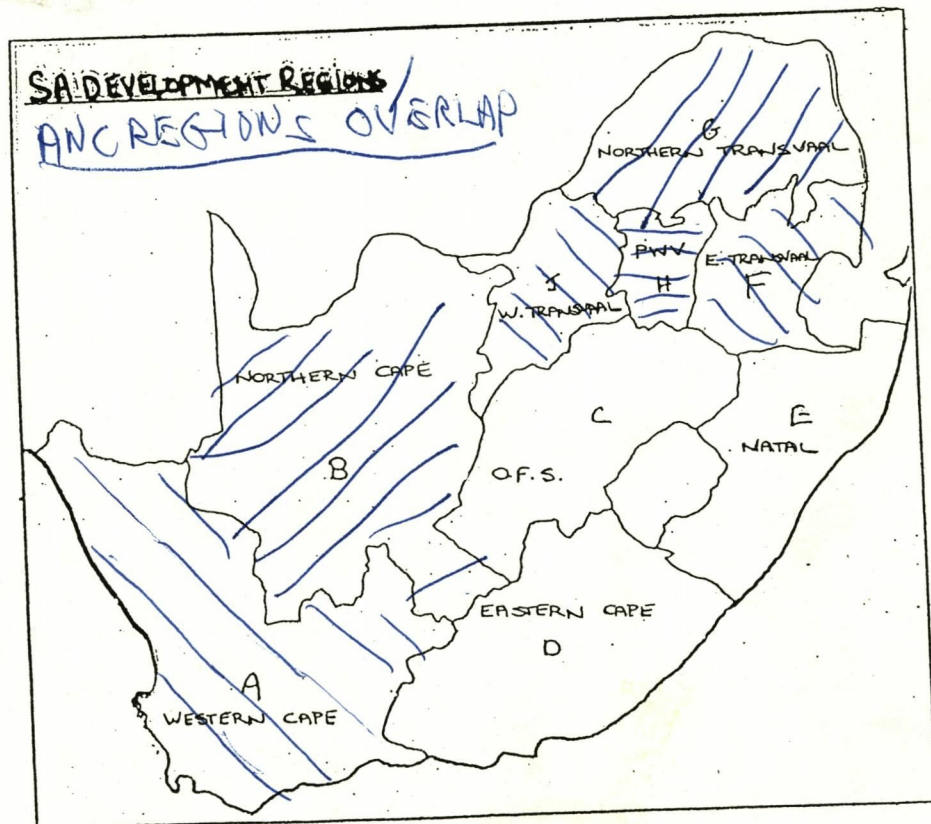
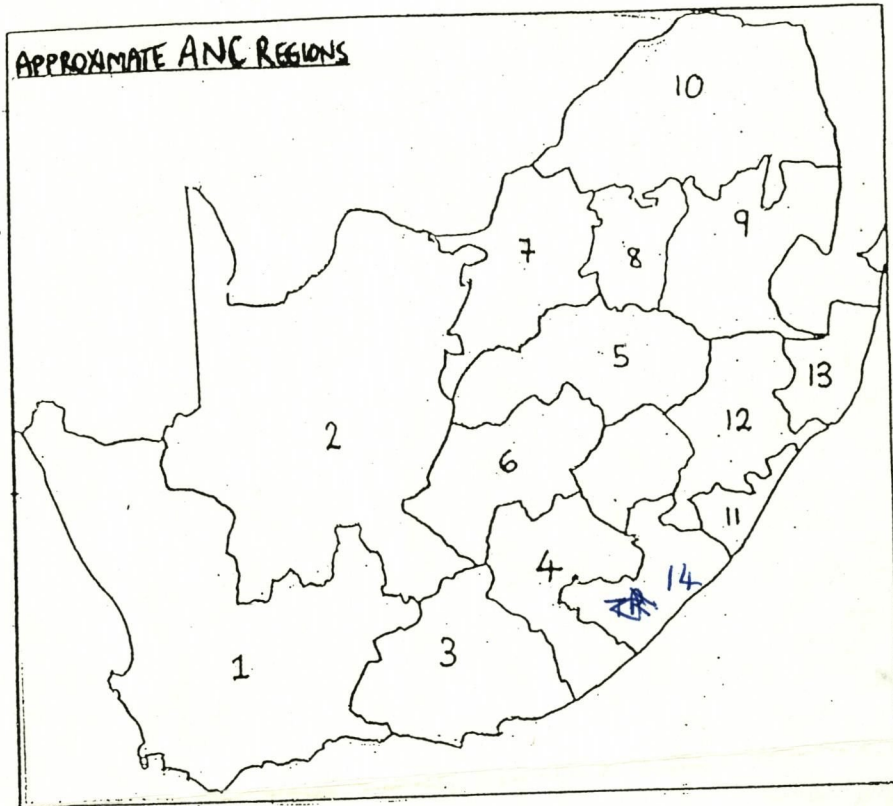


# DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

## SOME PRELIMINARY IDEAS



This Document was prepared for Discussion  
by the Constitutional Committee of the ANC.  
Information for maps and tables and many  
of the ideas supplied by Michael Sutcliffe.  
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The Centre for Development Studies, UWC  
and Sue-Jen.

This document has been prepared for  
discussion by the Constitutional Committee of  
the ANC. ~~It is intended for discussion.~~  
The maps and figures are not  
intended to be definitive, but merely  
to give the readers a rough idea  
of ~~the~~ what is involved.  
We invite comments and proposals before  
submitting a more definitive document  
to the National Executive Committee.  
Zola Skweyiya.

## DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS!

*Some Preliminary Ideas*

~~Michael Sutcliffe and Albie Sachs~~

~~Assisted by: Soobs Moonsammy and Jennifer Subban~~

*Discussion Paper prepared for*  
For: Constitutional Committee

### INTRODUCTION

We have to move from talking about regions to defining them. Our constitutional principles suggest that our future constitution should have three levels of government: national, regional and local. Each level of government will have certain, as yet undetermined, functions and powers.

The territorial division of South Africa is potentially one of the most emotive issues in the constitutional debate. This is partly because apartheid created a mosaic of territorial units and through racial gerrymandering carved up South Africa:

- \* into separate areas for blacks and whites,
- \* into areas controlled by Bantustan governments and those controlled by the central government,
- \* into areas which sent out migrant labourers and those areas which received them.

While we believe South Africa is indivisible, recognition must be given to the oft-expressed views that South Africa will need to be divided into regions for the purposes of regional government ~~and~~ development. *and local participation.*

Extensive debate is necessary. Above all, people should be able to pronounce on the regions they want to live in. They have a right to know the options and implications. We present a few skeleton ideas to help promote discussion.

### WHY DO WE NEED REGIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

On the one hand, there are arguments revolving around the problems of over-centralisation. ~~These include that:~~

- \* too much power can be concentrated into the hands of too few people;
- \* over-concentration of authority, administration and government can lead to a wide variety of inefficiencies and inequities;
- \* bureaucratic remoteness; *must be avoided;*
- \* integrated economic development is required at a scale higher than the locality, but lower than the nation;
- \* the specificity of regions must be acknowledged; this specificity is a complex of economic, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and many other historically produced factors.

On the other hand, there are arguments revolving around the problems created by a highly dispersed system of totally decentralised local government. These include:

- \* recognising the advantages to be attained through integrated regional development;
- \* ensuring effective planning ~~can occur~~ to make appropriate allowances for the future;
- \* ensuring equal opportunities ~~are realised~~ for all people within regions.

In addition, powerful arguments may be made for the regional level of government which actively aims at:

- \* reuniting the country on a non-racial basis;
- \* encouraging democratic participation in government;
- \* promoting local initiative;
- \* allowing for economic development and the redistribution of resources at a regional level; and
- \* carrying out functions such as planning and regional development, co-ordination and restructuring of local authorities, providing support to small local authorities in service delivery, agricultural and environmental control.

#### PRINCIPLES TO BE USED IN DEFINING REGIONS

It is important, but not easy, to establish objective and acceptable criteria for determining regional boundaries. We know what we do not want: we do not want any form of Bantustans, in terms of which ethnicity is combined with poverty to keep the people divided and indigent. Nor do we want to lock up the country's resources in zones of racial privilege. We want something that will help overcome fragmentation and inequality, but in a way which is organic and developmental rather than top-down and forced.

Accordingly, ~~to set the ball rolling, we suggest~~ the following criteria: *(might be considered)*

- \* **The regions should be economically and socially functional**

In terms of the former, the regions should be large enough to incorporate those areas which are functionally interdependent with each other, but small enough to ensure that coherent planning and administration can occur. Communication links are important here. In terms of the latter, care should be exercised to ensure the regions are inclusive of linguistic, ethnic, and other community-related groups so as to give effect to more appropriate planning for the needs of such groups.

- \* **The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development**
- \* **The regions should be compact**

The racial gerrymandering in South Africa has reinforced a tendency for regions to be disjointed, elongated, etc. Instead, regions should be as compact as is practicable.

\* **The regional boundaries should take into account population size**

While this principle is less significant, a strong case may be made for trying to ensure regions are approximately equal in size and geographic product. However, this is very difficult to achieve in practice, particularly as one moves towards more regions.

\* **All things being equal, the regional boundaries should take into account existing boundaries**

While this is the least important principle, there are reasons of convenience for using old Provincial boundaries to which people are accustomed, for example.

*Dr Jeter*

These principles should be applied in such a way that we are able to actively move away from apartheid, overcoming:

- (i) the enormous fragmentation and inequalities
- (ii) the harmful ethnic divisions and
- (iii) the regional imbalances

We must be aware that the regions could be important in the structuring of central government. If proportional representation on regional as well as national lists is used, then the regional factor will play a role in the composition of Parliament. Similarly, many people have suggested a degree of regional representation in the Upper House or Senate.

Overall, we need to allow for a multiplicity of regions, without this leading to multiple bureaucracies.

AREAS NEED TO BE GROUPED ON AN INTEGRATIVE, NON-RACIAL BASIS IN A WAY THAT ENCOURAGES ACCOUNTABILITY, LOCAL INITIATIVE, EFFICIENCY IN THE PROVISION OF SERVICES AND FACILITIES, AND A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOCIAL SURPLUS.

#### POSSIBLE REGIONAL OPTIONS

~~Before we make a proposal~~ It is worth reviewing some of the historical experience which might inform us in the definition of regions in a non-racial, united, nonsexist and democratic South Africa. These are as follows:

##### 1. PROVINCES

One option might be to revert back to a Provincial system. Here, there would be four Provinces (Natal, Cape, OFS and Transvaal) and it is important to note that such an arrangement would probably be the easiest for South Africans to relate to. However, there are a variety of problems associated with such a model:

- (i) the Cape is too vast for effective administration and regional government;
- (ii) there is an emerging regional consciousness, as reflected, eg in sporting bodies and our own structures which suggests smaller regional units;

(iii) the economic (over 40% of the GDP) and demographic power (over 40% of the population of the Transvaal) would be considered. *create a heavy imbalance.*

## 2. EXISTING ANC REGIONS

During the 1980's, the UDF and COSATU constituted themselves nationally, but with distinctive regional executives and organisation. In the case of COSATU, they divided the country into nine regions:

Highveld  
Northern Transvaal  
Witwatersrand  
OFS/Northern Cape  
Western Cape  
Eastern Cape  
Southern Natal  
Northern Natal

For the UDF, South Africa was divided into eight regions:

Northern Transvaal  
Southern Transvaal  
OFS  
Western Cape  
Eastern Cape  
Border  
Natal  
Northern Cape

While both organisations recognised the importance of regional structures, in the case of COSATU their focus was primarily on the urbanised (and therefore industrialised) regions in South Africa, and for the UDF a variety of problems began to emerge in the late 1980's (such as in Natal where the organisation was essentially Durban-based). For practical reasons the TBUC were not included.

When the NEC made suggestions on legally re-forming the ANC, it was suggested that fourteen regions would be created. These were to be based around particular centres, and no regional boundaries were set. The enclosed map ~~makes some suggestions which are based to a certain extent on some of the criteria set above.~~ *indicates where the ANC regional borders might be.*

It should be noted that the experience of having fourteen regions has brought out:

- (i) the differences which exist between the regions in terms of population, communications, ethnicity, economic potential, etc;
- (ii) the lack of clarity in terms of the actual demarcation of regions (for example, between Border and the Eastern Cape; between the three regions of Natal where it becomes rather arbitrary to put areas into different regions);
- (iii) the problems with creating ethnic regions (Transkei is a creation of apartheid and the question has been raised: are we not simply accepting the ethnic divisions?); and
- (iv) a related point is that some areas do not fit comfortably into the regional breakdowns (such as Umzimkulu in Transkei which it might be argued should fall into Southern Natal).

# INSERT

Important qualifications, however, need to be made.

Firstly, consideration needs to be given to the creation of a Border-Transkei region, separate from ~~Natal~~ Eastern Cape and Natal.

Secondly, the PWV area could be re-defined so as to permit a better urban-rural balance in the Transvaal. Thus, Pretoria could become the regional capital of Northern Transvaal, and parts of the Rand could be included in Eastern and Western Transvaal respectively.

Thirdly, allowance would have to be made for administrative sub-regions or counties (or whatever other term would be appropriate).

Finally, <sup>it should be noted that</sup> the existence of regions for governmental purposes would almost certainly affect the definition of ANC Regions, and therefore, as well, the composition of the NEC.

### 3. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

In 1981 the <sup>Pretoria</sup> government divided the country into nine development regions. They used a system of organising the country in terms of development needs: the need for employment creation, the need for a higher standard of living, and the potential a region had to satisfy its own employment needs through economic growth. This produced a ranking of regions based on the development needs from the areas with most need (highest score) to the areas of lowest need (lowest score):

Eastern Cape	9
Natal	8
Northern Transvaal	8
Western Cape	6
Western Transvaal	6
OFS	6
Eastern Transvaal	6
PWV	4

The division of the country into these nine regions was the first formal recognition by government that the Bantustans were not and could not be economically (and therefore politically) independent. The regions (see map) cut across Bantustan borders and in some cases parts of single Bantustans are incorporated into different regions. It should be noted the regions are very similar to those proposed by the ANC, except for:

- (i) Transkei does not exist as a separate area as it is split between Eastern Cape and Natal;
- (ii) Eastern Cape and Border and Southern Transkei are combined into one region;
- (iii) Natal is a single region; and
- (iv) OFS is a single region.

In our view, these economic regions appear to be based on relatively objective non-racial criteria. They appear to make sense from the point of view of economic development and communications, and their composition will be such as to encourage a sense of shared belonging without extinguishing regional characteristics.

*At the same time we feel that some alterations*  
If these regions are left undifferentiated, they do not allow for the relatively substantial intra-regional variation. For example, in Region E (Natal and Northern Transkei) clear sub-regional differences exist between the Durban Functional Region, Midlands, North Coast, Northern Natal, Lower South Coast). This is very different to say the situation in Northern Cape where fewer sub-regions exist. Accordingly, we propose the creation of sub-regions or counties for purposes of administrative de-centralisation within the regions.

#### PROPOSAL FOR A REGIONAL BREAKDOWN

It is suggested that the country have three levels of government with the following distinctions made at each level of government:

##### 1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT



## INSERT TWO

### 1. REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

One possibility would be to have ten regions based on an adaptation of ~~both~~ the ANC regions and the Economic regions. Provision could be made for administrative sub-regions or counties.

2. REGIONS CORRESPONDING TO THE NINE DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

Each region could in turn be broken down into counties as follows, which would be development management units:

<u>REGION</u>	<u>NO. OF COUNTIES</u>
Western Cape	(4)
Northern Cape	(3)
OFS	(2)
Eastern Cape	(4)
Natal	(5)
Eastern Transvaal	(2)
Northern Transvaal	(2)
PWV	(4)
Western Transvaal	(2)

INSERT  
TWO

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

At least three forms of local government would be found:

- Metropolitan Government
- Urban Local Authorities
- Rural Authorities

COMMENTARY

These are rule-of-thumb proposals, designed to get discussion going. The most controversial aspects are likely to relate to the eastern seaboard zone, and in particular to the future of the Transkei. While the people in Pondoland might look northwards to Natal for economic links, this does not mean that they would not prefer to look south for administrative links. On the other hand, the idea of the Transkei as the only uni-ethnic region is not attractive, though Transkei-Border would be more acceptable.

Retaining its  
Bantustan format,

## ECONOMIC REGIONS

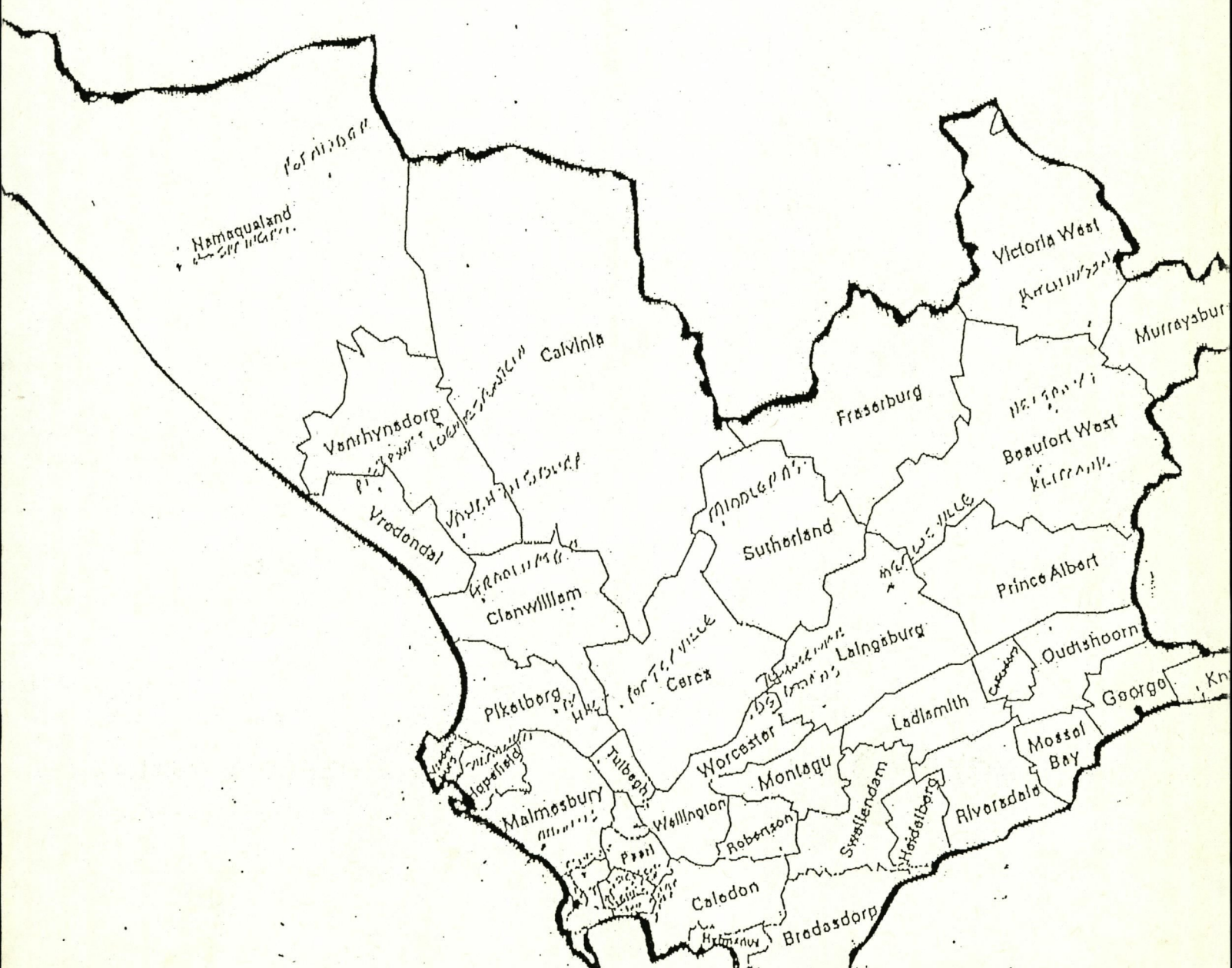
Existing magisterial districts are shown, but not the contemplated sub-regions or counties.

### A. WESTERN CAPE:

The Western Cape has a total population of about 3,475 million. About a quarter of the population is White and little less than a quarter of the population is African. Approximately half the population have been classified under apartheid laws as Coloured.

The dominant language is Afrikaans although within the Cape Town Metropolitan area a high proportion of English-speakers may be found. Xhosa is also increasingly being spoken.

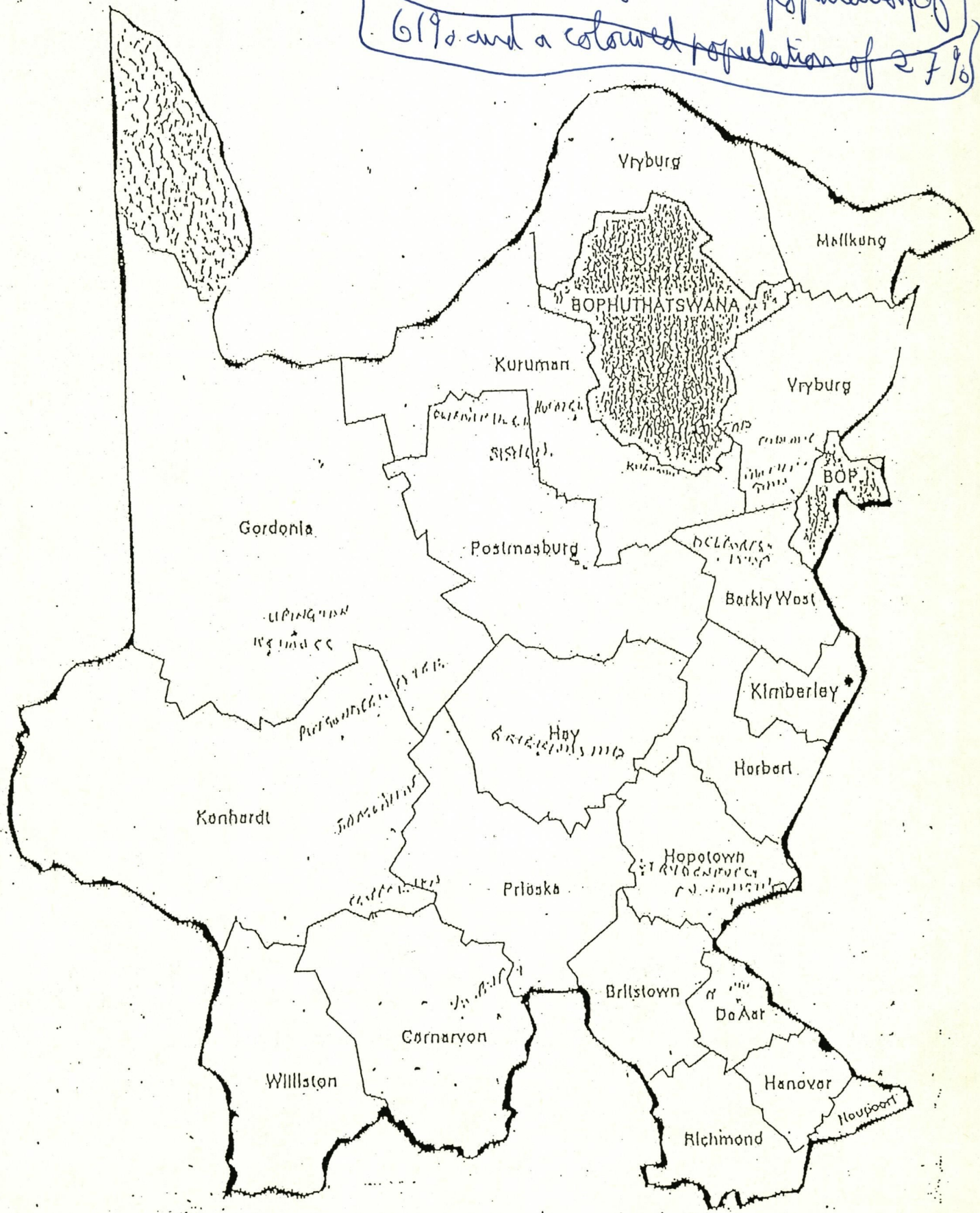
Consideration should be given to placing parts of the eastern areas in the Eastern Cape region.



B. **NORTHERN CAPE:**

The Northern Cape has a total population of 1,441 million. It has a total White population of 61%. The main languages are Afrikaans and Tswana.

*approximately 12% and an African population of 61% and a coloured population of 27%*

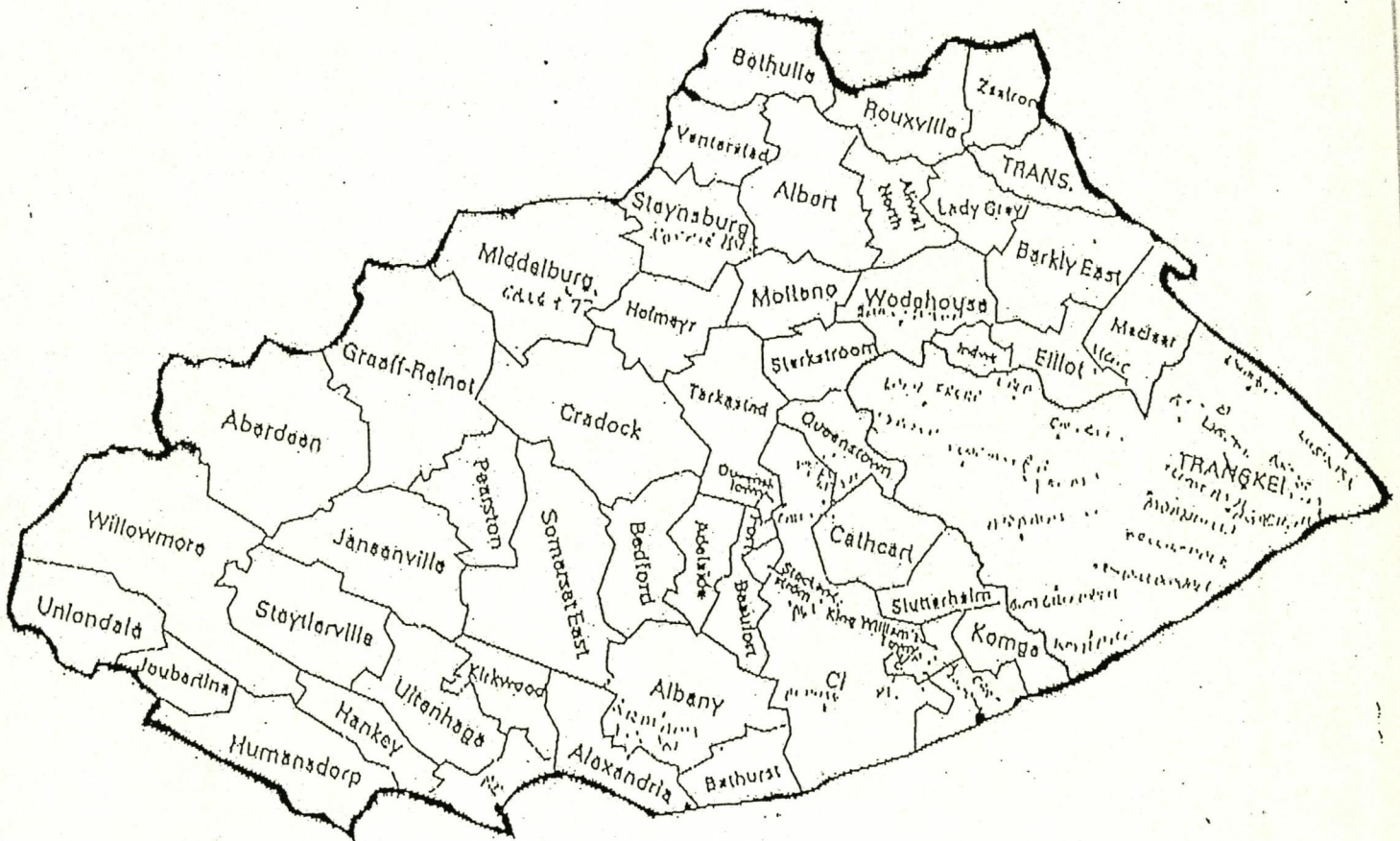


D. EASTERN CAPE:

The Eastern Cape, as an economic region, is divided into three areas. Eastern Cape, Border and Southern Transkei with a total population of 1,276 million, 1,370 million and 1,800 million respectively. The total White population is 14% and the African population is 71%. The main languages spoken are Xhosa, English and Afrikaans.

Consideration should be given to creating a separate region for Border-Transkei, and possibly enlarging Eastern Cape westwards.

*including the northern Transkei,*

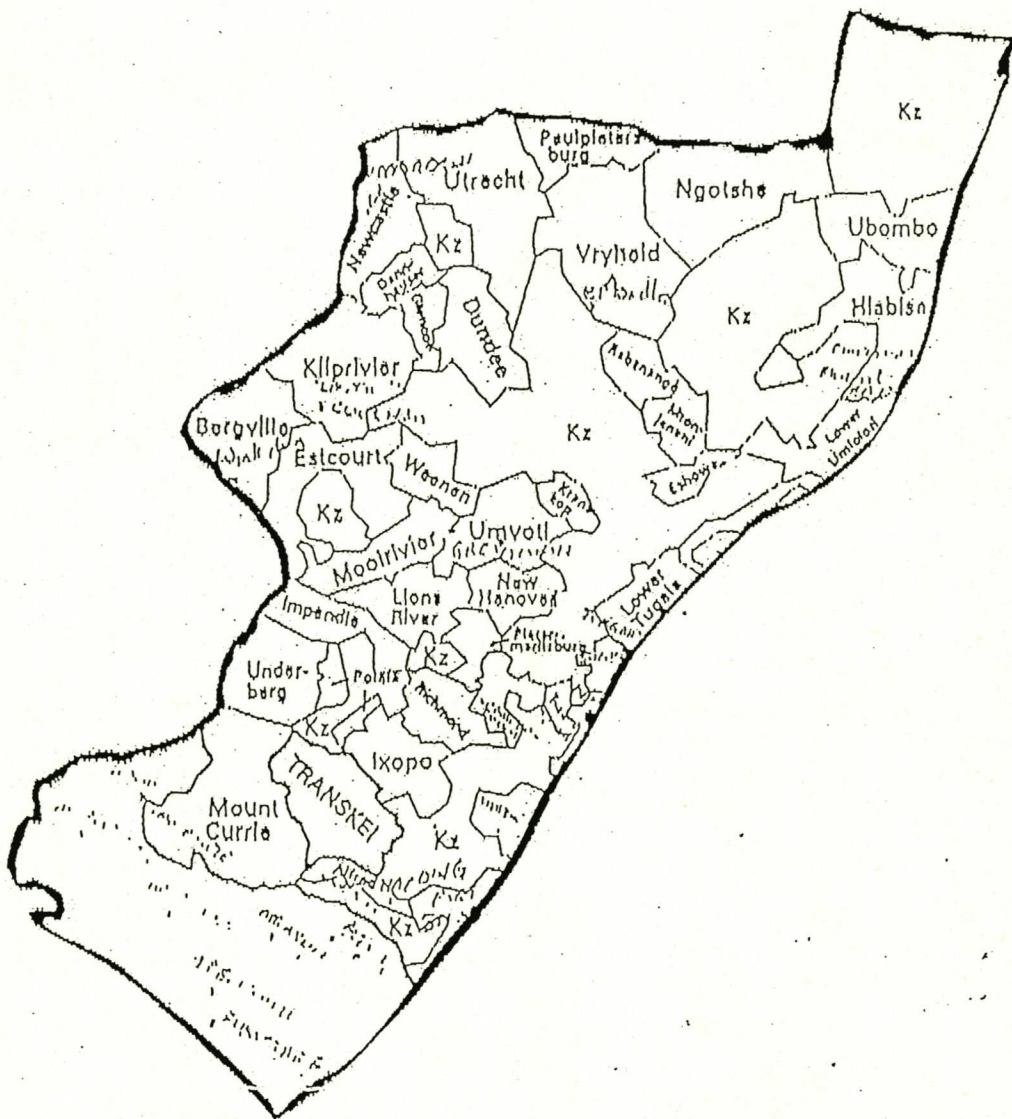


E. NATAL:

Natal, as an economic region, is divided into four regions: Natal South, Midlands, Northern Natal and North Transkei with a population of 2,849, 0,962, 3,257, and 1,800 million respectively. The total White population is 6% and the African population 82%. The main languages are Zulu, English and Afrikaans.

*and South Africans of Indian origin about 11%*

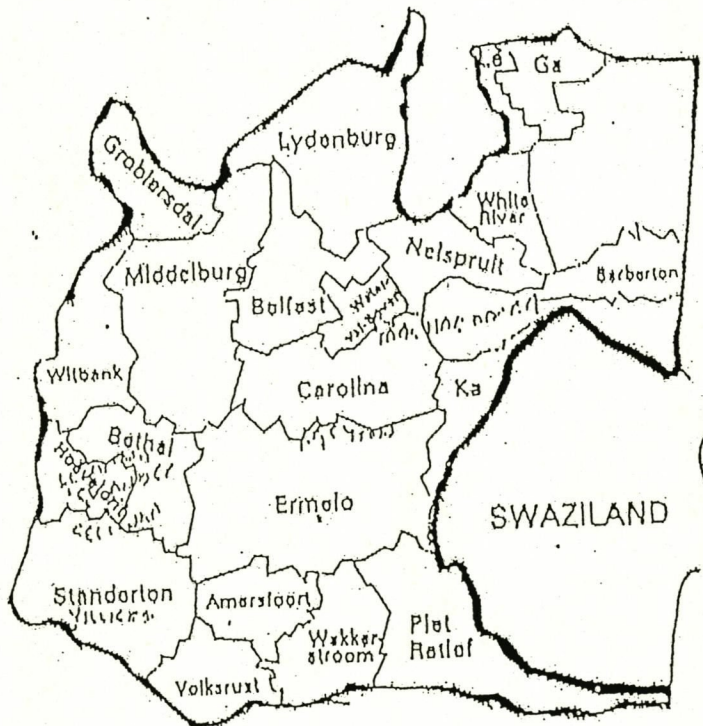
Consideration should be given to placing Northern Transkei in a new Border-Transkei region. If regions become important for purposes of representation at a national level, consideration might be given to counting Natal as two regions.



F. EASTERN TRANSVAAL

This region has a total population of 1,903 million. The total White population for this region is 18% and an African population of 81%. The main languages are Swati, Zulu and Afrikaans.

Consideration <sup>might</sup> ~~should~~ be given to placing part of the East Rand in this region.

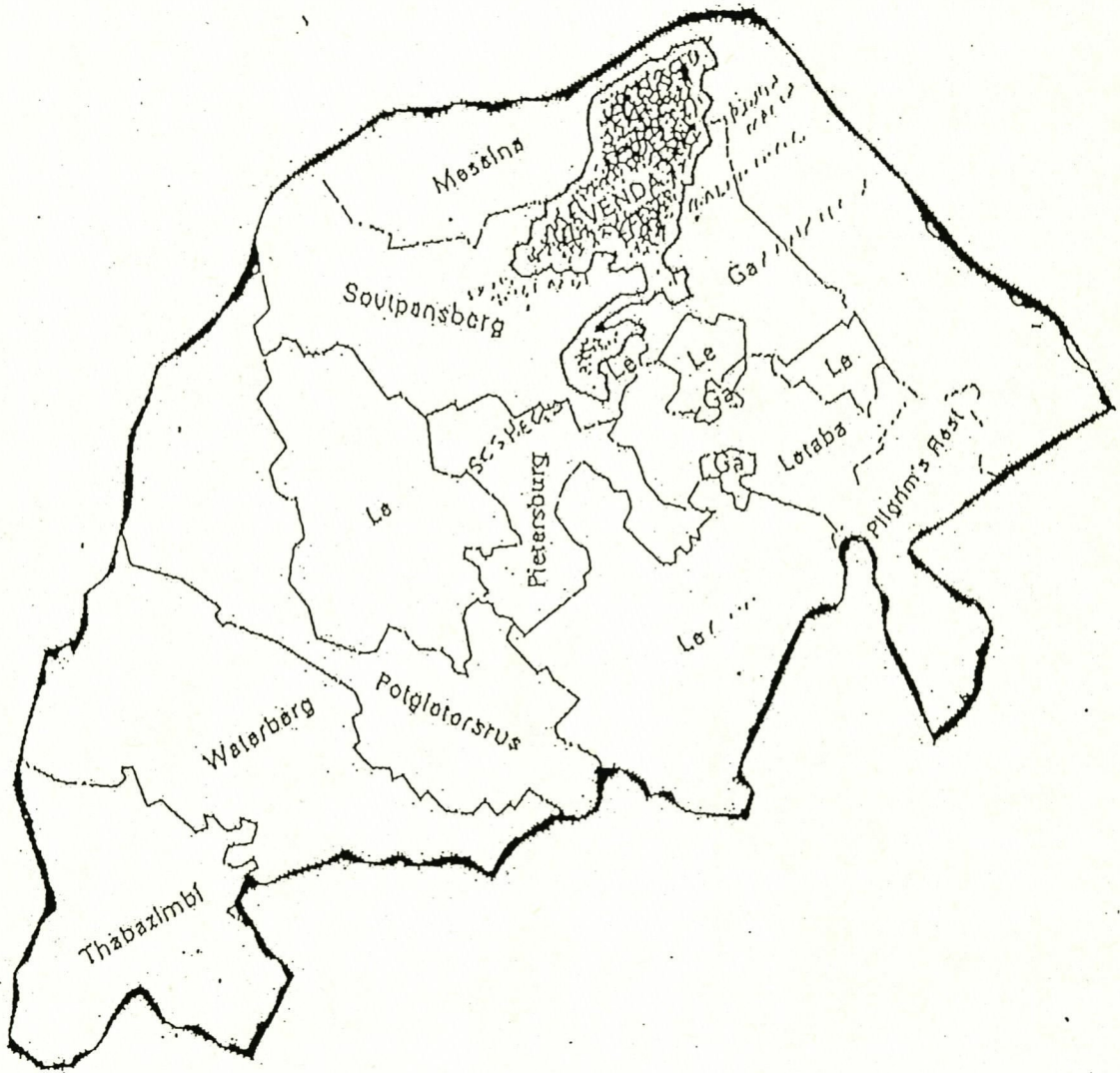


6. NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

This region has a population of 4,127 million. It has total White population of 4% and an African population of 96%. The main languages are Pedi, Venda, Tsonga and Afrikaans.

This is a heavily populated area with hardly any industrial infrastructure and no major urban area. Consideration ~~should~~ be given to making Pretoria part of this region.

might



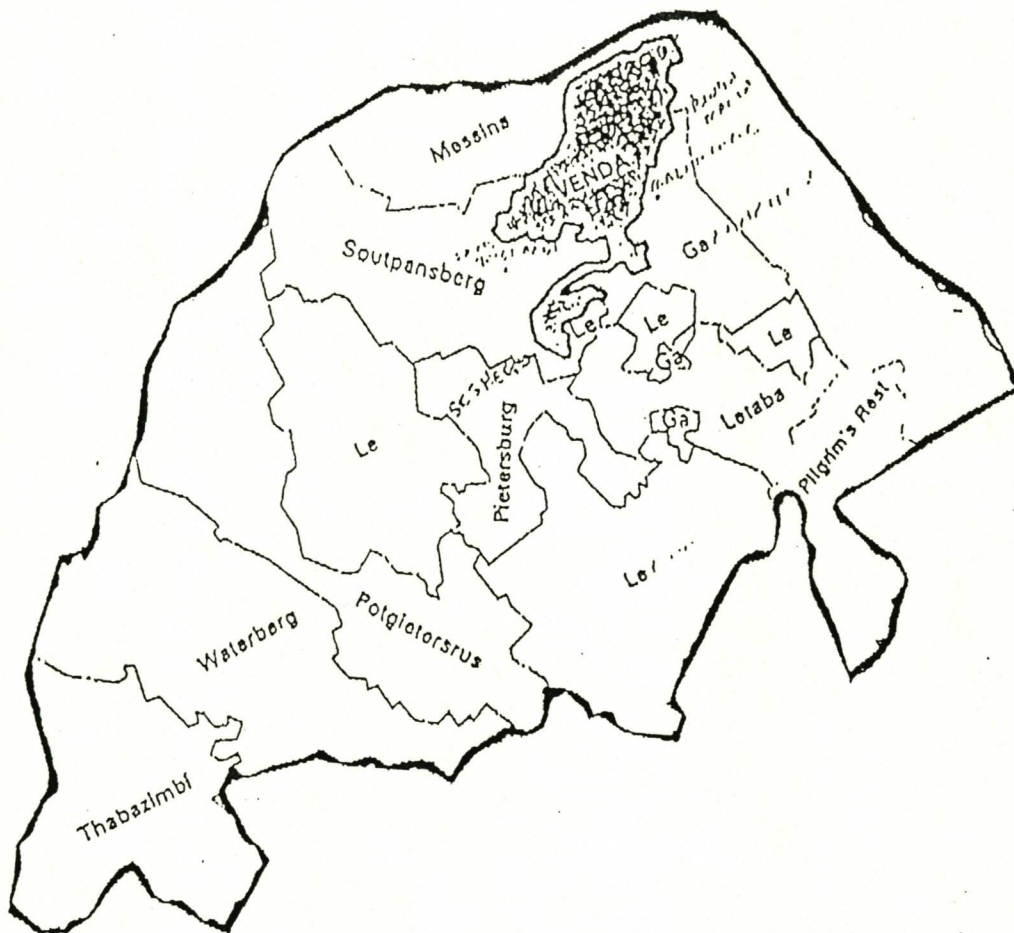


G. NORTHERN TRANSVAAL:

This region has a population of 4,127 million. It has total White population of 4% and an African population of 96%. The main languages are Pedi, Venda, Tsonga and Afrikaans.

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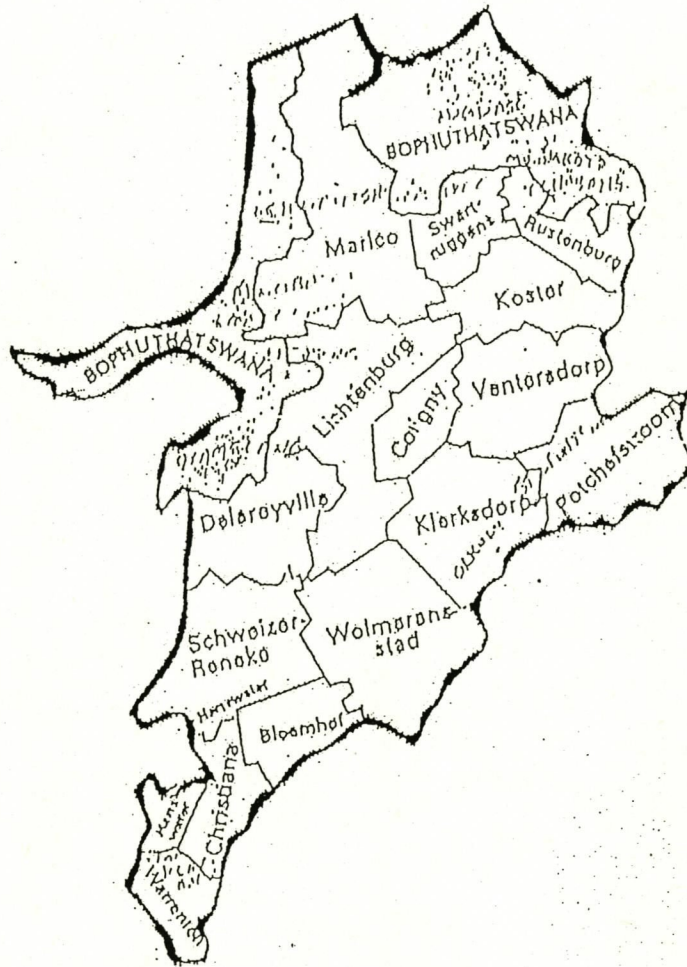
This is a heavily populated area with hardly any industrial infrastructure and no major urban area. It contains 2 Bantustans and 1 'homeland'.



J. WESTERN TRANSVAAL

The total population of this region is 1,450 million. It has a total White population of 16% and an African population of 82%. The main languages are Tswana and Afrikaans.

Consideration should be given to placing part of the West Rand in this region.



H. PWV

This region has a total population of 6,928 million. This region has a total White population of 28% and an African population of 68%. All the languages of South Africa are spoken here.

Consideration might be given to creating a Southern Transvaal region based on Johannesburg and the Vaal area, and locating other parts in the Northern, Western and Eastern Transvaal regions respectively.

of the PWV

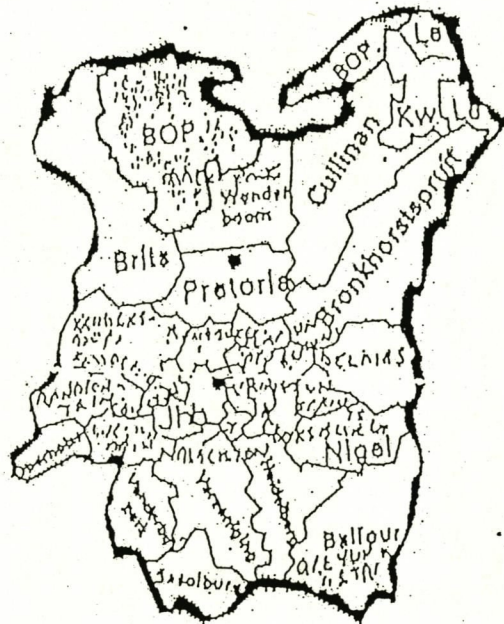


TABLE 1

APPROXIMATE DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN FOR ANC REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

	TOTAL POPULATION (3) ***	<del>ANC</del> % POPULATION ANC REGION	DEVELOPMENT REGION
A. Western Cape	3 475	10%	10%
B. Northern Cape	1 441	4%	4%
C. OFS			6%
- South	682	2%	
- North	1 534	4%	
D. Eastern Cape			13%
- Eastern Cape	1 276	4%	
- Border	1 370	4%	
- South Transkei (2) **	1 800	5%	
E. Natal			25%
- South	2 849	8%	
- Midlands	962	3%	
- Northern	3 257	9%	
- North Transkei (2) **	1 800	5%	
F. Eastern Transvaal	1 903	5%	5%
G. Northern Transvaal	4 127	12%	12%
H. PWV (1) *	6 928	20%	20%
J. Western Transvaal	1 450	4%	4%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34 854</b>		

NOTE:

1. For computational purposes in comparing the development regions, the population of Bophuthatswana has been equally divided between Northern Cape, Western Transvaal and the PWV.

2. For computational purposes in comparing the development regions, Transkei has been equally divided between Natal and the Eastern Cape.

3. These figures are approximations based on census and other figures for 1985. Assuming a growth rate of 4% the tables figures were determined. This is because there was a need to match different censuses. However, care was taken to ensure the proportions should remain roughly the same.

Allowance should be made, however, for considerable population movements from area to area since 1985.

APPROXIMATE BREAKDOWNS OF RACE, GENDER AND AGE FOR DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

	WHITES	AFRICANS	AFRICAN WOMEN	UNDER 5 YEARS	OVER 55 YEARS
A. Western Cape	24%	20%	41%	10%	10%
B. Northern Cape	12%	61%	51%	12%	8%
C. OFS	14%	83%	46%	11%	9%
D. Eastern Cape	14%	71%	51%	22%	5%
E. Natal	6%	82%	55%	20%	7%
F. Eastern Transvaal	18%	81%	45%	13%	8%
G. Northern Transvaal	4%	96%	56%	16%	9%
H. PWV	28%	68%	45%	8%	7%
J. Western Transvaal	16%	82%	44%	14%	9%
TOTAL	15%	74%	51%		

**Note:** These tables reflect the impact of the migrant labour system. they indicate that the percentage of persons of voting age will be higher in industrialised regions, and that the women's vote will be particularly important in rural areas.