MEASURES OF INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION IN ZIMBABWE

TOWARD A GEOGRAPHY OF CONFLICT

ZIMBABWE'S APPROACH TO PROTECTED AREA MANAGEMENT

MAFIKENG TO MMABATHO: VILLAGE TO CAPITAL CITY

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In March 1985, Mafikeng (1) celebrated its centenary. Situated approximately 20 kilometres inside the border between Botswana and the Republic of South Africa (Figure 1), this rather small urban centre has managed over the past hundred years to draw the attention of Southern Africa and sometimes the world. In its early days, the role of the town in the Boer War (1899-1902) ensured for it a permanent place in British colonial history. From 1895 until 1965, the town had the distinction of being one of only two extra-territorial administrative capitals (Sillery, 1952). The other was Saint Louis in Senegal, the capital of Mauritania until 1957. The administrative functions of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (later Botswana), remained in the Imperial Reserve of Mafikeng until the new capital of Botswana, Gaberone was established. More recently during 1980 Mafikeng became only the second 'white' South African town to be incorporated into a bantustan or 'independent' homeland. Umtata, the capital of Transkei was the first in 1976. Finally in July 1984, the town of Mafikeng was integrated with the neighbouring urban areas of Montshiwa and Mmabatho to become a suburb of the capital city of Bophuthatswana, Mmabatho.

This article examines the growth and development of Mafikeng from the precolonial village settlement (from which the name is obtained) to the present day. During this period, the town and the inhabitants have faced a number of challenges, the most recent being the incorporation into Bophuthatswana. The changing cultural influences and political contexts have brought about a number of changes to the social, economic and urban structure of the town. While some of these changes have undoubtedly benefitted the town and some inhabitants, several problems and difficulties have arisen which pose certain threats to the future growth and development of the place as well as creating challenges for the future.

ORIGINS AND EARLY GROWTH

Although Mafikeng is best known to the outside world as an urban settlement planned by the British towards the end of the last century, this colonial town has its origins in an earlier traditional Tswana village. In the 1850s the Molema section of the Barolong tribe settled on the well-wooded banks of the Molopo river in a small clustered village. This first permanent settlement was called 'Molema's Stad'. Upon the arrival of Chief Montshiwa, Chief of the Barolong in 1857, the settlement became known as Mafikeng, 'the place of stones'. This Tswana name referred to the large dywka tillite boulders found along the banks of the Molopo river in this area.

The establishment of the British 'colonial' settlement came as a result of increasing conflict between Chief Montshiwa and the neighbouring boer settlers of the Goshen Republic. Since Chief Montshiwa had in 1884 sought
Figure 1: General Location of Mafikeng-Mmabatho
The protection of the British Government, the Warren Expedition was despatched to assist against the Goshenites. The military presence soon led to the establishment of a colonial settlement a short distance from the traditional village or ‘stad’. In 1885, permission was given by the Bechuanaland High Commission for the laying-out of the characteristic colonial grid-iron pattern which was to form the new settlement. Objections by Chief Montshiwa to the proximity of this settlement to the ‘stad’ were ignored and in December 1885, the first meeting of the Mafikeng Village Management Board was held. (Renew, 1981).

The importance of the newly established settlement was soon increased when in 1895, the capital of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was transferred from Vryburg to Mafikeng. This had come about with the division of the Bechuanaland Territory into a northern and southern portion. The northern portion became the Bechuanaland Protectorate and much later became the Republic of Botswana. The southern portion was annexed by the Cape Colony. Mafikeng thus became the extra-territorial capital for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, remaining so until 1965.

In the period leading up to the Boer War, Mafikeng continued to be at the centre of British colonial expansion. The expansion was assisted by the extension of the railway line from the Cape to Mafikeng in 1894 and its further extension to Bulawayo in 1897. The Pioneer (Settler) Column used the town as a staging point before setting off to colonise Zimbabwe. In 1895, Mafikeng again became the focus for imperial expansionism with the ill-fated Jameson Raid. Although the unsuccessful raiders gathered at Pitsani, some distance to the north, much of the planning was conducted in Mafikeng by Dr. Jameson and the conspirators.

The hostilities of the Boer War focussed the entire attention of the English-speaking world on this newly established settlement. The Siege of Mafikeng still remains the most documented and well known period of the town’s history and has left a legacy which still manages to attract visitors from all parts of the world. Apart from the characters and events of the Siege, the town became associated with the World Scouting Movement. Colonel Baden-Powell, commander of the besieged forces, is said to have conceived the idea of the Boy Scouts during this period and Mafikeng is still regarded as the spiritual home of the world-wide Scouting movement. (Dale, 1969).

By the turn of the century, the town occupied a relatively small area around a central market place. Houses were constructed mainly of red mud brick with corrugated iron roofs. There were 2 schools, a number of churches, a local newspaper (still in existence) and a branch of the Standard Bank. (Renew, 1981). The population consisted of approximately 1500 whites and much smaller numbers of Chinese, Indians and Coloureds. It was estimated that 5000 Barolong inhabited the neighbouring ‘stad’. In the aftermath of the siege and the Boer War, the town appeared to grow and prosper. An impressive church named St. John the Evangelist was built in memory of those who had died. Until a recent fire during 1984, the church was still in regular use and dominated the central area of the town. The Town Council also built an impressive Town Hall and this still serves the town as the Mafikeng Museum. A number of other prominent buildings constructed in this and the earlier periods still remain and are in daily use. The Victoria Hospital continues to serve the local community and the Convent which was bombarded during the siege still provides accommodation. However the occupants of the latter are no longer the nuns of St. Joseph, but croupiers and local staff of the local casino!
The development of Mafikeng between the First and Second World Wars appears to have been overshadowed by the more publicised heroic events of the Boer War. During the period there was little economic and physical growth although the population increased (Figure 2). The discovery of gold and alluvial diamonds in the immediate area seemed to be only of temporary benefit to the economy of the town before the deposits became uneconomic. By the Second World War, Mafikeng had the usual range of businesses and activities associated with a small town. Only the railway workshops and the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration (B.P.A.) provided a broader economic base.

The Second 'Siege'

The rise to power of the National Party in South Africa in the post-Second World War era, initiated changes in the character of Mafikeng. Mafikeng had previously been rather 'British' and 'colonial' in character and composition. This had to some extent been re-inforced by the presence of the personnel employed by the B.P.A. who lived and worked in the Imperial Reserve and in Mafikeng itself. However the town increasingly became an 'english' enclave in a predominantly Afrikaans agricultural hinterland.

The implementation of more rigid racial policies by the South African government in the 1950s and early 1960s soon were reflected in the urban landscape. Since the 1913 Native Land Act, there had been separation of black and white. This had not been rigid in Mafikeng since there had developed to the south of the town a multi-racial area of coloureds and blacks. The influence of apartheid policy resulted in the decision to segregate this mixed racial area. Danville was re-designated a coloured suburb and the new township of Montshiwa was established to the north-west of Mafikeng for blacks.

At the same time as the town was being restructured along racial lines, Mafikeng faced the prospect of an economic 'seige' with the threatened withdrawal of the B.P.A. This had been talked of before the Second World War but had been shelved because of the costs involved. However, the racial policies of the South African government, the extra-commonwealth status of the Republic of South Africa and the increasing nationalist pressure from within the Protectorate, produced an increasingly untenable position. The effects of the likely transfer of the B.P.A. and the economic implications were clearly of great concern. The B.P.A. was estimated to be worth between R300 000 and R600 000 to the economy of Mafikeng in one way or another. (Nussey, 1963). Fears and rumours of a 'ghost town' developing were heightened by the closing down of the railway workshops in the early 1960s. Representations to the South African government met with little response and increasing despondency and gloom pervaded the town. The pessimism for the future of the town was partially lifted however by the decision to establish the new Tswana Territorial Authority in Mafikeng. Thus, it seemed the 'second siege' had been lifted temporarily by the heirs of those who had been repulsed more than sixty years earlier. (Dale, 1969).

Towards a New Political Context

The temporary economic hardship emanating from the departure of the B.P.A. was reflected in the decline in white population between 1960 and 1970 (Figure 2). Uncertainty as to the future of the town prevailed throughout
Notes:

1. Coloureds and Indians were not distinguished in the 1904 and 1911 Censuses. Numbers are therefore estimates.

2. The decline in the Black population from 1960 is a result of the development of black residential areas outside the municipal area.

Figure 2: Changes in Population. Mafikeng 1904-1980.
the decade and into the next. In 1971 uncertainty and speculation continued with the decision that 'independence' was to be granted to the Tswana peoples in South Africa. Building societies responded by suspending loans for houses.

This uncertain period in Mafikeng's development was finally brought to an end towards the end of 1976. For sometime before, a number of possible sites had been suggested for the proposed new capital of the Bophuthatswana homeland. Mafikeng had done a great deal to persuade the government to locate the capital near Mafikeng. To many this appeared an appropriate choice since not only was the Mafikeng area more central to the proposed fragmented state but the administrative headquarters of the self-governing homeland of Bophuthatswana was located in Montshiwa, a few kilometres outside Mafikeng. At last, a decision was taken by the Bophuthatswana legislature in December 1976. The capital of Bophuthatswana, to be called Mmabatho, was to be located on a 'green field site' 7 kilometres to the north-west of Mafikeng. The decision not to incorporate Mafikeng immediately into Bophuthatswana met with a mixed response from residents of the town. However, everyone in the town appreciated the likely economic benefits to be obtained especially in view of the massive construction and building programme to be embarked upon in Mmabatho (2).

The effects of the decision to build the capital city nearby, were soon felt. Mafikeng experienced an economic boom unprecedented in its history. Increased job opportunities were created in a number of sectors with the building and construction sector benefitting the most. In addition the influx of seconded South African officials and overseas contract workers, brought in to assist the Bophuthatswana government, produced a shortage of housing and office accommodation. House and office prices and rents rapidly increased and were soon comparable to those in some of the larger metropolitan areas in South Africa. Speculation in the local housing market was also clearly in evidence. In the business and commercial spheres, business activity rapidly expanded. Retail and wholesale outlets developed to meet the increased demands of the rapidly growing bureaucracy and a rapid growth in population.

The 'independence' of Bophuthatswana also created a period of rapid growth in the urban extent of the town. Within the municipality of Mafikeng a new 'elite' residential area was laid out and later extended. The greatest increase however occurred beyond the municipal boundaries in the rapidly growing 'informal' housing areas to the west of the main Cape-Zimbabwe railway line. (Figure 3 and 4). 'Informal' housing settlement began to expand to the north-east and east of the town. From 1976 to 1983 the estimated total population of the Mafikeng-Montshiwa-Mmabatho urban area more than doubled from approximately 35 000 to more than 80 000 (Parnell, 1984). The Mafikeng urban region had never in its history experienced such rapid growth and development.

Independence brought considerable economic benefit to the town. However, Mafikeng remained in structure and attitude a 'white' South African urban settlement. The apartheid character and structure remained unaffected by the political changes occurring nearby. Segregation of residential areas and other public facilities remained. Soon after the 'independence' of Bophuthatswana in December 1977, negotiations were renewed between the South African government, the government of Bophuthatswana and representatives of the town of Mafekeng, concerning its future. White residents appeared to be divided over the idea of incorporation of Mafikeng into Bophuthatswana. The business and commercial community generally favoured...
Figure 3: General Land-use of Mafikeng (1963)
Figure 4: General Land-use of Mafikeng (1981)
the idea while those without business and commercial interests were more reticent. Most opposition to incorporation centred around the likely consequences of integration of the Mafikeng schools, the hospital and the churches. To avoid a possible white exodus and to allay some of these fears, an agreement was finally reached whereby the three white schools, the hospital and a few other institutions remained under the control of the Cape Provincial Authority. In reality, this meant that segregation would be retained for a period of time. The churches would be allowed to decide for themselves on racial integration. This allayed the fears of the congregations of the three ‘white’ Afrikaans churches. These concessions were to remain for a period of 5 years enabling some Mafikeng residents to make the transition more easily. Subsequently, the 5 year period was extended to 10 years. The incorporation agreement of September 1980 effectively brought to an end racial segregation and discrimination in Mafikeng except in the instance outlined above. Incorporation also heralded a new phase in the development of the town and launched Mafikeng into a new cultural and political context.

URBAN CHANGES

Incorporation into Bophuthatswana brought for the town of Mafikeng a number of changes. The most apparent occurred in the economic character and structure of the town and had begun to occur prior to incorporation. The decision by the government of Bophuthatswana to locate the new capital Mmabatho, in the immediate vicinity of Mafikeng, provided the impetus for economic changes. On the other hand social change was noticeable only after incorporation, and then at a much slower pace. The town of Mafikeng although incorporated into Bophuthatswana, remained quite separate administratively from the neighbouring urban areas of Mmabatho, Montshiwa and the rapidly growing ‘informal’ housing areas of the ‘stad’. Thus while the town was affected by the legislation of Bophuthatswana, it remained somewhat an administrative enclave in relation to the surrounding urban areas. In this way, many of the social problems and issues in the surrounding area did not have an immediate impact upon the town and its inhabitants. The amalgamation and integration of Mafikeng in July 1984 into the greater urban administrative area of the City of Mmabatho (Figure 5), is likely to have a much greater impact upon social change than the incorporation agreement.

The massive building and construction programme of Mmabatho produced an economic boom for Mafikeng affecting its economic structure. Not only did the building programme stimulate the traditional employment sectors of building and construction, transport and agriculture but there was also a widening of the town’s economic base. Inevitably, the greatest expansion and growth occurred in the construction and building sector, a direct result of the vast building programme of Mmabatho.

The array of new government buildings and residential housing provided ample employment opportunities for local building contractors, electricians, plumbers and unskilled labourers. In addition employment was offered to significant numbers of professional consultants such as architects, engineers and quantity surveyors based in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

The rapid growth of numerous state and para-statal organisations which quickly began to occupy the newly completed buildings, provided additional opportunities for employment. Although the opportunities within the
steadily growing bureaucracy remained limited because of the policy of employing Tswanas wherever possible, the rapidity of growth of bureaucracy fuelled a demand for higher levels of administrative, financial, retail and wholesale services in and around the town. The increased level and variety of these services were soon apparent and attracted customers and clients from the neighbouring areas of Botswana, the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape.

The more traditional employment sectors of agricultural and transport service saw less noticeable growth and development in the initial period of incorporation. More recently, however, despite the severity of the drought, there are indications that activity is increasing in these sectors. The transport sector is beginning to respond to the demands for a more comprehensive intra-urban and inter-regional transport service while the construction of a new milling plant indicates some expansion in the agricultural field.

The development of a tourist industry centred on the Mmabatho Sun Casino complex, added a further dimension to the economy of Mafikeng. Although much smaller than the Sun City complex, this entertainment complex attracts considerable numbers of visitors and tourists. Occupancy rates have been maintained at a very high level, between 80% to 90% by tourists and visiting business persons. The tourist sector of employment is likely to see further growth and development with the completion of the International Airport, the development of a new hotel and the added attractions of a local game reserve and tourist Tswana village.

Evidence of significant social change is rather more difficult to evaluate. The incorporation of Mafikeng into Bophuthatswana meant an immediate end to apartheid policies and laws. This meant that residential areas were immediately open to all races. Desegregation however, did not bring about a large influx of 'non-whites' into previously 'white only' residential areas. This was in part, a result of the high cost of houses in the town, created by a shortage of accommodation. Also, the development of new residential areas in Mmabatho appeared to be preferred by many middle income black civil servants. These areas were closer to their place of work as well as being slightly cheaper in price. Lastly, incorporation did not produce the much feared exodus of Mafikeng 'white' residents so that there were relatively few properties for purchase on the open market. In fact, any outflow of whites was more than compensated for by a larger influx of seconded South African officials and overseas contract workers. The result was that para-statal and private companies were prepared to offer inflated prices for almost any type of residence in Mafikeng, in order to house their employees. Many houses therefore were taken up before they appeared on the open market.

Finally, arising from independence and incorporation there is evidence of changes in the population composition of Mafikeng. Although detailed statistics for Mafikeng are not available, by the 1970's Mafikeng was predominantly Afrikaans speaking. This was clearly evident by the very small numbers of English-speaking children in the three 'white' Mafikeng schools. In spite of the very generous concessions granted for incorporation, however a significant number of mainly Afrikaans-speaking residents did leave. The effect of this departure was soon evident in the diminishing number of children in the Afrikaans-medium classes. At the same time, there was a marked increase in the number of children in the English-medium classes. These children, referred to as 'immigrants', came from a variety of countries including the United Kingdom, Zimbabwe, Israel
and Taiwan. Their arrival in the Mafikeng schools had been a result of their parents being offered employment in Bophuthatswana by various government, para-statal and private firms. Since independence and incorporation, it seems also that the ‘white’ population of Mafikeng has become more cosmopolitan in character with a decrease in the number of Afrikaans speakers. English as the language of communication is also more evident in the town.

**URBAN PROBLEMS**

The decision in July 1984 to integrate the diverse urban components of Mafikeng, Montshiwa and Maabatho, under the one urban authority of the City of Maabatho, produced a fascinating but very complex urban environment. Within the new boundaries, there now existed three quite distinct urban landscapes each with its own set of problems and difficulties. These urban landscapes had evolved from different sets of cultural values and contexts. Beyond the new city boundaries lay a host of additional problems associated with the rapidly expanding ‘informal’ residential areas of the ‘stad’. Although some of the problems may be unique to this particular area, a number are relevant to other urban environments, elsewhere in South Africa and therefore deserve to be briefly mentioned.

In keeping with the urban developments elsewhere in Africa (Smout, 1978), the main cause behind many of the problems facing the City of Maabatho, is the rapid growth in the urban population. Since independence, the urban population has more than doubled in size. Inevitably severe problems in housing, employment and the provision of adequate services have been experienced.

The provision of adequate low-income housing appears to be the single most important problem facing the newly formed urban authority. Montshiwa township was specifically designed for this purpose but since construction in the early 1970s, no further development has taken place. As a result the majority of the black population live in the ‘informal’ housing areas which are tribally controlled and have no services. Overcrowding, lack of adequate water supply, use of inferior construction materials, and poor sanitation are all clearly evident. Apart from the poor and unsatisfactory living conditions, these areas are an eyesore for the newly emerging capital city and provide a striking contrast between the quality of life in low income and high income residential areas.

The problem of low income housing is directly affected by the lack of employment opportunities. Although the area’s economic base has expanded and grown, it is dominated by tertiary employment generated by the State. Even so, there are limits on the ability of the State to provide employment particularly in the present economic recession and also in view of the large numbers apparently being drawn into this urban area in the search for employment. Manufacturing industry would seem to provide some solution, however the peripheral location of Maabatho in relation to other industrial and commercial centres in South Africa, seems to be a major drawback in spite of its official growth point status.

Industrial development appears also to be inhibited by problems of water supply. Since 1933, Mafikeng has obtained its water supply from Grootfontein, a dolomitic fountain some 23 kilometres away. This source of supply remained quite adequate prior to the rapid growth and urban expansion. Since independence, the increase in population and rapid
development has resulted in a 20% p.a. increase in water consumption. The continued drought has further aggravated the problem resulting in the inevitable water restrictions. Further urban and industrial expansion and future development of the City of Mmabatho depends to a large extent on the success in obtaining additional supplies of water at a cost which is reasonable to all consumers.

Finally, the integration and amalgamation of the three district urban environments of Mafikeng, Montshiwa and Mmabatho, pose many challenges in respect to urban finance and administration. The decision to integrate has revealed inequalities in the provision of services and facilities between the urban areas. There are also varying degrees of experience relating to local government administration. Only the inhabitants of the suburb of Mafikeng have experience of the mechanisms and procedures of local government. Residents of Montshiwa and Mmabatho will need to be gradually educated into the local government ethic and all that it entails.

Already in the short time since administrative integration, problems concerning local government have arisen. The re-evaluation of the entire area and a proposed adjustment to rates and rateable values produced some disquiet among all residents. Many residents in Montshiwa and Mmabatho did not understand the new 'levy', having never experienced it before. In Montshiwa and Mmabatho rates had been incorporated into rentals and also had been heavily subsidised by the central authority. In the suburb of Mafikeng, dissatisfaction was also expressed at the proposed large increases. The general feeling was that rates were being raised in Mafikeng in order to subsidise services and facilities in Mmabatho and Montshiwa. In any event the difficulties were resolved after negotiations between the Government and the City Council. Proposed rate increases were reduced substantially with the use of a subsidy.

The above briefly outlined events, indicate something of the nature of the difficulties being faced by the new local authority in such a diverse urban environment. These difficulties are likely to increase when some of the 'informal' housing areas are brought under the control of the City Council. Some system of rating will have to be developed which will take into account the great differences in income and living standards, which are contained within the area. The problem is one of education and communication as well as the allocation of resources.

CONCLUSION

In the 100 years since founding, Mafikeng provides a fascinating case-study of the influences of politics and culture on the development of an urban landscape. Since the very beginning, political events and decisions, often made elsewhere and without reference or regard to local inhabitants have affected the growth and development of this settlement. The influence and impact of culture can readily be seen in the diverse urban components which today make up the City of Mmabatho. It remains to be seen whether such diverse cultural origins and influences can be harmoniously accommodated and assimilated within the context of a rapidly expanding urban environment or whether, the rapidity of change brought about by a set of dominant cultural values, will cause a dislocation between the place and the inhabitants (Kay, 1983). Whatever the result, the rest of South Africa will look on with some interest at developments in the new capital city of Mmabatho.
NOTES

1. Throughout the paper the original spelling of Mafikeng is used. The British 'anglicised' the original Tswana and in 1985 it was spelt 'Mafeking'. This spelling remained until incorporation in 1980, when the town's name reverted to the original Tswana spelling.

2. The initial building and construction programme was estimated by government sources to be approximately R300 million. However, the addition of an International Airport, a new stadium and new residential areas would indicate that this estimate is extremely conservative.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Mrs A Renew, Curatrix of the Mafikeng Museum for providing me with access to much of the historical information contained in the article. My thanks also to Mr L V Leotlela for drawing the maps and diagrams.

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