II MOTIVATION

Including Criteria for Regions

II MOTIVATION, INCLUDING CRITERIA FOR REGIONS

DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

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 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, 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 need to avoid over-centralisation.

* 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, communication, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and many other historically produced factors.

On the other hand, there are arguments relating to the need to avoid a totally dispersed system of decentralised local government. These include:

* recognising the advantages to be attained through integrated regional development;

* ensuring effective planning to make appropriate allowances for the future;

* ensuring equal opportunities for all people within regions.

In addition, powerful arguments may be made for a 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, agriculture 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, on the other hand, 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, 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 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 or other boundaries to which people are accustomed.

These principles should be applied in such a way that we are able actively to 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

It is worth reviewing some of the historical experience which might be relevant to the definition of regions in a non-racial, united, nonsexist and democratic South Africa.

1. **PROVINCES**

   One possible option would be to revert to the 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 (40% of the population) of the Transvaal would 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 TBVC were not included.

When the NEC made suggestions on legally re-forming the ANC, it was suggested that fourteen regions be created. These were to be based around particular centres, and no regional boundaries were set. The enclosed map indicates where the ANC regional borders might be; they have never been formally determined.

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).

3. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

In 1981 Pretoria 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 used by the ANC, except that:

(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.

These economic regions appear to be based on relatively objective non-racial criteria. They make some 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.

One important qualifications, however, needs to be made.

Firstly, consideration needs to be given to the creation of a tenth region, namely the Border-Transkei region, separate from 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. The whole issue of the Transvaal regions needs thinking through.

Caps.

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

Fourthly, in all cases, extensive consultation is essential.

Finally, it should be noted that the existence of regions for governmental purposes would almost certainly affect the future of ANC regions, and therefore, the composition of the NEC.

PROPOSAL FOR A REGIONAL BREAKDOWN

It is suggested that the country have three levels of government:

1. **NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

2. REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

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

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

At least three forms of local government would be found:

Metropolitan Government
Urban Local Authorities
Rural Authorities

ANNEXURES

I Map A - the proposed Regions for South Africa
Map B - the SA Development Regions
Map C - ANC regions
Map D - SA Development Regions / ANC Regions Overlap

II General motivation including Criteria for Regions

III Individual Maps of the Nine South Africa Development Regions, with Commentaries.

IV Table giving Approximate Population Breakdowns for ANC and Development Regions

V Table giving Approximate Percentages of Total Population in the Ten Proposed Regions

VI A Critical Analysis of National Party and Democratic Party Proposals for Regional and Local Government

VII Sub-Regional Servicing Districts as at Present

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I MAPS

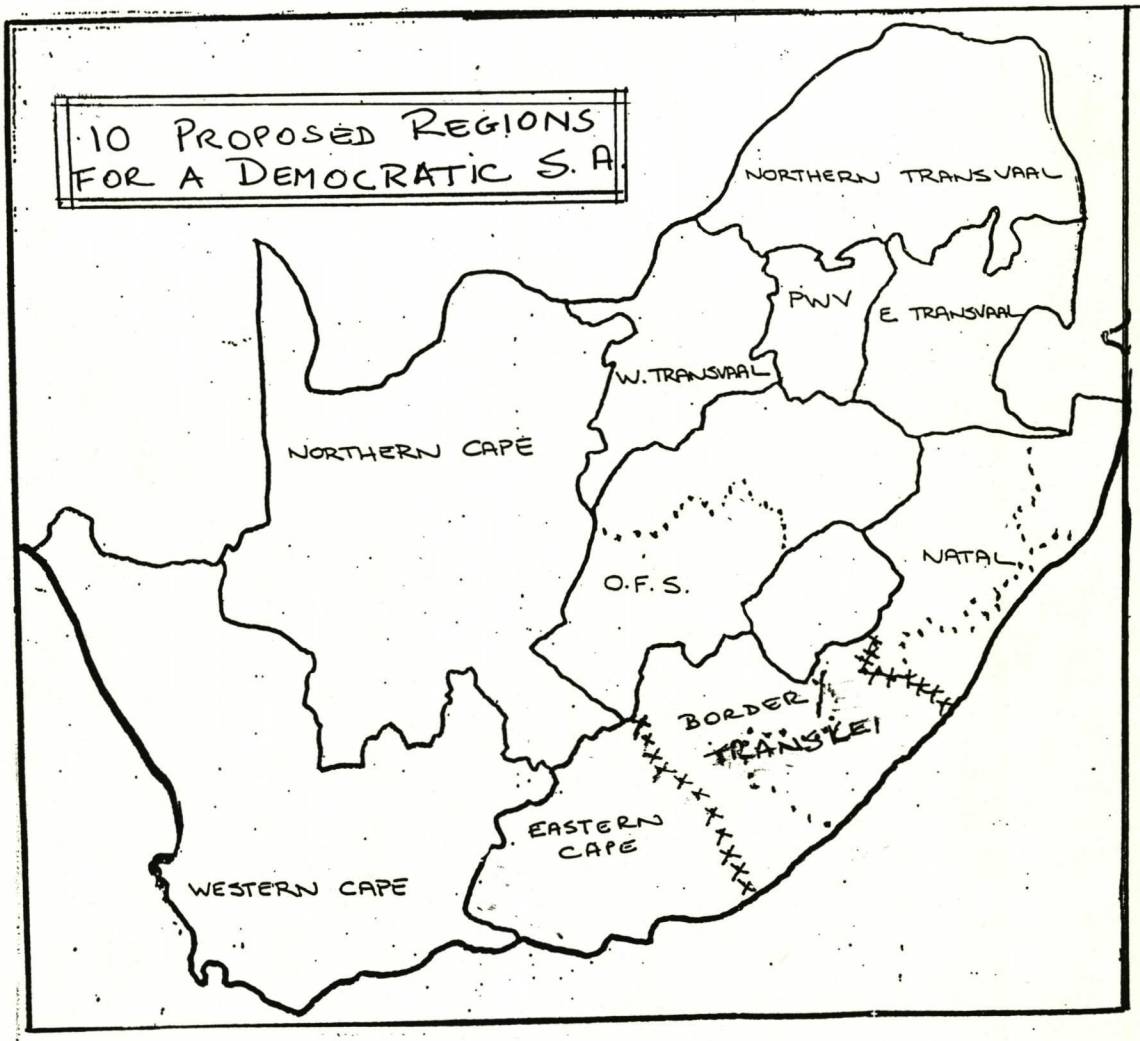
Map A - the proposed Regions for South Africa

Map B - the SA Development Regions

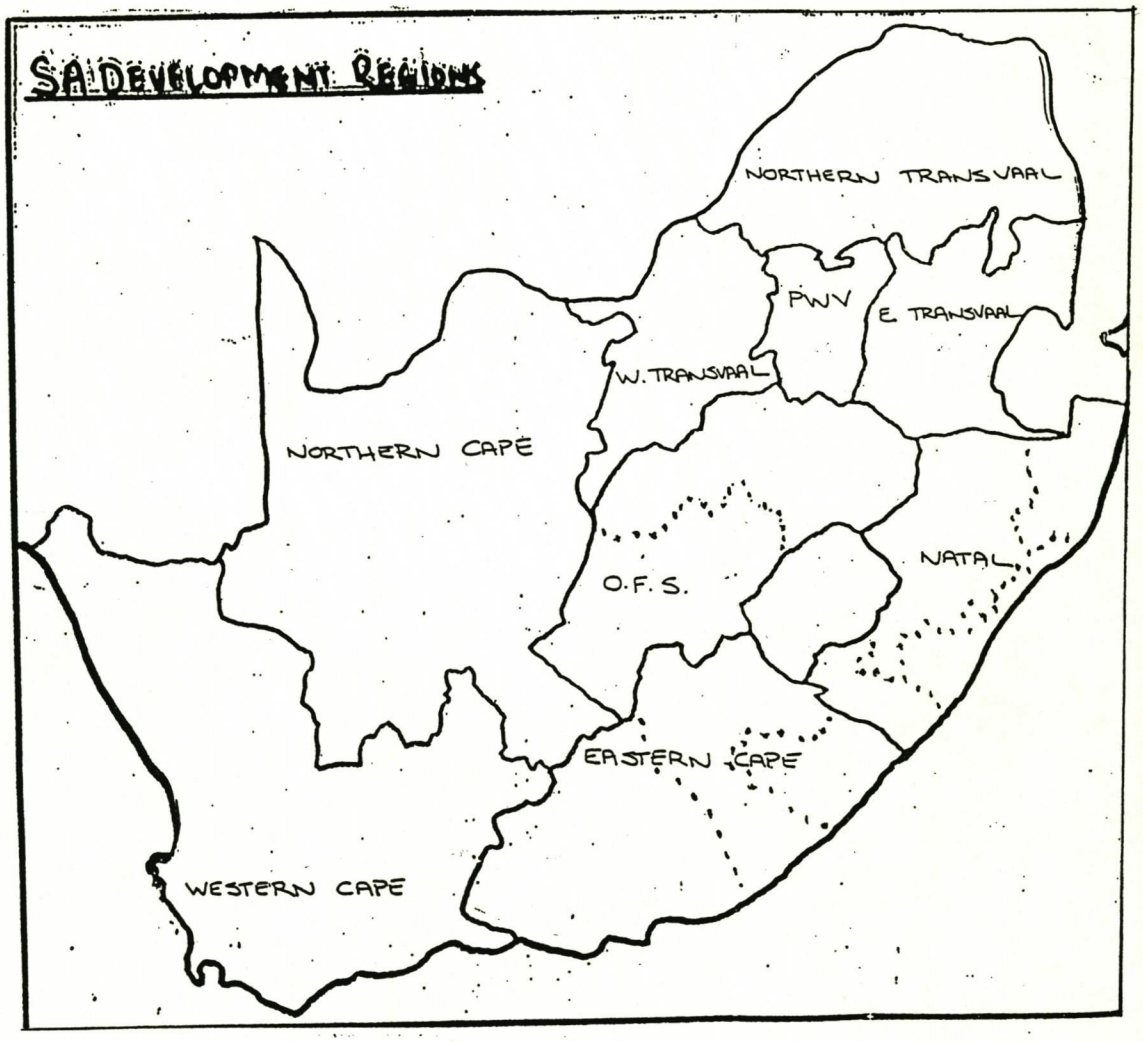
Map C - ANC regions

Map D - SA Development Regions / ANC Regions Overlap

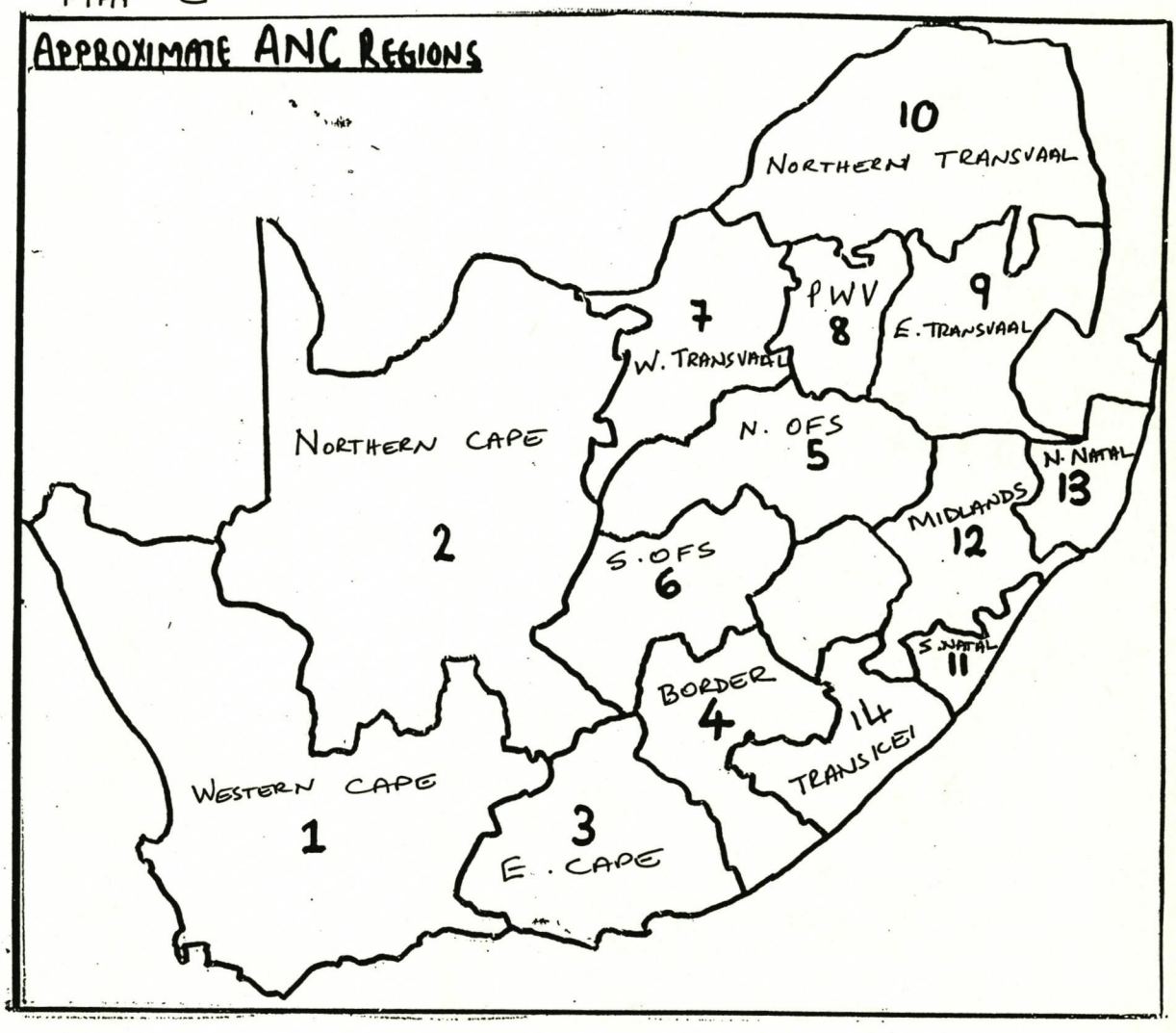
MAP A


10 PROPOSED REGIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC S.A.
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
PWV
E. TRANSVAAL
W. TRANSVAAL
NORTHERN CAPE
O.F.S.
NATAL
BORDER
TRANSKEI
EASTERN CAPE
WESTERN CAPE

MAP B

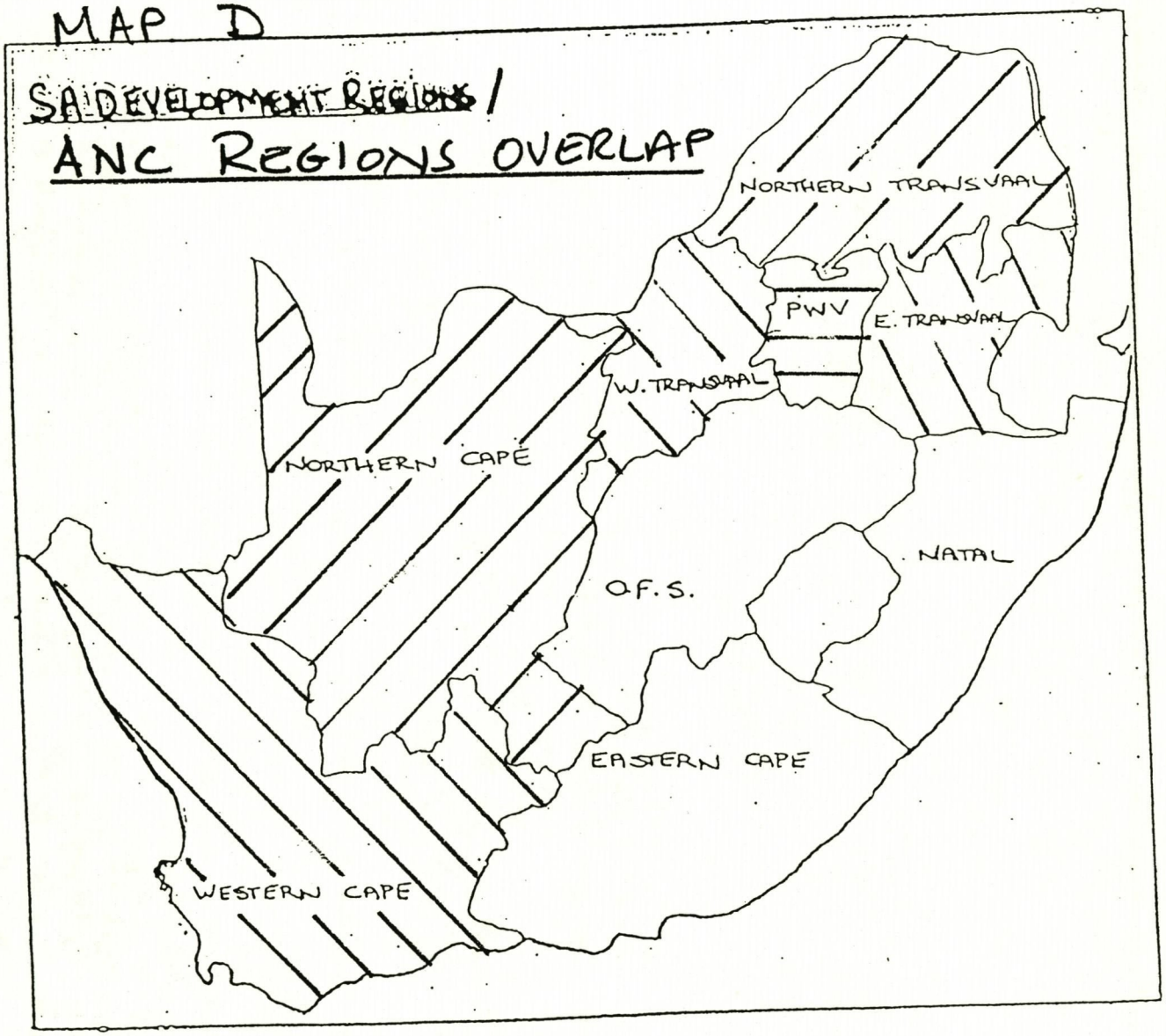

SA DEVELOPMENT REGIONS
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
PWV
E. TRANSVAAL
W. TRANSVAAL
NORTHERN CAPE
O.F.S.
NATAL
EASTERN CAPE
WESTERN CAPE

MAP C


APPROXIMATE ANC REGIONS
10
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
7
W. TRANSVAAL
PWV
8
9
E. TRANSVAAL
NORTHERN CAPE
2
N. OFS
5
N. NATAL
13
MIDLANDS
12
S. OFS
6
S. NATAL
11
BORDER
4
14
TRANSKEI
WESTERN CAPE
1
3
E. CAPE

MAP D

SA DEVELOPMENT REGIONS / ANC REGIONS OVERLAP



II Motivation

Including Criteria for Regions

III Individual Regional Maps

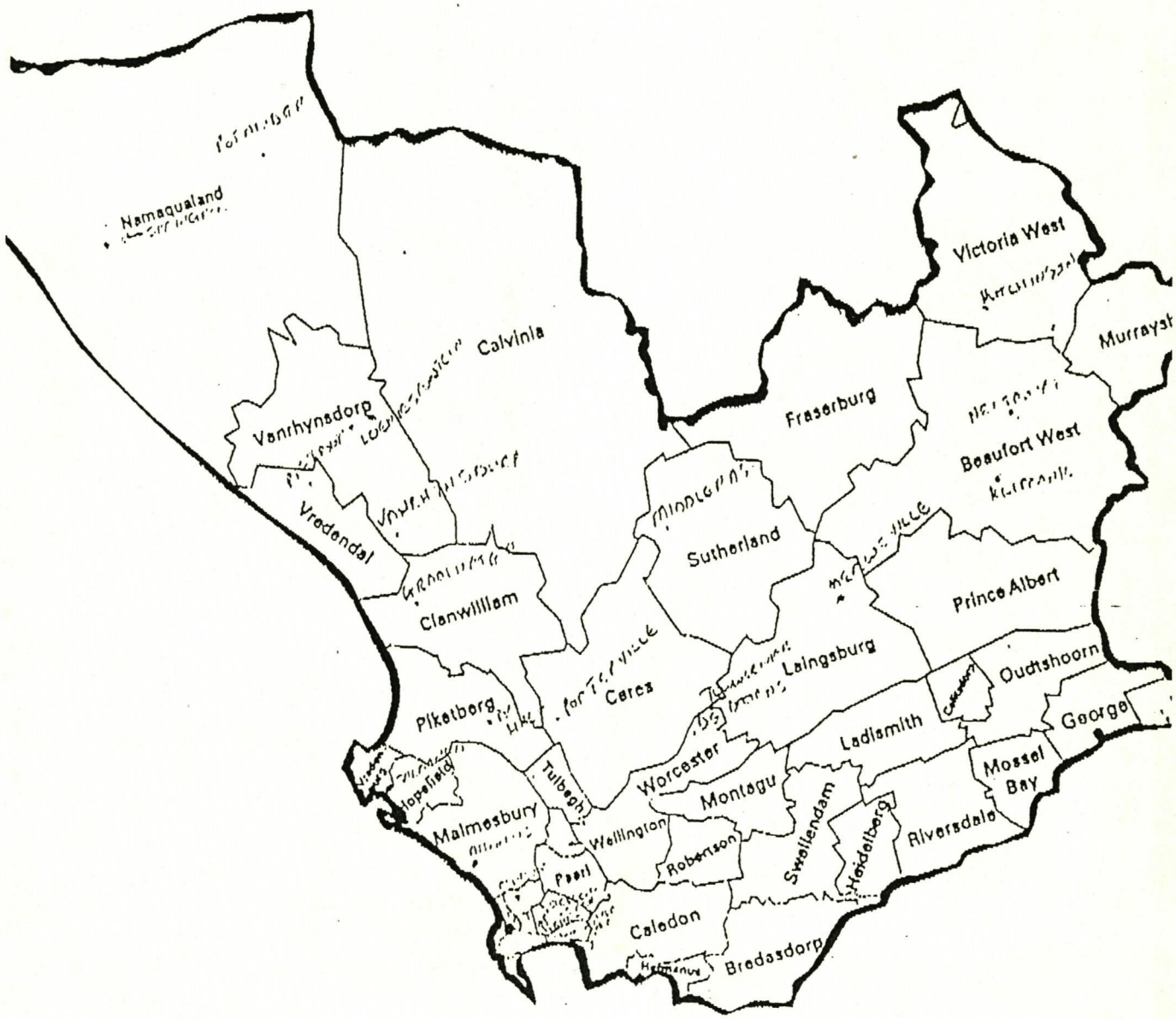
Nine South Africa Development Regions, with Commentaries.

[Magisterial Districts are shown]

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.

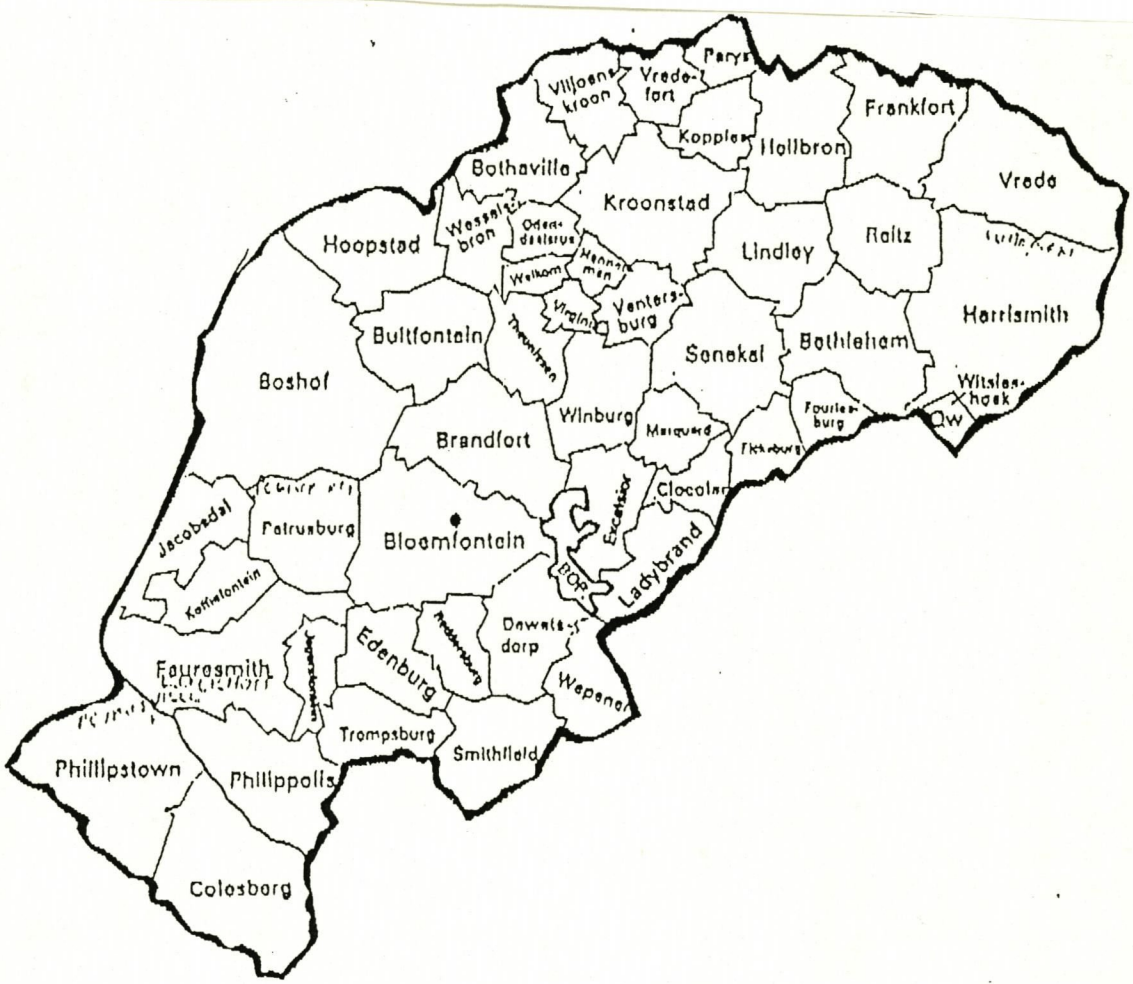
The dominant language is Afrikaans although within the Cape Town Metropolitan area a high proportion of English-speakers may be found. Xhosa is also increasingly being spoken.



C. ORANGE FREE STATE:

The OFS is divided into two, Northern and Southern Orange Free State. It has a total population of 2,216 million or 0,682 million for Southern Orange Free State and 1,534 million for Northern Orange Free State. The total White population for OFS is 14%, and 83% of the population is African. The main languages are Sotho and Afrikaans.

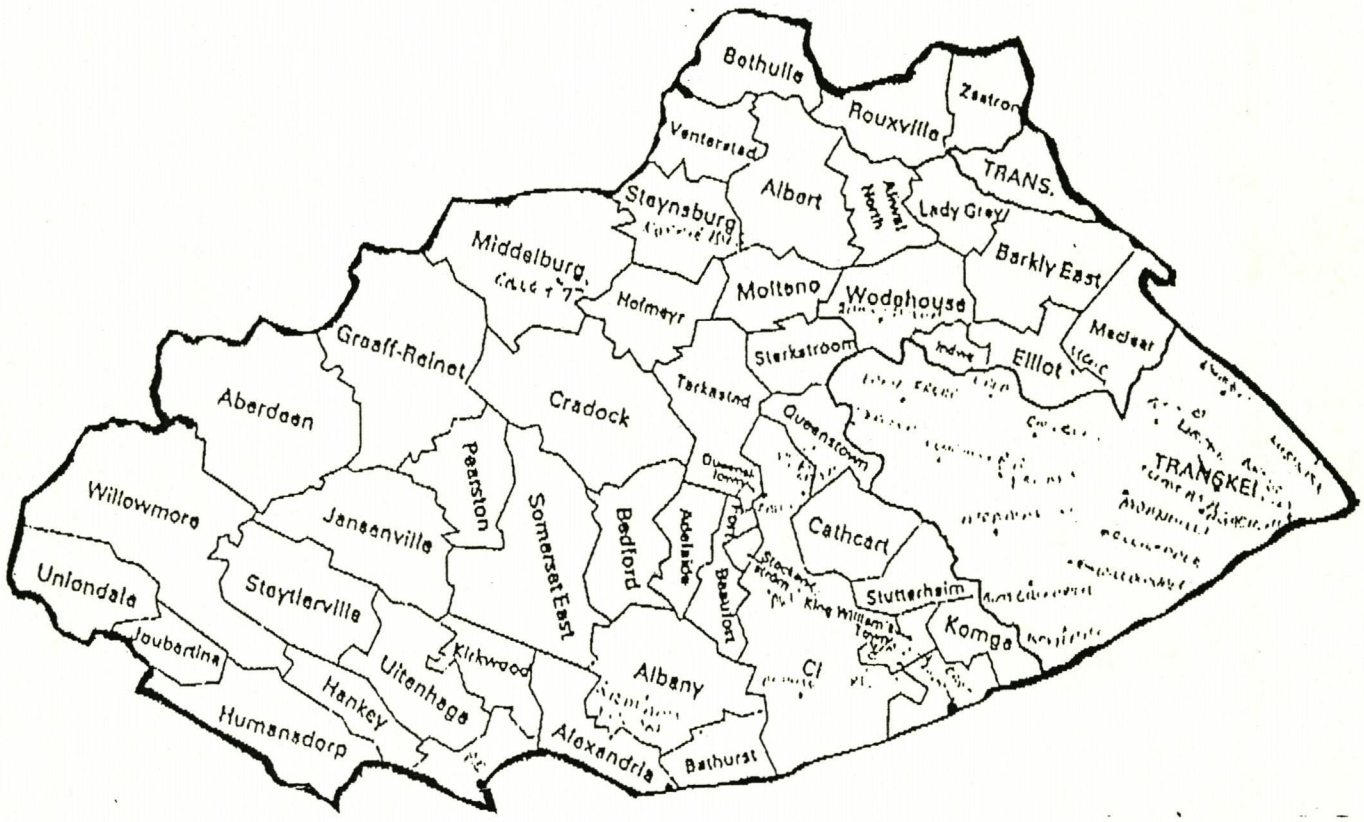
Note: This would involve consolidating two ANC regions.



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.

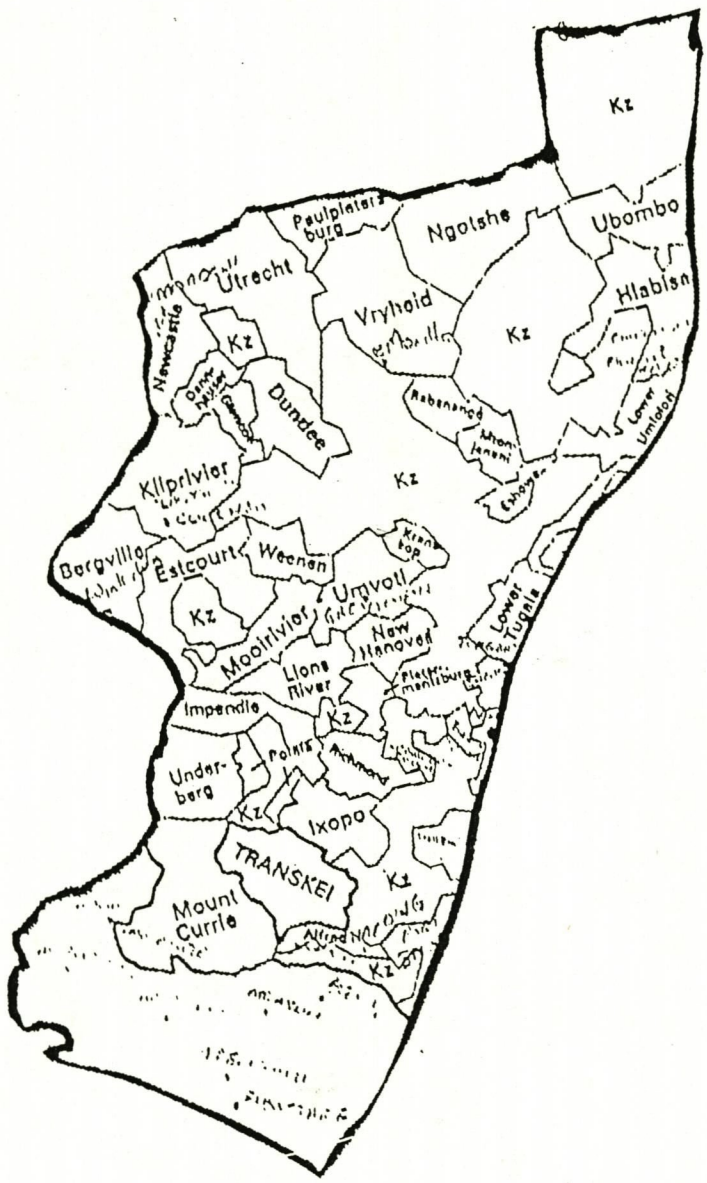
Note: **We propose creating a separate region for Border-Transkei, including the Northern Transkei, which in terms of the Development Regions is placed with Natal.**



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%, the African population 82% and South Africans of Indian origin about 11%. The main languages are Zulu, English and Afrikaans.

Note: **If Northern Transkei is taken out, the population ratios will be different, the African percentage being lower. We propose 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 more than one region.**



F. EASTERN TRANSVAAL

Map to follow.

IV TABLES

Approximate Population Breakdowns

II MOTIVATION

including Criteria for Regions

APPROXIMATE DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN FOR ANC REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

		TOTAL POPULATION ***	% POPULATION ANC REGION	% POPULATION 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 **	1 800	5%	
E.	**Natal**			25%
	- South	2 849	8%	
	- Midlands	962	3%	
	- Northern	3 257	9%	
	- North Transkei **	1 800	5%	
F.	**Eastern Transvaal**	1 903	5%	5%
G.	**Northern Transvaal**	4 127	12%	12%
H.	**PWV** *	6 928	20%	20%
J.	**Western Transvaal**	1 450	4%	4%
TOTAL		34 854		

NOTE: These are very rough figures.

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

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

*** These figures are approximations based on census and other figures for 1985. Assuming a growth rate of 4% the tabled 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.

V TABLE

Rough Percentages of South African Population in the Ten Proposed Regions

II MOTIVATION

including Criteria for Regions

V PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
IN THE TEN PROPOSED REGIONS

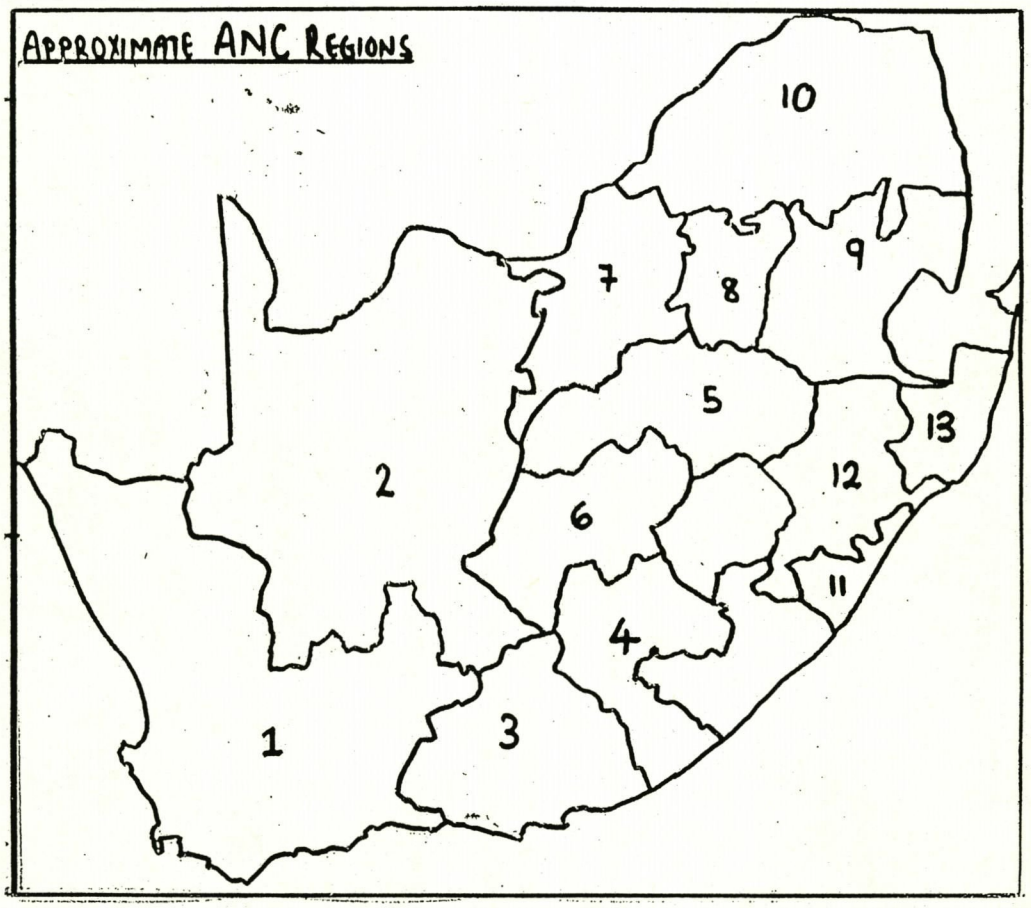
Note: These are very rought calculations that will need substantial adjustment.

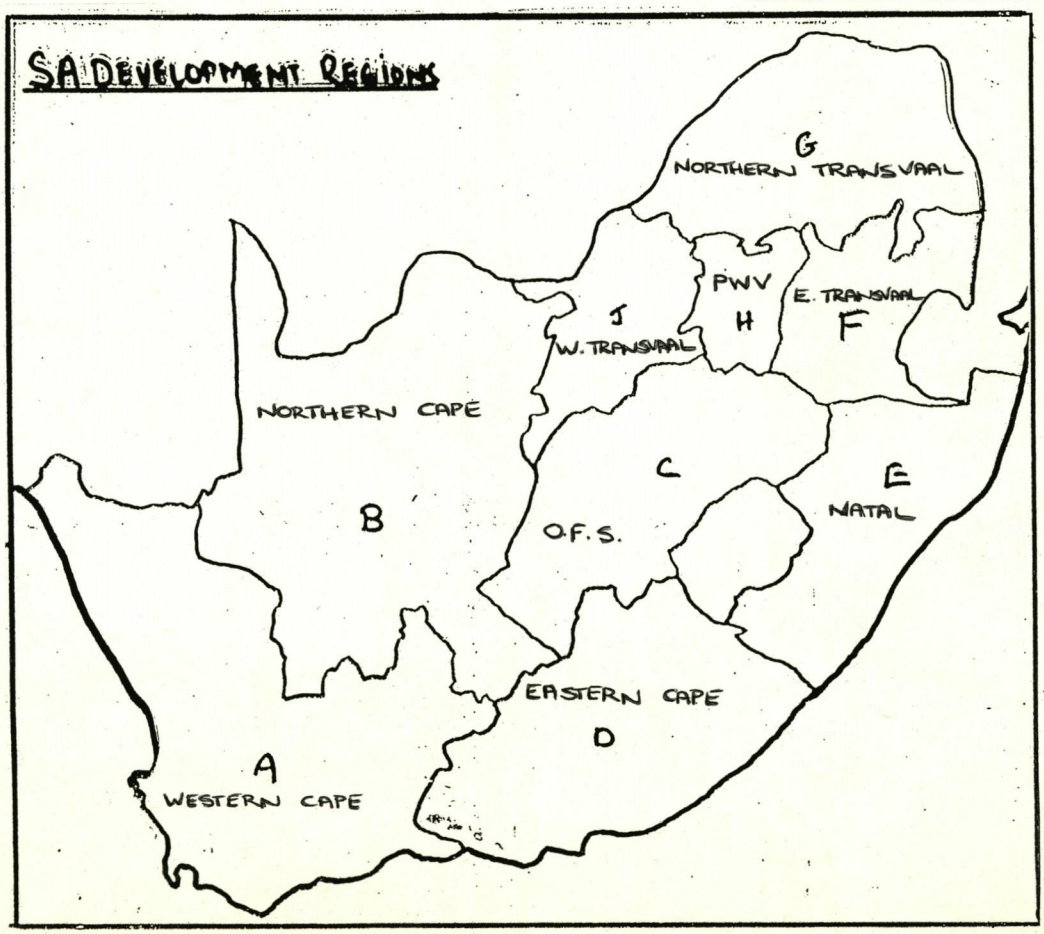
Western Cape	10%
Northern Cape	4%
OFS	6%
Eastern Cape	4%
Border/Transkei	14%
Natal	20%
Eastern Transvaal	5%
Northern Transvaal	12%
PWV	20%
Western Transvaal	4%
TOTAL	99%

VI - A CRITICAL LOOK AT N.P. AND D.P. PROPOSALS

DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

Some Preliminary Ideas.





VII SUB-REGIONAL SERVICES DISTRICTS