

Housing Transformation in Port St Johns, South Africa Since 1994

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ABSTRACT This study reports on the results of an investigation on housing transformation in Port St Johns, South Africa between 1994 and 2010. The objectives for this study are to: review relevant information on housing policy framework in South Africa; examine housing delivery and the desegregation of the different population groups; and identify constraints towards housing delivery and desegregation in the town. The empirical data for the study was obtained from Port St Johns' property registers, through individual interviews with key role players of Port St Johns' urban spatial planning, people involved in the property industry, and long-term residents of the town. The findings indicate that in 1994 housing delivery was stagnant and segregation high. Although marginal, by 2010 housing delivery for low-income groups, and desegregating of property ownership have also made some step. Encouraging Black property ownership through housing delivery was constrained by the underperformance of local municipal leadership and urban variations of government funding for development projects. Obstacles to desegregation were overpriced houses, low housing market, poor infrastructure and housing properties without title deeds.

INTRODUCTION

The need to transform housing in urban centres became central on the policy agenda of the post-1994 South African government (South Africa 1996). In pursuit of this, the post-1994 South African government introduced a diversity of housing reforms, which served as a basis for housing transformation notably, desegregation and housing delivery as reflected in the South African Constitution, section (21 and 26) Act 108 of 1996. In terms of housing transformation, urban centres in the former South African Bantustans were the neediest ones as they were vulnerable to apartheid planning (Krige 1996). Thus, after 1994, research on housing transformation became robust. For example, scholars have conducted research on housing delivery with popular focus areas being the challenges of growth of urban centres both in the rural environment and large cities (Krige 1996; Nhlapo et al. 2011), and discussions on conceptual, methodological and theoretical applications in South

Africa's small towns (Donaldson and Marais 2012). The former dictatorship of the colonial governments which could advocate exclusive access of right to urban housing to Blacks in urban areas was also another niche area of research (Ramutsindela 2012). Also, there has been research on the desegregation of the property ownership. Various scholars have reviewed this trend and noted poignant aspects of transformation in property ownership in terms of desegregation.

Desegregation trends were measured using municipal property data polls/property registers (Donaldson and Kotze 2006; Rex and Visser 2009; Bwaya 2011; Irvine 2012). They were also measured by using national census data (Christopher 2001, 2005; Horn 2005). Horn (2005) relied on a quantitative approach using the index of dissimilarity (ID) and index of segregation (IS) adopted from Duncan and Duncan (1955) and Massey and Denton (1988). Concerning the rate of desegregation after 1994, Christopher (2001) reported that urban residential segregation levels declined from 1991 to 1996. He also found that South Africa remained highly residentially segregated in 2001. Furthermore, Christopher (2005) subsequently examined segregation levels between 1996 and 2001, and found that the rate of desegregation was lower between 1991 and 1996. Lemon and Clifford (2004), Bwaya (2011) and Irvine (2012) gave an account of prop-

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erty transfer in medium size towns and cities (Margate, East London, Grahamstown). They identified many factors that appear to impede the achievement of desegregation. The most important identifiable factors were economic barriers (Lemon and Clifford 2004), stigmatisation and poor infrastructure (Irvine 2013). Lemon and Clifford (2004) also indicated that desegregation was remarkable in the suburbs in Margate that were built after 1994. Conversely, Duma (2004) reflected on desegregation in 'former White' South African small towns, such as Somerset East and she revealed that it was slow in 2003.

During the Bantustan era (1976-1994) the South African Apartheid government introduced a diversity of social exclusionary policies, proclamations and acts which were tailored to create an enabling environment for the middle class Transkei-Black populace (who were mainly government and semi-government employees) to acquire properties in the Bantustan towns. The Bantustans were a major administrative device for the exclusion of blacks from the South African political system under the policy of apartheid. At the same time Whites and Coloured home-buyers were not allowed to keep their properties in these areas. The state could exercise their guardianship over the transfer of the properties and thus a precautionary measure to limit cross selling to expatriates was in existence which consolidated Black segregation to the Bantustan towns (Transkei 1976). Consequently, at the time of the attainment of democracy in 1994 'Black' segregation was very high. However, the composition of different population groups in urban centres that were in the former White South Africa reflected the exact opposite (Duma 2004). Also the low pace of housing delivery was acute in the former South African Bantustan small towns.

Since 1994 the new democratic government introduced new policies and acts that were targeted to transform apartheid's urban spatial planning throughout South Africa. The acts and policies include the South African Constitution of 1996 with Section 152 (1) clause (c) abolishing all discriminatory laws affecting segregation, such as the Acquisition of the Immovable Property Control Act 21 of 1977 together with its amendments and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No.52 of 1951 (South Africa 1996). In 1994 the Reconstruction and Developmental Pro-

gram (RDP), which acted as both the blueprint for transformation in the country, as well as an election manifesto for African National Congress, was introduced. One important aspect that the RDP entailed was the provision of basic needs for example housing (South Africa 1994). Thus the implementation of the state subsidy houses for the low income group, (commonly known as 'RDP' houses) after 1994 was the product of the basic needs approach of the post-apartheid government. The low income group earn less than R3500 per month (this amount is about 330 US dollars). Furthermore, the Housing Act no. 107 of 1997 made provision for the municipalities to plan for housing as part of their Integrated Development Planning (South Africa 1997), but the vision was not implemented as expected. In response to that, a Comprehensive Plan for Sustainable Human Settlements called Breaking New Ground (BNG) was launched in 2004. The policy further reinforced housing delivery and desegregation/ integration of the different population groups in South African urban centres, by encouraging high density mixed residential areas (South Africa 2004). As an outcome of a social contract agreed by the government and private housing developers to spend a minimum of 20% of the project value on the construction of affordable houses for low income earners, whose income bracket range between R3500 and R8000 per month, (this amount is between 330 and 799 US dollars) but who do not qualify for state subsidy houses the Inclusionary Housing Policy was introduced (South Africa 2005).

As much as there has been an increase in research on the housing transformation in South Africa after 1994, research on housing transformation of the former Bantustan small towns has been a neglected area. This research is relevant as the apartheid colonializing structure was injected in the urban areas of the Bantustans (Siyongwana 2009). This study aims to fill the gap by examining housing transformation in small former Bantustan urban centres whose historical evolution differed substantially from those in the 'former White' South Africa. In the Bantustans vacant plots and housing ownership in urban areas were restricted to Black ownership/ Bantustan citizens. Port St Johns, is one, such formerly exclusive area that was restricted for the Transkei-Black middle class.

Aims and Objectives

It is against this background that the aim of this investigation was to examine housing transformation in Port St Johns, South Africa since 1994. From this aim, the following objectives were advanced: to review literature on housing framework especially of post-apartheid South Africa; to examine transformation in housing delivery from 1994 to 2010; to measure the extent of housing property transfers from Black property owners to White, Coloured and Asian property owners - thus analysing the desegregation of urban areas of former Bantustans from 1994 to 2010; and to identify constraints of housing delivery and desegregation in the town during the study period.

METHODOLOGY

The study used land/vacant plots and houses as units of observation, analysis and sources of information. In terms of the research design the study followed a case study design. Using data based on the responses from the interpretation of legislative framework, policies, acts and the data captured from the property registers, an explanation of the trend of housing provision/delivery and property transfers was presented. To reflect the property transfers, since

not all the properties of Port St Johns were captured in the property register of Port St Johns, sample consisting of about 30 percent (approximately 300) of the properties of the town was administered. The sample was taken in the central part of the town, and its choice was based on the fact that, it is the most built-up area of the town.

Although this study is mainly informed by data from the property registers of Port St Johns, it goes beyond the property register information to explore the social cohesion of the different population groups of the town’s urban landscape. This was administered through in-depth unstructured interviews of the key respondents, such as senior municipal officials, stakeholders who are involved in the property industry, and long-term residents. Other mediums that informed the study was oral history transect walk and fieldwork. The information extracted from the property registers was used to compile a map reflecting social spatial distribution of property ownerships in town 16 years after the attainment of democracy (2010) in the country. The spatial pattern of desegregation which was visually replicated using maps reflects who legally owns property and not who currently occupies the property. Port St Johns was used as a unit of observation and for its location (refer to Fig. 1).

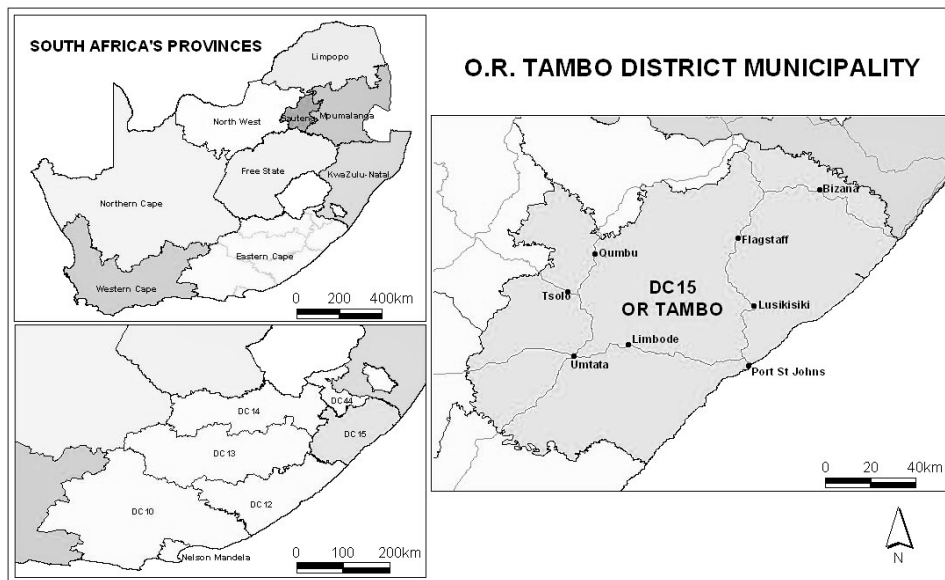


Fig. 1. Location of Port St. Johns

St Johns (also known as Port Saint Johns and Umzimvubu) is situated in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, along the south-east coast in the OR Tambo District Municipality and within the Port St Johns Local Municipality. It has a unique topography in that a fair percentage of the town is on a steep slope, which has promoted a scattered housing pattern. It is an estimated population of 6441 people (South Africa 2012). The rise and fall in numbers of the different population groups is portrayed in Table 1. As reflected in Table 1 in 1891 the number of Whites and Blacks living in the town were more or less of similar proportions, whilst the mixed group (Coloured) people were in the minority. However, from 1976 to 1994, the town became a Bantustan town functioning as a local retailing service centre, administrative and the training centre for the Transkei Battalion. Since 1980, Port St Johns' black population, which showed a steady increase prior to 1970 suddenly showed a steep rise after 1980 (also refer to Table 1). Since the attainment of democracy in 1994 in South Africa, the town became subjected to all South African democratic laws notably the demise of housing segregation and social exclusion in housing.

RESULTS

Housing Delivery

The results indicate that in 1994, housing delivery of formal houses in Port St Johns not only reached the stagnant growth point, but also existing properties (former White houses) were in a deteriorating condition as a result of poor maintenance. Moreover, a culture of non-payment of rates had resulted in many of the existing stock of houses to be surrounded by deteri-

orated environment. The results also reveal that in 1994 houses for the low income earners were few; hence many low income earners resided in the peri-urban fringe of Port St Johns. Hence the peri-urban areas of Port St Johns reflected high population density in 1994. It was also found that after 1994 the housing delivery in the town reflected a departure from the previous period. Contrary to the apartheid government which put an emphasis on providing accommodation for the government and semi-government officials, the post-apartheid government adopted an inclusionary approach in housing provision. Consequently, the state subsidy (commonly known as RDP) houses were built for the low income earners in the town, notable at Mtubane Township. More so the development of houses for the middle income group was marginal. As much as there were some positives in the low cost housing delivery, continuous objections to them in terms of quality was a matter of concern. Surprisingly, it was revealed in the study that the delivery of formal houses in the town during post-1994 era, especially, state subsidy houses (RDP houses), has been overtaken by the explosive growth of informal housing.

Segregation in Port St Johns in 1994

The results taken from the property registers of Port St Johns indicated that at democracy (1994) housing property ownership in the town in sampled area was almost entirely owned by the Black population. This implies that there were few White and Coloured/Mixed population groups who owned properties in the sampled area. Indian property ownership was non-existent. The results support the former South African government's intention of reserving the Bantustan towns for Black ownership. However, after 1994, the lifting of the

Table 1: Population trends of Port St Johns from 1891 to 2011

Population groups	1891	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970	1980	1996	2001	2011
Blacks	79	171	432	234	339	536	572	684	1119	*	3477	4735	6100
Coloureds	28	55	134	86	160	122	155	175	207	*	121	181	225
Whites	89	181	212	159	235	313	297	313	491		42	100	71
Asians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*	8	14	39
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*	4	0	6
Total	196	407	770	479	734	971	1024	1172	1817	1856	3652	5031	6441

Source: Cape of Good Hope, 1891; South Africa, 1968; Transkei, 1980; South Africa, 1996 and South Africa, 2001; Statistics South Africa, 2011.

Table 2: Property ownership, 1960 – 2010
 Source: Property Register 2010

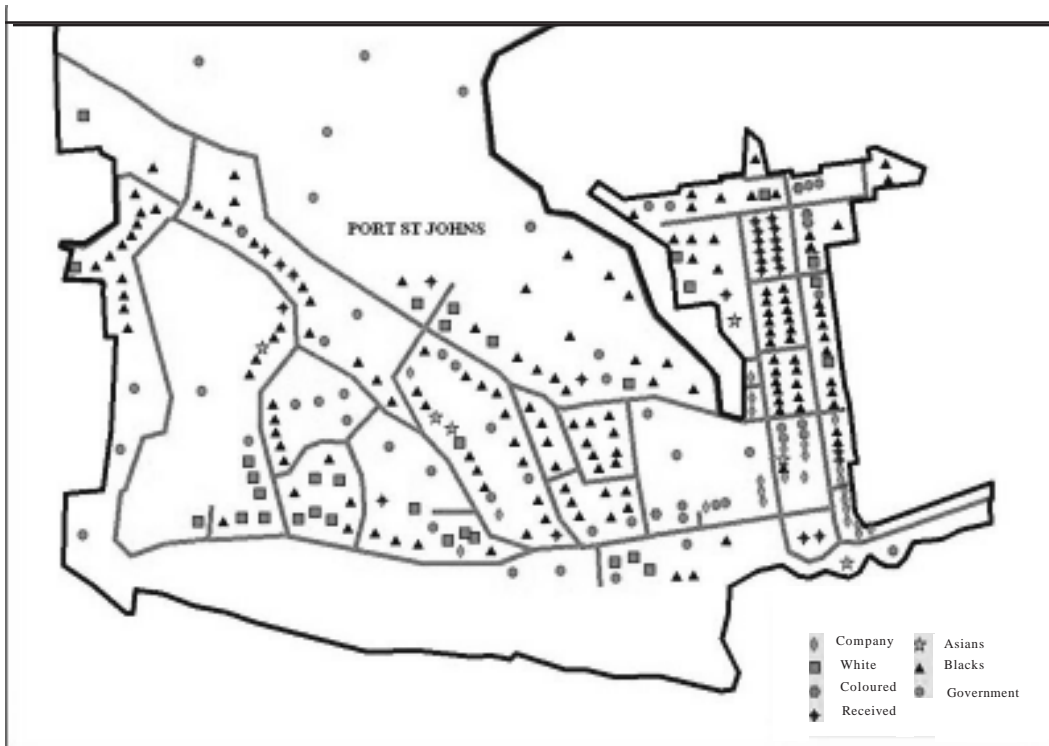
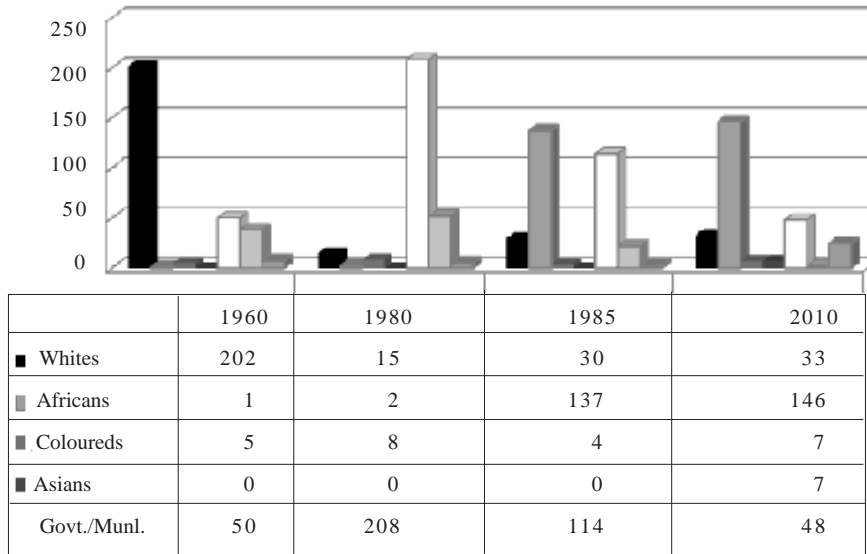


Fig. 2. House properties among different population groups

restrictions on land and property ownership, as well as the introduction of liberal policies in the Bantustan urban area and particularly in Port St Johns, impacted on the urban landscape. By 2010 the Black monopoly on housing properties showed signs of dismantling and housing ownership became diversified amongst the population groups and the trend is depicted on Table 2 and Figure 2. The imprint of the White community owning properties in the sampled area reflected their return to the town. Observation during the fieldwork confirmed that the White community tend to purchase prime area within the city centre for example in areas that have appealing sea views. There is a gradual decrease of Black land and property ownership in the study area. This trend is also reflected spatially in Figure 2 which clearly illustrates the extent of desegregation in the town and significantly by 2010 Port St Johns did not experience any rapid increases in different population groups integration and the Blacks were dominating in the focus area. Moreover, Figure 2 indicates a decline in government property ownership which implies that the earlier government's decision of releasing the land to individual ownership has almost reached its ceiling. While African property ownership still dominates in the study area the amount of properties owned by companies has also become an important feature since 2010.

DISCUSSION

As much as the post-1994 government strategy of introducing state subsidy houses was appreciated, different constraints emerged during their implementation in Port St Johns. An interview conducted with senior government officials of Port St John's local municipality revealed that, although Port St Johns local municipality is legally mandated to provide services and facilities and to run its affairs in its jurisdictional areas, the local municipality leadership cannot easily perform its duties. It is often subjected to political control by central government through the appointment of political officials. It was reported that another contentious issue regarding Port St John's local municipal leadership revolved around the overlapping of housing developmental responsibilities. A case in point is the local municipalities and the department of local government. Such a leadership arrangement often results in the creation of 'spac-

es of conflict'. For example, the emergence of different interests between the local communities and the politically deployed officials as the two groups often drive the developmental agenda to in different directions. On the same logic, long-term residents indicated that the local community protests against the state subsidy housing development in the space where there was a taxi rank was a clear indication of the divided interest in service delivery. Moreover, there is an emergence of a lack of co-ordination in service delivery (housing) between the three tiers of governance, that is, the local, provincial and central government.

The responses of government officials indicated that the limited housing delivery in Port St John's local municipality was attributed to the post-1994 government's variations of funding as some municipalities were receiving more funding than others. For example, the City of Cape Town Metropolitan in 2006/2007 financial year spent far more capital (money) expenditure per resident in comparison to Port St John's local municipality capital expenditure per resident for housing. The variations in terms of funding are partly determined by income that is generated by each municipality from paying taxes and services, government grants and loan (van Rynveld 2006). In Port St John's local municipality very little revenue is raised from tax and the collection of service fees due to the level of extreme poverty among the people in the area and a culture of non-payment for services and rates by residents. Consequently, the Port St John's local municipality does not qualify to access loans from central government. These funds are channelled through the provincial government, subsidize various projects. Thus, the weak financial muscle of Port St John's local municipality has paralysed service and infrastructure delivery, including housing. Therefore, the perpetuation of inequality under the post-apartheid regime is not without basis.

The study has also revealed that the state subsidy houses often deviates substantially from what is informed in the housing policy framework, namely the housing White paper of 1997 and the BNG policy of 2004. These policy documents reinforce the following criteria as fundamental in post-apartheid low cost housing, namely sustainable human settlement and integration (South Africa 2004). Also, what is produced at the grassroots in Port St Johns de-

parts substantially from government expectations. Exacerbating this situation, is the quality of the state subsidy houses still being compromised by the post-1994 government's practise of making use of emerging contractors. In many instances emerging contractors lacked skills, resources, entrepreneurship expertise, access to finance and a supportive regulatory environment to state subsidised houses. The BGN policy mandates socio-economic integration be considered when building state subsidised houses, as socio-economic integration in many instances can improve the quality of life. The irony is that, the state subsidised houses and more specifically Mtubane Township are situated on the outskirts of the town. This trend reflects a continuation of the spatial segregation of the apartheid regime. The results have also revealed that Mtubane Township is extremely segregated; catering mainly for the poor Black sector of the population and this trend contradicts the key elements of the BNG which encourages integrated societies. Irvine (2013) observed a similar trend in Grahamstown. It must also be said that as much as there were some positive outcomes with providing people with low cost houses, but the continuous objections to them in terms of quality are a matter of concern. This then also raises a critical analysis regarding low cost housing delivery in the post- 1994 South Africa.

The informal houses, previously illegal in the Bantustan era, have increased substantially post-democracy, occupying the prime areas in the town. The senior municipal official also said that he had reservations whether the government would be able to relocate the informal houses in the area, if the area can be needed for future development. The official also alluded, that the action of the squatters was also a clear demonstration of the clash of interest between housing professionals, political bearers and the poor local community. Thus, land grabbing in the town became a matter of concern, because it crippled the orderly utilization of the land resource, especially for housing development in the town. The findings concur with Nhlapo et al. (2011) who also noted the growth of squatters as challenge in South African towns. The study revealed that the burgeoning squatter settlements among the leafy vegetation throughout the town landscape play their fair share in the town's environmental degradation. More impor-

tantly is that the existence of the squatter settlements among the leafy subtropical trees of Port St Johns has created a comfort zone for criminals in the town, thus resulting, the safety of some parts of the town being compromised. It was noted that due to the minimal and controversial delivery of formal houses in the town during the post-1994 era, the populace has met the need of central housing with informal houses. This raises the concerns of the public in that it has contributed to the development of haphazard urbanisation and environmental degradation.

Segregation in Property Ownership in 1994

The property registers indicated that in 1994 houses in the sample area were mostly Black owned. The arrangement of making Port St Johns a British enclave came to an end in 1976, following the handover of the town to Paramount Chief Matanzima in order to make way for the Transkei independence. It was only after the handover of Port St Johns to Transkei Bantustan that the black domination increased through the properties being transferred over to the Transkei Government. This action made them easily accessible to Transkei Black citizens due to the apartheid government's generous subsidies which reduced purchase prices. However, using this strategy, which was based on the principle of the 'one buyer' (that is, the government), led to a situation where the 'willing seller' was offered above market prices. The strategy was also an attempt to lure the White and Coloured communities to becoming willing sellers. On the one hand, it resulted to higher profits for the sellers. On the other hand, it was an expensive public spending for the government. This action resulted in high financial losses for the country. More importantly strict measures were put in place to limit the sale of properties to expatriates. The action created an enabling environment for the Transkei Bantustan blacks to acquire land and housing properties in the town (Transkei 1977).

The government's decision to compensate White and Coloured property owners for any financial loss resulting from the constitutional changes in the Transkei made it possible for White and Coloured vendors to do so easily. That in turn resulted in the increase in the rate of acquiring housing properties by Blacks in the town, a privilege that was very restricted prior to the Bantustan era. Thus, at the year of attaining democracy

Black housing ownership was dominant reflecting a high degree of segregation in favour of the Blacks. The trend however, contradicted Duma's (2004) findings on segregation in the small town of Somerset East which was highly segregated towards Whites in 1994. Lemon and Clifford (2004) had also observed the same trend of White dominant segregation in a small town of Margate in KwaZulu Natal Province. It is worth stating that there was no Asian community in the central area of Port St Johns. Their absence could be explained by referring to the resolution that was made by the colonial government of putting stringent restrictions on the inward migration of the Asian community in the Cape Colony by implementing Proclamation 264 of 1904 (South Africa 1904) and the Cape Immigration Act No.30 of 1906 (South Africa, 1906). The latter Act prohibited the immigrants from India to settle in the Cape Colony.

Post -1994 Desegregation in Port St Johns

The lifting of the tight restrictions on land and property ownership, as well as the introduction of liberal policies in the former Bantustan urban areas after 1994, impacted on the urban landscape. Consequently, the previous high saturation of Black segregation showed signs of dismantling, and visible signs of distinct waves of inward movement in the town as different population groups emerged, most notably, the Asian entrepreneurs mainly from KwaZulu-Natal and also migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh. They then entered the residential market. Thereafter, since 2002 there has been another wave of immigrants from other African countries, such as West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa who entered and settled in Port St Johns. Each of these waves had an impact on vacant plots and housing ownership as the new immigrants gradually filtered into the property market. For example, the existence of an Asian community in the sampled area is an indication of a 'new trend' in housing ownership in 2010 in Port St Johns (refer to Table 2 and Fig. 2).

Furthermore, after 1994 the White and the Coloured communities, who in the 1980s showed a high rate of outward migration from the former Bantustan town, to pave for the apartheid reforms in Port St Johns, are gradually returning to the town reflecting another trend (refer to Table 2 under year 2010). The move was not

without consequences as it impacted on land and housing ownership. As indicated in Figure 2 the imprint of the White community owning properties in the sample area indicates their gradual return to the town. It was observed during the fieldwork that the White community tend to purchase properties in prime areas within the city centre. For example, they own properties in areas with appealing sea views. However, the gradual decrease of Black property ownerships in the sample area not only reflects a new trend in housing transformation, but also a step forward towards Black desegregation in Port St Johns. Indeed Black property owners still dominated in the sample area. The trend concurs with Robins (2002: 666) who expressed the view that, despite concerted planning efforts aimed at desegregating the apartheid city, the "everyday socio-spatial legacies of apartheid continue to be reproduced". This trend also reflects that once a place has been labelled or associated with something, for example, Port St Johns was labelled as a 'Black town' during apartheid, it is hard to deconstruct that perception (Siyongwana and Heine 2013), and hence White property buyers are still few. This perception also coincides with Irvine's (2012) findings for Grahamstown for she noted that White property buyers in Grahamstown are reluctant buy houses close to the township, due stigmatisation of the townships, as they are associated with the high crime rate, 'xenophobia related issues' and poor infrastructure. Also, it is indicated in Figure 2 that the ownership of properties by companies in the sample area has become an important feature emerging in 2010 and this trend supports the increase of business in the town.

Equally important that came up during the investigation is that in 1980 the vacant plots and houses could be obtained at a price which was far below the market value. The trend confirms the former South African government generous subsidy to prospective Black home buyers. However, it was revealed during the investigation that in 2010 property prices escalated because of the high demand for land and houses in the town because investors elsewhere are looking for the land and houses in the town. It was also noted that despite the fact that the Black community can make high financial profits with their properties a substantial number of property owners are not keen to sell their properties due leapfrogging. The results indicated

that in some cases the available houses that were put on sale were on tribal land, thus have no title deeds. Interestingly that was revealed during investigation was that Port St Johns is surrounded by many white owned farms that are on the tribal land and these serve as a barrier to the town's expansion.

In summing up is that, the inward movement of the White and the Asians communities into former Black housing properties thus, breaking the barriers of segregation was not easy. It was constrained by several factors, notably the high prices for the properties, stigmatization, poor infrastructure and properties that lack of title deeds.

CONCLUSION

In this study there has been strong evidence that the housing delivery and desegregation in Port St Johns was and is still a reflection of the imprint of diversified strategies of the government policies. The perpetuation of inequality and social exclusion under the post-1994 government regime which has its genesis during pre-1994 era is still dominant. The finding indicates that during the post-1994 era specifically in 2010 housing delivery for low-income earners has made some strides and housing opportunities for the middle income earners remained on the margins. Housing growth is constrained by diversified factors, namely national variations in funding of government projects, local municipal leadership, urban politics, and failure to provide and maintain infrastructure. Moreover, informal housing has increased and had contributed to uncontrolled growth of Port St Johns. The results indicate further, that Black integration in former White housing properties was visible in 1994. More critically, what has been reflected in this study is that black integration in former White and coloured housing properties would have been difficult without the indirect financial assistance from the government. This implies that Black integration in former urban Bantustans was an expensive exercise, which charged the South African tax payer. However, it has also been demonstrated in the study that integration by the White, Coloured/mixed population group and Asian communities into former Black houses is still minimal. The process is constrained by a limited market as most current owners (Blacks) are unwilling to release their properties, which

exacerbated by the limited supply of housing delivery for the middle income group exorbitant prices for houses, poor infrastructure and the location of some properties on tribal land.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As much as the rate of desegregation and housing delivery have been encouraged by the post-apartheid government, they are still far below the post-apartheid government's expectations, such exclusionary practices in housing, and the eradication of informal houses in the South African urban landscape. This necessitates a vigorous turnaround urban development strategy in terms of housing delivery that is more vigorous in inclusionary approach. Finally, while it is treasured that some scholarly response to desegregation has been undertaken using a case study of Port St Johns, a review of literature has revealed a lack of connectivity. It should be taken into consideration that several case studies are operating in isolation, and this makes it difficult to generalise the findings, as each case has its own merits. Thus, because of the uniqueness of the nature of the Bantustan system comparison outside these borders is insignificant. Similarities can be possibly be observed in other South African former Bantustan towns.

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NOTES

Population classification

- The Population Registration Act of 1950 of the apartheid government defined four major population categories; "White", "African/Black", "Coloured" and "Indian/Asian".
- The Transkei Bantustan government adopted a system of classifying population into two categories; citizens and non-citizens.
- After Apartheid, Statistics South Africa operated with "self-identifying" questions about population groups in both the 1996 and 2001 population censuses including the category "unspecified/other". Statistics South Africa argues that without some reference to the historic conception of population groups, it is not possible to measure and monitor progress in eradicating the legacy of apartheid (Lehohla 2005).

Bantustans

- Bantustans are separate Black homelands/areas in South Africa whose creation from 1951 formed the cornerstone of apartheid as realized by the Nation Party.

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