.

There may be a temptation to shift the western boundary westwards to coincide with the language boundary in the Midland (fig 6) so that the 15 districts in the eastern Midland west of Ciskei can be included, in an effort to boost the area economically. Such action will increase the total population of Keiland to more than 5 million and the GGP to only R4 963 million. The per capita income will increase by only R36 to R989



per person, while it will make no noticeable difference in the extremely low level of urbanisation. However, to weaken a neighbouring viable region at the expense of such marginal benefits would be most imprudent.

The Language analysis (table 3) indicates that the region as a whole is linguistically and culturally Xhosa dominant. In the RSA districts of the region, however, Afrikaans and English represent one-third of the total.

**Prognosis.** Keiland will initially require budgetary aid to be able to maintain a viable autonomy. Against the background of Ciskei's long-standing efforts to resist annexation by Transkei, and also because of the deep-rooted tribal schism in Xhosa ranks between the Gcaleka (Transkei) and Rarabe (Ciskei) regarding separate identities, the chances at present of unifying the two Xhosa states, without guaranteeing a separate Ciskei identity, are probably scant. The three present constitutional entities will probably have to be recognised by some or other means as an initial measure in the region's constitution. Although East London (214 368 inhabitants) has a smaller population than Umtata (299 901), the port city has a better infrastructure and location to act as capital of Keiland. Bisho (Ciskei), Umtata (Transkei) and Queenstown (RSA) will probably be able to serve as future subcentres.

#### 4. FREE STATE/VRYSTAAT

**Name:** The name is an abbreviated version of the "Orange Free State" and the generally accepted designation for the area that corresponds to the historical Boer Republic.

**Location and size.** The Free State is fairly easy to demarcate because of the general acceptability of its historical boundaries, such as the Orange River in the south and the Vaal River in the north and west (fig 5). The compact territory therefore corresponds largely to Bloemfontein's traditional service area (fig 2) and in surface area to the national average for the nine regions (fig 7). Only Midland has a smaller population, while the population density of 21 people is also lower than the national average of 31.

TABLE 4: STATISTICAL PROFILE: FREE STATE

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
140 251	11,13	21	53	5
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
2 994 741	7,58	1 420 259	1 574 482	47:53
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
7 623	6,36	R2 545	Fairly below ave.	- R488
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
S. SOTHO	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	TSWANA	ZULU
52,5%	17,8%	10,7%	10%	6,7%

**Language and culture.** The region houses a large variety of languages: Southern Sotho, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Tswana, Zulu and English (2,4 %). Southern Sotho is strongly represented although the province as a whole does not have a dominant Sotho character like, say, Keiland with its Xhosa character. Southern Sotho is predominant in the south-east, central and northern areas while the strongest concentrations occur in the self-governing region of QwaQwa (fig 6). Afrikaans is dominant from Bloemfontein (the traditional capital of the province) to the south-western boundary, with the exception of the district of Boshof, where Tswana is dominant (fig 6). There are strong concentrations of Zulus in the north-eastern districts of Vrede and Harrismith which border on Natal. The conspicuous Xhosa presence comprises mainly large concentrations in the mining districts of Welkom, Virginia and Odendaalsrus. Tswana manifests the strongest concentrations in the western districts bordering on the Kalahari region, but also in



ThabaNchu, the exclave of Bophuthatswana situated east of Bloemfontein. Bloemfontein is both the traditional and functional capital (318 775 inhabitants) and is the point of convergence of traffic networks in a very central location in the province.

Kimberley manifests stronger functional integration with the Western Free State and with Bloemfontein than with Cape Town or even the Kalahari region. Hence this city and its surrounds is included in the Free State of which it was in fact an original part before the historical Keate allocation added that western part of the Free State Republic south of the Vaal River to the Cape Colony. One can expect Kimberley to play a particular administrative role as subcentre of the western Free State and Welkom to perform the same function in the northern districts.

**Prognosis.** With 53 districts and about 5 regional service councils the province should have a fairly large administrative load. However, the region has a developed infrastructure, a relatively urbanised population, a greater gross geographic product than the viable Midland and a personal income level not far below the national average. The province also has a long history of second-tier government. Thus the region is expected to be able to maintain a viable autonomy.

## 5. NATAL

**Name.** The name of the region which corresponds largely to the present province is obvious, historical and generally acceptable.

**Location and size.** The traditional boundaries of the present province are still relevant because here administrative, historical, language (fig 6) and functional boundaries (fig 2) largely coincide. It is proposed that only the district of Mount Currie (Griqualand East), which prior to Transkei's independence in 1976 was part of the Cape Province, be added to Keiland. Thus the region stretches from the Umzimkulu River (Transkei's border) in the south to the Mozambique border in the north. The Drakensberg and its escarpment in the west (Lesotho) still form a physiographic boundary between Natal and the Free State, and Natal and

the Transvaal without deviating from the traditional boundaries. The size of Natal's territory (fig 7) is below average and reasonably compact.

TABLE 5: STATISTICAL PROFILE: NATAL

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	JOINT SERV. COUNCILS
107 847	8,55	71	63	5
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
7 662 815	19,39	4 911 998	2 750 817	64:36
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
16 904	14,10	R2 206	Signfcantly below ave.	- R827
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
ZULU	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	OTHER
76,0%	17,3%	2,4%	1,6%	2,7%

TABLE 5.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - NATAL

DESCRIPTION	NATAL	%	KWAZULU	%
TERRITORY SQ. KM.	71 773	66,5	36 074	33,5
POPULATION	2 647 540	34,6	5 015 275	65,4
PEOPLE/SQ. KM	37		139	
URBANISATION	59,3%		23,6%	
GGP/R' MIL	15 531,8	91,9	1 372,3	8,1
PERSONAL INCOME	R5 867		R274	



**Subregions.** With the largest population (fig 8) and the third highest GGP, Natal is one of the strongest provinces. Nevertheless the region comprises two highly contrasting components that are geographically intertwined (fig 5), namely, Natal and Kwazulu. Although the latter houses virtually two-thirds of the population, the area is extremely underdeveloped. More than ninety percent of the province's GGP is generated in the Natal section while the core area in greater Durban (1 457 071 inhabitants), with R9 454 million (more than the whole Free State), is solely responsible for about 56 percent of the total. Hence the remainder of the province falls in the peripheral area which is also functionally delimited by the service area or hinterland of Durban. The relatively large GGP with the accompanying high personal income figures of R5 867 is therefore largely neutralised by underdevelopment in Kwazulu which is reflected in a striking below average per capita income of R2 206 for the region as a whole.

**Language and culture.** The dominant position of Zulu is indicated in the statistical profile, but in Natal (excluding Kwazulu) the language distribution shows greater variation: Zulu 46,3 percent; English 39,5 percent; Afrikaans 5,5 percent, while nine other languages together represent the remaining 8 percent. In Kwazulu itself, however, Zulu is completely dominant with 98 percent. English predominates insularly in greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg, while Afrikaans is the dominant language in Newcastle only (fig 6).

**Prognosis.** The province's 63 magisterial districts (Natal 37 and Kwazulu 26) are reasonably far above the national average figure of 41 per region - hence the region will have to budget for a fairly large administrative load which is expected to place a heavy burden on regional taxation. Nevertheless, Natal should be a good candidate for self-government. However, greater autonomy may be an attractive option for the Zulus and the IFP in particular, in the light of present relations with ANC. In fact as a province, Natal has already made provision for joint government with Kwazulu. It is recommended that Pietermaritzburg with its existing infrastructure will continue its role as provincial capital.

## 6. KALAHARI

**Name.** This linguistically neutral name refers to the prominent desert-like physiographic phenomenon stretching from Botswana through parts of Bophuthatswana, to the present Cape north of the Orange, and in so doing comprises a large portion of the region.

TABLE 6: STATISTICAL PROFILE: KALAHARI

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
179 649	14,26	20	35	4
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 625 889	9,17	2 487 893	1 137 992	69:31
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
10 154	8,47	R2 800	Slightly below ave.	- R203
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
TSWANA	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	S. SOTHO	TSONGA
57,8%	12,2%	7,3%	5,7%	5,5%

**Location and size.** Linguistic homogeneity, as in Keiland and Natal, as well as traditional boundaries, plays an important role. Tswana is the majority language from Thabazimbi in the north to Barkly West in the south, and Kuruman in the west (fig 6). The districts of Brits, Rustenburg, Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp are an exception in that Tswana is the dominant minority language. Botswana in the west and the Vaal River in the south and east respectively constitute the international and functional boundaries of the region.



The region occupies the third largest territory (fig 7) and as far as population, GGP and per capita income are concerned (figs 8, 9 and 10) takes fifth place. The boundaries of the region also succeed in incorporating 12 of Bophuthatswana's 14 districts, which are divided into seven territorial fragments, into one region (fig 5 or 6). A second component of the region focuses on the 17 districts of Western Transvaal (development region J) which is the economic centre of gravity of the region, while the third component comprises seven sparsely populated districts in the present Northern Cape (part of development region B).

**Subregions.** The ambivalence of the region is clearly reflected in the contrasting sets of data for Bophuthatswana and the RSA districts in table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS: KALAHARI

DESCRIPTION	BOPHUTHATSWANA	RSA DISTRICTS
TERRITORY SQ. KM.	40 246	139 403
POPULATION	1 951 041	1 674 875
PEOPLE/SQ. KM	48	12
URBANISATION	14,9%	50,6%
GGP/R' MIL	1 359	8 795
PERSONAL INCOME	R696	R5 251

In comparison with Keiland and Natal, where the regions also consist of a merger of independent and self-governing states, the Kalahari has an advantage in that the RSA districts play a more dominant role in the way of population and size. This situation can be observed directly in the more favourable personal income of R2 800 for the region as a whole. Thanks to well-developed commercial agricultural and mining activities in the Western Transvaal districts the region has sources of income which can be used to great advantage in good rainfall years. The 35 magisterial districts and four regional service councils do not place an excessively high administrative burden on the fiscal resources - hence the Kalahari is expected to be viable.

**Capital.** The region has no metropolitan areas worth mentioning and therefore has a mainly rural character and similar interests. However, there is a conspicuous lack of a natural capital. Lichtenburg has a nodal and central location in the Western Transvaal, but the economic and industrial core is in Klerksdorp, the largest urban area in the region (324 934 inhabitants). Mmabatho, capital of Bophuthatswana, however, has an administrative and government infrastructure from which remote areas can be served, which is why it has been proposed as administrative capital. Klerksdorp and Vryburg could probably become administrative subcentres in their respective subregions.

**Language and culture.** Although a Tswana homogeneity and dominance was identified in the area, a variety of languages are spoken in the region (table 6). Mining activity in the region draws labourers from many different areas of the RSA, a fact that is evident in the presence of the full spectrum of indigenous languages in the relevant districts. Tswana is only just a majority language in the RSA districts with a share of 50,9 percent, while Afrikaans-speaking people represent about 25 percent. English takes fifth place with 2,7 percent.

**Prognosis.** This proposal affords Bophuthatswana a greater opportunity to retain the largest portion of its fragmented territory in one region during reintegration compared to any of the other proposals considered to date. It also offers the greatest possible achievable consolidation of the area inhabited by Tswana-speaking people - hence the expectation is that this proposal is a relatively attractive option to reintegration with the RSA. The expectation also exists that Bophuthatswana as an entity should initially receive one or other form of recognition in a future regional constitution of Kalahari if the region is allowed to determine its internal constitutional structure for itself.

## 7. TRANSVAAL

**Name.** Of the three remaining areas in the present province of Transvaal, this region best qualifies to retain the traditional name.



TABLE 7: STATISTICAL PROFILE: TRANSVAAL

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
84 183	6,68	46	30	4
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 906 005	9,88	1 853 552	2 052 453	47:53
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
21 289	17,76	R5 450	Far above average	+ R2 417
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	ZULU	SISWATI	N. SOTHO	SINDEBELE
20,4%	19,3%	19,2%	11,5%	10,1%

**Location and size.** There is a fair resemblance with Development Region F, but traditional boundaries (with the Free State and Natal in the south), language rationalisation, functionality, as well as development potential played a role in the delimitation of the region in the eastern part of the present province of Transvaal. The region includes the present two self-governing areas, Kangwane and Kwandebele, and has the second smallest territory (fig 7) but the fifth largest population (fig 8). In the economic sector, however, the region fares well with the second highest GGP figures and highest personal income (figs 9 and 10).

**Language and culture.** Greater Transvaal houses a large variety of indigenous languages in the northern and eastern parts, each with a specific territorial base of varying extent (fig 6). In the southern and central parts these languages have deconcentrated and become

territorially interwoven with languages of European origin (Afrikaans and English) with the result that there are large linguistic shatter zones in which all of them have become minority languages. For the sake of language rationalisation, the northern boundary of this region has been defined in such a way that Northern Sotho, Venda and Shangaan/Tsonga are grouped together north of the boundary, while Siswati, Zulu and Sindebele occur mainly south of the dividing line (fig 6).

The region has a unique multilingual character in that it has speakers of about 11 languages. Four languages, however, manifest spatial and numerical concentrations (table 7) in spite of their minority status. Afrikaans has majority status in Pretoria and strong concentrations in the districts of Witbank, Middelburg, Bethal, Ermelo, Highveld Ridge and Nelspruit. Zulu has majority status in the south-eastern districts adjacent to Natal, while Siswati forms an expected majority in the eastern districts and Kangwane (Swazi homeland) adjacent to their heartland (Swaziland) (fig 6). As is to be expected, Sindebele is strong in Kwandebele north-east of Pretoria. Although Northern Sotho has reasonable concentrations in the urban districts of Pretoria and Wonderboom, nowhere does it have territorial superiority in the region.

**Development potential and subregions.** The region has two clear development axes with their point of convergence in Pretoria. First, there is the eastern axis through Bronkhorstspuit, Witbank and Middelburg to Nelspruit. Secondly, there is the south-eastern axis through Delmas, Leandra, Secunda-Trichardt and Bethal to Ermelo. Along these axes there is mining and industrial development as important sectors in a well-diversified economy. Large-scale commercial agricultural activities coincide with the divergent environments which in the Highveld of the south-eastern subregion correspond with the summer crops and in the Lowveld with its subtropical character. In this regard, Ermelo and Nelspruit, important towns in their respective environments, can be expected to play auxiliary roles as subcentres.

**Position of Pretoria.** The fact that Pretoria (767 397 inhabitants) is proposed as capital seems questionable because it will be removed from a functional region (the PWV). However, this is a rational step in



helping to scale down the highly dominant role of too large a metropolitan area (PWV). Secondly, Pretoria fits in culturally and linguistically with the Transvaal in which there is, *inter alia*, a strong Afrikaans element. Thirdly, Pretoria is traditionally the capital of the Transvaal. Fourthly, Pretoria is an important link in the development axes that have already been identified. Finally, it solves the problem of rivalry for capital status between Witbank, Middelburg, Nelspruit and Ermelo. Nonformal functional links between Pretoria and the Witwatersrand will continue to exist as at present, for communication and commuting across regional boundaries are certainly not new phenomena.

**Prognosis.** The Transvaal has sound economic development which is reflected in the relatively high per capita incomes and a favourable level of urbanisation. Furthermore, the favourable administrative load of fewer districts and the outstanding infrastructure found in Pretoria, are especially advantageous. The Transvaal should therefore not only be able to afford its own administration on the strength of its healthy taxation basis, but can also be expected to make funds available for supporting other underdeveloped regions.

## 8. CAPRICORNIA

**Name.** The Latin name is neutral and refers to a very conspicuous but abstract geographical phenomenon running from east to west through the centre of the region in the form of the Tropic of Capricorn. Many people may prefer a more "local" or indigenous designation such as "Bushveld / Bosveld".

**Location and size.** As indicated earlier, language rationalisation is an important consideration in the delimitation of the area which partly corresponds with development region G (fig 3). As the fifth largest region stretching from the Ellisras district in the west to the Kruger National Park on the Mozambique border in the east, it is fairly compact. The Limpopo as the RSA border demarcates a semicircular area from west to north and south-east (fig 5). The distance is about 350 km from Messina in the north to Groblersdal or Warmbaths in the south.

TABLE 8: STATISTICAL PROFILE: CAPRICORNIA

TERRITORY				
AREA SQ. KM.	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
123 952	9,84	38	30	4
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
4 711 709	11,92	4 300 814	410 895	91:09
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
4 189	3,49	R899	Far below average	- R2 144
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
N. SOTHO	TSONGA	VENDA	SINDEBELE	AFRIKAANS
56,1%	18,9%	13,9%	3,3%	2,9%

The region is predominantly rural (cf the extremely low urban population in table 8) - hence Pietersburg (99 334 inhabitants) with its central location also plays an important nodal role (figs 2 and 5) as the centre with the most diversified service infrastructure in the region. The functional service area of the city corresponds noticeably with the language demarcation (figs 2 and 6). Ecologically and physically the region has a "Bushveld character" which also differs from the "Highveld character" south of the language boundary in the Transvaal region. The entire Kruger National Park as an important tourism resource is included in the region (fig 5).

**Language and culture.** Obviously Northern Sotho (Pedi) is dominant in Lebowa, as well as in the southern, central and north-western part of the region (fig 6). In fact it is the majority language in the region as a whole. Shangaan/Tsonga occupy second position and manifest a strong concentration in the eastern districts, but as is to be expected,



particularly in Gazankulu. The language, Venda, takes third place and forms a strong regional subconcentration (fig 6) in the north in the present independent state of Venda as well as in the adjacent RSA districts, Soutpansberg and Messina. A fourth component comprises 11 RSA districts geographically intertwined with the area (fig 5).

The areas in which Venda and Shangaan/Tsonga respectively play dominant roles as languages are too limited and their resource bases are too insignificant to qualify for the status of separate autonomous regions. At most they can obtain the status of separate administrative areas in a regional context; a finding confirmed by the unconvincing nature of Venda's present "independence". Although Capricornia has the third largest population (fig 8) and the fifth largest territory, the GGP figures (fig 9) and the per capita incomes (fig 10) together with Keiland, are the lowest. The region's underdevelopment is further confirmed by the extremely unfavourable rural-urban distribution (fig 11).

**Viability and prognosis.** A closer study of some of the characteristics of the four entities within the region provide the following comparative data (table 8.1):

TABLE 8.1: COMPARATIVE SUBENTITIES: CAPRICORNIA

DESCRIPTION	LEBOWA	GAZANKULU	VENDA	RSA DISTRICTS
PERCENTAGE LAND	17,9	6,0	5,5	70,6
PERCENTAGE POP.	58,2	15,3	11,9	14,6
PERCENTAGE URBAN	6,2	4,7	3,9	27,0
GGP/R' MIL	591	138	272	3 187
PERSONAL INCOME	R216	R191	R485	R4 652

In the midst of drastic disparities revealed by the comparative analysis, only the RSA districts appear to manifest viable development characteristics. Although their personal income figures are above the

national average, the extent of the GGP is too limited to push the regional average up above R899. In seeking additional sources to support Capricornia, the option of amalgamating the region with the Transvaal could be considered, as in fact proposed in the 'New Regional Dispensation' (fig 4), but then there will no longer be true regionalisation. Not only will the language and cultural composition as well as functional patterns become very complex, but a region with a huge population of 9,52 million devoid of any specific character or patterns of homogeneity will be created. The only real advantage, however, will be an increase in the average per capita income to R2 770. This is still below the national average while no surplus funds (as in the Transvaal) will be available for supporting other underdeveloped regions.

Capricornia has sufficient territory and an extensive range of resources, both physical and human, but initially, as in Keiland, will probably require aid from other more developed regions if it is to meaningfully retain its autonomy. However, such funds will have to be carefully supervised to ensure optimal use of resources, for example, further development of agriculture, mining and tourism. The fact remains that without a successful population development programme and greater urbanisation that will help to control the growth rate, the chances of success are poor.

## 9. RAND

**Name:** The name is an abbreviated form and is easier to use than "Witwatersrand", the name of the reduced metropolitan area in the present Southern Transvaal (fig 5). Yet this area with its almost exclusive metropolitan character (fig 11) is still the primary core area in the RSA.

**Location and extent.** As part of the Development Regions Model, region H (fig 3) plays an extremely dominant role, because at present the area houses more than 23 percent of the population (TBVC states included) and generates about 39 percent of the total GGP. In an effort to channel part of this overconcentration of wealth to surrounding areas, a reduced area is proposed. The northern section is cut off and divided between the



Kalahari and Transvaal respectively (see figs 3 and 5). Functionally speaking, the remaining southern section is so strongly interwoven as an urban complex that further scaling down is extremely difficult. Sasolburg in the south is retained because it is an integral part of the Vaal Triangle. Yet this extremely compact region with its high population density is still the most economically dominant area in the RSA.

TABLE 9: STATISTICAL PROFILE: RAND

TERRITORY				
AREA (km	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM.	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
11 292	0,89	582	18	4
POPULATION (1991)				
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
6 569 273	16,62	252 887	6 314 386	04:96
ECONOMY (1990)				
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
35 174	29,35	R5 356	Far above average	+ R2 323
LANGUAGE USAGE (1980)				
1	2	3	4	5
ZULU	AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	S. SOTHO	TSWANA
18,5%	17,7%	16,8%	12,3%	9,1%

**Language and culture.** The Rand is almost exclusively a multilingual area in which twelve languages, all with minority status, are used. Four of them, Zulu, Afrikaans, English and Southern Sotho, register percentages above 10 and together represent about two-thirds of the total number of speakers. The remaining one-third is divided among eight other languages, of which Tswana, Xhosa and Northern Sotho manifest significant concentrations.

**Functional characteristics.** Johannesburg with a population of about 2,12 million is proposed as capital because it has the best infrastructure and the most nodal location. The surrounding 17 urban districts are all linked in an integrated communication network. With the exception of any agriculture worth mentioning (as is to be expected), all the other sectors of a fully developed and diversified economic system are present in this highly compact region. The corporate management and financial institutions concentrated on the Rand, often as huge business conglomerates, have an extensive business network of interests in other regions which contribute to the relative wealth of the metropolitan area because the head office functions are concentrated mainly in this region.

**Prognosis.** With a relatively compact administrative network and well-developed infrastructure, this region should be able to make available really significant financial returns for use in other underdeveloped regions. Since a great deal of income and profits are generated in other regions because of decentralised business interests, the corporate sector of the Rand is as it were indebted to those outlying regions involved in the creation of its "profits".

### C SUMMARY

There is a clear rationale for the separate existence of each of the autonomous regions that is demarcated on the basis of the aforementioned criteria. Hence there is a fine balance in spite of the fact that territory, resources, population, share in the GGP, personal income levels and urbanisation levels manifest considerable differences. The balance is rather in the immeasurable effort towards greater homogeneity in the linguistic, cultural and functional areas. There is thus hope that the centripetal effect brought about by greater homogeneity in each region could be given a chance to develop in such a way that regional autonomy can make a significant contribution towards accommodating those forces that threaten the unity of the state in a unitary system.

It is anticipated that four regions, namely, Midland, Free State, Natal and Kalahari will be able to provide in their own needs. In addition, three regions, namely the Cape, Transvaal and Rand, should generate



adequate surpluses to be able to give financial support to two underdeveloped regions, Keiland and Capricornia. The region Rand, in particular, has an obligation in this regard because of its heavily concentrated corporate characteristics. The regions, Natal, Keiland and Capricornia, especially the latter two, will have to take drastic steps to bring their population growth into balance with the resources in their respective regions. If this does not happen, all development aid will be mercilessly absorbed by their very high population growth without lasting development results being obtained. This would further mean that the regions concerned remain almost permanently in a state of dependence. Apart from the fact that this is an unhealthy basis for autonomy, in the long run it could generate antipathy on the part of the donor regions which have to keep the underdeveloped regions solvent. Such a potential centrifugal tendency cannot be afforded in the new regional dispensation.

TABLE 10: SYNOPTIC COMPARISON OF REGIONS

REGION	POPULATION	%	GGP/R' MIL	%	PERSONAL INCOME
CAPE	3 518 473	8,9	14 639	12,2	R4 160
MIDLAND	1 896 348	4,8	5 842	4,6	R2 891
KEILAND	4 624 215	11,7	4 406	3,7	R 953
FREE STATE	2 994 741	7,6	7 623	6,4	R2 545
NATAL	7 662 815	19,4	16 904	14,1	R2 206
KALAHARI	3 625 889	9,2	10 154	8,5	R2 800
TRANSVAAL	3 906 005	9,9	21 289	17,8	R5 450
CAPRICORNIA	4 711 709	11,9	4 189	3,5	R 899
RAND	6 569 273	16,6	35 174	29,4	R5 356
NATIONAL	39 509 468		120 220		R3 033

The nine autonomous regions proposed in this demarcation do not represent a final polished plan for successful regionalisation in South Africa. Many more analytical studies based on the latest but reliable and more comprehensive official census results, in addition to investigations of

a local nature in many areas to be affected by demarcation, will be required before any sort of proposal can be considered for possible implementation. Nevertheless, such important criteria have found application in this tentative proposal that it has merit as a valid contribution to the topical debate on the subject of regionalisation in South Africa.

Some of the principles on regionalism reflected in this document were discussed at a 'think tank' of Academics for Southern Africa (ACSA), September 1992.



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