



Defining the Far West Rand historical legacy with emphasis on township tourism

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DECLARATION

I, Mpumelelo Dakile declare that this work has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree. Each contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: 

Date: 27 November 2024

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After the completion of my honours degree, I was stuck between a rock and a hard place after welcoming my son (Siphosethu) in January 2022 without proper financial planning. I had the fear of being forced to abolish my studies to find employment to support Siphosethu. Fortunately, I had caring and supportive parents who allowed me to carry on with my studies after the registration for my masters, while they took care of my son.

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ABSTRACT

This study defines the legacy of the Far West Rand (FWR) and explores the heritage of the Khutsong township for future tourism as an alternative tool for sustainable development. The FWR owes its origin to the discovery of gold at Blyvooruitzicht in 1937 and the subsequent economic success of more gold mining developments. The growth of towns in the Gatsrand (as part of the FWR), which included Oberholzer in 1939, Welverdiend in 1942, Blybank in 1947, and Carletonville in 1948 was directly related to the economic output of the goldmines. With gold mining activities well on course an influx of migrant workers from other African countries and South African regions populated the FWR, resulting in the establishment of mine villages (such as Blyvooruitzicht village, West-Driefontein village, East-Driefontein village) to accommodate the mineworkers. Apartheid policies shaped the development of townships in the region, which were Khutsong, Wedela, and Kokosi.

Existing insights from academic literature provided the background to approaches that guide tourism developments in mining regions as well as informed on the broader history of the region. The possibility of more mine closures in the next two decades has made it necessary to revisit the mining legacy as a worthy narrative to be preserved in many forms for future tourism. Khutsong's legacy forms a part of this narrative that needs to be defined.

Cultural histories and traditional features were identified as future legacies for potential tourism products. It was suggested that this might be possible, amongst others, through the development of a cultural village, and other supplementing initiatives such as township tours themed on dark stories of gangsterism in Khutsong. Environmental legacies also proved to have the potential to create tourism initiatives through the Abe Bailey Nature Reserve, the Wonderfontein Cave, and sinkhole tourism.

Semi-structured interviews with 12 residents of Khutsong and the Merafong (previously Carletonville) municipal region supplemented the existing literature to include perspectives from bottom-up to top-down and vice versa. This approach deepened the knowledge base of the study. The interviews provided undocumented information on Khutsong, assisting in crafting oral legacies on the township's early developments from the 1950s until the present-time. This additional information filled

the gap in narratives from Khutsong during apartheid, including the transitionary phase to democracy and events from the demarcation period of 2005-2008. The Khutsong community provided ideas on packaged tourism products ranging from political struggles, and environmental and cultural legacies which would showcase the heritage of the township, which are explored by the dissertation. From a regional historical perspective, much more tourism potential was pointed out from the broader FWR history and Khutsong's Township legacy related to the region.

Keywords: Historical legacies; mine closures and rehabilitation, township-tourism; heritage; Far West Rand; community engagement; sustainable communities; migrant labour; environmental township legacies; regional history.

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Acronyms/Abbreviations:

ABNR – Abe Bailey Nature Reserve

AMD – Acid Mine Drainage

ASAZM – Azanian Students Movement

BGMC – Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company

BLA – Black Local Authorities

CBT – Community Based Tourism

FI – Fochville Interview

FWR – Far West Rand

ICT – Indigenous Cultural Tourism

ICMM – International Council on Mining and Metals

IDP – Intergrated Development Plan

KCA – Khutsong Civic Association

KCC – Khutsong Community Council

KHURO – Khutsong Resident Organization

KI – Khutsong Interview

MDF – Merafong Demarcation Forum

MDGs – Millenium Development Goals

MCLM – Merafong City Local Municipality

MPPC – Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection

NASA – National Archives of South Africa

NTS – Native Affairs Transvaal Secretary

NUM – National Union of Mineworkers

NZAV – Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereniging or Netherlands South Africa Association

PPT – Pro-Poor Tourism

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

TAB – Transvaal Argief Bewaarplek

TALC – Tourism Area Life Cycle

TVK – Theron se Verkenningsskorps

UDF – United Democratic Front

WNLA – Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

ZAR – Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek

CHAPTER ONE

A FRAMEWORK FOR TOWNSHIP TOURISM HISTORY RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

Various tangible and intangible historical legacies/heritage, (such as township histories), can play a crucial role in attempting to understand regions' past, present, and future.¹ I was very curious to understand how Khutsong (a mining township) can revisit its past to identify sustainable economic opportunities away from mining activities. This made me think of tourism as an alternative to overcome the dependency of mining activities in the township for economic purposes as mining products don't exhaust as mining minerals. Exploring the historical legacies of the Far West Rand (FWR) can provide pivotal information on the development of places of historical significance and renowned transformations in the region's present landscape.²

This research project investigates and describes the historical richness of the FWR region and unpacks its tourism potential in township areas, which might through sustainable approaches contribute to the social and economic well-being of FWR communities. Gold mining has been a key stimulus for economic development and rapid urbanisation in the FWR region. The long history of intense mining and the good and bad environmental consequences are among the historical legacies embedded with tourism potential.³ Considering the gradual decline in gold mining activities in the

¹ J Wittenberg, "What is a Historical Legacy?", *APSA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper, American Political Science Association 2013 Annual Meeting*. 2013.

² Wittenberg, "What is a Historical Legacy?", 2.

³ Compare with ES van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die Vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap Omstreeks 1839 tot die Proklamerings van Carletonville in 1948" (MA dissertation, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1988); ES van Eeden. "Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die invloed daarvan op Carletonville, 1948-1988: 'n Historiese studie" (PhD thesis, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1992); F Winde and EJ Stoch, "Threats and Opportunities for Post-Closure Development in Dolomitic Gold Mining Areas of the West Rand and Far West Rand (South Africa) – a Hydraulic View Part 1: Mining Legacy and Future Threats", *Water SA* 36, no. 1 (2010), 69.

region,⁴ it makes sense to proactively explore this rich legacy (even before gold mining) to interrogate post-mining economic opportunities.⁵ Methodological research approaches related to history as a discipline were applied to identify and study the major tangible and intangible historical legacies of the FWR - since formal human settlement in the region ca the 17th century, leading up to the discovery of gold, and, finally the present. A qualitative methodological approach was used, comprising primary and secondary sources, with primary sources consisting of archival records and oral interviews conducted in the FWR communities, while literature surveys served as secondary sources. The region has received extensive academic attention - contributions from van Eeden⁶, White⁷ and Taylor⁸ have made a mark on the history of the FWR. Immense research, however, is needed to fill the lacuna on the township tourism potential in the region, particularly from a local tourism perspective.

The following sections contextualise the FWR's regional history and tourism background. A discussion of the research method and ethical requirements follows.

1.2 Orientation and background

This section provides an overview of the region, including how the area transitioned from a predominantly farming region in the 19th century to a mining-dominated area in the 20th century. Existing studies on significant historical narratives from the FWR will also be discussed to gain a foundational understanding of the region.

1.2.1 Orientation

The FWR is located on the southwestern edges of the Gauteng province and covers the municipal area of the Merafong City Local Municipality (henceforth, MCLM).⁹ In

⁴ ES van Eeden, "So Long Gold Mines - Long Live Industries. Carletonville's Battle for Economic Survival", *South African Economic History Journal*, 12, no.1-2 (1997), 103.

⁵ Compare Winde and Stoch, "Threats and Opportunities...", 73; Van Eeden, "So Long Gold Mines...", 103; ES van Eeden, JF Durand and M Liefferink, "Legal Issues Concerning Mine Closure and Social Responsibility on the West Rand", *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 5, no. 1 (2009), 55.

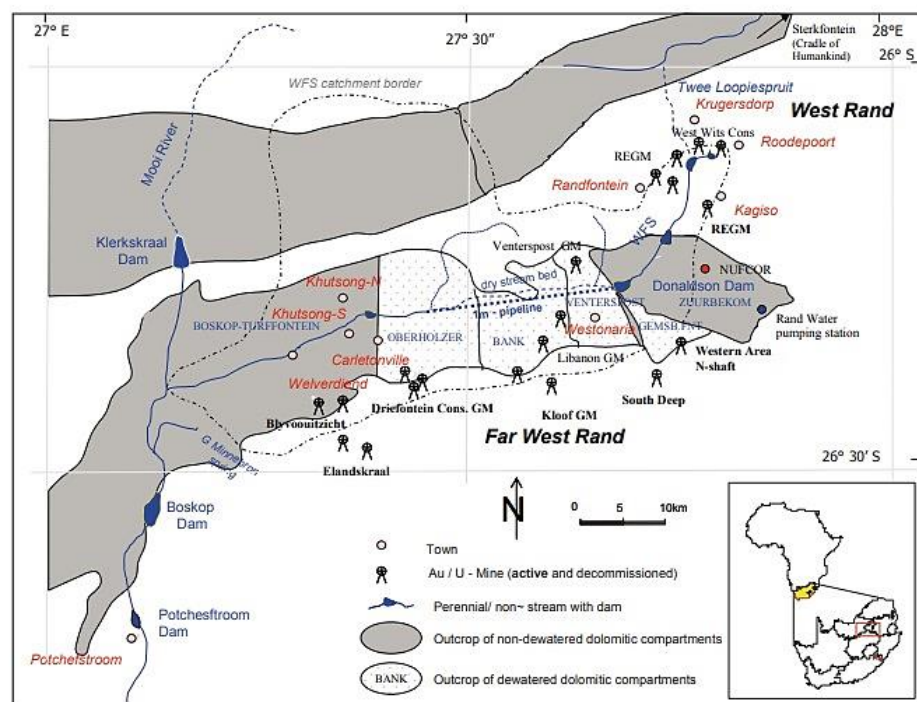
⁶ ES van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 40.

⁷ LE White, "To Learn and Teach: Lessons from Driefontein on Lawyering and Power", *Wisconsin Law Review* 1988, no. 5 (1988), 699.

⁸ R Taylor, "Migrant Labour in the Mining Industry: A Future Perspective", *South African Journal of Labour Relations* 11 (1987), 27.

⁹ West Rand District Municipality, *Profile: West Rand District Municipality* (Randfontein: Profile and Analysis District Development Model, 2020), 8.

the 19th century, the area was mostly used for farming and in October 1899, the South African War, between Britain and the two Boer Republics, the “Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek” (ZAR), and the Republic of the Orange Free State had an impact on the area.¹⁰ Since then, new industrial developments and gold mining exploration during the early-20th century (in 1937) up to the early 1980s, led to more than a dozen internationally established mines¹¹ and several mine villages¹², apartheid policies moulded the establishment of the black townships of Khutsong (1958) and Kokosi (1962).¹³ (See map 1.1).



¹⁰ ES van Eeden, “Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch’s 1-4.

¹¹ The mines include the Mponeng Gold Mine, Blyvooruitzicht Mine, Driefontein Mine, Elandsrand Mine; See M Manzi, G Cooper, Al Malehmir, R Durrheim, and Z Nkosi, “Integrated Interpretation of 3D Seismic Data to Enhance the Detection of the Gold-bearing Reef: Mponeng Gold mine, Witwatersrand Basin (South Africa)”, *Geophysical Prospecting* 63, no. 4- (2015), 881; M Mpanza and R Moolla, “The Assessment of the External Costs of Dust Fallout in Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Village”, In *Proceedings of the VII National Association for Clean Air (NACA) Conference, Protea Hotel by Marriot| Stellenbosch| Technopark| Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa* (2019), 3; RRM Cousens and WS Garrett, “The Flooding at the West Driefontein Mine”, *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 69, no. 9 (1969), 421; F Essrich, “Quantitative Rock Burst Hazard Assessment at Elandsrand Gold Mine”, *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 97, no. 7 (1997), 319.

¹² This included the establishment of Blyvooruitzicht Village, West-Driefontein Village, East-Driefontein Village and Wedela; See White, “To Learn and Teach...”, 699; J Crush, “The Compound in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Geographical Review* 82, no. 4 (1992), 394.

¹³ P Alexander, “Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa’s Service Delivery Protests- A Preliminary Analysis”, *Review of African Political Economy* 37, no. 123 (2010), 26; J Crush and W James, “Depopulating the Compounds: Migrant Labour and Mine Housing in South Africa”, *World Development* 19 (1991), 302.

Map 1.1: Mines and mine villages from the FWR, including towns and townships.¹⁴

The growing interest in the FWR region's tourism potential is evident. The local municipality takes note of the region's unspoiled natural heritage, which requires considerate and sensible care to preserve.¹⁵ A part of the broader West Rand region that attracts domestic and international tourists is home to the Krugersdorp Game Reserve and the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site, located in Maropeng. The latter contains a unique landscape and fossil sites.¹⁶ Other tangible legacies that require more in-depth research, and an effective integration with existing research, are the area's mining history and its unique environmental features (such as its caves and nature reserves).¹⁷

The background of the study will elaborate on the extent to which scholarly work in the fields of regional and tourism history broadly complements the efforts to define historical legacies in the FWR.

1.2.2 Background of the study

History and heritage tourism primarily form the scholarly contextual framework for this research project. From an international perspective, Edwards and Llurdes view heritage tourism as tourism which focuses on history as the central theme.¹⁸ The authors' findings accentuate the link between the heritage industry and themes such as cultural spaces, the military, and archaeological sites.¹⁹ Towner and Wall expound on history legacies involving the study of past events, which are supported by present evidence and contribute to defining their relevance for tourism, amongst others.²⁰

¹⁴ F Winde and EJ Stoch, "Threats and Opportunities for Post-closure Development in Dolomitic Gold Mining Areas of the West Rand and Far West Rand (South Africa)—A Hydraulic View Part 1: Mining Legacy and Future Threats", *Water SA* 36, no. 1 (2010), 70.

¹⁵ L Leonard and A Langton, "Challenges Facing Tourist Attractions due to Acid Mine Drainage in the West Rand, Gauteng", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 5, no. 1 (2016), 1.

¹⁶ Leonard and Langton, "Challenges Facing Tourist Attractions...", 2.

¹⁷ ES van Eeden, "n Historiese Perspektief op die Herkoms van die Naam Gatsrand", *Nomina Africana, Journal of Onomastics*, 9, no. 2 (1996), 71.

¹⁸ JA Edwards and J Llurdes, "Mines and Quarries: Industrial Heritage Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996), 342.

¹⁹ Edwards and Llurdes, "Mines and Quarries...", 343.

²⁰ J Towner and G Wall, "History and Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, no. 1 (1991), 72.

History and tourism attempts to articulate how the world has changed from a given time, including all distinctly defined developments in community histories.²¹

Similarly, Wittenberg acknowledges the importance of historical legacies in explaining how the past shaped the present world. Wittenberg adds that historical legacies can also be used to address the sustainability of present-day society and its broader complexities.²² Teo and Yeo confirm Wittenberg's approach; they believe that historical legacies create tourism opportunities because of the unique heritage of different regions, resulting in the development of cities with natural attractions such as waterfronts and minerals, which can be mined for economic purposes.²³

The legacy of mining activities in southern Spain, Ballesteros and Ramirez provide an exciting account of the relationship between heritage, identity, and community values that result in heritage tourism development.²⁴ The recent ongoing anti-tourism protests (which started in April 2024) over the increased cost of living because overcrowding in the Spanish cities of Barcelona and Malaga has disrupted the tourism industry in the country.²⁵ This is a reflection of how locals have the potential to disrupt the tourism industry. They perceive tourist attractions as communicational settings where tourists become actively involved in exploring the region's local heritage.²⁶ Ahmad and Jones view mining heritage locations as landscapes with a heritage value.²⁷ After all, mining activities over time create a legacy that contributes to building a regional heritage worthy of study.²⁸ Walton holds the same view. Most heritage tourism has been developed to commemorate and celebrate a region's historical legacy.²⁹ Walton outlines Richard Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (henceforth, TALC) developed in

²¹ Towner and Hall, "History and Tourism", 72.

²² Wittenberg, "What is a Historical Legacy?", 1.

²³ P Teo and B Yeoh, "Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1 (1997), 194.

²⁴ ER Ballesteros and MH Ramirez, "Identity and Community: Reflections on the Development of Mining Heritage Tourism in Southern Spain", *Tourism Management* 28, no. 1 (2007), 667.

²⁵ C Milanao, M Novelli, and AP Russo, "Anti-tourism Activism and the Inconvenient Truths about Mass Tourism, Touristification and Overtourism", *Tourism Geographies* (2024), 1-3.

²⁶ Ballesteros and Ramirez, "Identity and Community...", 667.

²⁷ S Ahmad and D Jones, "Investigating the Mining Heritage Significance for Kinta District, the Industrial Heritage Legacy of Malaysia", *Procedia- Social and Behavioural Sciences* 105 (2013), 446.

²⁸ Ahmad and Jones, "Investigating the Mining Heritage Significance for Kinta District...", 446.

²⁹ JK Walton, "Prospects in Tourism History: Evolution, State of Play and Future Development", *Tourism Management* 30, no. 6 (2009), 785.

1980.³⁰ An approach to understanding the evolution of tourism in different areas around the world might be an interesting research model to keep in mind when conducting the FWR research. Butter's model suggests that tourism evolves through six stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and rejuvenation.³¹ These stages will be unpacked in greater detail in the following chapters.

Township tourism in South Africa has been on the increase since 1994, and Booyens considers it an appropriate mechanism for developing the local economy.³² The South African government developed a Tourism White Paper in 1996 to promote and develop tourism initiatives.³³ The 1996 White Paper recognizes the diverse³⁴ cultures, particularly in townships, as an incredible tourist attraction for visitors touring the country.³⁵ Since the inception of democracy and the desegregation of South Africa's landscape, heritage tourism has increased substantially. Previously segregated townships are now open to the world to explore.³⁶ Before 1994, South Africa's heritage was synonymous with white heritage, which represented the minority of the country.³⁷

In most cases, township tourism involves taking visitors on tours to township areas with symbolic struggle sites associated with apartheid.³⁸ Soweto is the largest township under the circumscribe of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and was established

³⁰ A model introduced by geographer and professor of tourism Richard W. Butler to study tourist attractions from the early stages of exploration and development to the later stages of stagnation and decline in efforts of studying how tourist's preferences change over time; See S Mariya, R Rahmanelli, R Novio, Y Suasti, and A Ahyuni, "Development of Visits on the Main Tourism Object in West Sumatera", *Sumatra Journal of Disaster, Geography and Geography Education* 3, no. 2 (2019), 128.

³¹ Walton, "Prospects in Tourism History...", 785.

³² I Booyens, "Rethinking Township Tourism: Towards Responsible Tourism Development in South African Townships", *Development Southern Africa* 27, no. 2 (2010), 275.

³³ Republic of South Africa, "White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa", (1996), 7.

³⁴ Diverse traditional cultures are about acknowledging the different groups that make up a society based on their unique religious beliefs and other differences such as ethnic groups, languages, and heritage values within different groups in a society; See C Albertyn, "The Stubborn Persistence of Patriarchy? Gender Equality and Cultural Diversity in South Africa", *Constitutional Court Review* 2, no. 1 (2009), 168.

³⁵ Republic of South Africa, "White Paper...", 7.

³⁶ Booyens, "Rethinking Township Tourism...", 275.

³⁷ CM Rogerson, "Urban Tourism and Small Tourism Enterprise Development in Johannesburg: The Case of Township Tourism", *GeoJournal* 60 no. 1 (2004), 249; A Grundlingh, "Excursions into South Africa's Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948-1990", *South African Historical Journal* 56, no. 1 (2006), 103.

³⁸ B Lane, "Sustainable Rural Tourism Strategies: A Tool for Development and Conservation", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 2 no. 1 (1994), 102.

to separate South Africans according to race.³⁹ The township culture and its accompanying features have developed in segregated spaces and have become a tourism attraction because of its heritage values associated with apartheid.⁴⁰ This research project focuses on the FWR, and the township of Khutsong has been recognized for its tourism potential in the region.⁴¹

The township of Khutsong is also linked with the discovery of gold in 1937, resulting in mining activities being the main contributor towards the economy of Merafong.⁴² Khutsong was officially formed by the apartheid government in 1958 to serve as a black township and house workers in Carletonville.⁴³ Similar to Soweto, Khutsong housed black labourers from all over the country and neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi who worked in the Carletonville mines.⁴⁴ Many cultural and environmental legacies and heritage in FWR townships can be explored for historical and tourism purposes.⁴⁵

1.3 Problem statement

The environmental features and challenges of the FWR have been well-researched by multiple disciplines and non-governmental organisations.⁴⁶ Winde and Stoch elaborate on the threats and challenges of tourism opportunities in the FWR.⁴⁷ Waste from gold mines is one of the largest sources of waste and pollution in South Africa, and Acid Mine Drainage (AMD) negatively impacts the region's environmental and socio-economic well-being.⁴⁸

³⁹ CM Rogerson, "Shared Growth in Urban Tourism: Evidence from Soweto, South Africa", *Urban Forum* 19 (2008), 397.

⁴⁰ Rogerson, "Shared Growth in Urban Tourism...", 399.

⁴¹ CM Rogerson, "Tourism Routes as Vehicles for Local Economic Development in South Africa: The Example of the Magaliesberg Meander", *Urban Forum* 18 no. 1 (2007), 53.

⁴² L Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns: The Case of Khutsong Township, Carletonville" (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2016), 6.

⁴³ Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 32.

⁴⁴ Rogerson, *Tourism Routes*, 53.

⁴⁵ V Khumalo, "Kagiso Historical Report", (2010), 1.

⁴⁶ GC Basson, "The Economic Impact of a Changing Urban Mining Region: The Case of the West Rand District Municipality in Gauteng province" (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2014), 22.

⁴⁷ Basson, "The Economic Impact of a Changing Urban Mining Region...", 23.

⁴⁸ ES van Eeden, EJ Nealer, and Ma Liefferink, "A Historiography on Past Scientific Research and References to Environmental Health Concerns in the Merafong Gold Mining Region of South Africa", (2009).

Parts of the region's history have also been studied by several historians who focus on specific themes or phenomena or merely record a historical narrative of the region's broader development.⁴⁹ However, in-depth research on the historical features (tangible and non-tangible) and legacies of the region as a pathway towards instilling tourism opportunities and inclusively viewing the community's diversity is severely lacking.⁵⁰ Yet the urgency for such an initiative has been argued in several scholarly papers outlined by Van Eeden,⁵¹ Seeletse,⁵² Leonard and Langton in the past two to three decades.⁵³ Conversely, the research void is the current lack of a focused historical study covering the legacies of the region and future tourism opportunities that may benefit the local community.⁵⁴ This dissertation studies the mining legacy and heritage of Khutsong to suggest sustainable tourism practices for the township.

Another sizable gap is the written historical knowledge of the region's townships, which requires attention to emphasise and define township tourism in the FWR.⁵⁵ Soweto and Alexandra remain the most historically documented townships in Gauteng, being marketed as essential destinations for tourists in Johannesburg.⁵⁶ There are scholarly works conducted on Khutsong focusing on topics such as the political dynamics⁵⁷ and environmental impacts caused by mining in the region, but there is a shortage of tourism literature on the township.⁵⁸

The following research questions assisted in responding to the primary inquiry of this dissertation.

⁴⁹ J Pilusa and E Muzenda, "Solid Waste Management in West Rand District, Gauteng, South Africa", *2nd International Conference on Arts, Behavioural Sciences and Economics* (2013), 55.

⁵⁰ Winde and Stoch, "Threats and Opportunities...", 5.

⁵¹ Mentioned the importance to the balance of the local economy of the region and not solely depend on mining economic input; See ES van Eeden, "So Long, Gold Mines...", 103.

⁵² Examines the high failure rate of small businesses in the region and investigates the reasons behind their lack of sustainability; See SM Seeletse, "Common Causes of Small Businesses Failure in the Townships of West Rand District Municipality in the Gauteng Province of South Africa", *African Journal of Business Management* 6, no. 44 (2012), 10994.

⁵³ Leonard and Langton, "Challenges Facing Tourist Attractions...", 4.

⁵⁴ See Leonard and Langton, "Challenges Facing Tourist Attractions...", 4.

⁵⁵ Rogerson, "Urban Tourism...", 250.

⁵⁶ S Cole, "Cultural Tourism, Community Participation and Empowerment", *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (re) Presentation* (2006), 91.

⁵⁷ S Ngada, "The Role of Public Opinion in the Post-violent Protest Recovery in the Merafong Local Municipality, Township of Khutsong" (PhD thesis, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2013), 11.

⁵⁸ SJ Taylor and D Atkinson, "Delivering Community Benefits Acts as Insurance for the Survival of Small Protected Areas Such as the Abe Bailey Nature Reserve, South Africa", *Koedoe: African Protected Area Conservation and Science* 54, no. 1 (2012), 3.

1.4 Research questions and objectives

1.4.1 Research questions

- How does scholarly literature define method and theory on historical legacies and heritage towards instilling tourism initiatives, with particular emphasis on townships?
- How and what will the historical developments of the FWR region contribute to the discourse on mining regions from the 16th century to the 21st century?
- Which specific historical legacies in Khutsong might have long-term potential for township tourism purposes?
- How might the local FWR communities' knowledge and memory of the region's historical uniqueness be utilised to complement the township tourism legacy as identified?

1.4.2 Research objectives

- To investigate scholarly methods and theories on historical legacies and heritage to instil tourism initiatives focusing on townships.
- To reveal historical developments of the FWR region from the 16th to the early 21st century.
- To unpack historical legacies in Khutsong that might have long-term potential for township tourism purposes.
- To utilise the local knowledge memory of the communities, using oral history approaches, in the FWR region in complementing the township tourism legacy.

1.5 Central theoretical statement

The research outlines several places and spaces associated with specific memories, as part of the construction of legacies. These legacies will most likely, soon, be proactively considered in entrepreneurial tourism initiatives by local and provincial governments and local business entrepreneurs.

1.6 Research methodology

This section discusses the research methodology that was followed - the historical approach is discussed first, followed by a review of the literature and prominent scholarly works related to historical legacies and mining regions. Data collection methods, including primary sources (in the form of fieldwork interviews and archival material) and secondary sources, are investigated according to basic scientific qualitative principles.

1.6.1 Historical approach

Tosh guides on how a historian should cautiously approach collective and individual memory;⁵⁹ Jordanova⁶⁰ and Gottschalk⁶¹ aptly accentuate approaches to primary and secondary sources. Jordanova's view of the hybridity of primary and secondary sources is valuable for understanding them in multidisciplinary research projects.⁶² While the experience of Gottschalk stems more from the historical method in political contexts.⁶³ However, both pose valuable considerations when doing history research project-laden in politics. For Marwick⁶⁴ and Spiegel,⁶⁵ the distinctness of historical writing largely lies in how sources are interpreted (internal and external criticism) and how they are properly articulated in debate and language.⁶⁶

The dissertation is cognisant of individual and collective memory. Memory, in a broader sense, will be applied in collecting information about the FWR's historical legacy.⁶⁷ Fellman and Rahikainen call on historians not to neglect the archives as a repository for recorded memory.⁶⁸ Though archives may have human-related

⁵⁹ J Tosh, *The Pursuit of History, Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (London, Routledge, 2015), 11.

⁶⁰ L Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London, Arnold Publishers, 2000), 19.

⁶¹ L Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 41.

⁶² Jordanova, *History in Practice*, 21.

⁶³ Gottschalk, *Understanding history: A Primer of Historical Method*, 41.

⁶⁴ Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 22.

⁶⁵ GM Spiegel, *Practising History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (New York, Routledge, 2005), 24.

⁶⁶ Spiegel, *Practising History...*, 24.

⁶⁷ A Portelli, "On the Peculiarities of Oral History", *History Workshop Journal* 12 no. 1 (1981), 98.

⁶⁸ S Fellman and M Rahikainen, *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence* (Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 6.

shortcomings, they are a pivotal vantage point for viewing the past.⁶⁹ The literature, as outlined in the next subsection, mostly accentuates an understanding of existing research approaches from a broad theoretical context in dealing with a specific field of history that is infused with several other disciplines.

1.6.2 Literature review

This section deconstructs existing literature by focusing the academic lens on the historical background of the FWR in efforts to use the region's diverse history to suggest tourism opportunities and to find economic alternatives to the declining mining sector. A more detailed discussion follows in Chapter Two, which includes broader scholarly voices related to the FWR and topics focusing on the aspects mentioned above. Analysis of this study starts from the period of Tswana-Sotho settlements in the region from the 16th century⁷⁰ stretching to recent times, leading to the demarcation process and mine decline in the FWR.⁷¹ Analysing the historical data from these periods on the FWR provides an understanding of the region's heritage, which might potentially lead to tourism opportunities.

Studies on the Sotho-Tswana settlements in the FWR are the basis of understanding the historical developments in the region for this dissertation. Evers claims that Sotho-Tswana people migrated from the East African Rifts and settled in the FWR surrounding areas during the 1500s.⁷² The literature used in this study on Sotho-Tswana settlements extended beyond the 1500s, elaborating on their way of life leading up to their altercation with Mzilikazi of the Ndebele.⁷³

Studies on Mzilikazi and the Ndebele were consulted for this dissertation because of their role in the FWR during the period of the Mfecane, a pivotal moment in the history

⁶⁹ Fellman & Rahikainen, *Historical Knowledge...*, 8.

⁷⁰ T Evers, "'Oori' or 'Moloko': The Origins of the Sotho-Tswana on the Evidence of the Iron Age of the Transvaal: a reply", *South African Journal of Science* 79 (1983), 261.

⁷¹ RD Krause and LG Snyman, "Rehabilitation and Mine Closure Liability: An Assessment of Accountability of the Systems to Communities", In *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference of Mine Closure, Sandton, Johannesburg, South Africa* (2014), 2.

⁷² Evers, "The origins of the Sotho- Tswana...", 261.

⁷³ Compare MJ Hannaford, GR Bigg, JM Jones, I Phimister, and M Staub, "Climate Variability and Societal Dynamics in Pre-colonial Southern African History (AD 900-1840): A Synthesis and Critique", *Environment and History* 20, no. 3 (2014), 411 with TN Huffman and M Main, "Zimbabwe Ruins in Botswana: Settlement Hierarchies, Political Boundaries and Symbolic Statements", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 32, no. 3 (2022), 361.

of South Africa.⁷⁴ The study discovered several knowledgeable scholars on historical events in the FWR during the early-to-mid 19th century, the events being Mzilikazi's tenure and the Dutch settlement on the Gatsrand.⁷⁵ Dutch settlement in the FWR compelled the researcher to use literature related to the Great Trek, with scholars such as Van Jaarsveld⁷⁶ and Peires⁷⁷ viewing the migration as the foundation of the Dutch settlement within the parameters of the study. Van Eeden provides informative literature on the development of towns on the farms of the Gatsrand during the 1900s⁷⁸ which will be elaborated upon in Chapter Three.

The history of gold mining has received scholarly attention. Phillips views the discovery of gold in Carletonville during the early 1930s as one of the 'greatest' goldfields to be discovered.⁷⁹ His interests further highlight the success and increase of gold mining production in the FWR resulting in the development of towns in the region.⁸⁰ Similarly, Van Eeden provides in-depth discussions on gold mine successes and developments and histories of towns that developed during the early and peak years of gold mining in the FWR.⁸¹ This includes the contributions of gold mining in the increase of businesses in the FWR surrounding areas: "By 1951 the number of businesses around the gold mines had more than doubled"⁸² illustrating how gold mining in the FWR led to the diversification of economic opportunities in the region.

More literature is provided in Chapter Three on the developments of community structures in the gold mining towns and villages of the FWR. White elaborates on how mine employees lived in mine villages, and how they lived according to their race and positions in the mines.⁸³ Crush extends this approach by accentuating, like White;

⁷⁴ WF Lye, "The Difaqane: The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area, 1822–241", *The Journal of African History* 8, no. 1 (1967), 113.

⁷⁵ RK Rasmussen, "Mzilikazi's Migrations South of Limpopo, c. 1821-1827: A reassessment", *Trans African Journal of History* 5, no. 1 (1976), 53; Also see ES van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 1.

⁷⁶ FA Van Jaarsveld, "Anthropo-Geographical Aspects of the Great Trek: 1836-1863", *Historia* 8, no. 2 (1963), 93.

⁷⁷ J Peires, "Norman Etherington, The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815–1854", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 20, no. 1 (2002), 65.

⁷⁸ Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 2.

⁷⁹ NG Phillips, "Gold Exploration Success", *Applied Earth Science* 120, no. 1 (2011), 7. Van Eeden also, years earlier observed this. See Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand..." (1988).

⁸⁰ NG Phillips, "Witwatersrand Gold: Discovery Matters", *Applied Earth Science* 122, no. 2 (2013), 122-127.

⁸¹ Van Eeden, "So Long Gold Mines...", 103

⁸² ES Van Eeden, "The Effect of Mining Development on the Cultural Experience of the Carletonville Community", *South African Journal of Cultural History* 12, no. 1 (1998), 79.

⁸³ White, "To Learn and Teach...", 699.

mineworkers' living conditions in mine villages and their socialisation processes including but not limited to company-provisioned entertainment facilities.⁸⁴

Literature on the positive impact of gold mining in the FWR is in abundance⁸⁵; recently scholars have also produced work on the negative impact on people and the environment. The hiatus in the legislative framework created the absence of robust environmental policies purposed to safeguard environmental harm by monitoring mining activities and the rehabilitation of the environment post-mining closures. Since then, legislation has required companies to follow procedures that take care of the environment during the closure process.⁸⁶

Although the socio-economic impact of mine closure in South Africa has received academic attention, Marias' study on the economic recession in the region has accentuated unemployment as a consequence of mine closure.⁸⁷ This recession has, furthermore, received attention from van Eeden, who mentions the need for Carletonville to make an effort to overcome its economic dependence on gold.⁸⁸ This is one main lacuna that the study attempts to overcome by providing economic output alternatives for the FWR, using tourism as a main tool. Chapter Two will thoroughly discuss the literature on approaches and methods for achieving this feat.

1.6.3 Interviews/Fieldwork

In historical research projects, prominence is placed on the value of tangible and intangible heritage resources as well as archival and secondary sources (scholarly published books and articles, including unpublished work such as dissertations and theses).⁸⁹ This dissertation focused on primary sources to extract first-hand information on the history of the FWR. This developed tourism suggestions from individuals from the region who provided information during the interview process based on their experiences. Archival documents on significant historical discourses on the region also served as primary sources for this study.

⁸⁴ Crush, "The Compound in Post-Apartheid...", 394.

⁸⁵ Gold mining activities have assisted in developing the economy of the FWR with the establishment of mine villages and townships, including the establishing of industries to sustain the population in the mining region; See Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 16.

⁸⁶ RD Krause and LG Snyman, "Rehabilitation and Mine Closure Liability...", 2.

⁸⁷ L Marias, "Resources Policy and Mine Closure in South Africa: The Case of the Free State Goldfields", *Resources Policy* 38, no. 3 (2013), 368.

⁸⁸ Van Eeden, "So Long, Gold Mines...", 103.

⁸⁹ A Marwick, *The Nature of History* (Palgrave, Macmillan, 1970), 22.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews consisting of 10 pre-formulated questions on the region's history guided the conversations with the interviewees. The fieldwork relied on a typical oral history approach in which the researcher depended on a set of unstructured questions related to the selected interviewees' knowledge, experience and personal involvement in local tourism or historical legacy-related knowledge of townships.⁹⁰ A sample of 20 respondents was recruited for the interviews, which comprised four groups (structured and unstructured) to assist in providing information on the historical legacy of the FWR and tourism initiatives that can potentially arise from the legacies provided. The inclusion criteria were determined by the duration (minimum 20 years residing in the region) in the townships of the FWR (Khutsong, Wedela and Kokosi), knowledge of the history of the townships in the region, and whose local knowledge and other skills are also endorsed by other locals and/or local leadership in Khutsong. People under the age of 30 were excluded from the interview process because people over 30 were perceived as having a longer memory and experience of the region and could provide first-hand information about events that occurred in the FWR in terms of the study's timeframe. In the dissertation, individuals interviewed are referred to the pseudonyms Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2, Interviewee 3 and so on, according to the order of their presence in the study. By not using their real names they were protected from public scrutiny.

The interviews took place between August 2023 and September 2024. Audio recordings were made, and interviewees signed confirmation letters for one-hour interviews.⁹¹ Interview recordings were shared with interviewees before the finalisation of the dissertation.⁹² Overall I had a good experience with the interviewees. The respondents welcomed me, with the understanding that the research being conducted could potentially assist their township in the future. They were willing to answer the questions at hand and even elaborated on their responses with their unique knowledge of the history of Khutsong. However, some of them were sceptical about being asked

⁹⁰ Y Zhang and BM Wildemuth, "Unstructured Interviews", *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science* (2009), 223.

⁹¹ P Gill, K Stewart, E Treasure, and B Chadwick, "Methods of Data Collection in Qualitative Research: Interviews and Focus Groups", *British Dental Journal* 204, no. 6 (2008), 292.

⁹² R Longhurst, "Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups", *Key Methods in Geography* 3, no. 2 (2003), 145.

questions on the township's history. Some felt that they were merely being used as objects or exhibitions to extract information from which they would not benefit. On the contrary, information obtained from participants is the cornerstone of this dissertation. This research will shape frameworks for future research endeavours and possibly assist towards a tangible implementation of tourism practices in the region.

The study also analysed a collection of archival sources comprising original documents related to the history of the FWR. The researcher visited the National Archives of South Africa in Pretoria. The collection of documents consists of original municipal reports, newspaper clippings, and original documentation outlining important historical developments of the FWR which can potentially be used for tourism initiatives in the region. The archives provided raw data difficult to find in secondary sources, which included the early history of the FWR.

1.7 Research ethics

The research is registered with the North-West University's ethics committee as a low-risk undertaking. The information required mainly relates to people's experience in and knowledge of the local area and broader region that serves the Khutsong Township Area. Interviewees were informed of their rights to withdraw at any time during the research process. All recorded information complied with the ethical requirements as represented by the Basic Social Sciences Research Ethic Committee (BaSSREC) of the NWU. The information recorded is securely stored in a safe for five years by the Supervisors. An ethics approval letter was obtained from the BaSSREC with the ethics number (NWU-01081-22-A7). The next section outlines the study's importance to the local people of the FWR and its role in academia in adding a scholarly voice to township tourism.

1.8 Significance of the research

The people of the FWR region, especially potential local and foreign entrepreneurs will benefit from the findings and recommendations as it will establish hybrid historical legacies in a more digestible format. Considerations for future tourism will benefit from this structured narrative. The findings, if adequately implemented might lead to tourism ventures with employment and empowerment opportunities for the community that

may boost the economy of the region. This study also adds scholarly value to the larger projects related to the FWR historical legacy and Khutsong. This study also aims to make Khutsong a township tourism destination of choice in Gauteng by way of theoretical and practical exploration based on the mining legacies from the FWR. This dissertation provides a unique, distinct, and transdisciplinary approach which focuses on the broader disciplines aligned with history, heritage, and tourism domains. Even though the research aims to fill in the research lacuna on these three domains, additional academic and practical inquiry will be required in further postgraduate studies.

1.9 Limitations of the study

The research project involved face-to-face interviews. One of the concerns was the language barrier. Tswana is the dominant language in the Khutsong township and rural areas of the FWR. During the interview process, I came across individuals who cannot talk nor understand English or express themselves better in their native/African language. Assistance was provided by one of the group leaders from my interviewees who became an interpreter and assisted in bridging the language gap and barriers during interviews with the participants. Assistance also came from a transcript interpreter who analysed the recorder I was using for my interviews and provided a transcript written in English since this study forms part of a bigger project on the FWR's tourism status. Another challenge was gathering the full capacity of participants I planned to interview because a few participants could not attend the interview sessions for various reasons, including transport constraints to accessing interview venues. Alternative measures were implemented to access the interviewees through the help of other participants living near the interview venues who agreed to be interviewed and met the requirements needed for the study.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter served as an introduction to map out the research questions and objectives for this study, with a focus on the historical legacy of the FWR and potential tourism opportunities in the region. It also highlighted the research methodology used in the study, which included approaches to capturing information from primary and secondary sources. This included an outline of the significance and possible limitations of the study and justified ethical clearance requirements. In Chapter Two, the

discourse on the FWR will be discussed from scholarly voices, including a focus on the method and theory of historical legacies and heritage, and tourism initiatives in townships.

CHAPTER TWO

SCHOLARLY VOICES ON HISTORICAL LEGACIES AND HERITAGE TOWARDS INSTILLING TOURISM INITIATIVES, WITH EMPHASIS ON TOWNSHIPS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores various research endeavours related to the historical legacy and heritage options in mining-driven areas of South Africa, the FWR, and the global context, including research related to historical legacy and heritage options. Descriptions from different research studies associated with historical legacies from mining regions are expounded concerning township tourism. A thematic approach was applied in examining the literature in this study where important arguments are discussed. In addition, this chapter is based on literature from a theoretical framework that compares different methods and theories towards township tourism, and a critique of the process. This is followed by scholarship focusing on developing tourism initiatives in mining areas globally and the South African context.

2.2 Historical mining areas becoming legacies and heritage regions

The historical legacies of mining regions can be used as tourism products to preserve sustainability in host communities, especially after mines close.¹ Luongo differentiates between history and legacy. According to Luongo, history is about the actual events that took place in the past, while legacies are the impacts made by historical events.² Pepper et al. contextualise mining in this discussion; they argue that no standardised

¹ A Ionica, I Samuil, M Leba, and M Toderas, "The Path of Petrila Mining Area Towards Future Industrial Heritage Tourism Seen Through the Lenses of Past and Present", *Sustainability* 12, no. 23 (2020), 1.

² P. Luongo, "Our History is About Our Accomplishments; Our Legacy is About our Impact", <http://petespeaks.com/our-history-is-about-our-accomplishments-our-legacy-is-about-our-impact/#:~:text=Our%20history%20is%20about%20our%20accomplishments%3B%20Our%20legacy%20is%20about%20our%20impact,-Home%20Accountability%20Our> (Accessed April 24, 2023).

or contextualised policy defines mining legacy.³ Bell has identified the lack of a concise conceptualisation of mining legacy as causing slow progress in rehabilitating and transforming abandoned mines into heritage attractions.⁴ Worrall et al. add their views on mining legacies as a guiding term referring to the negative impacts left by mining operations on regions close to the mines.⁵ Likewise, Whitbread-Abrutat associates mining legacies with negative impacts; they argue that closed mines continue to affect the environment of communities associated with mining negatively.⁶

On the contrary, mining legacies can be associated with positive impacts on communities as expounded by Worrall et al.⁷ In addition, Roche et al. argue that mining operations have positively contributed to human development and infrastructural advancements.⁸ The growth of mines contributes to the socio-economic growth of regions.⁹ Following the establishment of a coal mine in the region, the city of Salgotarjan in Hungary saw rapid developments during the mid-19th century, which led to increased employment opportunities and population growth in the mining region.¹⁰ However, the closure of the coal mine in Salgotarjan in 1951 left the city with high unemployment rates. Still, a mining museum opened in 1965 for visitors to explore the legacy left by the mining industry.¹¹

³ M Pepper, CP Roche, and GM Mudd, "Mining Legacies – Understanding Life-of-Mine Across Time and Space", in *Proceedings of the Life-of-Mine Conference*, pp. 449-465. Brisbane, Australia: Australasian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy (2014), 449.

⁴ LC Bell, "Proceedings of the Workshop on Management and Remediation of Abandoned Mines", *Australian Centre for Mine Environmental Research and Mineral Council of Australia* (2004), 2.

⁵ R Worrall, D Neil, D Brereton, and D Mulligan, "Towards a Sustainability Criteria and Indicators Framework for Legacy Mine Land", *Journal of Cleaner Production* 17, no. 16 (2009), 1427.

⁶ P Whitbread-Abrutat, "Mining Legacy Survey, Informing the Background Paper", *UK, Post-Mining Alliance, Eden Project* (2008), 3.

⁷ The introduction of mining activities has resulted in the development of towns and infrastructure such as schools and hospitals which have created employment in mining regions; See Worrall et al, "Towards a Sustainable Criteria and Indicators...", 1429.

⁸ C Roche, L Sinclair, R Spencer, H Luke, M Brueckner, S Knowles, and M Paull, "A Mining Legacies Lens: From Externalities to Wellbeing in Extractive Industries", *The Extractive Industries and Society* 8, no. 3 (2021), 100961.

⁹ SA Hajkowicz, S Heyenga, and K Moffat, "The Relationship Between Mining and Socio-Economic Wellbeing in Australia's Regions", *Resources Policy* 36, no. 1 (2011), 31; Also see M Ericsson and O Löf, "Mining's Contribution to National Economies Between 1996 and 2016", *Mineral Economics* 32, no. 2 (2019), 223.

¹⁰ G Horváth and G Csüllög, "Salgótarján (Hungary)—The Rise and Fall of a Mining and Industrial Region", *Post-mining regions in Central Europe. Problems, Potentials, Possibilities*. Oekom Verlag, München (2012), 40.

¹¹ Horváth and Csüllög, "The Rise and Fall of a Mining and Industrial Region...", 40.

Secondary industries and the development of mining regions are often linked to the output of mining activities;¹² the 1850s gold rush in Australia made significant contributions to the establishment of towns by developing local infrastructure such as transportation networks, schools, hospitals, housing and recreational facilities.¹³ A recent example is the establishment of Roxby Downs,¹⁴ in 1986, the town was built to accommodate employees servicing the Olympic Dam Mine processing plant.¹⁵

Infrastructural development as a result of mining has been noted in the African setting, in addition to the European experience.¹⁶ In Mozambique, a network of roads and railways was constructed to connect the city of Tete with the coal mines in the province's northern regions.¹⁷ In Cameroon, a 570 km transportation networks (in the form of roads and railways) is being built (where construction commenced in November 2012), which will connect the Mbalam iron ore mine with the country's Atlantic coastal regions.¹⁸ These networks resulted in the efficient transportation of mined resources, increasing mining profits while creating employment for individuals in communities involved in the networks.¹⁹ Similar to its European and African counterparts, the development of mining in South Africa has experienced a similar

¹² Mining companies communicate their commitment towards social responsibility on communities they mine on by establishing projects aimed at developing the mining regions; See J Emel, MH Makene and E Wangari, "Problems with Reporting and Evaluating Mining Industry Community Development Projects: A Case Study from Tanzania", *Sustainability* 4, no. 2 (2012), 258.

¹³ Compare K Carrington and M Pereira, "Assessing the Social Impacts of the Resources Boom on Rural Communities", *Rural Society* 21, no. 1 (2011), 3 with L Janiszewski and E Alexakis, "The "Golden Greeks" from "Diggers" to Settlers: Greek Migration and Settlement during the Australian Gold Rush Era, 1850s–1890s", *Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)* (2017), 159.

¹⁴ Roxby Downs is a town located in the state of South Australia established in 1988 tasked with accommodating employees who serviced the Olympic Dam mine and processing plant; See D Jones, "Street tree performance in arid landscapes: an assessment of street tree performance at Roxby Downs", in *The Role of Trees and Arboriculture in the 21st Century. Proceedings of the 9th National Street Tree Symposium, Adelaide*, pp. 29-43. (2008), 30.

¹⁵ Carrington and Pereira, "Social Impacts of the Resource Boom...", 3.

¹⁶ See E Reed and M Miranda, "Assessment of the Mining Sector and Infrastructure Development in the Congo Basin Region", *Washington DC, USA: World Wildlife Fund, Macroeconomics for Sustainable Development Program Office* 27 (2007), 3; GT Maluleke and L Pretorius, "Modelling the Impact of Mining on Socio-Economic Infrastructure Development-a System Dynamics Approach", *South African Journal of Industrial Engineering* 27, no. 4 (2016), 67.

¹⁷ DP Edwards, S Sloan, L Weng, P Dirks, J Sayer, and WF Laurance, "Mining and the African Environment", *Conservation Letters* 7, no. 3 (2014), 303.

¹⁸ P Toledano, "Leveraging Extractive Industry Infrastructure Investments for Broad Economic Development: Regulatory, Commercial and Operational models for Railway and Ports", *Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment* May (2012), 27.

¹⁹ Toledano, "Leveraging Extractive Industry Infrastructure Investments...", 27.

trajectory post the discovery of gold and diamonds, respectively; what happens after the mines have been exhausted is pivotal.²⁰

Veiga et al. recognize the importance of maintaining sustainable communities after mine closure, which involves mining communities respecting the principles of ecological sustainability, economic vitality, and social equity.²¹ In addition, Limpitlaw acknowledges that successful mine closure involves cooperation between mining companies, governments, and communities to achieve economic benefits for future generations.²² The challenge embedded in positive mining legacies is the apparent lack of meaningful engagement and partnerships between mining companies, the government and communities in the mining areas.²³

Warhurst et al. argue that most mining communities perceive mining operations as negatively affecting their environment, culture, and history, making it difficult to find common ground on achieving sustainable mining communities through historical legacies.²⁴ Bjelkevik and Bohlin also outline this perception of the mining industry as a negative societal phenomenon; mine closures have been found to have an environmental impact and increase unemployment in mining regions.²⁵ The research investigates the dynamics that embody relationships between mining communities, mines, and governmental structures and their roles in sustaining symbiotic operational relationships that exude positive relations in mining regions.

Some of the issues related to environmental challenges following the post-closure of mines include, amongst others, the degrading of water quality, the ecosystem, vegetation, and soil quality in mining regions.²⁶ Worlanyo and Jiangfeng argue that these environmental challenges lead to water pollution, soil fertility loss, and waste

²⁰ J Knight, "Transforming the physical geography of a city: An example of Johannesburg, South Africa", In *Urban Geomorphology*, pp. 129-147. Elsevier, (2018), 135.

²¹ M Veiga, JJ Hinton, MM Veiga, A Tadeu and C Veiga, "Clean Artisanal Gold Mining: A Utopian Approach?", *Journal of Cleaner Production* 11, no. 2 (2003), 99.

²² Compare D Limpitlaw, "Mine Closure as a Framework for Sustainable Development", *Sustainable Development Practices on Mine Sites—Tools and Techniques. University of the Witwatersrand* 10 (2004), 3-4 with Veiga et al, "Clean Artisanal Gold Mining...", 29.

²³ A Warhurst, M Magnus, and G Wood, "Issues in the Management of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Mine Closure: A Review of Challenges and Constraints", *Environmental Policy in Mining: Corporate Strategy and Planning for Closure. Boca Raton, FL, Lewis Publishers* (2000), 83.

²⁴ Warhurst et al., "Issues in the Management...", 83.

²⁵ AG Bjelkevik and TE Bohlin, "Mine Closure—Do We Miss the Opportunities?", In *Mine Closure 2021: Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Mine Closure*. QMC Group, (2021), 2.

²⁶ AS Worlanyo and L Jiangfeng, "Evaluating the Environmental and Economic Impact of Mining for Post-Mined Land Restoration and Land-Use: A review", *Journal of Environmental Management* 279 (2021), 3.

production such as mine dumps and sludges.²⁷ Schrader and Winde posit that some sinkholes in the FWR are due to mining activities in the region.²⁸ More of these environmental challenges from the FWR will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Díaz-Andreu alludes to the value of heritage, which has the potential to symbolise the tangible and intangible history of mining regions and create sustainable communities through tourism opportunities.²⁹ Closely linked with mining and heritage, Pearson and McGowan identify a mining heritage region as a site where minerals were dug from the ground, which has heritage significance because of the history of mining in that region.³⁰ Former mining landscapes are classified as extraction industrial heritage sites and fall under evolving cultural landscapes.³¹

Stevenson contributes to the discourse on landscapes and heritage value by accentuating how historic mining sites consist of physical (tangible) evidence, such as tools of the trade which were used to process minerals; this can include shafts, machinery and quarries that are on display for public and tourist consumption.³² Other tangible evidence can include roads and bridges used to travel to the mines and the settlement patterns (hostels) used to house the mineworkers.³³ Every aspect of the mining region, including the ambience exuded by the environment, contributes to the cultural essence of space and identity, which are invaluable tourism products.³⁴

²⁷ Worlanyo and Jiangfeng, “Evaluating the Environmental and Economic Impact of Mining...”, 3.

²⁸ A Schrader, and F Winde, “Unearthing a Hidden Treasure: 60 Years of Karst Research in the Far West Rand, South Africa”, *South African Journal of Science* 111, no. 5-6 (2015), 1.

²⁹ M Díaz-Andreu, “Heritage Values and the Public”, *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2017), 2.

³⁰ M Pearson and B McGowan, “Mining Heritage Places Assessment Manual”, *Australian Council of National Trusts* (2000), 1-171.

³¹ Nita identifies evolving cultural landscapes in the mining industry as inactive post-mining excavations with historical legacies that can be preserved to attract tourists in mining regions; See J Nita, “Mining Landscape as a Type of Cultural Landscape”, *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego* 23 (2014), 203.

³² MG Stevenson, “Towards an Understanding of Site Abandonment Behaviour: Evidence from Historic Mining Camps in the Southwest Yukon”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1, no. 3 (1982), 239.

³³ Stevenson, “Toward an Understanding of Site Abandonment...”, 239.

³⁴ W Chang, “An Integrated Development Model of Cultural and Creative Industry and Rural Tourism Industry Based on Data Mining”, *Wireless Communications and Mobile Computing* 2022, no. 1 (2022), 1; Also see R Armis and H Kanegae, “The Attractiveness of a Post-Mining City as a Tourist Destination from the Perspective of Visitors: A study of Sawahlunto Old Coal Mining Town in Indonesia”, *Asia-Pacific Journal of Regional Science* 4, no. 2 (2020), 443.

Mining heritage is described as a field that has emerged under the umbrella of industrial heritage.³⁵ In contrast, the concept of industrial heritage was introduced in the middle of the 20th century, following the ruins of industrial buildings during World War II, which saw destroyed buildings being transformed into heritage sites to attract visitors and preserve their history.³⁶ Sauri-Pujol and Edwards introduce mining heritage as an approach to preserve the history of mines through tourism by redeveloping old mines to represent the cultural heritage of mining regions; Cole views this approach as one that can successfully achieve sustainable development in former mining regions.³⁷

The role of mining heritage museums is not only for maintaining physical remnants of the mining past; for example, machinery and buildings of the mines but also for their intangible history.³⁸ Intangible material from the mining past can include 'socio-facts', described by Jones and Munday as shared structural values of culture influencing social behaviour.³⁹ Socio-facts are interlinked with mining heritage; Mendes argues that visitors can capture how mineworkers lived on former mining compounds (including how their shared cultural beliefs influenced their behaviour on the compounds) through oral presentations and existing literature on mining compounds in South Africa.⁴⁰

Mining heritage associated with socio-facts in Khutsong is addressed in this research to introduce socio-facts related to tourism in former mines. Shared cultural views from former mineworkers on their experiences in mining compounds can be explored as a discourse on understanding social behaviour in mines. This discourse can be shared

³⁵ J Harfst, J Sandriester, and W Fischer, "Industrial Heritage Tourism as a Driver of Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Steirische Eisenstrasse (Austria)", *Sustainability* 13, no. 7 (2021), 2.

³⁶ Compare Edwards and Lluordes, "Mines and Quarries...", 323 with L Loures, "Industrial Heritage: The Past in the Future of the City", *WSEAS Transactions on Environment and Development* 4, no. 8 (2008), 689.

³⁷ D Sauri-Pujol and JC Lluordes, "Embellishing Nature: The Case of the Salt Mountain Project of Cardona, Catalonia, Spain", *Geoforum* 26 (1995), 36; D Cole, "Exploring the Sustainability of Mining Heritage Tourism", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 12, no. 6 (2004), 481.

³⁸ C Jones and M Munday, "Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site Status: Is Conservation of Industrial Heritage a Road to Local Economic Development?", *Regional Studies* 35, no. 6 (2001), 586.

³⁹ Jones and Munday, "Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site Status...", 586.

⁴⁰ I Mendes, "Derelict Mining Sites: Environmental Menaces and Social Cemeteries, or Opportunities for Local Sustainable Development? An Essay 1", *Utopia, Anarquia e Sociedade, Almedina Project: Contribution of Social Responsibility to Sustainable Development* (2018), 336.

by former mineworkers who have strong knowledge of the history of the mines with tourists through oral presentations.

An analysis of the preservation of mining sites has found that it offers an opportunity for former mineworkers and community members to become involved in preservation operations of the mines' heritage, such as museums and historical mining sites.⁴¹ Burns argues that information from former mineworkers and the older generation of community members living near the mines must be captured to preserve mining heritage before it is lost or diminishes when descendants die.⁴² This raises the need to capture the historical narratives of mining community members and transfer knowledge of their mining legacy to tourism departments and researchers alike to create tourism products.⁴³

Dicks emphasises the need for tourism researchers to involve the local communities and culture experts in the planning and establishment of tourism products such as museums and related centres. These centres tend to fail to receive support from the locals if they are not involved from the onset, as they may contest the interpretation of their heritage.⁴⁴ One example is the Gili Islands in Indonesia which experienced rapid tourism developments without the local community being adequately informed and involved in the planning process of implementing tourism initiatives on the Triplet Islands.⁴⁵ This resulted in tensions and conflicts between the local communities of Gili Islands and the tourism operators, as the residents stressed over the benefits of tourism not being shared equally and fairly, also stressing over the poor management of the environment due to an influx of tourists.⁴⁶ An example is seen in Barcelona where residents have been protesting because of the tourist influx and the high cost of living.⁴⁷ Jones and Munday further outline the importance of sensitivity toward mining

⁴¹ Compare M Pretes, "Touring Mines and Mining Tourists", *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 2 (2002), 444 with D Craveiro, ID Sardinha and S Milheiras, "Industrial Heritage Tourism as the Trigger for Local Development of a Post-Mining Area in the Southeast of Portugal: Perception of the Locals and the Visitors", *Industrial Heritage Tourism as the Trigger for Local Development of a Post-Mining Area in the Southeast of Portugal: Perception of the Locals and the Visitors* (2013), 71.

⁴² PM Burns, "Sustaining Tourism Employment", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 1, no. 2 (1993), 93.

⁴³ Burns, "Sustaining Tourism Employment...", 93.

⁴⁴ B Dicks, "Heritage, Governance and Marketization: A Case-Study from Wales", *Museum and Society* 1, no. 1 (2003), 30.

⁴⁵ S Partelow and K Nelson, "Social Networks, Collective Action and the Evolution of Governance for Sustainable Tourism on the Gili Islands, Indonesia", *Marine Policy* 112 (2020), 1.

⁴⁶ Partelow and Nelson, "Social Networks, Collective Action and the Evolution", 1.

⁴⁷ Milanao et al, "Anti-tourism Activism...", 3.

communities being interviewed, mentioning that researchers should not make locals feel like 'living exhibits' showcasing their past links with the mining legacy.⁴⁸

Social inclusion in tourism planning involves the community's decision-making processes and the sharing of resources, skills, and knowledge. However, data extracted from the community needs to be verified to ensure that the interpretation of mining heritage accurately reflects local history.⁴⁹ Hospers adds that this approach should also sympathise with the local community perspectives.⁵⁰ Teo and Yeoh, on the other hand, argue that the search for authenticity characterises the remaking of heritage;⁵¹ at the same time, Dicks outlines that this authenticity is vital to consider when attempting to turn local culture into heritage tourism.⁵²

There are several debates surrounding the authenticity of residents' interviews towards establishing heritage tourism; individual memory can be influenced by personal experiences while cultural biases can eliminate a neutral narrative.⁵³ Residents may succumb to the pressure of presenting a romanticized interpretation of their culture to attract tourists, leading to inauthentic representations of their heritage.⁵⁴ Leitner advocates for the strategy of triangulation to enhance residents' authenticity, this involves combining a range of sources in the form of oral history and written documents but also includes archaeological material if present to assist in verifying narratives provided.⁵⁵ In the following section mining heritage and tourism in mining areas are discussed.

⁴⁸ Jones and Munday, "Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site Status...", 586.

⁴⁹ Compare R Sandel, "Social Inclusion, the Museum and the Dynamics of Sectoral Change", *Museum and Society* 11, no. 1 (2003), 55 with GJ Hospers, "Industrial Heritage Tourism and Regional Restructuring in the European Union", *European Planning Studies* 10, no. 3 (2002), 402.

⁵⁰ Hospers, "Industrial Heritage Tourism and Regional Restructuring...", 402.

⁵¹ Teo and Yeoh, "Remaking Local Heritage...", 199.

⁵² Dicks, "Heritage, Governance and Marketization...", 30.

⁵³ T Guerra, P Moreno, ASA de Almeida, and L Vitorino, "Authenticity in Industrial Heritage Tourism Sites: Local Community Perspectives", *European Journal of Tourism Research* 32 (2022), 2-3.

⁵⁴ Guerra et al., "Authenticity in Industrial Heritage...", 2-3.

⁵⁵ U Leitner, "Triangulating Written and Oral Ego-Documents–Autobiographical Sources of Diocesan Pre-Seminary Pupils: Challenges and Opportunities", *History of Education* (2024), 1-3.

2.3 Tourism in mining areas and mining tourism

This section analyses the discipline of mining tourism and tourism initiatives in mining areas through a comparative investigation and analysis of existing literature. The investigation begins with a broader glance at global mining tourism, providing theories associated with tourism initiatives in mining areas. The discussion then progresses closer to a South African perspective on tourism in mining areas, focusing on methods and approaches linked with instilling tourism in mining regions.

2.3.1 Analysing mining tourism from global mining regions

Mining legacies such as historic mines, mining towns and mining infrastructure are globally renowned for their potential to become tourism sites that reflect the economic, technological, infrastructure and social development of mining regions.⁵⁶ Jelen describes mining tourism as cultural tourism focused on using mining heritage for its values and meanings to attract visitors, and Scheibel considers it part of industrial tourism.⁵⁷ Lee conceptualises industrial tourism as a type of tourism that involves tourists visiting sites to learn about past economic activities.⁵⁸ Industrial tourism provides an opportunity for the redevelopment of areas previously dominated by heavy industries; in the case of mining, this involves utilising closed mines to attract tourists.⁵⁹ Industrial tourism involves people visiting active and inactive industries and exploring how their operations are/were done in the past; this process also occurs during mine tours.⁶⁰

Mining tourism occurs at industrial sites prepared as tourism products; Ballesteros and Ramirez claim that tourism and mining activities are growing side by side depending on the scenario of different regions. For example, when a mine closes, it creates

⁵⁶ R Norum, "Barentsburg and Beyond: Coal, Science, Tourism, and the Geopolitical Mmaginaries of Svalbard's New North", *Postcolonial Perspectives on the European High North: Unscrambling the Arctic* (2016), 31.

⁵⁷ Compare C Schejbal, "To Theory of Montanistic Tourism", *GeoJournal Engineering* 62, no. 2 (2016), 6 with J Jelen, "Mining Heritage and Mining Tourism", *Czech Journal of Tourism* 7, no. 1 (2018), 97.

⁵⁸ CF Lee, "An Investigation of Factors Determining Industrial Tourism Attractiveness", *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 16, no. 2 (2016), 184.

⁵⁹ B Kršák, C Sidor, Ľ Štrba, L Hvizdák, P Blistan, G Kolčáková, E Liptáková, R Delina, and P Mesároš, "Maximizing the Potential of Mining Tourism Through Knowledge Infrastructures", *Acta Montanistica Slovaca* 20, no. 4 (2015), 322.

⁶⁰ T Lobożewicz and G Bienczyk, "Basics of Tourism", *Higher School of Economics, Warszawa* (2001), 17; Also see IA Sorcaru, "Industrial Tourism Attractions: The Case of Salt Mines in Romania", *Annals of the University Dunarea de Jos of Galati: Fascicle: I, Economics & Applied Informatics* 27, no. 1 (2021), 24.

opportunities for the development of mining tourism, making the interaction between mining and tourism visible.⁶¹ For this interaction to occur properly, authorities and local governments must become involved in identifying potential industrial and post-industrial areas for tourism.⁶² Sutherland provides a case study on the community-driven mining heritage in the Cuyuna Iron Mining District in the United States. This district was one of the most important suppliers of iron during the two world wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) but collapsed in the late 1960s which led to the cultural and industrial heritage of the abandoned facilities around Cuyuna being rejuvenated as tourism products.⁶³

This study now analyses the discourse on the planning for sustainable mining communities during the last cycle⁶⁴ of existing mines. The mining town of Obuasi hosts the oldest mining site in Ghana and has been facing threats of closure.⁶⁵ This has led to Asuah and Ankoye suggesting mining tourism for the mining town, encouraging the preservation of Obuasi's mining heritage, which dates back to the 17th century.⁶⁶ The mining heritage of Obuasi is recognised as identifying the town's mining history, exploring the appearance of mine shafts, what miners do underground, and what gold ore looks like.⁶⁷ Steiner and Markantoni approve of this notion. They posit that mining tourism provides diverse capital for mining regions, making them less vulnerable to economic distress during mine closure.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Ballesteros and Ramirez, "Identity and Community...", 679.

⁶² G Huang, W Zhou, and S Ali, "Spatial Patterns and Economic Contributions of Mining and Tourism in Biodiversity Hotspots: A Case Study in China", *Ecological Economics* 70, no. 8 (2011), 1494.

⁶³ F Sutherland, "Community-Driven Mining Heritage in the Cuyuna Iron Mining District: Past, Present, and Future Projects", *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2, no. 3 (2015), 520.

⁶⁴ Rohaendi and Herlinawati stress the importance for mining regions to start mine closure programs in mining regions with declining local mining economic output as they recognize the period of declining mines as the last cycle of mining activities. The authors echo this importance by providing an example from the oldest coal mining city in Indonesia, Sawahlunto, in urgent need to start mine closure programs, following the cities significant decline in coal production and the unprecedented retrenchment of mineworkers; See N Rohaendi and H Herlinawati, "Developing Sustainable Geotourism as Post-Mining Land Use Programs in Indonesia", *Journal of Degraded and Mining Lands Management* 11, no. 2 (2024), 5181.

⁶⁵ L Coyle Rosen, "Mining Rituals in Vital Spaces: The Cosmopolitics of Gold and the Precarity of Mine Closure in Ghana", *Ethnos* (2023), 1.

⁶⁶ AY Asuah and PA Ankoye, "The Resilience of Mining Communities in Obuasi, as AngloGold Ashanti Shifts Position", *Journal of Poverty, Investment and Development* 22 (2016), 89.

⁶⁷ Asuah and Ankoye, "The Resilience of Mining Communities in Obuasi...", 89.

⁶⁸ A Steiner and M Markantoni, "Unpacking Community Resilience Through Capacity for Change", *Community Development Journal* 49, no. 3 (2014), 407.

Implementing mining tourism programs in economically stressed regions can be challenging, as most mines are outside the ordinary tourist circuits in peripheral areas.⁶⁹ Ribeiro and Marques stress that another challenge in establishing sustainable mining tourism practices is the rural communities' lack of understanding of the benefits of mining tourism in their region.⁷⁰ However, there are some circumstances where host communities are against mining tourism because of the risk of their environment being degraded by tourists. One example is the local communities next to the Giant Mine located in Yellowknife, Canada who have collaborated with environmental groups to voice their concerns over the implementation of mine tourism initiatives in Yellowknife.⁷¹ The Giant Mine is a closed gold mine that was previously significant but contaminated the environment before it closed. It has however been included in discussions that involve the planning of tourism to preserve the mining heritage of Yellowknife.⁷² Local communities and environmental advocates have stressed the need for adequate environmental rehabilitation of the Giant Mine before tourism initiatives can be considered in the mining town.⁷³

This study also acknowledges the opportunities and challenges associated with mining tourism, as expressed in the literature above. The study recognises the need to implement tourism as an economic alternative in towns facing their last mining cycles. The last cycle of mining production can introduce Butler's first stage of tourism (mentioned in the previous chapter) which is the exploration stage involving adventurous travellers and visits to mining regions in remote areas which are less known by most people.⁷⁴ Most of these regions being explored normally have minimal tourism infrastructure with tourism having a minimum impact on the host community and environment.⁷⁵ Still, mining regions, predominantly in rural areas, hinder such implementations, with potential visitors having difficulty travelling long distances. In the context of the FWR, the mining sites are located within proximity of Carletonville and

⁶⁹ Craveiro et al., "Industrial Heritage Tourism as the Trigger for Local Development...", 71.

⁷⁰ M Ribeiro and C Marques, "Rural Tourism and the Development of Less Favoured Areas—Between Rhetoric and Practice", *International Journal of Tourism Research* 4, no. 3 (2002), 4.

⁷¹ J Sandlos and A Keeling, "Toxic Legacies, Slow Violence, and Environmental Injustice at Giant Mine, Northwest Territories", *Northern Review* 42 (2016) 7.

⁷² Sandlos and Keeling, "Toxic Legacies...", 7.

⁷³ See Sandlos and Keeling, "Toxic Legacies...", 7.

⁷⁴ MB Ly, "An Application of Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle to Saly (Senegal)", *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research* 6, no. 1 (2018), 47.

⁷⁵ Ly, "An Application of Butler's Tourism Area Life...", 47.

Fochville (in the Merafong municipal boundaries),⁷⁶ allowing potential tourists to travel short distances when visiting mining regions. Mining tourism from a South African scholarly perspective is discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Investigating mining tourism initiatives from South African mining regions

Mining tourism studies in South Africa is a goldmine that requires more research attention. Siakwah et al. mention that industrial heritage in South Africa's tourism sector is under-investigated and it holds a minor position in the academic literature.⁷⁷ One major reason for this shortcoming is the lack of substantial, in-depth studies on mining histories in all the regions, which would be necessary to sufficiently inform tourism endeavours.⁷⁸ The existence of Gold Reef City emphasises pleasure and fun more than a profound yet accessible understanding of long-standing mining histories.⁷⁹

Caamaño-Franco and Suarez analyse the heritage construction process or “heritagization”⁸⁰ of Las Médulas gold mines in Spain as mining heritage tourism products.⁸¹ Their research addresses the complications associated with integrating mining cultural landscapes into tourism developments that benefit the locals of mining communities.⁸² On the other hand, Buultjens et al. outline that the larger population of Indigenous Australians live in remote areas where mines are located and where most are unemployed and live below the poverty line.⁸³ The authors believe that tourism can be used to create sustainable employment opportunities for Australia's Indigenous population; they add that indigenous tourism enterprises would require enormous

⁷⁶ Tunce, “The Dynamics of Mining Towns...”, 2.

⁷⁷ P Siakwah, R Musavengane, and L Leonard, “Tourism Governance and Attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa”, *Tourism Planning and Development* (2019), 2.

⁷⁸ B du Plessis, “A First Giant Gap Towards Hope: Post-mining Tourism Development with a Mining Tourism Emphasis”, Paper Presented at the 3rd Research Sharing and Feedback to Develop Reporting on the Research Project, Muldersdrift, September 2023.

⁷⁹ See du Plessis, “Post-mining Tourism Development...”.

⁸⁰ Heritagization refers to the process of recreating the legacies of cultural heritage and identity of a region into historical meanings through initiatives such as tourism; See PA Nilsson, “Impact of Cultural Heritage on Tourists: The Heritagization Process”, *Athens Journal of Tourism* 5, no. 1 (2018), 37.

⁸¹ I Caamaño-Franco and MA Suarez, “The Value Assessment and Planning of Industrial Mining Heritage as a Tourism Attraction: The Case of Las Médulas Cultural Space”, *Land* 9, no. 11 (2020), 1.

⁸² Caamaño-Franco and Suarez, “Industrial Mining Heritage as a Tourism Attraction...”, 1.

⁸³ J Buultjens, D Brereton, P Memmott, J Reser, L Thomson, and T O'Rourke, “The Mining Sector and Indigenous Tourism Development in Weipa, Queensland”, *Tourism Management* 31, no. 5 (2010), 597.

support from the government and mining companies to grow the tourism economy of these remote areas.⁸⁴ This literature can assist in suggesting approaches towards tourism in Khutsong as the township is also situated next to mines and most of the population lives in poverty.⁸⁵

This study considers that community perceptions of tourism in the Khutsong area are instrumental. Therefore, interviews, have been important in generating complex community positionalities on a spectrum of issues in tourism, this is discussed further in Chapter Five. Coupland expounds on mining heritage as a tourism product designed to represent and commemorate the shared cultural values of mining communities.⁸⁶ Coupland adds that the population of mining host communities should become involved in the planning and implementation of heritage tourism because it is their own culture that is being explored, and they would better understand it.⁸⁷ Schmallegger and Carson raise an important point which focuses on the staples thesis⁸⁸ and the challenges linked with regions with economies that are overly reliant on a single product, as they believe that once that single product fails to generate an income, a region's local economy will collapse.⁸⁹ The authors identified tourism as a potential approach to diversifying the economy and escaping the staples trap.⁹⁰ They proposed that more research is required on tourism initiatives in remote regions to encourage sustainable economies in the future.⁹¹ The economy of Khutsong has been benefiting from and reliant on the export of gold for decades. However, the decline in gold production in the FWR from the 21st century has, as Schmallegger and Carson observed from their study, similarly affected the economy of the Khutsong township.⁹² This is

⁸⁴ Buultjens et al., "The Mining Sector and Indigenous Tourism Development...", 597.

⁸⁵ Tunce, "The Dynamics of a Mining Town...", 2.

⁸⁶ B Coupland and N Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales", *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18, no. 4 (2014), 495.

⁸⁷ Coupland and Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism...", 495.

⁸⁸ The staple thesis describes the economies of remote regions that are reliant on the export of natural resources such as exporting unprocessed gold to generate money. The thesis views natural resources as drivers of economic development but stresses over the potential risk of relying heavily on exporting natural resources because of factors such as exhausting resources and changing commodity prices; See C Southey, "The Staples Thesis, Common Property, and Homesteading", *The Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economie* 11, no. 3 (1978), 547.

⁸⁹ D Schmallegger and D Carson, "Is Tourism Just Another Staple? A New Perspective on Tourism in Remote regions", *Current Issues in Tourism* 13, no. 3 (2010), 201.

⁹⁰ Schmallegger and Carson, "A New Perspective on Tourism in Remote Regions...", 201.

⁹¹ See Schmallegger and Carson, "A New Perspective on Tourism in Remote Regions...", 201.

⁹² See ES van Eeden "So Long, Gold Mines...", 103-104; TM Mathole, "Investigating Leadership Behaviours Adopted on Conflict Resolutions: A Case of Gold Mining Production Teams in Carletonville" (PhD thesis, North-West University, 2021), 10; PM Mashamaite, "Exploring South Africa's Renewable Energy

consistent with the above-mentioned staples theory and the research suggesting tourism as an approach to diversifying Khutsong's economy.

Since the 21st century, some scholarship arguing for mining tourism in South Africa has become prominent. Tlabela and Munthre observed that there has been recent global growth and interest in marketing heritage and cultural tourism, including mining tourism.⁹³ Tseane-Gumbi and Ani argue that the closure of mining operations should not be viewed as an economic threat to host communities but as an opportunity to establish unique tourism products from mining heritage.⁹⁴ However, establishing tourism initiatives in mining regions has its challenges in South Africa. Keyser outlines these challenges as negative environmental impacts caused by mining activities from the past and mine closure procedures that fail to sustain the environment.⁹⁵ This study also identified and embodied environmental challenges from the FWR as comprised of sinkholes that damage roads and infrastructure and potentially threaten visitors' access to the region's tourism products.⁹⁶

There is a slow rate in the growth of tourism projects, and the snail's pace is potentially caused by long processes over land claims.⁹⁷ The government is blamed for not providing a conducive environment for the private sector and communities to develop tourism initiatives.⁹⁸ An example comes from the Wild Coast in the Eastern Cape, where the government is blamed for not implementing policies that encourage cultural and eco-tourism as the region has great potential.⁹⁹ Other issues such as conflicts over land rights, bureaucratic red tape, and the lack the failure to support community-led

Programme and its Potential Role in Khutsong Township Economic Development", (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2024), 5.

⁹³ K Tlabela and C Munthre, "An Investigation into Tourists Satisfaction with Culture and Heritage Tourism in South Africa - An Exploratory Study", *International Journal of Culture and Tourism Research* 5 no. 2 (2012), 1.

⁹⁴ LA Tseane-Gumbi and KJ Ani, "The Political Economy of Mining Tourism: A Strategic Nation-Building Opportunity for South Africa's North-West Province", *African Renaissance* 15, no. 3 (2018), 126.

⁹⁵ H Keyser, *Developing Tourism in South Africa: Towards Competitive Destinations* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 2009), 27.

⁹⁶ E van Eeden, "Proactive Engagements, Initiatives and Activities for a Sustainable Far West Rand in the 21st Century", Paper Presented at the FWR-Mining Tourism Project. 2022-2024-Report, May 2024.

⁹⁷ North-West Planning Commission, "North-West Mediation Strategy and Plan for Tourism, Mining and Land Claims", *Situational Analysis*, 1 (2013), 26-28.

⁹⁸ North-West Planning Commission, "North-West Mediation Strategy and Plan for Tourism...", 26-28.

⁹⁹ T Mambiravana, JD Nyamahono, and J Budzi, "Conflicts and Competing Interests in Infrastructure Development: A Case of N2 Toll Road Project, Wild Coast, South Africa", *Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Studies* 4 (2024), 2-3.

tourism initiatives in the region makes it difficult to find common ground.¹⁰⁰ In the next section, the study aims to discuss the discourse on sustainable mining tourism as urgent for the 21st century.

2.4 Sustainable mining tourism as an urgency for the 21st century

Due to the decline in traditional mining activities, sustainable mining tourism has since become an urgency in South Africa for various reasons. One of these reasons is to try and diversify the economy in mining regions by repurposing former mining sites into tourist attractions and revitalize local economies by creating employment opportunities.¹⁰¹ Establishing sustainable tourism initiatives can also rehabilitate the environment in mining regions, which can also lead to the preserving of cultural heritage where their products can be offered to tourists.¹⁰²

The quest for sustainable communities in Africa is primarily a 21st-century directive which resulted in the United Nations' development of eight goals.¹⁰³ These are known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and they range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education.¹⁰⁴ The initial target date was 2015, but it was extended to 2030. It's mostly viewed as a "blueprint" that all countries agreed to, and educational institutions also help pursue their research endeavours.¹⁰⁵ This section instils debate on creating sustainable communities in mining regions following mine closure. It analyses suitable approaches towards achieving sustainable tourism initiatives from a South African

¹⁰⁰ Mambirana et al., "Conflicts and Competing Interests...", 2-3.

¹⁰¹ P Dela, G Masina, and PA Novotny, "The Communities we Leave Behind: Charting a Sustainable Legacy for Mining in South Africa", (January 2025), https://www.africanmining.co.za/2025/01/20/the-communities-we-leave-behind-charting-a-sustainable-legacy-for-mining-in-sa/?utm_source (accessed January 20, 2025).

¹⁰² Delga et al., "The Communities we Leave Behind..."

¹⁰³ S Kumar, N Kumar, and S Vivekadhish, "Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS): Addressing Finished Agenda and Strengthening Sustainable Development and Partnership", *Indian Journal of Community Medicine* 41, no. 1 (2016), 1-4.

¹⁰⁴ Kumar et al., "Millennium Development Goals (MDGS)...", 1-4.

¹⁰⁵ M Larionova, "The Challenges of Attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)", *International Organisations Research Journal* 15, no. 1 (2020), 155; Also see Kumar et al., Millennium Development Goals...", 1-4.

perspective, rounding off with a discussion on analysing the potential of using closed mines for tourism purposes.¹⁰⁶

2.4.1 An overview of mining tourism in South Africa

South Africa also has historical sites linked with mining tourism related to the goldmining legacies of the country. The Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains in Mpumalanga are listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and they have some of the oldest mining sites in the world.¹⁰⁷ Even though the heritage site does not have traditional mine tours as those in West African countries, heritage trails can be visited which explore mining communities and their indigenous mining methods. Schluter and Schumann add that ecotourism is also found in the heritage, as cultural and nature-based tourism products are combined to attract diverse visitors.¹⁰⁸ The goldmining history of Pilgrim's Rest is also for mining tourism in South Africa, the small town in Mpumalanga is a historical settlement that serves as a museum which represents the historical legacies of the country during the gold rush era.¹⁰⁹ The living museum in Pilgrim's Rest consists of historical buildings, shops, and homes which have architecture from the 19th century, including a hotel for visitors. Guided tours are also available for visitors to explore the cultural heritage of the mining town, including participating in traditional gold panning activities.¹¹⁰

South African goldmining historical sites preserves the country's mining heritage, adding cultural and educational value to tourists. Organizations such as the Gauteng Tourism Authority offer tours around the province which highlight mining heritage in old mining towns and sites.¹¹¹ These tours mainly visit historical sightings such as old mining shafts and ghost towns which explain the legacies of goldmining and their impact towards the development of the region. The tours narratives explain the history of migrant labourers, the diverse cultural demographics in the region facilitated by goldmining, and the development of urban centres.¹¹² Similar to the Gauteng Tourism Authority, the Witwatersrand Gold Basin Tours (also in Gauteng) provide guided tours in the Witwatersrand basin, giving tourists an opportunity to explore old mine shafts

¹⁰⁶ FM Mulaudzi, SP Seepaneng, DM Peu, LS Mmamakwa NR Mataboge, N Ngunyulu, and RS Mogale, "Challenges Experienced by South Africa in Attaining Millennium Development Goals 4, 5 and 6", *African Journal of Primary Health Care and Family Medicine* 8, no. 2 (2016), 1-3.

¹⁰⁷ T Schlüter and A Schumann, "Geosites as a Potential for the Development of Tourism-overview of Relevant Sites in Eswatini (formerly Swaziland)", *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites* 22 no. 2 (2018), 535.

¹⁰⁸ Schlüter and Schumann, "Geosites as a potential for the Development of Tourism...", 535-537.

¹⁰⁹ B Lennox, "[Pilgrim] Age Repositioned: Reinvigorating Technological, Historical and Natural Significances in the Museum-Town of Pilgrim's Rest", MA thesis (Pretoria, University of Pretoria, 2022), 7-11.

¹¹⁰ Lennox, "[Pilgrim] Age Repositioned...", 7-11.

¹¹¹ I Nemasetoni and CM Rogerson, "Township Tourism in Africa: Emerging Tour Operators in Gauteng, South Africa", In *Urban tourism in the Developing World*, pp. 205-220 (Routledge, 2017), 205-206.

¹¹² Nemasetoni and Rogerson, "Township Tourism in Africa", 205-206.

and ghost towns, highlighting on the lives of miners and mining techniques during the early years of goldmining in the region.¹¹³

2.4.2 Views on sustainable mining tourism in South Africa

Sustainable mining tourism¹¹⁴ has the potential to contribute to communities' socio-economic and environmental well-being.¹¹⁵ This study acknowledges community-based tourism (henceforth CBT) as a valid approach to implementing sustainable mining tourism. Strydom et al. describe CBT as a developmental method that promotes local communities' economic, environmental, and socio-cultural needs through tourism products.¹¹⁶ Setokoe encourages the CBT model for small rural communities as a poverty reduction strategy.¹¹⁷ Projects associated with CBT are initiated, planned, owned, controlled, and managed by local community members, and they aim to achieve collective sustainable socio-economic benefits.¹¹⁸

Communities with declining mining economies are common in South Africa.¹¹⁹ Binns and Nel recognise the importance of tourism-driven development in academic literature when exploring possibilities for restoring these economies.¹²⁰ In their study, Mangope et al. acknowledge that the decline of mining activities destroys the economic prospects in mining-dependent towns and have identified tourism as the new driving force in the South African economy.¹²¹ Siyongwana and Shabalala

¹¹³ LS Opfermann, "Walking in Jozi: Guided Tours, Insecurity and Urban Regeneration in Inner City Johannesburg", *Global Policy* 12, no. 1 (2021), 41.

¹¹⁴ Van der Walt remarks that "In the pursuit of global well-being and prosperity, the concept of sustainable development emphasizes the interconnectedness of economic progress, environmental stewardship and social equity"; See paper in progress by G van der Walt, "Towards a Conceptual Framework for the Social Dimensions of Sustainable Development", *African Journal of Governance and Development* (2024), 1.

¹¹⁵ Tseane-Gumbi and Ali, *Political Economy of Mining Tourism*, 135.

¹¹⁶ AJ Strydom, D Mangope, and U Henama, "Making Community-Based Tourism Sustainable: Evidence from the Free State Province, South Africa", *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites* 24, no. 1 (2019), 7.

¹¹⁷ ST Setokoe, "Community-Based Tourism: A Panacea for Community Development in Ngileni Village, Eastern Cape, South Africa", *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites* 34, no. 1 (2021), 28.

¹¹⁸ AJ Strydom, D Mangope, and U Henama, "Economic Sustainability Guidelines for a Community-Based Tourism Project: The Case of Thabo Mofutsanyane, Free State Province", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6, no. 3 (2017), 1.

¹¹⁹ This has been evident in the towns of Westonaria and Randfontein which have seen a decline in employment because of the closure of mines in the West Rand region causing a negative impact on the economy of the towns; See Basson, "The Economic Impact of a Changing Urban Mining Region...", 5.

¹²⁰ T Binns and E Nel, "Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa", *Geographical Journal* 168 no. 3 (2002), 237.

¹²¹ Mangope et al., "Economic Sustainability Guidelines...", 2.

advocate for tourism in mining areas as a suitable strategy for coping with the declining economy and maintaining sustainable communities for the future.¹²² Literature on the transformation of abandoned mines into tourist attractions is valuable in this research because the area in study, the FWR, has abandoned mines. The following section unpacks the literature on the tourism potential of abandoned mines in South Africa.

2.4.3 Tourism potential of abandoned mines in South Africa

Most abandoned mines in South Africa have long mining histories, often associated with environmental, economic, and social effects caused by past mining activities.¹²³ For example, the closure of Pilgrim's Rest Mine in Mpumalanga saw miners lose their jobs, resulting in high levels of crime in the region.¹²⁴ Another example comes from the closed East Rand Mine that left the Cason mine dump which was once the world's highest man-made mountains and currently causes air pollution in the Boksburg region.¹²⁵

Hoskin argues that the slow approach to rehabilitating abandoned mines can be attributed to the lack of consequence management and the potentially high rehabilitation costs.¹²⁶ The government and mining companies are both assigned different responsibilities during the mine closure process; the mining companies should apply for a closure certificate and follow the relevant provisions of the Minerals Act 50 of 1991.¹²⁷ Under this act, mining companies provide for the safety and health of persons concerned in mines and work to regulate the orderly utilisation and rehabilitation of the land during and after mining operations and provide for matters connected therewith.¹²⁸ The government's responsibility during mine closure is to act

¹²² PQ Siyongwana and A Shabalala, "The Socio-Economic Impacts of Mine Closure on Local Communities: Evidence from Mpumalanga Province in South Africa", *GeoJournal* 84 (2019), 367.

¹²³ J Stacey, A Naude, M Hermanus and P Frankel, "The Socio-Economic Aspects of Mine Closure and Sustainable Development: Literature Overview and Lessons for the Socio-Economic Aspects of Closure-Report 1", *Journal of the Southern Africa Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 110 no. 7 (2010), 381.

¹²⁴ B Lennox, "[Pilgrim] Age Repositioned: Reinvigorating Technological, Historical and Natural Significances in the Museum-Town of Pilgrim's Rest", (MA dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2022), 3.

¹²⁵ Siyongwana and Shabalala, "Socio-Economic Impacts of Mine Closure...", 372; Also see SSP Phakedi, "Population Exposure to Cyanide Vapour from Gold Mine Tailings Dams", (MA dissertation, University of Johannesburg, 2011), 21.

¹²⁶ WMA Hoskin, "Mine Closure – The 1st Century Approach Avoiding Future Abandoned Mines", <http://www.dundee.ac.uk/cepmlp/gateway/index.php?news=28263> (accessed May 15, 2023).

¹²⁷ E Swart, "The South African Legislative Framework for Mine Closure", *The Journal of The South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 103, no. 8 (2003), 489.

¹²⁸ Department of Minerals and Energy, *Minerals Act, 1991 (Act 50 of 1991)*, South Africa.

as the guardian of the environment guided by the Constitution while promoting sustainable development and being the custodian of remaining problems and mine legacies.¹²⁹

Mine closure can be regarded as part of a mine's life cycle; this means that a mine was born when mining operations began, and when the mine ceases to operate, it means the end of legal mining operations.¹³⁰ There are five stages in the life cycle of a mine; the first stage is exploration which involves identifying potential mining sites and conducting geological surveys. The second stage is development which involves the construction of necessary infrastructure for mining operations, the third stage is the operations where minerals are extracted and processed including the monitoring of the environment.¹³¹ The fourth stage is mine closure which involves ceasing mining operations and rehabilitating the land to minimize environmental and social impacts, and the last stage is post-closure which involves activities that ensure that rehabilitation measures are effective, and the surrounding communities are not exposed to hazards such as AMD.¹³² The International Council on Mining and Metals (henceforth ICMM) uses an integrated approach towards mine closure, mainly protecting social and environmental matters in mining regions.¹³³ Stacey et al. argue that unresolved and controversial matters associated with mine closure have been left with the government to resolve.¹³⁴

Because of these various challenges, communities of abandoned mines in South Africa find it difficult to rehabilitate closed mines for recreational activities, including tourism. Steenkamp and Clark-Mostert's studies explore some of these challenges, which reflect the emergence of illegal mining operations, which are familiar in abandoned gold mines; these illegal mining operations threaten the environment and mining tourism potential.¹³⁵ Macharia provides examples of two incidents to support Steenkamp and Clark-Mostert's argument; the first incident occurred in 2006, where

¹²⁹ Swart, "South African Legislative Framework for Mine Closure...", 489.

¹³⁰ M Ackerman, G van der Waladt, and D Botha, "Mitigating the Socio-Economic Consequences of Mine Closure", *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 118, no. 4 (2018), 439.

¹³¹ ET Asr, R Kakaie, M Ataei, and MRT Mohammadi, "A Review of Studies on Sustainable Development in Mining Life Cycle", *Journal of Cleaner Production* 229 (2019), 213-216.

¹³² Asr et al., "A Review of Studies on Sustainable Development...", 216-217.

¹³³ Ackerman et al., "Mitigating the Socio-Economic Consequences of Mine Closure...", 439.

¹³⁴ Stacey et al., "The Economic Aspects of Mine Closure and Sustainable Development...", 3.

¹³⁵ NC Steenkamp and V Clark-Mostert, "Impact of Illegal Mining at Historic Gold Mine Location, Giyani Greenstone Belt Area, South Africa", *International Mining History Congress* (2012), 3.

five illegal miners¹³⁶ lost their lives because of rock falling in the inactive shafts of Fairview Mine; the second incident occurred when a fire broke out in 2009, resulting in 61 illegal miners dying at the Harmony Gold Mine.¹³⁷ Reichardt believes that such incidents are viewed as human tragedies resulting from illegal mining operations that threaten efforts towards mine closure and rehabilitation.¹³⁸

Mhlongo and Amponsah-Dacosta provide debates on several issues that must be considered before efforts are made to rehabilitate abandoned mines; these include the high environmental impacts the mining sites bring on host communities and the lack of government support.¹³⁹ According to Goldammer and Nasser, rehabilitation of abandoned mines should focus on protecting the environment and residents near them by recontouring land, planting vegetation, and managing waste and contaminants.¹⁴⁰ This study aims to explore tourism initiatives in the township of Khutsong to achieve sustainable development in the community; this is a method of protecting the environment and people can help achieve this.

Mthenjane views the closure of mines as presenting an opportunity to develop sustainable practices in mining regions, identifying an example from Sibanye-Stillwater's announcement on the closure of Cooke Shafts 1, 2, 3 and 4, making 16,000ha of land available for redeveloping economic benefits for mining communities near Randfontein.¹⁴¹ Hatting et al., in support of Mthenjane, believe that mining

¹³⁶ In South Africa, illegal miners are known as Zama-Zama's who mostly come from neighbouring African countries (Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe) but also include South Africans. They are found mostly in abandoned mines where they search for gold left behind by mining companies using artisan approaches. Zama-Zama's are considered a problem in society because of their criminal activities in communities in which they operate that range from robbery to rape and murder. The presence of abandoned mines increases the number of Zama-Zama's because there is space to operate illegal mining instilling fear in communities where abandoned mines are located; See R Thornton, "Zama Zama, Illegal Artisanal Miners, Misrepresented by the South African Press and Government", *The Extractive Industries and Society* 1, no. 2 (2014), 127; T Madimu, "'Illegal' Gold Mining and the Everyday in Post-Apartheid South Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* 49, no. 173 (2022), 436.

¹³⁷ J Macharia, "More than 60 Illegal Miners Killed at SA Gold Mine", *Mail and Gardenia*, Guardian? <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-06-02-more-than-60-illegal-miners-killed-at-sa-gold-mine> (accessed January 27, 2023).

¹³⁸ M Reichardt, "The Wasted Years: A History of Mine Waste Rehabilitation Methodology in the South African Mining Industry from its Origins to 1991", (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2013), 22.

¹³⁹ SM Mhlongo and F Amponsah-Dacosta, "A Review of Problems and Solutions of Abandoned Mines in South Africa", *International Journal of Mining, Reclamation and Environment* 30, no. 4 (2016), 284.

¹⁴⁰ W Goldammer and A Nasser, "Cost-Benefit Analyses as Basis for Decision-Making in Environmental Restoration", *Proc. Of the Waste Management* 99 (1999), 3.

¹⁴¹ MI Mthenjane, "Post-Mining Use of Rehabilitated Land: An Opportunity for the South African Mining Industry for Sustainable Development", *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 119, no. 9 (2019), 696.

companies should assist in developing sustainable economic projects for mining communities during mine closure proceedings to express appreciation towards the mining regions that hosted them.¹⁴² The following section analysis the existing literature on township tourism in mining areas in South Africa.

2.5 Township histories and legacies as tourism potential

South African townships are renowned for their diverse communities which have offered multicultural tourism products that attracted visitors from around the world and have contributed to local economic development after 1994.¹⁴³ Tourism Act 72 of 1993 and Tourism Act 3 of 2014 are important legislations that gover the tourism industry in South Africa. Act 72 of 1993 aimed to promote South Africa as a tourist destination and established the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR) responsible for marketing and promoting tourism, also making provisions of the registration and regulation of tourism businesses.¹⁴⁴ While Tourism Act 3 of 2014 cancelled Act 72 of 1993, creating the bodies, South Africa Tourism (SAT), and National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) to promote transformation in the tourism industry, placing emphasis on sustainable tourism practices, and the economic empowerment of historically disadvantaged regions of the country.¹⁴⁵ This section assesses the approaches linked with unpacking township tourism potential. It provides an analysis of challenges and solutions aimed at achieving township tourism. At the beginning the focus will be on scholarly work connecting township tourism with mining areas, firstly from a South African perspective, followed by an investigation on township tourism from the FWR perspective.

2.5.1 Township tourism in mining areas

In South Africa's context, a township is a place located on the outskirts of cities and towns, often underdeveloped, and rooted in the apartheid legacy of racial segregation

¹⁴² R Hattingh, DJ Williams, and G Corder, "Applying a Regional Land Use Approach to Mine Closure: Opportunities for Restoring and Regenerating Mine-Disturbed Regional Landscapes", In *Mine Closure 2019: Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Mine Closure*, pp. 951-968. Australian Centre for Geomechanics (2019), 951.

¹⁴³ Booyens, "Rethinking Township Tourism...", 273.

¹⁴⁴ Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Tourism Act, 1993 (Act 72 of 2014), South Africa.

¹⁴⁵ Department of Tourism, Tourism Act, 2014 (Act 3 of 2014), South Africa.

and separate development.¹⁴⁶ For the sake of this study, rural areas are considered part of townships to widen the literature related to tourism development in mining areas found in rural settings. Rural areas are defined as geographic areas located further away from cities and towns, generally with a low population density and small settlements dependent on an agricultural economy.¹⁴⁷

Koens credits township tourism for instilling pride in local people when tourists explore their local cultures and heritage.¹⁴⁸ Ashworth mentions that township tourism can be linked to different themes, including, but not limited to, dark tourism, cultural tourism, and ethnic tourism.¹⁴⁹ Tourism is recognised for its economic potential; however, in some instances, tourism opportunities fail to reach most poor communities.¹⁵⁰ Goudie et al. argue that seasonal and low-paying employment limits tourism's use to develop the local economy.¹⁵¹ Mabaso supplements the debate by stressing the long hours of low-paid unskilled labour in the rural tourism scene, viewing this approach as lacking long-term career benefits.¹⁵² The study recognises the urgency of identifying supportive approaches to assisting rural communities in remaining sustainable throughout the year and not just creating seasonal opportunities.

The study also acknowledges that before efforts are made to secure permanent employment and economic sustainability in rural areas, attempts must be made to attract tourists year-round, not only during peak seasons.¹⁵³ One way to achieve this feat as identified by Schucksmith, involves ensuring the safety of tourists in remote areas while providing tourism products worth their while for travelling to peripheries

¹⁴⁶ L Findley and L Ogbu, "South Africa: From Township to Town", *Places Journal* (November 2011), 1, https://placesjournal.org/article/south-africa-from-township-to-town/?gclid=EAlalQobChMI05aLiOOD3QIVgeNkCh2t4w1-EAAYASAAEgJAQ_D_BwE&cn-reloaded=1#0 (accessed September 10, 2024).

¹⁴⁷ EU Chigbu, "Village Renewal as an Instrument of Rural Development: Evidence from Weyarn, Germany", *Community Development* 43, no. 2 (2012), 210.

¹⁴⁸ K Koens, "Competition, Cooperation and Collaboration: Business Relations and Power in Township Tourism", *Slum Tourism* (2012), 103.

¹⁴⁹ Smith considers ethnic tourism as a sub-sector of tourism, marketed to potential tourists to offer quaint traditional customs of indigenous people; See MK Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2015), 26.

¹⁵⁰ Booyens, "Rethinking Township Tourism...", 273.

¹⁵¹ SC Goudie, F Khan, and D Kilian, "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Identity Beyond Apartheid", *South African Geographical Journal* 81, no. 1 (1999), 25.

¹⁵² SL Mabaso, "The Economic Impacts of Tourism on the Local Community of Bergville, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa", *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies* (2015), 29.

¹⁵³ Koens, "Competition, Cooperation and Collaboration...", 103.

and wilderness areas.¹⁵⁴ Little supports Schucksmith's position by emphasising that the well-being of tourists in rural areas must be taken seriously because, in remote areas, they compromise their safety and dedicate their time by travelling to the 'wilderness'.¹⁵⁵

The study argues that these obstacles must be addressed to envision sustainable tourism in townships; firstly, decreasing crime levels can create safer spaces for tourists visiting townships; and educating locals on tourism can increase their interests and involvement in tourism initiatives. In Kenya, there are educational programs on sustainable tourism for local communities residing in wildlife conservation areas, this has seen an increase in the participation of eco-tourism by locals in wildlife regions as they contribute towards the local economy and the protection of wildlife.¹⁵⁶

The presence of Zama-Zama's on abandoned mines in the FWR (for example, the Blyvoor mine) threatens the safety of potential tourists.¹⁵⁷ One tragic example comes from an abandoned mine in Stilfontein where hundreds of illegal miners were trapped underground from November 2024 due to underground structural collapses and a police crackdown aimed at curbing illegal mining activities. By the time of their rescue, "at least 87 miners lost their lives" during this period.¹⁵⁸

Mining tourism can be one of the tourism products provided in peripheral areas.¹⁵⁹ Due to its heritage elements, Conlin and Jolliffe perceive mining tourism as a popular product in rural areas.¹⁶⁰ Johnson et al. examine tourism development in rural areas and explore economic transitions in mining regions, where the economy is shifting from the extractive industries of mining to the tourism industry.¹⁶¹ This examination is

¹⁵⁴ M Shucksmith, "Disintegrated Rural Development? Neo-endogenous Rural Development, Planning and Place-shaping in Diffused Power Contexts", *Sociologia Ruralis* 50, no. 1 (2010), 3.

¹⁵⁵ J Little, "Transformational Tourism, Nature and Wellbeing: New Perspectives on Fitness and the Body", *Sociologia Ruralis* 52 no. 3 (2012), 258.

¹⁵⁶ SM Makindi, "Local Communities, Biodiversity Conservation and Ecotourism: A Case Study of the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary, Kenya", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 5, no. 3 (2016) 1.

¹⁵⁷ AMM Mzondi, "An Ubuntu-Christocentric Comparison of Gold Mine Companies and the Zama Zama Enterprise in the West Rand District Municipality", *Pharos Journal of Theology* 103, no. 2 (2022), 1.

¹⁵⁸ M Magome and G Imray, "Standoff in South Africa Ends with 87 Miners Dead and Anger over Police's 'Smoke Them out' Tactics", *The African Press* (January 16, 2025), <https://apnews.com/article/miners-mine-south-africa-dead-80a1a4809371269b592bf3e2695540ba?utm> (accessed February 4, 2025).

¹⁵⁹ Little, "Transformational Tourism, Nature and Wellbeing...", 258.

¹⁶⁰ MV Conlin and L Jolliffe, *Mining Heritage and Tourism* (New York, Routledge, 2011), 24.

¹⁶¹ JD Johnson, DJ Snepenger, and S Akis, "Residents' Perceptions of Tourism Development", *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 3 (1994), 629.

related to the research of this study because the FWR is also facing a decline in the reliance on mining activities for their economy, and this study also aims to develop tourism strategies as an alternative to boost the economy of the FWR. Getz argues that a proper working relationship between the private and public sectors in economic planning often leads to successful tourism initiatives as alternative sources of regional economic development in rural areas.¹⁶²

A community member from Soweto, Masike Lebele (Image 2.1), has implemented mining tourism in his township.¹⁶³ The 40-year-old man takes roughly 40 hikers on Sunday mornings to explore the abandoned mine dumps within the township of Soweto. The hike begins at a local shebeen and leads up to the ‘mountain-like’ mine dumps, where the hikers are accompanied by residents from the area for safety concerns.¹⁶⁴ This study outlines Schejbal’s use of Lebele’s guides to abandoned mines as one approach to transforming abandoned mines into tourist attractions.¹⁶⁵



Image 2.1: Tourists exploring abandoned mining landscapes in Soweto, guided by Masike Lebele.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² D Getz, “Models in Tourism Planning: Towards Integration of Theory and Practice”, *Tourism Management* 7, no. 1(1986), 31.

¹⁶³ Africa News with AFP, “Gold Mines and Memories: Soweto’s Urban Hikes Gain Popularity”, <https://www.africanews.com/amp/2023/01/26/gold-mines-and-memories-sowetos-urban-hikes-gain-popularity/> (accessed May 18, 2023).

¹⁶⁴ Africa News with AFP, “Gold Mines and Memories...”.

¹⁶⁵ CT Schejbal, “Possibilities of Using Abandoned Mining Sites in Tourism”, *Acta Geoturistica* 2, no. 2 (2011), 18.

¹⁶⁶ Africa News with AFP, “Gold mines and memories: ... ” <https://www.africanews.com/amp/2023/01/26/gold-mines-and-memories-sowetos-urban-hikes-gain-popularity/> , (accessed May 18, 2023).

This research teases out possibilities on how the community of Khutsong can develop the opportunity to showcase their heritage, traditions, and culture for tourists visiting their community. CBT can contribute to creating entrepreneurial opportunities and diversifying the local economy by creating jobs through the vibrant local culture and traditions of communities.¹⁶⁷ Blank discusses the 'community-tourism industry imperative' and concludes that if the local people are involved in the planning and implementation of tourism, it provides a win-win situation for the development of rural communities.¹⁶⁸ Okazaki also views CBT as successful when community members, government, and businesses collaborate to develop tourism products that respect local traditions.¹⁶⁹

Ruhanen and Whitford outline indigenous cultural tourism (henceforth ICT) as tourism that allows tourists to connect with local communities' indigenous culture and heritage.¹⁷⁰ The authenticity of this tourism approach is measured through the level of involvement by indigenous people in developing and delivering their culture in communities.¹⁷¹ Arellano et al. notice the potential of ICT to connect the youth with their elders; this connection is vital in preserving and passing down indigenous teachings and worldviews from one generation to another.¹⁷² Theodossopoulos outlines how Embera communities in Panama City have successfully implemented cultural tourism.¹⁷³ Local community members present their unique culture through traditional artefacts, music, and dance performances to visiting tourists.¹⁷⁴ Bruner supports this literature outlined by Theodossopoulos by mentioning that the practice of entertaining tourists through performances by local community members forms part of a vital role in evolving cultural tourism in rural areas.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁷ E Okazaki, "A Community-Based Tourism Model: Its Conception and Use", *Journal of sustainable tourism* 16, no. 5 (2008), 513.

¹⁶⁸ U Blank, *The Community of Tourism Industry Imperative* (New York, Venture Publishing, 1989), 21.

¹⁶⁹ Okazaki, "A Community-Based Tourism Model...", 513.

¹⁷⁰ L Ruhanen and M Whitford, "Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Tourism", *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 14, no. 3 (2019), 180.

¹⁷¹ Ruhanen and Whitford, "Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Tourism...", 181.

¹⁷² A Arellano, J Friis, and SA Stuart, "Indigenous Tourism and Reconciliation: The Case of Kitchisakik Cultural Immersions", *Vaugeois, N., Phillips, M., & Brouder, P. (eds.) (2019). Innovative and Promising Practices in Sustainable Tourism. Nanaimo, BC: VIU Publications. (2019), 11.*

¹⁷³ D Theodossopoulos, "Tourists and Indigenous Culture as Resources: Lessons from Embera Cultural Tourism in Panama", *Tourism, Power and Culture; Anthropological insights.* (2010), 116.

¹⁷⁴ Theodossopoulos, "Tourists and Indigenous Culture as Resources...", 116.

¹⁷⁵ EM Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005), 25.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter unpacked the literature associated with defining theories and explaining approaches to historical legacies and heritage, which navigate towards instilling tourism initiatives focusing on townships. The primary focus was to explore discussions on mining regions that have implemented tourism initiatives through historical legacies and heritage of the mines as products, including the methods used to implement these tourism initiatives, providing examples of existing tourism products found in mining areas from the global perspective and South African mining regions. The literature introduced recognised the need for sustainable tourism practices in regions that are over-dependent on mining activities for their economy as an approach to expand and diversify the local economic inputs. Scholars acknowledged the necessity to conduct further research on micro spatial histories of culture and heritage for potential tourism initiatives. This research project on the FWR is viewed as an effort to contribute to this need.

Scholarly work on township tourism rising from cultural and historical legacies in mining townships was further investigated because this literature would be useful in understanding the tourism potential of the Khutsong mining township.¹⁷⁶ One notable example was identified in Soweto where tourists take part in a visit to an abandoned mine and other historical spaces in the township. The chapter concluded with an explanation of theories and approaches focusing on the potential use of culture and heritage in instilling tourism initiatives in Khutsong. Chapter Three continues this discourse by introducing the FWR region's history from about the ca 16th century up to the early 21st century.

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter Six in this regard.

CHAPTER THREE

A HISTORY OF THE FAR WEST RAND (FWR) AS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LEGACY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualises the FWR's historical development from the 16th century (pre-colonial era) to the early 21st century when the region became known for its rich goldfields. Discussions on the pre-colonial narratives before the discovery of gold in the region relate to the Sotho-Tswana people settling (from the 1500s) in parts of the region are outlined before highlighting historical events of the "Difaqane¹ era" of 1822-1824 that featured attacks on Sotho-Tswana people by Nguni-speaking empires, being driven away from the FWR.² The chapter then proceeds to discuss the events leading up to the arrival of Hendrik Potgieter in the FWR, and the impact the voortrekkers had on the region.³

The narratives on the South African War (1899-1902) are then added in the discussion to form an essential part of the FWR's history because of the war's impact on future developments in the region. After the South African War peace declaration in 1902, international companies exposed the FWR to many gold mining explorations.⁴ This is followed by an analysis on migrant labour, which played a key aspect on gold mining legacies and contributed to the population growth that was characterised as vibrant

¹ Difaqane is a Sesotho name which means crushing or forced migration, there is also a Zulu term, Mfecane, which has the same meaning. See Huffman and Main, "Zimbabwe Ruins in Botswana...", 361.

² Compare with B Morton, "The Hunting Trade and the Reconstruction of Northern Tswana Societies after the Difaqane, 1838-1880", *South African Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1997), 220; Lye, "The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area...", 107.

³ Van Jaarsveld, "Anthropo-geographical Aspects of the Great Trek...", 93 with J Laband, *The Transvaal Rebellion: The First Boer War, 1880-1881* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2005), 10-11.

⁴ Compare E van Heyningen, "A Tool for Modernisation? The Boer Concentration Camps of the South African War, 1900-1902", *South African Journal of Science* 106, no. 5 (2010), 1-10 with V Kuitenbrouwer, *War of Words: Dutch Pro-Boer Propaganda and the South African War (1899-1902)* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 245.

and cosmopolitan.⁵ These gold mining activities also played a vital role in the establishment of Khutsong in 1958, as the township became increasingly dependent on gold mining operations for its economic sustainability.⁶ The next section now firstly discusses the history of Sotho-Tswana settlements in the FWR.

3.2 Observing Sotho-Tswana settlements in the Far West Rand

To comprehend the impact of apartheid policies on the region, it is vital to first trace its historical background before apartheid. The Sotho-Tswana people occupied the FWR as early as the 1500s following their migration from the interior African regions of the “Great Lakes” on the East African Rift.⁷ According to Tyson et al., this migration transpired during a period known as the ‘Little Ice Age’; a period of cooler and dryer temperatures on the interior of South Africa, which roughly lasted from 1300-1800.⁸ According to Dreyer, two hypotheses explain the origins of the Sotho-Tswana in southern Africa. The first views the Sotho-Tswana as the direct descendants of the Early Iron Age people who settled along the East African Rift region around 300 AD, while the second mentions that Sotho-Tswana decedents arrived in southern Africa shortly after 1100 AD.⁹

Evers outlines two groups based on ceramic pottery found in the region. The first group lived in the area during the 1500s, and the second group was recorded to have lived in the area during the 1600s.¹⁰ Archaeologists and researchers have used ceramics and pottery objects as evidence to determine the ancestors of Sotho-Tswana and the period when they settled in areas including the FWR.¹¹ The ceramic style relating to

⁵ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, 40.

⁶ G Mupambwa and J Zaiman, “The Khutsong Housing Project and Power Relationships: An Application of Lukes Three Dimensions of Power”, *South African Review of Sociology* 51, no. 2 (2020), 17.

⁷ Evers, “The Origins of the Sotho-Tswana...”, 261.

⁸ PD Tyson, W Karlen, K Holmgren, and GA Heiss, “The Little Ice Age and Medieval Warming in South Africa”, *South African Journal of Science* 96 (2000), 122.

⁹ JJB Dreyer, “The Iron Age Archaeology of Doornpoort, Winburg, Orange Free State”, *Navorsinge van die Nasionale Museum: Research of the National Museum* 8, no. 7 (1992), 263.

¹⁰ Compare TM Evers, “The Iron Age in the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa”, *Guide to Archaeological Sites in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal* (1981), 64-109 with RJ Mason, “Archaeology and History in the South African Interior”, *Historia* 30, no. 1 (1985), 6-12.

¹¹ TM Evers and NJ Van der Merwe, “Iron Age Ceramics from Phalaborwa North Eastern Transvaal Lowveld, South Africa”, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (1987), 87.

the origin of the Sotho-Tswana was named Moloko and Oori shown in image 3.1, which was pottery represented in horizontal shapes.¹²

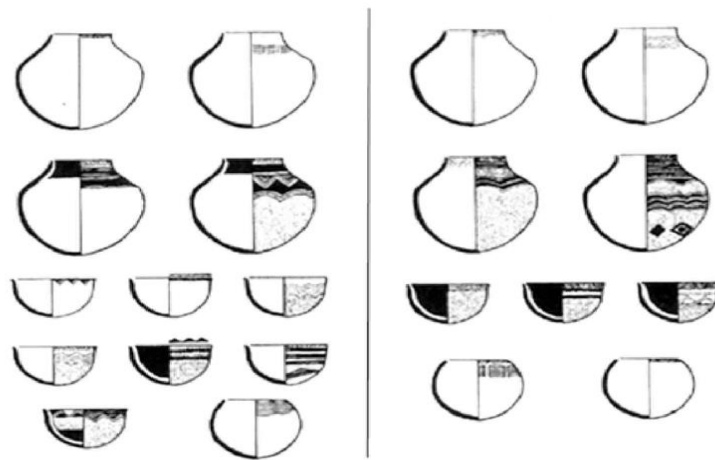


Image 3.1: Moloko pottery represented in horizontal variations before 1700.¹³

In his study, Breutz recognizes three groups of Tswana migrations into South Africa. The first group is the Lighoya, who form part of the Rolong. This group of migrants is believed to have mixed with the Khoisan, even called the ‘Bushmen’ by Tswana clans in some cases.¹⁴ Their last king is believed to have been killed in the 1820s during the Difaqane. However, the remains of Lighoya’s descendants can still be found through the baTaung, baKubung, and baPhiring.¹⁵ The second group to arrive in South Africa was the Kwena-Hurutshe, who became the country's largest group of Tswana descendants. The Kwena later separated from the Hurutshe, on arrival near the present-day Brits.¹⁶ The third group formed part of the Rolong and was split into two groups: the Kaa, who arrived in South Africa around 1550, and the Tlhaping, who

¹² Compare MS Anderson, *Marothodi: The Historical Archaeology of an African Capital* (Buckinghamshire, Atikkan Media Limited, 2013), 31 with Evers and van der Merwe, “Iron Age Ceramics from Phalaborwa...”, 87.

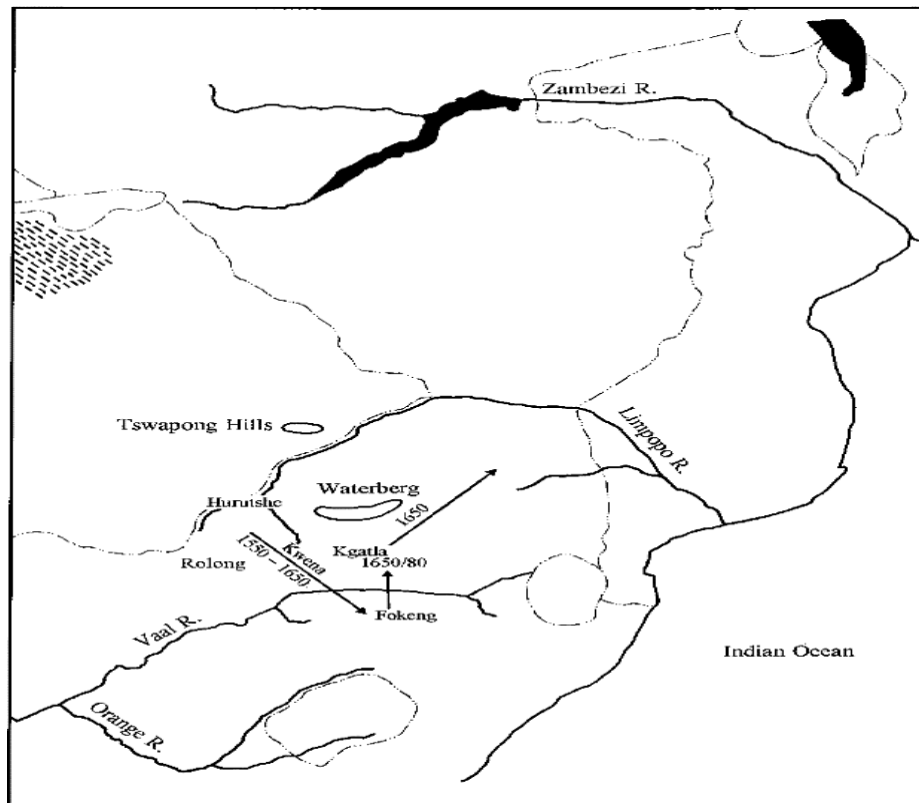
¹³ FD Fredriksen, *Material Knowledges, Thermodynamic Spaces and the Moloko Sequence of the Late Iron Age (AD 1300-1840) in Southern Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁴ PL Breutz, “Stone Kraal Settlements in South Africa”, *African Studies* 15, no. 4 (1956), 168.

¹⁵ Compare Breutz, *Stone Kraal Settlements in South Africa...*, 168 with PL Breutz, “Tswana Tribal Governments Today”, *Sociologus* (1958), 141.

¹⁶ JCA Boeyens, “The Late Iron Age Sequence in the Marico and Early Tswana History”, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (2003), 63; 67.

arrived around 1650.¹⁷ Schapera adds that these two branches split from the main group of the Rolong around 1760 following the death of their Chief Tau, forming different groups led by the sons of former Chief Tau.¹⁸ The distribution of these migrations is illustrated in map 3.1.



Map 3.1: Early migration distribution of Sotho-Tswana in the Transvaal, based on oral tradition.¹⁹

Sotho-Tswana people used stone-walled settlements (which were common in the surrounding areas of the region) for shelter during their stay in the FWR.²⁰ Maggs argues that the Sotho-Tswana people preferred stone walls over wood for shelter

¹⁷ I Schapera, "The System of Land Tenure on the Barolong Farms (Bechuanaland Protectorate): Report and Recommendations Submitted to the BP Administration, June 1943", *Botswana Notes & Records* 15, no. 1 (1983), 15.

¹⁸ Compare IA Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Münster, LIT Verlag, 1994), 3 with Breutz, "Stone Kraal Settlements...", 168.

¹⁹ R Cornwell, "African Past: Origins" of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples and the History of the Batswana." *Africa Insight* 18, no. 2 (1988), 98.

²⁰ Compare JD Seddon, "An Aerial Survey of Settlement and Living Patterns in the Transvaal Iron Age: Preliminary Report", *African Studies* 27 (1968), 191 with ES van Eeden, "The Role of History with Regard to Evidence in Land Claims as Officially Proposed: A Case Study on the Farm Deelkraal IQ 142, North-West Province", *South African Historical Journal*, 51, no. 1 (2007), 185.

because there were few trees on the highveld.²¹ These settlements were built in defensive positions on the ridges running along the southern side of Deelkraal because of the rising aggression in the FWR during the early 19th century.²²

Seddon adds that stone-walled settlements were used not only for residential shelter but also for other purposes, including a kraal for cattle, assembly areas where council meetings were held, and outer fences protecting the residential units of a ward (*kgoro*).²³ The wealth of a *kgoro*²⁴ was determined by the number of cattle a *kgoro* had in their kraal, as this was the case also with the Zulu kingdom during the 1800s.²⁵ Kuper also mentions that cattle had multiple uses, they were used as 'currency', and for various purposes such as dowry, funeral proceedings, clothing, and transporting goods for trading.²⁶ However, after 300 years on the FWR, the Sotho-Tswana people of the region encountered unfortunate circumstances in the 1820s, which resulted in their being driven away from their homesteads, as discussed in the next section.²⁷

3.3 The footprint of the Difaqane years (1822-1828) in Sotho-Tswana settlements

Before fleeing Zululand under the leadership of Shaka Zulu in 1822, Mzilikazi was the chief of the Khumalo branch, assisting Shaka in building the Zulu Empire; during the same year, Mzilikazi fled Zululand with about 300 of his kinsmen.²⁸ According to Rasmussen, this happened after Mzilikazi defied Shaka's orders to surrender all the cattle (Mzilikazi had been giving Shaka cattle after winning battles) he won against a Sotho community northwest of Zululand.²⁹ On the contrary, Lindgren argues that Mzilikazi left Zululand because he aspired to be independent, not because he was

²¹ T Maggs, "Neglected Rock Art: The Rock Engravings of Agriculturist Communities in South Africa", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 50 (1995), 134.

²² Van Eeden, "The Role of History with Regard to Evidence...", 183.

²³ Seddon, "Aerial Survey of Settlement and Living Patterns...", 191-192.

²⁴ A *kgoro* is a place at the chief's residence that is used as a court to solve the problems of their communities; See MC Makgabo, "The Effect of the Disappearance of Kgoro Cultural Practice on Traditional Values in the Modern Era", *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 15, no. 11 (2021), 60.

²⁵ A Kuper, "Symbolic Dimensions of the Southern Bantu Homestead", *Africa* 50, no. 1 (1980), 11.

²⁶ Kuper, "Symbolic Dimensions of the Southern Bantu...", 11-12.

²⁷ RK Rasmussen, *Migrant kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (London, Collin, 1978), 87.

²⁸ Rasmussen, "Mzilikazi's Migrations South of Limpopo...", 53.

²⁹ See Rasmussen, "Mzilikazi's Migrations South of Limpopo...", 53.

greedy or defied Shaka's orders.³⁰ Mzilikazi's followers were of Nguni descent, consisting of different sub-groups from several conquered communities east of the Drakensberg. Still, after Mzilikazi crossed the Drakensberg, he started conquering non-Nguni communities and was joined by Tswana and Sotho people.³¹

Cornwell posits that it was unfortunate that Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms and their armies (*impis*) were not up to the standards of Nguni armies or equipped to defend their territories against their enemies during the Difaqane.³² Cornwell argues that the Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms had progressed in their social and political institutions, but they lacked the leadership skills required to defend the territories that they had occupied once faced with an invasion.³³ By 1822, the Zulu kingdom, under the leadership of Shaka Zulu, had already managed to force themselves across the Drakensberg and attacked Tlokwa of the Sotho-Tswana people in present-day Lesotho.³⁴ Lye argues that it was imminent that the Sotho-Tswana people of the FWR would also be next in line to be invaded.³⁵ Map 3.2 below shows the migration of different Tswana chiefdoms from the Transvaal region during the Difaqane.

³⁰ Compare B Lindgren, "Representing the Past in the Present: Memory-Texts and Ndebele identity", In *Encounter Images in the Meetings Between Africa and Europe*, pp. 121-134. (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2001), 124 with Rasmussen, "Mzilikazi's Migrations South of Limpopo...", 53.

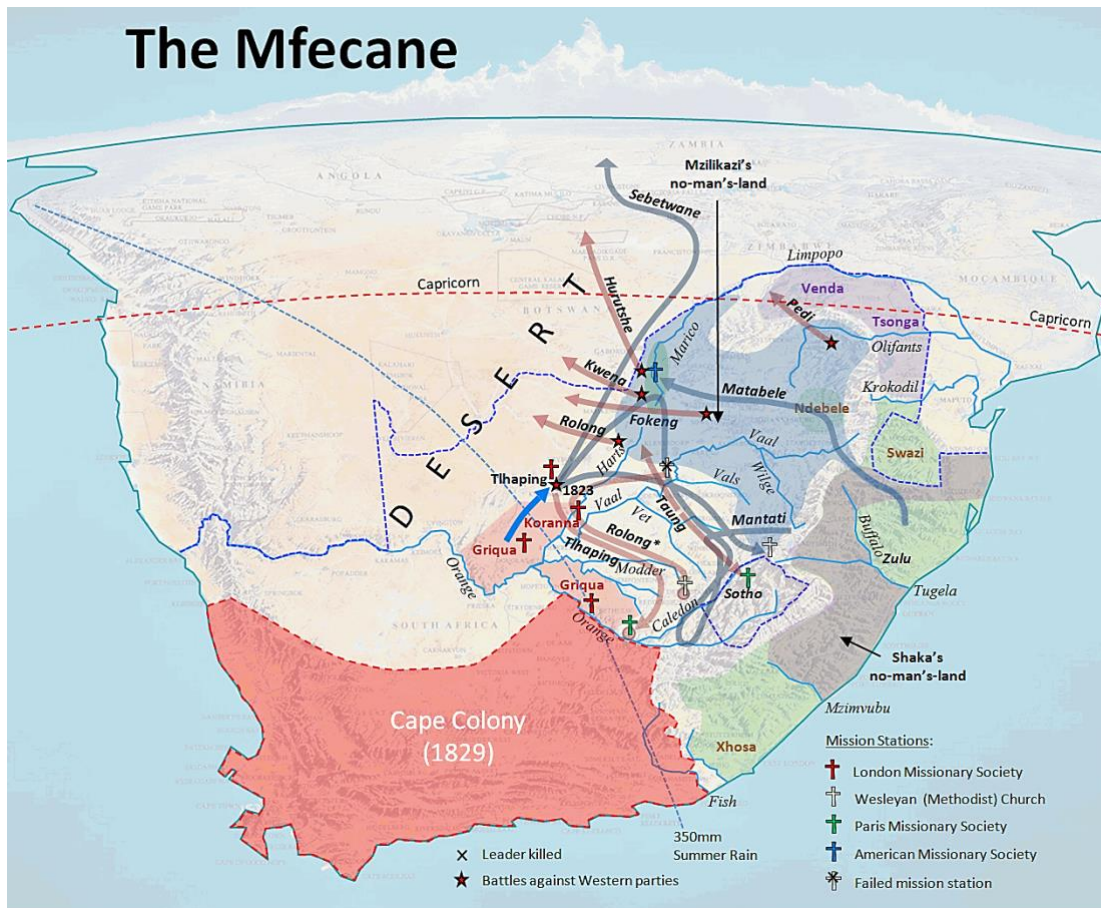
³¹ Lindgren, "Representing the Past in the Present...", 124.

³² Cornwell, "Origins of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples...", 99.

³³ See Cornwell, "Origins of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples...", 99.

³⁴ Lye, "The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area...", 113.

³⁵ See Lye, "The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area...", 113.



Map 3.2: The migration of different Tswana chiefdoms from the Transvaal.³⁶

Before the Difaqane, five Tswana chiefdoms inhabited the FWR highveld. They were the Bakwena, who settled around the Magaliesberg Mountains, the Bangwaketse, who settled near the Crocodile River, and the Bahurutshe booManyana, who settled on the banks of the Elands River.³⁷ At the same time, the Bakgatla ba ga Kgafela settled in the Pilanesberg Mountains.³⁸ Lastly, the Batlokwa found a home at Tlokwe, just south of present-day Potchefstroom.³⁹

By 1823, the Difaqane had already affected Sotho-Tswana groups north of the Vaal River. In attacking each other, the Taung of Moletsane invaded the land of the northern Rolong sections, while masses of the Fokeng also crossed the Vaal to link up with another Fokeng group under the leadership of Sebetwane and the two groups became known as the Kololo. Griqua horsemen raided the rich herds of the Thlaping at

³⁶ H Booyens, *AmaBhulu - The Birth and Death of the Second America* (Cliffwood fogge, 2014).

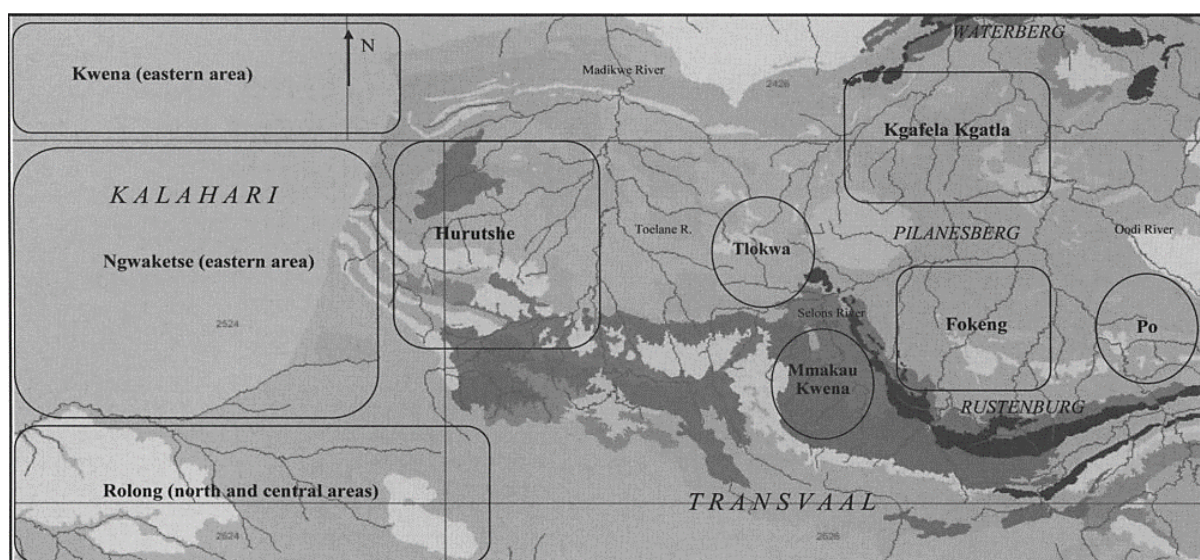
³⁷ KK Scotch, "The Settlement Nexus of the Southern Tswana on Hilltops and Valleys in Present Day South East Botswana in the 19th Century", (PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2008), 3.

³⁸ Scotch, "The Settlement Nexus of the Southern Tswana...", 3.

³⁹ See Scotch, "The Settlement Nexus of the Southern Tswana...", 3.

Dithakong. They defeated the Phuting, Kololo and Hlakhwane by the end of 1823, resulting in the Kololo escaping north towards the Molopo River to join Moletsane's Taung and having attacked the Rolong at Khunwana in 1824.⁴⁰

The Kololo and Taung continued to launch attacks on Sotho-Tswana settlements in the Transvaal, defeating the Hurutshe and their chief. Later, they attacked the Kgatla chiefdom at the confluence of the Crocodile and Apies Rivers.⁴¹ Mzilikazi's *impis*' presence on the highveld proved to be a challenge for the Taung and Rolong, resulting in their alliance splitting. The Kololo headed north-westwards into other Tswana territories, attacking the Tlokwa, followed by the Kwena at Dithubaruba.⁴² The locations of Sotho-Tswana settlements before the Difaqane are shown below on map 3.3.



Map 3.3: Sotho-Tswana settlements before the Difaqane.⁴³

Scotch adds that the five chiefdoms migrated northwards from the FWR highveld due to the Mfecane (Difaqane) disruptions and the altercations with the Boers, who demanded vast land and required cheap labour.⁴⁴ Of the five Tswana chiefdoms, the Bangwaketse was dominant. They were the most powerful chiefdom in the region

⁴⁰ Cornwell, "Origins of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples...", 99.

⁴¹ See Cornwell, "Origins of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples...", 99.

⁴² See Cornwell, "Origins of the Sotho-Tswana Peoples...", 99.

⁴³ F Morton, "Settlements, landscapes and identities among the Tswana of the western Transvaal and eastern Kalahari before 1820." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 68, no. 197 (2013), 13.

⁴⁴ Scotch, "Settlement Nexus of the Southern Tswana...", 4; Also see F. Morton, A Murray, and J Ramsay, *Historical Dictionary of Botswana* (London, The Scarecrow Press, 1989), 77.

because of their efforts to survive the attacks of the Griqua and Korana (who were regarded as powerful because of their alliance with the Boers), led by Jan Bloem in 1808 at Ntsweng Hill.⁴⁵ The Bangwaketse were renowned as a fighting nation that settled on hilltops as a symbol of dominance and believed that high areas were closely linked with the spirits of the creator of the earth.⁴⁶

After Mzilikazi fled Zululand during the Difaqane, he settled at ekuPumeleni, where he sent his exploration parties to scout the southwestern areas in 1825. A drought had parched the land at ekuPumeleni.⁴⁷ The Ndebele exploration parties came across fertile land on Magaliesberg Hill with natural springs and saw it as a potential settlement area for their people. In 1825, this area around the Magaliesberg was inhabited by the Kwena chiefdoms of the Sotho-Tswana, who were soon to be invaded by Mzilikazi and his Ndebele army. After arriving at the Crocodile River, Mzilikazi and his army defeated the Kwena, taking their livestock, women, and children.⁴⁸

It is believed that Mzilikazi and his army successfully achieved victories over the Sotho-Tswana clans in the interior of South Africa by implementing military tactics inherited from Shaka, notably the bull-horn⁴⁹ formation, which was crucial in the Zulu Kingdom's expansion.⁵⁰ Between 1820 and 1826, violence occurred amongst the Sotho-Tswana and Ndebele groups, the locations of which are illustrated on map 3.4. Following these victories, Mzilikazi and the Ndebele people migrated towards more central areas of the then Transvaal, eventually settling in present-day Pretoria.⁵¹ This migration northwards is believed to have occurred because Mzilikazi feared that Shaka

⁴⁵ J Ramsay, B Morton, and T Mgadla, *Building a Nation: A History of Botswana from 1800-1910* (Gaborone, Longman, 1996), 67-68.

⁴⁶ Ramsay et al., *Building a Nation...*, 67-68; Also see T Tlou and A Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone, Macmillan Botswana, 1984), 154.

⁴⁷ WF Lye, "The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River", *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 1 (1969), 88.

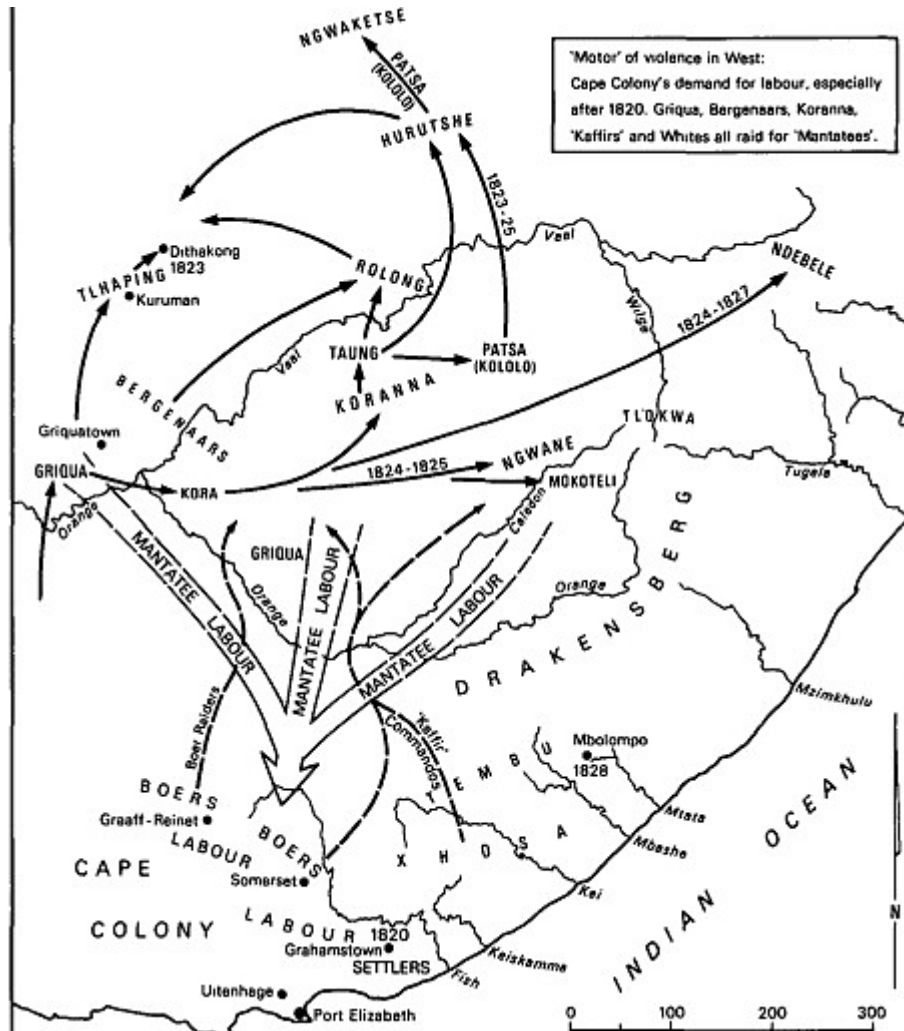
⁴⁸ Lye, "The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River...", 88.

⁴⁹ The bull-horn attack formation was a strategy used by Shaka Zulu's army involving the surrounding and crushing of their enemies during Difaqane, which resulted in Zulu dominance over neighbouring clans and throughout southern Africa; See CR Allen, "Shaka Zulu's Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: An Early Form of Operational Art?" (MA dissertation, US Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth, 2014), 1.

⁵⁰ JD Omer-Cooper, "Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, no. 2 (1993), 280.

⁵¹ B Lindgren, "Power, Education, and Identity in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: The Fate of King Lobengula of Matabeleland", *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 6, no. 1 (2002), 50.

and his warriors (*impi*) would soon reach the territory he had settled in around the FWR and decided to further distance himself from Shaka.⁵²



Map 3.4: Chain of violence (1820-1826) on the highveld involving Sotho-Tswana and Ndebele groups.⁵³

Following the attacks from Mzilikazi and his warriors, survivors of the Sotho-Tswana people fled towards the areas around the Magaliesberg, settling in the present-day Brits and Rustenburg, with other groups settling as far as the Kalahari.⁵⁴ The Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms of the Tlhaping, under the leadership of Lephoi, escaped towards

⁵² Lindgren, "Power, Education, and Identity in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe...", 50.

⁵³ J Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo1." *The Journal of African History* 29, no. 3 (1988), 496.

⁵⁴ EA Eldredge, "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered", *Journal of African History* 33, no. 1 (1992), 13.

the Orange and Caledon Rivers in 1833,⁵⁵ and the Rolong under Chief Moroka escaped into Platberg-on-Vaal,⁵⁶ managing to put their differences aside and united to become a stronger unit during the British and Boer expansions of the 1830s.⁵⁷

Due to their unification, the Zulu and Ndebele armies attacked the Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms less often during the 1830s. At the same time, the Boer and British armies weakened the Zulu and Ndebele armies.⁵⁸ After fleeing the FWR, the Sotho-Tswana left behind a tangible legacy: the stone walls they used as settlements before Mzilikazi, and his army invaded them. This tangible legacy is visible in the FWR in present-day Fochville.⁵⁹ The late 1830s featured the historical developments of Voortrekkers settling in the FWR; the following section discusses this discourse.

3.4 The Great Trek and colonial establishment in the “Gatsrand”

According to the Dictionary of Southern African place names, the Gatsrand is known as a range of hills or a series of ridges lying between Johannesburg and Potchefstroom with the name meaning ‘hole-ridge’ when translated from Afrikaans to English.⁶⁰ This refers to the area’s physical features of numerous caves, sinkholes and subterranean caverns caused by dolomite weathering.⁶¹ It is believed that the ‘Great Trek’⁶² is the primary reason for the presence of white settlements in the FWR; the “Trek” (migration) of Andries Hendrik Potgieter from the Cape in 1836 is generally associated with the modern-day FWR, reaching the area in January 1837.⁶³ The section explores the history of the first Europeans to settle at the Cape, leading to their migration towards the interior and the highveld regions of the FWR.

⁵⁵ T Keegan, “Dispossession and Accumulation in the South African Interior: The Boers and the Tlaping of Bethulie, 1833–61”, *The Journal of African History* 28, no. 2 (1987), 192.

⁵⁶ SD Bishop, “The Rolong of Thaba Nchu”, *Culna*, no. 31 (1986), 25.

⁵⁷ See Keegan, “Dispossession and Accumulation in the South African interior...”, 192 and Bishop, “The Rolong of Thaba Nchu...”, 25.

⁵⁸ J Wright, “Beyond the Zulu Aftermath: Migrations, Identities, Histories”, *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 24, no. 1 (2006), 33.

⁵⁹ Anderson, “The Historical Archaeology of Marothodi...”, 1.

⁶⁰ PE Raper, AL Moller, and TL du Plessis, *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014), 174.

⁶¹ ES van Eeden, “Historiese Perspektief op die Herkoms...”, 71; Also see Van Eeden, “Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, 10; Raper et al., *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names*, 174.

⁶² The Great Trek is described by Laband as the migration of Dutch-Speaking settlers from the Cape Colony into the interior northern regions of South Africa from 1836-1854, travelling in wagon trains; See Laband, *The Transvaal Rebellion...*, 10-13.

⁶³ Van Jaarsveld, “Anthropo-Geographical Aspects of the Great Trek...”, 93-98.

The first Europeans to settle in South Africa did so in 1652, arriving at the Cape of Good Hope under the guidance of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to establish a refreshment station to supply ships travelling long journeys between Europe and Asia.⁶⁴ To keep up with the demands of passing ships from the victual station, the VOC decided to grant farmland to its employees in exchange for supplying the company with the required cultivated grain to sustain its refreshment station.⁶⁵ Employees granted farmland were recognised as “Vrijburgers”, a Dutch term for “free or independent citizens”; these were employees who had remained in the Cape after their contracts had expired. Additionally, Vrijburgers had to be married and commit to staying in the Cape for 20 years.⁶⁶

Dutch nomadic pastoralists (including their slaves and families of partial Khoi people) migrated into the interior of the Cape, reaching present-day regions of Paarl and Stellenbosch, the Dutch nomadic pastoralists later became known as the trekboers.⁶⁷ The trekboers were frustrated by the British government's actions, which challenged their ideas of extending the borders of the Cape Colony to increase pastoral land and create economic opportunities.⁶⁸ This eventually resulted in the trekboers leaving the Cape and migrating into the interior regions of South Africa, to govern themselves outside the British administration.⁶⁹

Nelson notes that not all Dutch communities from the Cape Colony supported the Great Trek, adding that around 12 000 Boers took part in the trek, which was about a fifth of the total Dutch population living in the Cape, with the Dutch Reformed Church refusing to endorse the Great Trek.⁷⁰ Cape Dutch Boers lived in more urbanised communities, (compared to the rural eastern regions of the Cape where trekboers

⁶⁴ JC Wells, “Eva's Men: Gender and Power in the Establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–74”, *The Journal of African History* 39, no. 3 (1998), 417.

⁶⁵ A Delmas and NM Alvarez, “Artem Quaevis Terra Alit: Books in the Cape Colony During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries”, *Books in the Catholic World During the Early Modern Period* (2014), 191.

⁶⁶ Delmas and Alvarez, “Cape Colony During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries...”, 191; Also see GA Groenewald, “A Cape Bourgeoisie? Alcohol, Entrepreneurs and the Evolution of an Urban Free Burgher Society in VOC Cape Town”, *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (2007), 278–279.

⁶⁷ JD Hutagalung, “A Faint Light: Dutch Mission and Overseas Church in Cape Colony, 1652–1795”, *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah* 3, no. 1 (2016), 107.

⁶⁸ TN Smuts, “An Archaeological Perspective on the Nineteenth Century Development of Land, Landscape and Sheep Farming in the Karoo” (MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2012), 19.

⁶⁹ Smuts, *An Archaeological Perspective...*, 51.

⁷⁰ J Nelson, “The Role the Dutch Reformed Church Played in the Rise and Fall of Apartheid”, *J. Hate Stud.* 2 (2002), 64.

lived) and had accepted British rule and English culture, therefore did not see the need to join the Great Trek. While the Great Trek had different leaders (such as Louis Trichardt⁷¹, Hans van Rensburg⁷², and Piet Retief⁷³) and different points of departure at different intervals; this study focused more on the journey undertaken by the Hendrik Potgieter group because it was their route that is closely linked with the Boer settlement in the FWR.⁷⁴

Potgieter's migration into the country's interior regions occurred during the Difaqane in 1836; this period also included events where Mzilikazi and his Ndebele army raided the Sotho-Tswana native South African chiefdoms.⁷⁵ Bishop argues that Potgieter and his party came to the Barolong Tswana group's rescue against the Mzilikazi raids.⁷⁶ This came after Potgieter signed a peace treaty with Moroka (the leader of Barolong) after the trekboers arrived in the present Free State in 1836 and protected the Barolong against the raids of Mzilikazi's army in exchange for land between the Vaal River and the Orange River.⁷⁷ Mzilikazi objected to fighting against the trekboers as he saw it as a threat. Mzilikazi's decision came after he lost a battle against the Boers in October 1836, where Potgieter, with the assistance of Retief and Maritz came out victorious, warding off the Ndebele warriors.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Tregardt left the Cape Colony as early as 1834 to live with Xhosa communities in native land where he later trekked past the Orange River before reaching Delagoa Bay where he died in October 1838 because of malaria he and his counterpart contracted during their journey north; See J Peires, "The Great Treks...", 65.

⁷² Van Rensburg left the Cape Colony in September 1835 but was unfortunately attacked and killed by the impi of Manukosi in July 1836 along his group of trekboers; See MJ Murray, "Christian-Nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1910-1948", (1990), 556.

⁷³ Retief left the Cape Colony in February 1837 becoming a leading figure of the Great Trek suggesting that Natal become the last destination of the trek, becoming the elected governor of the Natal Republic at one stage. He was killed by Zulu warriors on the orders of Zulu king Dingaan, future Natal capital, Pietermaritzburg was later named in his honour; See M Kriel, "Boere into Boere (farmers into Boers): The So-Called Great Trek and the Rise of Boer Nationalism", *Nations and Nationalism* 27, no. 4 (2021), 1200-1201.

⁷⁴ Kriel, "Boere into Boere...", 1201.

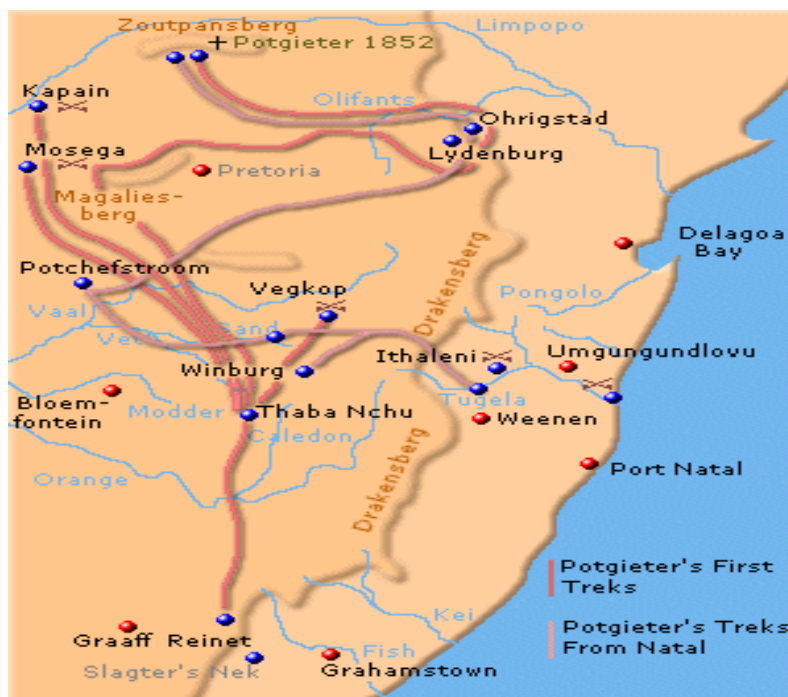
⁷⁵ See Kriel, "Boere into Boere...", 1201.

⁷⁶ S Bishop, "Early Years at Thaba Nchu and Friendship Between the Rolong and the Voortrekkers", *Culina* 1987, no. 32 (1987), 4.

⁷⁷ Bishop, "Early Years at Thaba Nchu...", 4.

⁷⁸ Lye, "The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River...", 103.

By 1840, the Voortrekkers had gained enough confidence in Potgieter's leadership to believe that the chief commandant had acquired solid security to settle beyond the Vaal River.⁷⁹ A decision was finalised on 16 October 1840 to place Winburg and Potchefstroom under the administration of Natal, with Potgieter elected to become the first leader of Potchefstroom.⁸⁰ In May 1843, Potchefstroom broke away from the Natal administration following an alliance between the British and Voortrekkers from Natal, with Britain formally annexing Natalia in 1845.⁸¹ Fourie expresses the Boer frustration, mentioning that many Boers from Natal moved into the Transvaal, increasing the Voortrekker population in Potchefstroom. This resulted in the establishment of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) or South African Republic, later known as Transvaal, in 1852.⁸² Map 3.5 illustrates the Great Trek routes followed by Hendrik Potgieter from the Cape to Transvaal.



Map 3.5: Routes taken by Potgieter's camp from the Cape to Transvaal.⁸³

By the late 1850s, Potchefstroom had transformed from a struggling town of hovels to one of the most important trading centres in the interior of southern Africa before the

⁷⁹ AL Harrington, "Constitutional Development Among the Voortrekkers, 1836-56", *Historia* 9, no. 2 (1964), 142-143.

⁸⁰ Harrington, "Constitutional Development Among the Voortrekkers...", 142-143.

⁸¹ See Harrington, "Constitutional Development Among the Voortrekkers...", 142-143.

⁸² J Fourie, "The Settler of South Africa", *Migration in Africa* (2022), 135.

⁸³ PJ Coetser, *Kaleshaan en die Stamvaders van die Coetsers van Lydenburg* (Pretoria, 1987).

rise of Johannesburg.⁸⁴ The influence of trade in Potchefstroom increased the population of farmers in areas surrounding the town (including the FWR regions) during the 1860s and 1870s.⁸⁵ The next section discusses the impact of gold mining and the two South African Wars on the developments in the FWR.

3.5 The influence of the South African War (1899-1902) and gold mining

By the end of the 19th century, South Africa had witnessed two major wars (The First Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1881 and the South African War of 1899-1902), mainly between the Boers and the British army. The Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1881 only lasted ten weeks, and no battles took place in the FWR region. This war consisted of battles at Bronkhorstspuit (the Battle of Bronkhorstspuit),⁸⁶ Laing's Nek in the Drakensberg,⁸⁷ Ingogo near Newcastle (Schuinshoogte), Volksrust (Majuba Hill),⁸⁸ and sieges taking place in Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and Marabastad.⁸⁹ The consequences included the ZAR becoming an independent Boer Republic at the Pretoria Convention⁹⁰ on 3 August 1881, and it remained so until the South African War ended in 1902.⁹¹ The following section discusses the discovery of gold in the Transvaal and its influence on the relationship between the Voortrekkers and the British.

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 caused an influx of people into South Africa. Afrikaners living in the ZAR viewed the British migrating to ZAR as

⁸⁴ GN van den Bergh, "The Influence of British Traders on Early Potchefstroom, 1852-1877", *Historia* 54, no. 2 (2009), 37-38.

⁸⁵ Van den Bergh, "The Influence of British Traders...", 42.

⁸⁶ CJ Nothling, "Military Commanders of the War (1880-1881)", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 11, no. 1 (1981), 76.

⁸⁷ JC Voigt, "The Afrikaner's in Natal", *The North American Review* 170, no. 519 (1900), 212.

⁸⁸ GR Duxbury, "The Battle of Majuba, 27 February 1881", *Military History Journal of the South African Military History Society* 5, no. 2 (1980), 5.

⁸⁹ J Laband, "Burying the Union Jack: British Loyalists in Transvaal During the First Anglo-Boer War, 1880-1881", *History of Intellectual Culture* 4, no. 1 (2004), 8.

⁹⁰ The Pretoria Convention was the peace treaty that ended the First Anglo-Boer War which was signed on 3 August 1881 in Pretoria. See L Wildenboer, "The Judicial Officers of the Transvaal High Court, 1877-1881", *Fundamina* 25, no. 2 (2019), 274.

⁹¹ RL Watson, "The Subjection of a South African State: Thaba Nchu, 1880-1884", *The Journal of African History* 21, no. 3 (1980), 357.

foreigners and invaders of their land, protesting against the British presence in ZAR.⁹² Smith outlines the roots of the conflict (in this case, that of mineral discoveries) between the Afrikaner people and the British, dating back to the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867 and the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886.⁹³ Smith further articulates that the Jameson Raid,⁹⁴ one of the main events that triggered the Anglo-Boer War from 1899 to 1902 (also known as the South African War) was the period from 29 December 1895 to 2 January 1896.⁹⁵

After it became clear that gold mining activities in the Transvaal were making significant profits and massive deposits of gold were identified on the Witwatersrand's main reef, making the Transvaal one of the richest gold mining regions in the world, the Boer government implemented heavy taxes on predominantly owned British and American gold mining industries.⁹⁶ Becker argues that this followed the Boer government's fear of the Transvaal being taken over by the British colony following an influx of British and American companies in the Transvaal.⁹⁷ After the two parties failed to reach a mutual agreement on the British occupation of the Boer Republic and the issue of high taxes, the Anglo-Boer War broke out in October 1899.⁹⁸

Participation from the FWR during the war saw approximately 550 armed men from the Gatsrand, under the leadership of General Cronjé, participate as they defended the western front of the South African Republic, forming part of the Potchefstroom Commando.⁹⁹ The Gatsrand commandoes were active at the Battle of Magersfontein near Kimberley on 11 December 1899. The battle concluded with a Boer victory, and

⁹² DR Petterson, "The Witwatersrand a Unique Gold Mining Community", *Economic Geography* 27, no. 3 (1951), 209-221.

⁹³ IR Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902* (London, Longman, 1996), 21; 44.

⁹⁴ The Jameson Raid was a raid against the South African Republic (ZAR) enforced by the British under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes from 29 December 1895 - 2 January 1896 involving 500 police from Rhodesia employed by the British South Africa Company with the aim of increasing the population of British expatriate workers in the Transvaal; See A Ugwukah, "A Re-appraisal of the Jameson Raid of 1895/1896 and Its Implications for South African History", *AIPGG Journal of Humanities and Peace Studies* 2, no. 2 (2021), 1.

⁹⁵ Smith, "The origins of the South African War...", 70; 97.

⁹⁶ Compare GF Becker, *The Witwatersrand and the Revolt of the Uitlanders* (Washington, Judd & Detweiler Publishers, 1896), 33-34. with A Gwaindepi and K Siebrits, "'Hit Your Man Where You Can': Taxation Strategies in the Face of Resistance at the British Cape Colony, c. 1820 to 1910", *Economic History of Developing Regions* 35, no. 3 (2020), 171.

⁹⁷ Becker, *The Witwatersrand and the Revolt...*, 33-34.

⁹⁸ RW Hull, "American Enterprise and the South African War 1895-1902", *South African Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1999), 131.

⁹⁹ Van Eeden, "The History of Gatsrand...", 13.

the Gatsrand troops remained close to Kimberley to force the British to surrender the diamond town.¹⁰⁰ The Boers's success in the war was under threat following a British victory at the Battle of Paardeberg in the Orange Free State on 27 February 1900, resulting in the arrest of the Gatsrand armed forces following the surrender of Cronjé's commando.¹⁰¹

Guerilla warfare tactics were proving to become a severe threat to the British war effort, leading to the British implementing scorched earth¹⁰² policies as they destroyed Boer farms, including the systematic destruction of crops, slaughtering of livestock, and the burning down of homesteads.¹⁰³ This resulted in thousands of children and women being kept in concentration camps, which were poorly administered because of a lack of food and health supplies, leading to many deaths in the camps.¹⁰⁴ The concentration camp in Potchefstroom was one of the most significant and first camps established in the Transvaal, which housed war-affected families from the Gatsrand.¹⁰⁵ According to Van der Berg, the camp's architects, Edwards and Sykes, had completed their mission of creating a camp that depopulated the Gatsrand to counteract Liebenberg's guerrilla tactics on the region's railways.¹⁰⁶

British tactics of containment, denial, and harassment of the Boer population were proving to be impactful against the guerrilla warfare as they left vast areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State burnt to the ground, with many Boer families (especially women and children) dying in concentration camps in the process.¹⁰⁷ The Boers ultimately surrendered in May 1902 due to the pressure of the British Scorched Earth tactics. The Treaty of Vereeniging was officially signed to end the war on 31 May

¹⁰⁰ See Van Eeden, "The History of Gatsrand...", 15; Nothling, "Military Commanders of the War...", 77.

¹⁰¹ C Pulsifer, "It's Just Like the Resurrection: The Boer Surrender to the Canadians at Paardeberg", *Canadian Military History* 9, no. 1 (2000), 3.

¹⁰² The scorched earth policy is a military strategy aimed at destroying all resources that would allow the enemy to continue fighting the war, forcing them to surrender. This leads to tactics such as the deprivation, destruction of basic human needs of shelter, food and water; See C Mohr, "Protecting the Environment in Armed Conflict", *International Review of the Red Cross* 105, no. 924 (2023), 105 (924), 1668.

¹⁰³ M Hasian, "The "Hysterical" Emily Hobhouse and Boer War Concentration Camp Controversy", *Western Journal of Communication* (Includes Communication Reports) 67, no. 2 (2003), 139.

¹⁰⁴ Hasian, "Boer War Concentration Camp Controversy...", 139-140.

¹⁰⁵ GN van den Bergh, "The British Scorched Earth and Concentration Camp Policies in the Potchefstroom Region, 1899-1902", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 40, no. 2 (2012), 72.

¹⁰⁶ Van der Berg, "The British Scorched Earth...", 83-84.

¹⁰⁷ JR Jewell, "Using Barbaric Methods in South Africa: The British Concentration Camp Policy During the Anglo-Boer War", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 31, no. 1 (2003), 1.

1902, ending the independence of Transvaal and the Orange Free State as Boer Republics and placing them under British administration.¹⁰⁸

Given the history of the FWR, it is worth recognising Danie Theron's death and legacy. Theron is best known for being the main driving force behind the establishment of the military bicycle corps used by the Boer commandos for scouting and relaying messages in the Anglo-Boer War.¹⁰⁹ Theron was tasked with leading a scout unit, the *Theron se Verkenningsskorps (TVK)* (Theron's Reconnaissance Corps), and had British Commander in Chief, Lord Roberts, label Theron as; "the hardest thorn in the flesh of the British advance", announcing a £1,000 reward for his capture and the elimination of TVK.¹¹⁰

Theron was killed by a British cavalry unit on 5 September 1900 while scouting alone on a koppie at Gatsrand, near present-day Fochville.¹¹¹ Theron's legacy is represented by monuments in Fochville, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom, and a primary school named in his honour in Carletonville, the "Laer Gedenkskool Danie Theron," is named in his honour.¹¹² One of these monuments (image 3.2) is in Carletonville. The following section discusses the early establishment of towns in the FWR.

¹⁰⁸ J De Reuck, "Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain: Observations on the Concentration Camps in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902", *English in Africa* 26, no. 2 (1999), 69.

¹⁰⁹ C De Jong, "A Biography of Robert de Kersauson, French Volunteer with the Boer Commandoes", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 6, no. 2 (1976), 18.

¹¹⁰ De Jong, "French Volunteer with the Boer Commandoes...", 18.

¹¹¹ See De Jong, "French Volunteer with the Boer Commandoes...", 18.

¹¹² P Labuschagne, "Monuments and Meaning Making: Freedom Park and the Bumpy Road to Reconciliation and Nation-building in South Africa", *Journal for Contemporary History* 37, no. 1 (2012), 159.



Image 3.2: The Danie Theron monument on a reef just outside Fochville on the N12.¹¹³

3.6 Development of towns, villages and townships in the Far West

Rand

This section firstly discusses the development of towns on the Gatsrand when farming activities were the primary source of income in the region and mining in the developmental stages, and secondly, the ensuing development of villages and townships in the region due to mining activities. The residents' discourse on the historical developments of townships in the region is included.

3.6.1 Early town development on farms in the Gatsrand Ward

The first attempt towards establishing a town on the Gatsrand was in 1911 on the farm Klipdrift, serving as a refuge site for impoverished white people, with a dam constructed and completed in 1917 to support this settlement.¹¹⁴ However, the first official town to be established on the Gatsrand was Fochville, proclaimed on 15 November 1920, when it was realised that there was a need for a centrally situated town to serve the agricultural and water needs of the community, as the surrounding

¹¹³ I Niewouds, "A military hero with a message." Wereldwyd, 10 April 2019, [Danie Theron – a military hero with a message - Wêreldwyd \(wereldwyd.co.za\)](https://wereldwyd.co.za/danie-theron-a-military-hero-with-a-message/) (accessed July 4, 2024).

¹¹⁴ Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", Ch.1.

towns of Potchefstroom, Parys, Vereeniging and Randfontein were far from the FWR.¹¹⁵ In 1928, the town of Wonderfontein was proclaimed through the initiatives of the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereniging (NZAV) (or Netherlands South Africa Association), aimed at promoting Dutch emigration from the Netherlands in the town.¹¹⁶

Fochville and the surrounding Gatsrand area remained an agricultural focused region during the early 1930s until “The Great Depression” (1929-1933) struck, this saw the price of crops decline and the climate in the region deteriorate. This ultimately resulted in some farmers from the Gatsrand region to sell their land or seek for alternative methods for generating an income.¹¹⁷ Soon after the end of this challenging economic period, the region became a place of interest to be explored for its gold mining potential. Mining companies and geologists had identified potential gold-bearing reefs in the Gatsrand which saw prospecting projects develop in the region.¹¹⁸

In anticipation of mining activities, infrastructure developments began to receive attention as roads and transport began to improve to provide better access to prospective mine sites.¹¹⁹ These infrastructural developments facilitated for a diverse economy in the region as businesses started to emerge to support the imagined mining operations, marking a pivotal shift in the Gatsrand’s economic landscape as it transitioned from an agricultural society to an emerging mining hub. By the mid-1930s, the Gatsrand region had already set up a foundation ready for a significant goldmining boom that would lead to the region becoming one of the country’s important mining centers.¹²⁰

3.6.2 The coming of gold mining and the making of a changing environment

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand’s main reef in 1886 laid the foundation for establishing towns and developing areas surrounding the reef as accommodation was required for mine employees.¹²¹ In efforts to sustain high profitable margins, the

¹¹⁵ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹¹⁶ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹¹⁷ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹¹⁸ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹¹⁹ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹²⁰ See Van Eeden, “Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...”, Ch. 1.

¹²¹ H Frimmel, JK Groves, J Kirk, J Ruiz, J Chesley, and WEL Minter, “The Formation and Preservation of the Witwatersrand Goldfields, the World’s Largest Gold Province”, *Society of Economic Geologists* 100 (2005), 771.

Chamber of Mines¹²² organized the recruitment of cheaper black African labour into the mines from 1896 through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association¹²³ (WNLA).¹²⁴ Mining companies would house their black mineworkers in single-sex mining hostels, however, some mineworkers opted for the option of living with their families in squatter camps as mining companies did not allow mineworkers to live with their families in hostels.¹²⁵

The development of squatter camps rapidly increased the black population in the urban areas of mining regions within the Transvaal, resulting in the establishment of black townships.¹²⁶ This trend also occurred at the FWR, with the development of informal settlements before the establishment of the first black township (Khutsong) in 1958.¹²⁷

The introduction of goldmine activities at Blyvooruitzicht in 1937 allowed for the establishment of towns such as Oberholzer on the Gatsrand in 1939.¹²⁸ Rising goldmine activities made further town planning in the mining region possible. This resulted in the proclaiming of Waverdiend in 1942 and Blybank in 1947.¹²⁹ The establishment of Carletonville in January 1948 was mainly due to two reasons: the first was to accommodate railway staff members from Waverdiend working on electrifying railways in the region, and the second was to accommodate mineworkers from Blyvooruitzicht and West Driefontein Mine.¹³⁰ The town is named after Guy Carleton

¹²² The Chamber of Mines is an organization formed in 1889 by mine owners with the aim of driving down the costs of production following the decrease of the gold price and the introduction of deep-level mining requiring a larger labour force; See S Friedman, "Chamber of Mines Policy and The Emerging Miners Unions", *South African Labour Bulletin* 8 (1993), 28.

¹²³ The WNLA was a recruitment agency for migrant workers established by the South African gold mines compromising buses and aeroplanes that served the whole of southern Africa in search of cheap black labour; See TV Warikandwa, "Decolonising Labour Laws and Repossessing Subaltern Epistemologies: A Review of South African and Namibian Mineworkers' Fight for Labour Rights", *Obiter* 45, no. 1 (2024), 16.

¹²⁴ Harrison and Zack, "The Power of Mining...", 554-555.

¹²⁵ P Bonner, "The Politics of Black Squatter Movements on the Rand, 1944-1952", *Radical History Review* 1990, no. 46-47 (1990), 89.

¹²⁶ Black townships that developed in Krugersdorp were Munsieville in 1911, and Kagiso in 1920; while in Randfontein, the black township of Mohlakeng was established in 1954; See MP Proctor, "Local and Central State Control of Black Settlement in Munsieville, Krugersdorp", *GeoJournal* 12 (1986), 167; D Lefutso, "A Study of Current and Potential Future Commuter Transportation Requirements in Kagiso Township" (MA dissertation, Rhodes University, 2004), 9; MF Sihlongonyane, "The Rhetoric of the Community in Project Management: The Case of Mohlakeng Township", *Development in Practice* 11, no. 1 (2001), 34.

¹²⁷ L Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 32.

¹²⁸ Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 13-14.

¹²⁹ See Van Eeden, "Die Geskiedenis van die Gatsrand...", 16.

¹³⁰ Van Eeden, "The History of Gatsrand...", 16-17.

Jones, one of the engineers who co-discovered the West Wits Line gold reef in 1932.¹³¹

3.6.3 Mine village and township development in the FWR

Crush and James argue that the production and high-profit margins in the South African gold mining industry have been centralised on the employment of black migrant labour from foreign African countries, including South Africa.¹³² The influx of migrant labour meant mining companies had to provide accommodation for their mineworkers, which led to the establishment of mine villages and hostels in the region.¹³³ The first mine village established in the FWR was at the Blyvooruitzicht mine called the Blyvoor mine village, which started development in the late 1930s.¹³⁴ The name of this mining village derives from the Dutch language and means ‘happy prospect’, and was built to create a settlement for the workers at Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company (BGMCo).¹³⁵ This mining village depended on BGMCo to establish public infrastructure, which included schools, churches and clinics. From a regional perspective, the Blyvoor employees boasted the highest per capita income in the world during the late 1960s and early 1970s.¹³⁶ Sports and recreational facilities were established in the village for the enjoyment of the mineworkers who spent their spare time away from home.¹³⁷ Lombard adds that the village had soccer and rugby grounds with athletics tracks and fields; it even had a large swimming pool and a golf course.¹³⁸

Two additional mine villages were established in the FWR around the Driefontein Mine: the West-Driefontein Village in 1952, and the East-Driefontein Village in 1972.¹³⁹ White mentions that according to apartheid policies, the two black villages at Driefontein found themselves in limbo because they were ‘located in a ‘white designated’ area.’¹⁴⁰

¹³¹ Van Eeden, “So Long, Gold Mines...”, 106.

¹³² Crush and James, “Depopulating the Compounds...”, 301.

¹³³ Crush and James, “Migrant Labor and Mine Housing...”, 304; Also see A Bezuidenhout and S Buhlungu, “From Compounded to Fragmented Labour: Mineworkers and the Demise of Compounds in South Africa”, *Antipode* 43, no. 2 (2011), 237; MS Magadzu, “Mine Closure Narratives in Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine in West Rand, South Africa” (PhD thesis, University of the Free State, 2021), 4.

¹³⁴ Winde and Stoch, “Threats and Opportunities for Post-closure...”, 73.

¹³⁵ Mpanza and Moolla, “The Assessment of the External Costs...”, 3.

¹³⁶ See Mpanza and Moolla, “The Assessment of the External Costs...”, 3.

¹³⁷ Lombard, “Law Enforcement in the South African Gold Mining Sector...”, 16.

¹³⁸ See Lombard, “Law Enforcement in the South African Gold Mining Sector...”, 16.

¹³⁹ Winde and Stoch, “Threats and Opportunities for Post-closure...”, 72-73.

¹⁴⁰ LE White, “To Learn and Teach: Lessons from Driefontein on Lawyering and Power”, *Wisconsin Law Review* 1988, no. 5 (1988), 699.

Between 1982 and 1985 the apartheid government attempted to force black people not employed at the mines, to move out of Driefontein and relocate to black-designated settlements in the FWR of Kokosi and Khutsong.¹⁴¹ In 1985, with the help of lawyers and anti-apartheid organisations, all black Driefontein residents (regardless of whether they were miners or not) were allowed by the South African government to remain in the mine villages.¹⁴²

After establishing as the first black township in 1958, Khutsong was the largest township in the FWR and the Merafong City Local Municipality (MCLM).¹⁴³ Matabesi and Botes add that the township was divided according to cultural languages. The Tswana and Xhosa groupings lived in their sections, respectively. The Sotho, Zulu, Xitsonga/Tshivenda, and Pedi populations were also divided into different sections in the township.¹⁴⁴ Extensive elaboration on the historical developments of Khutsong will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Kokosi was established in 1962 and was first inhabited by residents of the Makwateng farm, located close by. They had mud houses. The township was initially named Thandeka Location, but this gradually changed when the apartheid government started naming public facilities Kokosi, with Kokosi Bantu School and Kokosi Shopping Centre, to name a few.¹⁴⁵ An Interviewee agreed that 'Kokosi' is the name of a former principal from a local primary school in the township.¹⁴⁶

Residents also mentioned that during the early years leading up to the 1990s, the township did not have adequate public services (health and education). When they required medical attention, they had to travel to neighbouring townships and Wedela, as they were prohibited from going to the nearby clinics in Fochville because of apartheid policy restrictions.¹⁴⁷ Scholars who wanted to further their education in high

¹⁴¹ White, "Lessons from Driefontein on Lawyering and Power...", 699.

¹⁴² See White, "Lessons from Driefontein on Lawyering and Power...", 699-700.

¹⁴³ Mupambwa and Zaaïman, "The Khutsong Housing Project...", 18.

¹⁴⁴ S Matebesi and L Botes, "Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests: The Triumph and Failure of Participatory Governance", *Politeia* 30, no. 1 (2011), 5.

¹⁴⁵ T Khahliso, "Kokosi A Place Called Shall Never Final Cut", October 24, 2021, Educational Video, 5:40 to 6:20, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=odZXPVqauaU> (accessed February 3, 2024).

¹⁴⁶ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Fochville Interviews (FI), Interview Informant 1, 22 August 2023.

¹⁴⁷ MDPC, FI, Interview Informant 1, 22 August 2023.

school also had to travel to Khutsong and Wedela because Kokosi only had a primary school.¹⁴⁸

During the Elandsrand mine's development in the 1970s, the mining company petitioned the government to allow them to build a mining village, enabling skilled black mineworkers to stay close to the mine.¹⁴⁹ This resulted in the establishment of the Wedela mining village (derived from the prefixes 'Wed' and 'ela', of the two mining companies Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand) in December 1978, with 500 units being erected.¹⁵⁰ One of the respondents believes that during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the population of Wedela increased because of people moving away from farming areas around the FWR and into the township contributing towards its vibrance.¹⁵¹ Interviewee 2 added that businesses also increased in the township to cater for the growing population's needs, attracting workers to the township.¹⁵²

3.7 Conclusion

The study of the historical developments of the FWR region from the 16th century provided an understanding of the historical roots of the Sotho-Tswana on their journey from the Great Lakes on the East African Rift to the South African interior. Sotho-Tswana people left rock settlements after they were attacked by Mzilikazi, who drove his army during the Difaqane wars in the 1820s. Remnants of these rock ruins are still present near Fochville and could form an objective of this study, suggesting tourism through the legacy of the FWR. Mzilikazi and the Ndebele's presence in the FWR was short-lived due to two factors. The first was Mzilikazi's fear of Shaka Zulu invading the FWR. While the second had a lasting influence on the region as the Voortrekkers drove them out of the region while changing the character of the FWR to agriculture community (with the establishment of Fochville) before the discovery and development of gold mining activities.

Though this study focused on Khutsong, it was essential to discover the historical developments of towns, mine villages, and townships within the FWR to understand

¹⁴⁸ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Fochville Interviews (FI), Interview Informant 2, 22 August 2023.

¹⁴⁹ Crush, "The Compound in Post-apartheid...", 394.

¹⁵⁰ See Crush, "The Compound in Post-apartheid...", 394.

¹⁵¹ MDPC, FI, Interview Informant 2, 22 August 2023.

¹⁵² See MDPC, FI, Interview Informant 2, 22 August 2023.

the mining legacies of the region, especially if considering its positioning for future heritage tourism comes to mind. The introduction of gold mining laid the foundation for developing towns and mine villages in the region as the population increased in the FWR. Mining activities diversified the FWR communities with the arrival of migrant workers from around the country and surrounding African countries. Chapter Four will focus on defining the historical legacy of Khutsong, from the planning stages of a black township in need to its 21st-century developments towards becoming a township in crisis.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXTUALISING THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF KHUTSONG

4.1 Introduction

Mining industries have contributed to establishing communities throughout South Africa and many parts of the world, industries are essential in providing labour and the potential for constructing social, economic, and political landscapes,¹⁵³ Khutsong being an excellent example of this phenomenon.¹⁵⁴ Against this backdrop, this chapter analyses Khutsong's historical developments and legacy.¹⁵⁵ The evolution of the region is pivotal in understanding their contributions to the making of place and overall landscape. The historical background of the township's early developments (1958-1994) gives this study a sense of Khutsong's identity as a black township situated within a gold mining region. Topics on the early developments will include infrastructure (houses and public buildings), the history of black community councils during the latter years of apartheid in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the expansion of Khutsong during the late 1980s and 1990s.¹⁵⁶

The introduction of democracy was first met with a period of political violence during the democratic transition from 1990-1994 in Khutsong. This violent democratic transition was a norm in some South African townships, with the 1992 Boipatong Massacre being a prime example.¹⁵⁷ The chapter unpacks factors resulting in the

¹⁵³ J Cloete and L Marais, "Mine Housing in the South African Coalfields: The Unforeseen Consequences of Post-apartheid Policy", *Housing Studies* 36, no. 9 (2021), 1388.

¹⁵⁴ JD Kirshner, "We are Gauteng People: Challenging the Politics of Xenophobia in Khutsong, South Africa", *Antipode* 44, no. 4 (2012), 2.

¹⁵⁵ Kirshner, "Challenging the Politics of Xenophobia in Khutsong...", 2.

¹⁵⁶ Compare JS Khanya, "From Soweto to Freedom: Students and the Uprising of the 1980s", *Journal for Activists*, no. 35 June (2016), 3; M Matandela, "Redefining Black Consciousness and Resistance: The Intersection of Black Consciousness and Black Feminist Thought", *Agenda* 31, no. 3-4 (2017), 11; R Block, "All Little Sisters Got to Try on Big Sister's Clothes: The Community Council System in South Africa", *African Studies Institute* April (1982), 1.

¹⁵⁷ I van Kessel, "Legitimacy and Generational Conflict in the UDF: The Struggles Behind the Struggle", *Transformation* 46 (2001), 33; Also see JGR Simpson, "Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38, no. 3 (2012), 624.

township's population increase from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, which has created a diverse community.¹⁵⁸ The trends of mine closure in the FWR are investigated for their influence and impact on Khutsong as a mining township, covering developments ending in the early 2020s.¹⁵⁹ This mine closure trend is one of the main reasons to explore options for sustaining the economic well-being of the FWR, while this study mainly focuses on the sustainability of Khutsong by suggesting tourism as an option to generate economic input and release mining activities from the pressure. The discussion now follows the influence of mining activities in the FWR as one of the primary motivators in establishing Khutsong.

4.2 Mining, the catalyst for the birth of Khutsong

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand Main Reef in 1886 is credited for being the primary contributor towards establishing towns and developing areas surrounding the reef.¹⁶⁰ Krugersdorp, a small town close to Khutsong, is recognised as the oldest established town in the West Rand resulting from mining activities in 1887.¹⁶¹ The government identified a need to develop a significant town, Krugersdorp, west of the Witwatersrand gold reef to accommodate miners in the region.¹⁶² Randfontein became the second central mining town to be developed in the West Rand, established in 1890 to provide accommodation for the Randfontein Estates Gold Mining Company that opened in 1889.¹⁶³ The success of mining activities in Krugersdorp resulted in an influx of squatters from the surrounding regions of the town, which led to the establishment of black townships, notably Munsieville in 1911 and Kagiso in 1920.¹⁶⁴ In Randfontein, the black township of Mohlakeng was established in 1954, and the coloured township

¹⁵⁸ BA Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong" (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2002), 67.

¹⁵⁹ Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 29.

¹⁶⁰ Frimmel et al., "The Formation and Preservation of the Witwatersrand Goldfields...", 771.

¹⁶¹ CF Dugmore, "The making of Krugersdorp, 1887-1923" (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2008), 68.

¹⁶² Dugmore, "The Making of Krugersdorp...", 68.

¹⁶³ CF Dugmore, "From the 'Devil's Dorp' to 'Fair Dorp': The Transformation of Krugersdorp from a Transient Mining Boomtown into a Stable Settler Town, 1887 to 1905", *South African Historical Journal* 62, no. 2 (2010), 338.

¹⁶⁴ Proctor, "Local and Central State Control of Black Settlement...", 167; Also see Lefutso, "A Study of Current and Potential Future Commuter Transportation...", 9.

of Toekomsrus in 1959.¹⁶⁵ This pattern¹⁶⁶ was also evident in the establishment of Khutsong following black labourers settling in shacks within Oberholzer and Carletonville; the government thus saw the need to create a black township within the FWR region.¹⁶⁷

The main objective of this section is to explain the roots of Khutsong's establishment as a mining township. The historical developments of the FWR before 1958 (the year Khutsong was established) are important in understanding the links with Khutsong's establishment. The following subsection focuses on the early stages of planning to establish a regional neighbourhood for black people in the Carletonville region.

4.2.1 Far West Rand before 1958

By the late 19th century, black communities were intensely engaged in agriculture and had little desire to move into the developing urban areas of South Africa.¹⁶⁸ However, the passing of The Native Land Act of 1913¹⁶⁹ removed black South Africans from land they were farming (as it was now defined as white land), forcing them into the labour market, with traditional leaders encouraging their people to enter the labour market in towns as per government request.¹⁷⁰ This resulted in most black people in urban areas finding accommodation in hostels (for example, when they were employed in the

¹⁶⁵ Sihlongonyane, "The Rhetoric of the Community in Project Management...", 34; Also see AMM Mzondi, "Missions, Theology and Christian Leadership: A Case of Three Titi/Oukasie-Mohlakeng (Randfontein) Male African Christian leaders", *Pharos Journal of Theology* 104, no. 3 (2023), 1.

¹⁶⁶ It is important to note that settlement patterns in urban South Africa differed between segregationist South Africa (before 1948) and apartheid South Africa (from 1948), and the legislative framework of apartheid was far more robust in creating legalities that determined group areas according to race and ethnicity; See F Demissie, "In the Shadow of the Gold Mines: Migrancy and Mine Housing in South Africa", *Housing Studies* 13, no. 4 (1998), 445.

¹⁶⁷ Tunce, "The Dynamics of a Mining Town...", 32

¹⁶⁸ K Philip, "A History of Townships in South Africa", *Economics of South African townships: Special Focus on Diepsloot* (2014), 32.

¹⁶⁹ The Native Land Act of 1913 limited black South Africans access to land in reserves which constituted only 7.6% of the total land of the country, with the remaining land being designated as "white" land which black people could not own nor rent out; See W Beinart and P Delius, "The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2014), 667.

¹⁷⁰ L Modise and N Mtshiselwa, "The Natives Land Act of 1913 Engineered the Poverty of Black South Africans: A Historico-ecclesiastical Perspective", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 39, no. 2 (2013), 359.

mines) and in the houses of their employers, where they worked as maids and gardeners.¹⁷¹

The rapid growth of the mining industry and other enterprises resulted in African urbanisation and housing demand for black labourers; this led to local authorities implementing the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which provided residence for black people in or near urban areas. Excluding black people from white urban areas, requiring a pass (document) if one entered the white urban areas for work purposes.¹⁷² The consequences of this act resulted in the establishment of what was then called “locations” or black townships, which according to Pirie, was the foundation for the later establishment of racially segregated settlement patterns under apartheid policies.¹⁷³ Before the development of racially planned townships during the 1950s, black South Africans lived in rural homelands (Bantustans). However, the need for labour in the country's towns and cities led to widespread black urbanisation.¹⁷⁴

The Department of Native Affairs started planning Khutsong as early as 1936, as they later acquired land on the farm Witstinkhoutboom no. 101 IQ.¹⁷⁵ This proposal to develop a black neighbourhood gained greater recognition in 1952 following an urgent need to establish a black residential area (this urgency arose after a need for a residential area in the FWR for black employees was identified).¹⁷⁶ The implementation of apartheid policies from its introduction in 1948 significantly influenced the urgent development of Khutsong.¹⁷⁷ Mubiwa and Annegarn mention that the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 and the Group Areas Act 41

¹⁷¹ C Elias, “A Housing Study: Legislation and the Control of the Supply of Urban African Accommodation”, Second *Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*, Paper No. 157 (1984), 24.

¹⁷² S Parnell, “Sanitation, Segregation and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act: African Exclusion from Johannesburg's Malay Location, 1897–1925”, *Journal of Historical Geography* 17, no. 3 (1991), 271.

¹⁷³ GH Pirie, “African Township Railways and the South African State, 1902–1963”, *Journal of Historical Geography* 13, no. 3 (1987), 283; Also see Philip, “A History of Townships in South Africa...”, 33.

¹⁷⁴ A Lemon, “The Apartheid City”, In *South African Urban Change Three Decades After Apartheid: Homes Still Apart?* pp. 1-16. (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 1.

¹⁷⁵ Van Eeden, “Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...”, 56-60.

¹⁷⁶ See van Eeden, “Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...”, 56-60.

¹⁷⁷ B Mubiwa and H Annegarn. “Historical Spatial Change in the Gauteng City-Region”, *Department of Geography, Environmental Management and Energy Studies, University of Johannesburg* (March 2013), 11.

of 1950 transformed the Transvaal into an 'apartheid city' which saw residential areas being segregated according to race.¹⁷⁸

Taylor and Atkinson argue that Khutsong was established to accommodate black people who lived in slum settlements that had developed in Oberholzer.¹⁷⁹ The Slums Act of 1934 had also been applied to erode the possibilities of black people establishing residences in the suburbs and towns of South Africa.¹⁸⁰ Parnell argues that the Slums Act was significant before apartheid in the prevention of the expansion of slum settlements for black people in the Johannesburg region.¹⁸¹ However, in the case of the FWR, slum settlements developed six years after implementing the Slums Act. In comparison to Johannesburg, Oberholzer experienced slum-like conditions in the 1940s.¹⁸²

Various squatter camp settlements had developed around the suburbs of Oberholzer and Carletonville; one former miner (interviewee 3) mentioned that these settlements developed because mineworkers wanted to stay with their families in the squatter camps, as this was not allowed in the mining hostels.¹⁸³ Interviewee 3 further mentioned a list of these squatter camps, which included Diling, Tsansabane, Sitting Pola, Rooipoort, Hlathini, Tiekieline, and New Stands.¹⁸⁴ The government destroyed these squatter camps during the 1950s; however, the Rooipoort settlements survived, leading to the construction of Rooipoort Primary Farm School.¹⁸⁵

In 1952, the Local Area Committee began discouraging farm owners from allowing black people to settle on their farms as this had become illegal in that year. Decision-making regarding the development of a black neighbourhood remained slow.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁸ Mubiwa and Annegarn, "Historical Spatial Change...", 11.

¹⁷⁹ Taylor and Atkinson, "Delivering Community Benefits...", 4.

¹⁸⁰ SM Parnell, "Johannesburg's Backyards: The Slums of New Doornfontein, Bertrams and Prospect Township, 1934-1939", *South African Geographical Journal* 70, no. 2(1988), 3.

¹⁸¹ Parnell, "Johannesburg's Backyards...", 3.

¹⁸² Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 50.

¹⁸³ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

¹⁸⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

¹⁸⁵ See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024 ; Also see Schools 4 SA, "Rooipoort Primary Farm School Profile", <https://www.schools4sa.co.za/school-profile/rooipoort-primary-farm-school/> (accessed May 13, 2024).

¹⁸⁶ Van Eeden, "Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...", 56-60.

Interviewee 4 mentioned that several trucks belonging to the 'GG' (the General Government) arrived at the settlements unannounced and forced residents to vacate their homes. All their belongings, including the corrugated iron structures that made up their shacks after bulldozers destroyed them, were loaded on the trucks for relocation.¹⁸⁷ The residents were relocated to black townships that had developed in the West Rand, including Kagiso, Munsieville and Mohlakeng.¹⁸⁸

In some cases, some settlements were not destroyed; for example, in July 1954, the manager of the Blyvooruitzicht Mining Company received a letter from the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board regarding black people residing in a squatter camp known as Hlathini in the Carletonville region.¹⁸⁹ The mining company had recently acquired the land on which the Hlathini squatters had developed and served a notice to the squatters to vacate the property by 11 August 1954.¹⁹⁰ The board pleaded with the mining company to allow the squatters at Hlathini to remain on their land. A township had not been established for black people in the region, and the board was still planning such a development with the Department of Native Affairs.¹⁹¹ The board added that the forced removals of these squatters would harm the economy of Carletonville and Oberholzer as all the people residing here were employed in the region.¹⁹²

In June 1953, the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board¹⁹³ identified approximately 700 acres of rock-free land on the farm Witstinkhoutboom shown in map 4.1, which would be suitable for establishing a township.¹⁹⁴ Further reports from the board noted that suitable land for building houses is limited because of the rocky nature of the farm,

¹⁸⁷ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

¹⁸⁸ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

¹⁸⁹ National Archive of South Africa (NASA), Pretoria, Native Affairs Transvaal Secretary (NTS), File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 19 July 1954.

¹⁹⁰ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 19 July 1954.

¹⁹¹ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 19 July 1954.

¹⁹² NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 19 July 1954.

¹⁹³ The Peri-Urban Areas Health Board was created in 1943 as a local administrator for the periphery regions of the Transvaal, enabling it to levy rates, provide roads, water and electricity, plan the development of towns/townships, and provide public health services; See EJ Carruthers, "The Growth of Local Self-government in the Peri-urban areas North of Johannesburg, 1939 to 1969", *Department of History, University of South Africa* (1981), 16.

¹⁹⁴ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Government notice, Establishment of locations, 8 March 1957.

estimating that the township would initially accommodate 22,200 people and 50,000 people in the future.¹⁹⁵ Alternatively, the farms of Wonderfontein East and Wonderfontein West were recommended for establishing Khutsong; however, according to the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board, Witstinkhoutboom had various advantages for the establishment of a township.¹⁹⁶ The board noted that Witstinkhoutboom was reasonably well situated between Carletonville and Welverdiend; the road to the railway in Oberholzer would be shorter from Witstinkhoutboom than from the other proposed farms; and the farm was situated at a lower level, slightly closer to the water supply.¹⁹⁷

In August 1955, the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board decided to acquire a portion of the farm Witstinkhoutboom No. 3, from the district of Oberholzer to establish Khutsong.¹⁹⁸ An agreement between the farm owners of Witstinkhoutboom and the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board was concluded under Section 3 of the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act, No. 45 of 1945, and Section 16 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945.¹⁹⁹ These two Acts gave the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board the authority to expropriate land from the farm Witstinkhoutboom for compensation to establish an emergency camp and construct dwellings for black people in the West Witwatersrand who needed accommodation.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Government notice, Establishment of locations, 8 March 1957.

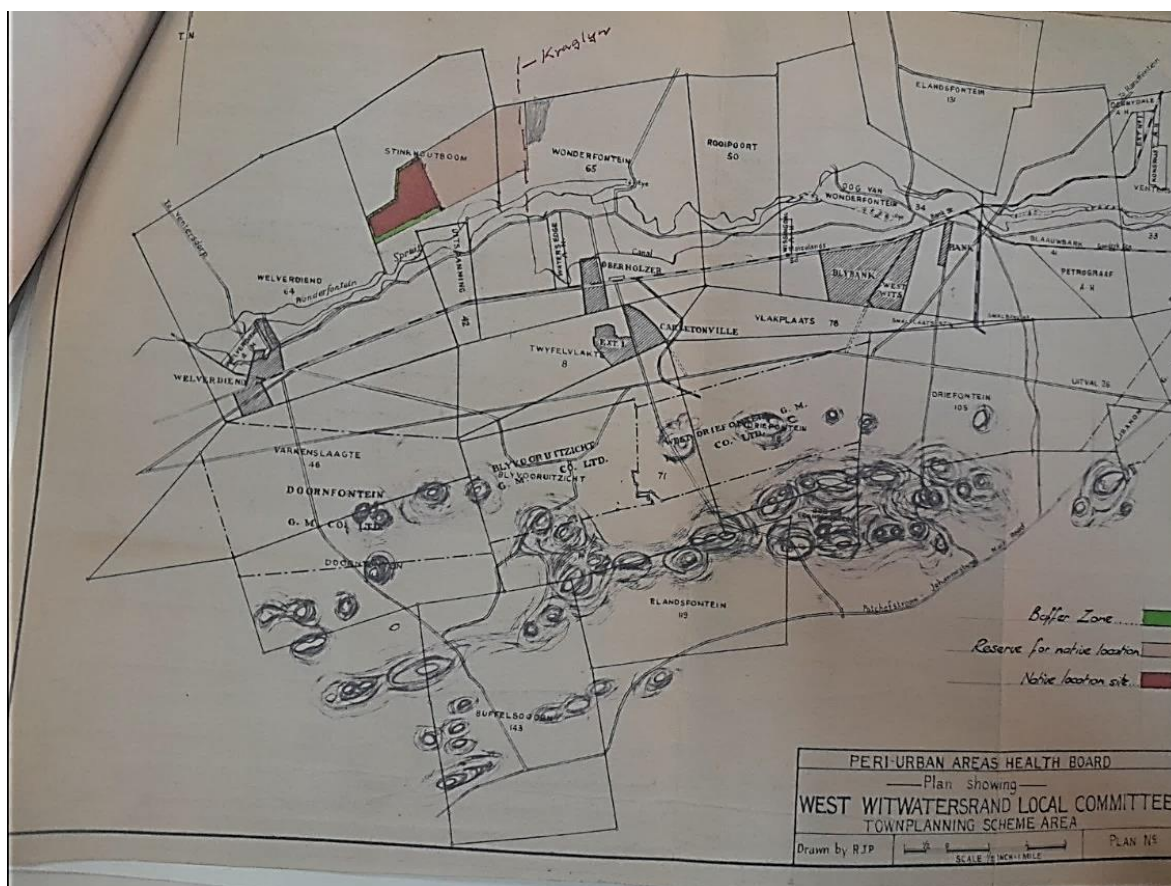
¹⁹⁶ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 10 February 1953.

¹⁹⁷ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Letter, Establishment of locations, 10 February 1953.

¹⁹⁸ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Minutes, Establishment of locations, 12 August 1955.

¹⁹⁹ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Minutes, Establishment of locations, 12 August 1955.

²⁰⁰ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Minutes, Establishment of locations, 12 August 1955.



Map 4.1: The coloured portion of the map above shows the location of part of the farm Witstinkhoutboom within the FWR where Khutsong would be laid out.²⁰¹

4.2.2 The founding of Khutsong

It was only by 1957 that the development of Khutsong gained momentum following negotiations with the Group Areas Board²⁰² for the establishment of a black township in the FWR.²⁰³ On 8 March 1957, Minister of Native Affairs, Pieter van der Byl, approved the acquisition of land on the farm Witstinkhoutboom for the establishment of Khutsong.²⁰⁴ A month later, in April 1957, the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board

²⁰¹ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Map, Establishment of locations, 14 February 1956.

²⁰² The GAB was established under the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 with legislation aimed at radically extending control over private property while providing compensation to owners of the land seized by the board. See Lemon, "The Apartheid City...", 6.

²⁰³ Compare van Eeden, "Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...", 56-60 with Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 52.

²⁰⁴ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Government notice, Establishment of locations, 8 March 1957.

confirmed that the establishment of Khutsong would provide housing for black people who were living in Oberholzer, Welverdiend, Carletonville, Wes-Wits, and Blybank.²⁰⁵

In addition to apartheid policies being one of the main reasons for the establishment of Khutsong, the Group Areas Board also viewed crime by black people occurring in slum settlements on white-owned farms (these crimes mainly included murder and the production of illicit alcohol) as a major concern for the Oberholzer District.²⁰⁶ The planned layout of Khutsong considered ethnic divisions. Sotho groups received 58% of the dwellings, 41.3% went to the Nguni groups, and the remaining 0.7% to the Shangaan and Venda populations. Map 4.2 illustrates these groupings in Khutsong.²⁰⁷



Map 4.2: The different sections in Khutsong in 1958²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Government notice, Establishment of locations, 27 April 1957.

²⁰⁶ Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 52.

²⁰⁷ "Van Eeden, "Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...", 56-60; Also see NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Memo, Establishment of Locations, 19 October 1956.

²⁰⁸ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Map, Establishment of locations, 14 February 1956.

Carletonville transitioned from a company town to attaining the status of a Town Council and becoming an independent municipality on 1 July 1959. The city council of Carletonville contributed to establishing services in Khutsong despite the township falling outside the municipal boundaries of Carletonville.²⁰⁹ These services included providing water and public services such as health and education for Khutsong residents.²¹⁰ Khutsong's historical developments from 1958 until 1991 are discussed in the next section.

4.2.3 A emerging mining township

This section discusses the development of Khutsong during its first decades of existence. The history of infrastructural development will first be explored to understand the standards of the first houses built. The Khutsong Community Councils (KCC) and Black Local Authorities (BLA) present in the mining township during the 1970s and 1980s are also explored.²¹¹ This will provide avenues to unpacking the dynamics in the management of the township.

The Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923 tasked the local governments with housing for black people from various taxes and fines they had collected, including through the sale of African beer.²¹² However, Morris argues that these taxes and fines were limited, meaning houses were often small and lacked proper infrastructure.²¹³ The first houses in Khutsong were laid out in what is now known as "Greater Khutsong." The township was also divided into two main sections: the Nguni and Sotho groups.²¹⁴ The Nguni groups settled in the areas of the Xhosa and Zulu sections, while the Sotho groups

²⁰⁹ Compare P Harrison and A Todes, "Satellite Settlement on the Spatial Periphery: Lessons from International and Gauteng Experience", *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 95, no. 1 (2017), 36 with NJ Nealer, "Geohydrological Aspects of Importance in the Public Management of Basic Water Supply Services in Merafong City Local Municipality (Carletonville Area), South Africa", *TD: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 16, no. 1 (2020), 1; Also see van Eeden, "Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling en die Invloed Daarvan op Carletonville...", 56-60.

²¹⁰ Harrison and Todes, "Satellite Settlement on the Spatial Periphery...", 16.

²¹¹ Block, "The Community Council System in South Africa", 1.

²¹² P Morris, *A History of Black Housing in South Africa* (Johannesburg, South African Publishers, 1981), 23.

²¹³ Morris, *A History of Black Housing*, 23-24.

²¹⁴ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Memo, Establishment of locations, 12 August 1955.

settled in the Tswana section (classified as West Sotho), Sotho section (classified as South Sotho), and Pedi section (classified as Northern Sotho).²¹⁵

Interviewee 5 described the houses as “semi-formal” because they lacked some qualities that would make them proper formal structures; for example, they were not equipped with electricity and running water, and each street had a communal tap for the residents.²¹⁶ Interviewee 5 further mentioned that these houses had a total of four rooms, consisting of two bedrooms, a single sitting room, and a kitchen.²¹⁷ The township operated a bucket system for ablution purposes. Each bucket had its room outside, separate from the main houses. Residents had to empty their buckets every morning in the street drainage.²¹⁸

Interviewee 6 outlined that Khutsong was not a safe place at night during the 1960s because the township did not have streetlights, which encouraged criminal activities.²¹⁹ Interviewee 6 also mentioned that all the roads were gravel and not tarred, adding that the rocky environment made it difficult for vehicles to travel inside the township.²²⁰ In support of Morris's earlier statement about the government not collecting enough taxes to build sufficient houses for black people, interviewee 6 added that the houses built in Khutsong could not accommodate everyone who needed a house.²²¹ This was evident in the development of shack settlements within the township.²²²

Education facilities in Khutsong were first established for the lower grades as one of the interviewees mentioned that during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Hlangabeza Primary School and Phororong Primary School were established.²²³ Hlangabeza was mainly a Nguni school that specialised in isiZulu and isiXhosa, while Phororong focused on Sesotho, Sepedi, and Setswana as the main modes of instruction.²²⁴

²¹⁵ NASA, NTS, File 725/313N, Memo, Establishment of locations, 14 February 1956.

²¹⁶ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

²¹⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

²¹⁸ Kulwane, “Civic Competence in Khutsong...”, 53.

²¹⁹ MDPC, Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²²⁰ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²²¹ Compare Morris, *A History of Black Housing*, 23-24 with MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²²² See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²²³ MDPC, Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²²⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

Interviewee 7 mentioned that a high school was developed years later, in 1978, Badirile Secondary School, offering isiXhosa and Tswana as learning languages.²²⁵

Regarding health facilities, interviewee 8 mentioned that the mine clinic and hospital offered medical services.²²⁶ However, to benefit, one needed to be an employee of the mine or be related to a mine employee. When this was not the case, they had to consult with a private doctor in Oberholzer or Carletonville.²²⁷ The mining companies from the FWR opened a clinic in Khutsong in 1981 to serve the township's residents.²²⁸

The Community Councils Act of 1977 established community councils in black South African townships. These councils were responsible for managing black labour employed in the 'white designated' towns and cities of South Africa.²²⁹ Community Councils served as the advisory boards of townships and took over significant aspects of township administration.²³⁰ The Community Councils in Khutsong were established in 1978. The elected councillors were known as "*Sibonda*" in the communities they served. *Sibonda* is a Zulu term meaning a long pole, usually used for holding streetlights.²³¹ Interviewee 8 mentioned that they called their councillors *Sibonda* because they surveyed what was happening in the blocks they were assigned to manage.²³²

One of the responsibilities assigned to the councillors was to conduct a head count of residents living in their respective blocks,²³³ This duty made the *Sibondas* unpopular within the communities because, in some cases, they would report undocumented people found in houses to the police, resulting in arrests.²³⁴ For example, if a house

²²⁵ See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²²⁶ Mpumi Dakile Personal Collection (MDPC), Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

²²⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

²²⁸ BG Williams, D Taljaard, CM Campbell, E Gouws, L Ndhlovu, J van Dam, M Carael, and B Auvert, "Changing Patterns of Knowledge, Reported Behaviour and Sexually Transmitted Infections in a South African Gold Mining Community", *Aids* 17, no. 14 (2003), 2104.

²²⁹ Block, "The Community Council System in South Africa...", 1.

²³⁰ See Block, "The Community council system in South Africa...", 1.

²³¹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²³² MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

²³³ There was a limit on how many people a house should accommodate, most houses were allowed to accommodate a maximum of five people, but the number ultimately depended on the size of the house; See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 10 May 2024.

²³⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

was designated to accommodate five people and the councillors found seven people in it, it was the councillor's duty to report the extra two people to the police, leading to their arrests for trespassing.²³⁵

This unpopularity turned to hate towards the community councils in the early 1980s as the community accused them of corruption after the councils demolished backyard shacks, raised rents, and evicted residents who defaulted on rent payments.²³⁶ Seekings argues that the government needed funds to remunerate the community councillors. One way to raise these funds was to increase rent and ensure everyone paid. Seekings adds that the people's anger in townships was diverted from the government towards the councillors. For instance, citizens burned property belonging to counsellors.²³⁷ Chaskalson et al provide an example of the townships in the Vaal Triangle had 400% increase in rentals between 1977 and 1984 to cover for administrative costs and the salaries of local councillors.²³⁸ This resulted in the Vaal uprising on September 3, 1984, where residents protested against the rent increases and the illegitimacy of the local authorities.²³⁹

These events in townships (including Khutsong) transpired during a critical stage in South Africa, which resulted in Prime Minister PW Botha declaring a state of emergency on 20 July 1985 in 36 magisterial districts (in the Cape and Transvaal) following an upsurge of violent attacks between apartheid resistance movements (such as Umkhonto we Sizwe²⁴⁰) and the government.²⁴¹ Interviewee 7 stressed the consequences of rent increments negatively affecting the economic well-being of people from Khutsong, adding that their elected counsellors and black policemen

²³⁵ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²³⁶ J Seekings, "Why was Soweto Different?: Urban Development, Township Politics, and the Political Economy of Soweto, 1978-84", *African Studies Institute* No. 231 (1988), 12.

²³⁷ Seeking, "Why was Soweto Different...", 12.

²³⁸ M Chaskalson, K Jochelson, and J Seekings, "Rent Boycotts, the State, and the Transformation of the Urban Political Economy in South Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* 14, no. 40 (1987), 47.

²³⁹ Chaskalson et al., "Rent Boycotts, the State...", 51.

²⁴⁰ Umkhonto we Sizwe was the paramilitary wing of the ANC founded by Nelson Mandela in 1961 to fight against the South African government following the tragic event of the Sharpeville massacre the year before; See S Ellis, "Nelson Mandela, the South African Communist Party and the Origins of Umkhonto we Sizwe", *Cold War History* 16, no. 1 (2016), 1.

²⁴¹ Compare J Stemmet, "'In Case of Emergency'", South African States of Emergency, CA. 1985-1988: Synopsis and Chronology", *Journal for Contemporary History* 40, no. 1 (2015), 59 with T Simpson, "'Umkhonto we Sizwe: We are Waiting for You': The ANC and the Township Uprising, September 1984–September 1985", *South African Historical Journal* 61, no. 1 (2009), 158.

could not be trusted as they represented the authority bestowed upon them by the government.²⁴²

In response to this hostility, the government introduced the Black Local Authorities (BLA) Act of 1982, laying the groundwork for establishing local government structures in townships.²⁴³ This Act replaced the Community Councils, which had failed to gain political credibility; the BLA gave black residents autonomy to elect their preferred councillors for the first time under the apartheid regime. However, the duties and responsibilities of the newly elected councillors from BLA remained the same as those of the previous community councils. They continued to increase the rent and evict residents who fell behind on payments, continuing the cycle of violence in townships.²⁴⁴

Reuben Mosiane was elected the first councillor of Khutsong in 1983 under the BLA's policies, and his term ended in 1988.²⁴⁵ Interviewee 9, a resident of Khutsong, described Mosiane as a leader with a wealthy status; his family currently owns a petrol station in the township.²⁴⁶ However, interviewee 9 argues that Mosiane had a negative relationship with the Khutsong community during his reign because of his actions, such as increasing the rent of houses, which led to a series of violent protests in the township from 1985.²⁴⁷

There was a rise in protest actions around the townships of the Transvaal (including Khutsong) against the significant increases in their rents. These protests often resulted in the physical attack of black councillors from the townships, leading to many of them resigning.²⁴⁸ Swilling noticed that most people from the townships could not afford to pay the increased rent, which saw boycotts crippling the finances of the local authorities.²⁴⁹ According to Cameron, most BLAs were on the verge of collapsing in the late 1980s because they were failing to finance their operations, and residents

²⁴² MDCP, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²⁴³ F Venter, "The Government of Blacks in Urban Areas in South Africa", *Acta Juridica* (1984), 18.

²⁴⁴ Venter, "Black Urban Areas in South Africa...", 18-19.

²⁴⁵ Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 60.

²⁴⁶ MDPC, Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 9, 10 May 2024.

²⁴⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 9, 10 May 2024.

²⁴⁸ M Swilling, "The United Democratic Front and Township Revolt", *Work in Progress* September (1987), 6.

²⁴⁹ Swilling, "United Democratic Front and Township Revolt...", 6.

from townships owed over a billion Rand in unpaid rent.²⁵⁰ In the case of Khutsong, the BLA authority was on the verge of collapse as early as 1985, following the rise of violent protests in the township and the emergence of organizations such as the Azanian Students Movement (henceforth, ASAZM) and Khutsong Resident Organization (henceforth, KHURO).

Violent protests in Khutsong are closely aligned with the introduction of the AZASM in the township in 1985. This movement was introduced after the efforts of Spankie Lesotho and Stanely Sekotjane, pupils at the Badirile Secondary School.²⁵¹ AZASM is a student organisation that was formed in 1983. It originated from the foundations of black consciousness movements that were popular in the country during the 1970s, spearheaded by Steve Biko.²⁵² Interviewee 7 outlined that they were motivated by the “Black Power” movements in 1985, which saw violent protests in Khutsong against local authorities.²⁵³

By the end of 1985, residents from the mining township had formed KHURO to tackle issues of poor sanitation, and lack of streetlights which encouraged harassment, theft, and rape allegedly by the Marashea.²⁵⁴ The Marashea gang was established in 1947 in the black townships of the Transvaal by Sotho migrant workers as a form of protection from urban gangsters and ethnic rivals; they also celebrated their identity as Basotho by engaging in internecine battles.²⁵⁵

According to interviewee 8, residents of Khutsong lived in fear during the late 1980s because Marashea constantly harassed residents who were not Sotho; he provides an example of where the gang attacked Xhosa workers while sleeping in their houses in 1991, killing and injuring many.²⁵⁶ The next section unpacks the historical narratives during the democratic transition and post-apartheid trends in the mining township.

²⁵⁰ R Cameron, “Central–local Financial Relations in South Africa”, In *Regulating Local Authorities*, pp. 113-134. (Routledge, 2021), 118.

²⁵¹ Kulwane, “Civic Competence in Khutsong...”, 70.

²⁵² Compare Khanya, “From Soweto to Freedom...”, 3 with M Matandela, “Redefining Black Consciousness and Resistance...”, 11.

²⁵³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²⁵⁴ Kulwane, “Civic Competence in Khutsong...”, 70.

²⁵⁵ G Kynoch, “We are Fighting the World: A History of the Marashea Gangs in South Africa, 1947-1990” (PhD thesis, Dalhousie University, 2000), 1-2.

²⁵⁶ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

4.3 Observing “dormancy” in a post-1994 Khutsong

Several townships in South Africa (predominantly in Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal) experienced a violent period during the transition to democracy (1990-1994).²⁵⁷ Although this violence was politically related, Mitchell argues that this period saw a rise in gangsterism participation by the youth living in the Cape Flats who were seeking a new sense of identity and ideals of masculinity in a changing country.²⁵⁸ In the case of Khutsong, there was a trend which saw the murder of young boys in the township, according to interviewee 9.²⁵⁹ Interviewee 10 explained that the Marashea gang were on a mission to murder young boys in Khutsong at night; they believe that the South African government hired the gang to eliminate the male population of the township as they feared that they would form part of the ANC military wing uMkhonto We Sizwe.²⁶⁰ Kynoch adds to this notion by mentioning that during the 1980s and 1990s, the Marashea gang cooperated with the police by assassinating police targets while avoiding arrests for other crimes they committed.²⁶¹

Interviewee 7 added that they had to send their sons away to the rural areas of the Eastern Cape during this hostile period in the township, fearing that the Marashea would kill their sons.²⁶² In an attempt to restrain the Marashea, male community members in Khutsong agreed to walk around without shirts at night as a form of identifying that they were township residents; when they came across someone wearing shirts, they would attack them, in some cases killing them as they believed they were part of the Marashea gang.²⁶³

Several organisations were involved in Khutsong's attempt to manage a prosperous and peaceful democratic transition within the township; they included the BLA,

²⁵⁷ G Kynoch, “Reassessing Transition Violence: Voices from South Africa's Township Wars, 1990–4” *African Affairs* 112, no. 447 (2013), 283.

²⁵⁸ SM Mitchell, “From Political Violence to Criminal Violence: The Case of South Africa.” (MA dissertation, Dalhousie University, 2006), 35-36.

²⁵⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 9, 9 May 2024.

²⁶⁰ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 10, 10 May 2024.

²⁶¹ Kynoch, “A History of the Marashea Gangs...”, 61-62.

²⁶² MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

²⁶³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 10 May 2024.

KHURO, and the newly formed Khutsong Civic Association (henceforth, KCA). The KCA's formation in 1990 was in response to the United Democratic Front's (UDF) campaign, which encouraged black townships to establish their municipalities that would advance the grassroots focused on the liberation struggle.²⁶⁴ One of the main contributions made by the KCA was assisting the community of Khutsong in their struggle against BLA over unpaid rent and levy services. KCA assisted many families whose rental payments were in arrears to avoid eviction. KCA also pressured the local authorities to install flushing toilets in 1991 in Khutsong, putting an end to the bucket system in place since 1958.²⁶⁵

4.3.1 Increasing woes and worries

The population of South African townships increased after the general elections of 1994, resulting from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) launched in 1994 to provide fully subsidised houses for low-income households following the country's independence.²⁶⁶ An example is Diepsloot, which experienced rapid urbanization and population growth following the construction of RDP houses and other public infrastructure, such as schools and clinics.²⁶⁷ Williams adds that 4, 522 people were relocated from Alexandra to Diepsloot in 2001 to accommodate the houses constructed through the RDP programme and decrease the population density of Alexandra.²⁶⁸

According to one of the Khutsong respondents, the construction of RDP houses was introduced in the township in 1995 with the establishment of Khutsong Extension²⁶⁹ 3.²⁷⁰ Interviewee 4 added that the RDP houses differed from the old houses built in

²⁶⁴ Van Kessel, "Legitimacy and Generational Conflict in the UDF...", 33 with Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 61.

²⁶⁵ Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 63.

²⁶⁶ Compare T Lodge, "South African Politics and Collective Action, 1994-2000", *The State of the People: Citizens, Civil Society and Governance in South Africa* 2000 (1994), 2 with A Wilcox, N Mota, M Haffner, and M Elsinga, "Compact Housing for Incremental Growth: The K206 RDP Project in Alexandra, Johannesburg" *Urban Planning* 9 (2024), 2.

²⁶⁷ J Williams, "Understanding Low-income Residents' Sense of Community in Post-apartheid Housing Developments in South Africa" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2016), 78.

²⁶⁸ Williams, "Understanding Low-income Residents...", 78.

²⁶⁹ An Extension is not necessarily an extended part of a township, but rather a town planning reference to the various areas of a township of specific group of houses; See M Moiloa, "Sidla Abantwana Bethu: Youth Political Imaginary in Khutsong, South Africa" (PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012), 45.

²⁷⁰ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

1958 as the new houses were equipped with electricity and flushing toilets, and each house had taps.²⁷¹

Extension 1 refers to the Batswaneng section of Khutsong, which historically consisted of a Tswana, Sotho, and Pedi-speaking population. In contrast, Extension 2 refers to the Maxhoseni section, which historically consisted of a Xhosa and Zulu-speaking population; both extensions were established in 1958.²⁷² Interviewee 5 added that this came after the flooding of the informal settlement “Lost my Cherry”, which was situated on dolomitic land. Residents from this informal settlement were relocated to newly constructed houses in Khutsong Extension 3.²⁷³ Ngubelanaga also mentions that the informal settlements around Khutsong Extension 3 were situated on low-lying dolomitic land prone to natural catastrophes such as flooding and sinkholes.²⁷⁴

The construction of RDP houses was not the only reason for Khutsong's population increase. Interviewee 4 believes that the retrenchment of mine employees during the late 1990s and early 2000s resulted in an influx of people relocating from the mining hostels into the township.²⁷⁵ Kirshner confirms that Merafong's mining sector declined from 1996 to 2005 due to the decrease in international gold prices during this period.²⁷⁶ Tunce also adds that South Africa's gold mining production declined 63% from 1996 to 2005 due to the decrease in international gold prices during this period, resulting in thousands of unemployed mine workers.²⁷⁷

Interviewee 6 added that the increase in the population in Khutsong during the late and early 1990s was due to people from rural areas around the country migrating into the townships in search of better economic opportunities related to gold mining.²⁷⁸ Interviewee 6 added that this included people from the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.²⁷⁹ Mozambican migrant labourers formed the

²⁷¹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

²⁷² Moiloa, “Sidla Abantwana Bethu...”, 47-48.

²⁷³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

²⁷⁴ SO Ngubelanga, “Advances in Dolomite Land Risk Assessment for Safe Development within the Current Legislative Framework: The Case of Khutsong North in Merafong City, Gauteng Province, South Africa” (MA dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2023), 47.

²⁷⁵ MDPC, KI, Interview with Informant 4, 9 May 2024

²⁷⁶ Kirshner, “Challenging the Politics of Xenophobia in Khutsong...”, 7.

²⁷⁷ Tunce, “The Dynamics of a Mining Town...”, 42

²⁷⁸ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²⁷⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

largest foreign national population in Khutsong, with many being former miners who relocated to the township after being retrenched.²⁸⁰ Before 1994, Khutsong had been a mining township dominated by a male population who mostly worked in the mines. From the late 1990s, women and children moved into the township to live with their husbands and fathers, increasing the population and creating an accommodation crisis.²⁸¹

In response to the township's housing shortage, Interviewee 7 mentioned that the government established a new section in 1996 known as Khutsong South Extension 4 as another RDP programme aimed at constructing houses for people in need.²⁸² The population that settled in the newly built houses of Khutsong South Extension 4 had relocated from informal settlements within the township and the outskirts of Oberholzer, Carletonville and Welverdiend.²⁸³ Mupambwa adds that the recipients of the houses were South African citizens who had been on the waiting list for houses after they registered for homes in 1994, after the launch of the RDP programme.²⁸⁴

However, interviewee 6 argued that the construction of RDP houses and the establishment of Khutsong South Extension 4 did not fully address the issue of ensuring that people from Khutsong have houses but suggested that it resulted in an increase in foreign nationals in the township.²⁸⁵ South African townships have seen some beneficiaries of RDP houses renting them out to foreign nationals, most of whom are tuck shop owners and hairdressers.²⁸⁶ Interviewee 6 believes that impoverished South Africans rented out their houses because they had lost their jobs in the mines.

²⁸⁰ J Kirshner, "Reconceptualising Xenophobia, Urban Governance and Inclusion: The Case of Khutsong", *Urban Governance in Post-Apartheid Cities: Modes of Engagement in South Africa's Metropolises* (2014), 122.

²⁸¹ Kulwane, "Civic Competence in Khutsong...", 67.

²⁸² MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 9 May 2024.

²⁸³ G Mupambwa, "Housing Provision Systems and Power Dynamics: The Case of Khutsong" (PhD thesis, North-West University, 2016), 215.

²⁸⁴ Mupambwa, "Housing Provision Systems and Power Dynamics...", 215.

²⁸⁵ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²⁸⁶ Compare V Gastrow, "Problematizing the Foreign Shop: Justifications for Restricting the Migrant Spaza Sector in South Africa", *Southern African Migration Programme*, No. 80 (2018), 1-3 with A Mzendana, "Assessing how Migration is Understood in South African Townships: A Case Study of Katlehong Township" (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2020), 1-6.

Thus, they opted to stay in informal sectors while receiving rent from their RDP houses.²⁸⁷

The population of African foreign nationals increased rapidly from May 2008; despite a series of xenophobic attacks targeting foreigners from African countries in the townships of Gauteng (mainly from Soweto and Alexandra).²⁸⁸ Khutsong, unlike the rest of the townships, did not participate in the xenophobic attacks. The local-based community organization Merafong Demarcation Forum (MDF) encouraged the township's citizens not to participate in these attacks, creating a non-xenophobic identity in Khutsong.²⁸⁹ Kirshner and Phokela add that Somalian and Ethiopian nationals flocked to Khutsong, relocating from other townships around Gauteng, as they viewed Khutsong as a safe settling space.²⁹⁰ This was in addition to Mozambican nationals who also decided to relocate to Khutsong. They viewed the township as holding historic value, as many had relatives and friends who had settled there during the 1990s after they had been retrenched from the mines.²⁹¹

On 12 February 2009, the Department of Housing and the Merafong Municipality signed an agreement to implement a human settlement project to construct 18,000 new houses in Khutsong that would form part of Khutsong South Extension 5.²⁹² This project would transform Khutsong into a modern township by building social facilities, including schools, clinics, and parks. It would also relocate people living in the township's dolomitic regions to this new section.²⁹³

Interviewee 11 mentioned that the first residents of Khutsong Extension 5 settled in 2013 and described this new development as more advanced and modern than the

²⁸⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²⁸⁸ P Kerr, K Durrheim, and J Dixon, "Xenophobic Violence and Struggle Discourse in South Africa", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 54, no. 7 (2019), 12.

²⁸⁹ A Park, "A Tale of Two Townships: Political Opportunity and Violent and Non-violent Local Control in South Africa", *Award Winning Sociology Papers*, Paper 1 (2009), 2-3.

²⁹⁰ J Kirshner and C Phokela, "Khutsong and Xenophobic Violence: Exploring the Case of the Dog that didn't Bark", *Centre for Sociological Research* (2012), 15.

²⁹¹ See Kirshner and Phokela, "Khutsong and Xenophobic Violence...", 15.

²⁹² N Mabaya, "Housing on Khutsong Resettlement Initiative: Government Starts Implementing the Khutsong Resettlement Initiative", *Department of Housing February* (2009), 1-2, <https://www.gov.za/news/housing-khutsong-resettlement-initiative-12-feb-2009> (accessed May 16, 2024).

²⁹³ Mabaya, "Housing on Khutsong Resettlement Initiative...", 2.

rest of the township's sections.²⁹⁴ Interviewee 8 added that this new development greatly increased the township's population, as people from other townships, such as Kokosi and Wedela, were also allocated houses, while others who were renting in Carletonville and Oberholzer were granted permanent houses in Khutsong.²⁹⁵ The following subsection discusses developments in Khutsong during the Merafong demarcation period (2005-2008) and their impact on the mining township.

4.3.2 Sense of belonging contested: Demarcation under scrutiny (2005-2008)

The first democratic municipal elections in South Africa were held on 5 December 2000 and concluded with the establishment of 284 municipalities. Of these, 16 were cross-boundary, meaning they fell under two provinces' administration.²⁹⁶ The Merafong Municipality was one of these 16 municipalities under the administration of the Gauteng and the North-West Provinces.²⁹⁷

In 2005, the Merafong Municipality was officially incorporated into the administration of the North-West Province; opposition parties believed that the ruling party (ANC) had never communicated and engaged adequately with communities from Merafong in demarcating the entire municipality to the North-West Province.²⁹⁸ Ngada adds that Merafong residents (mainly from Khutsong) were against being incorporated into the North-West Province and preferred Gauteng because of its economic powerhouse status.²⁹⁹

In retaliation to this incorporation, residents from Khutsong attempted to boycott the 2006 local elections. However, President Thabo Mbeki downplayed the significance of the protest, stating that “Khutsong is only a drop in the ocean.”³⁰⁰ The community of Khutsong perceived the president's statement as belittling, leading to violent

²⁹⁴ MDPC, Khutsong Interviews (KI), Interview Informant 11, 10 May 2024.

²⁹⁵ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

²⁹⁶ Compare E van Rooyen and K Naidoo, “The Promotion of Good Governance through the Eradication of the Notion of Cross-boundary Municipalities”, *Journal of Public Administration* 41, no. 2.2 (2006), 457 with Matebesi and Botes, “Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests...”, 4.

²⁹⁷ See Matebesi and Botes, “Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests...”, 4.

²⁹⁸ Ngada, “The Role of Public Opinion...”, 51.

²⁹⁹ See Ngada, “The Role of Public Opinion...”, 51.

³⁰⁰ EM Mavungu, “Frontiers of Prosperity and Power: Explaining Provincial Boundary Disputes in Post-apartheid South Africa” (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2011), 69.

protests to the extent that the township became synonymous with chaos and resistance.³⁰¹

Violent protests broke out on 2 November 2005, when the residents of Khutsong barricaded the roads with burning tyres, including tree branches and large rocks, where cars attempting to leave the township were attacked by protestors.³⁰² Interviewee 9 added that these protests significantly disturbed the township as they blocked the movement of people going to work, with schools closing during the critical period of the matric examinations.³⁰³ Interviewee 9 argues that they wanted their actions to have an impact and be taken seriously by the government, as they believed the government had no plans to reintegrate Merafong into the Gauteng province.³⁰⁴

The protests in Khutsong were also an effort to boycott the upcoming municipal election of March 2006, as residents from the township threatened the government that they would not cast their votes and would disrupt the elections.³⁰⁵ Arguably, these boycotts and violent protests in Khutsong leading up to the elections successfully achieved their agenda. Less than 300 voters in Khutsong cast their vote on 1 March 2006 (the lowest in the North-West Province). Mavungu believes the low voter turnout was due to residents feeling intimidated by previous violence during boycott actions in the township.³⁰⁶ Interviewee 8 also added that the elected councillors fled Khutsong to find accommodation in Carletonville after the elections because their houses were petrol-bombed by angry protestors who felt betrayed; this included the home of Merafong Mayor Des van Rooyen.³⁰⁷

Jolaosho argues that the ending of the violent protests in Khutsong is rooted in various factors; the first is the appointment of Jacob Zuma as the new president of the ANC in

³⁰¹ Mavungu, "Frontiers of Prosperity and Power...", 69.

³⁰² Moiloa, "Youth in Khutsong...", 329.

³⁰³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 9, 10 May 2024.

³⁰⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 9, 10 May 2024.

³⁰⁵ Compare M Ndletyana, *Municipal Elections 2006: Protests, Independent Candidates and Cross-border Municipalities* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007), 95 with D Bruce, "Dictating the Local Balance of Power: Election-related Violence in South Africa", *SA Crime Quarterly*, no. 28 (2009), 6.

³⁰⁶ M Schoeman and C Puttergill, "Voting Behaviour in the SA Local Government Elections of 2006 with Specific Reference to the Youth", *Journal of African Elections* 6, no. 1 (2007), 158-159; Also see Mavungu, "Frontiers of Prosperity and Power...", 69.

³⁰⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

December 2007.³⁰⁸ Duncan adds that the Zuma leadership aimed to broadcast a caring and people-driven image while distancing itself from policies contested by communities introduced under Mbeki's presidency.³⁰⁹ According to Jolaosho, the government saw it appropriate to transfer the Merafong municipality to Gauteng before the 2009 general elections to avoid a repeat of the protests in the township during the 2006 municipal elections.³¹⁰ Interviewee 9 mentioned that in December 2008, Merafong would be reincorporated into Gauteng, which ended the protests. However, on 19 March 2009, the National Council of Provinces officially confirmed the municipality's reincorporation into Gauteng.³¹¹ The following subsection discusses the period associated with the decline in gold mining production in Merafong and its impact on the residents of Khutsong.

4.3.3 Mine closure and Khutsong's status

Gold mining activities might still contribute to the economy of contemporary South Africa; however, in recent years, their contribution to the economy of the West Rand (including Khutsong) has shrunk by 27% between 1996 and 2018, with 6,100 abandoned mines in the country, about 600 being in Gauteng.³¹² Marais adds that mine closure harms government structures, mining companies, and, more importantly, mining communities. They further argue that effective, well-planned approaches have not been developed to deal with the final phase of a mine's life and generate post-mining economies.³¹³ Tunce refers to Khutsong, mentioning that the gold mining economy has played a pivotal role in the establishment and survival of the township, but argues that the gold mining economy has reached a point of economic stagnation in Khutsong.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸ O Jolaosho, "Political Aesthetics and Embodiment: Sung Protest in Post-apartheid South Africa", *Journal of Material Culture* 20, no. 4 (2015), 443.

³⁰⁹ Compare Jolaosho, "Political Aesthetics and Embediment...", 443 with J Duncan, "Voice, Political Mobilisation and Repression Under Jacob Zuma", *A Decade of Dissent: Reflections on Popular Resistance in South Africa* (2010), 12.

³¹⁰ Jolaosho, "Political Aesthetics and Embodiment...", 447-448.

³¹¹ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 9, 10 May 2024; Also see Matebesi and Botes, "Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests...", 13.

³¹² Compare MA Kusambiza-Kiingi, "Institutional Responses to Mine Closure in the West Rand", (PhD dissertation, University of the Free State, 2023), with A Meggersee and S Guvuriro "Economic Sustainability of Small Mining Towns: A Case Study in South Africa." *SAGE Open* 13, no. 4 (2023), 2; Also see Tunce, "The dynamics of mining towns...", 41.

³¹³ L Marais, "The Impact of Mine Downscaling on the Free State Goldfields." In *Urban Forum*, vol. 24, pp. 503-521. Springer Netherlands (2013), 504.

³¹⁴ Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 43.

The Merafong Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2020-2021 (Review 2016-2021) has noted a massive decline in employment in the region's gold mining sector, with 13,000 people being retrenched between 2006 and 2016.³¹⁵ The Merafong IDP also noted that the decline in the number of people employed by the mining sector in the region had opened other opportunities for employment in other activities, namely trading, finances, businesses, and community services.³¹⁶

However, interviewee 8 claimed that the closure of mines has deteriorated the social conditions of Khutsong, with illegal miners (claiming to be mostly foreign nationals) destroying the youth of the township.³¹⁷ Interviewee 8 explains that this comes after illegal miners sell drugs to the male youth of the township while they take advantage of poverty-stricken young women who need financial support because of the declining economy caused by mine closure in the region, through prostitution.³¹⁸

Criminal activities that occur in Khutsong (as seen in image 4.1) mainly include theft because unemployed individuals are attempting to provide for their families.³¹⁹ One can argue that the closure of mines in the FWR saw Khutsong populated by many unemployed people previously employed in the mines. The study, therefore, recognizes that there is a need to develop other employment opportunities to create a sustainable township threatened by mine closure trends in the region. Opportunities linked with tourism initiatives will be discussed further in Chapter Five as an alternative option to build a sustainable community in Khutsong.

³¹⁵ Merafong City Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2020-2021 (Review 2016-2021), 29.

³¹⁶ See Merafong City Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2020-2021 (Review 2016-2021), 29.

³¹⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

³¹⁸ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 8, 10 May 2024.

³¹⁹ S Riukulehto, "Dangerous, Frightening, Homely: Home Experiences of those Living on the Goldmines of the Far West Rand", *New Contree* 89 (2022), 112.



Image 4.1: Two incidents of criminal activities in the form of motor car hijackings that occurred in June 2024.³²⁰

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter has confirmed that the establishment of Khutsong came as a need to develop a black township to accommodate the black labour force, most of whom were employed by the mines in the region. Historical developments in Khutsong from its establishment in 1958 until 1994 explained the history of the township's infrastructural developments, describing the type of houses built and the development of public facilities in schools and healthcare facilities. The historical legacies involving the community councils from Khutsong and BLA during the 1970s and 1980s revealed that community councils had hostile relationships with community members from Khutsong. This hostile relationship represented a violent legacy of Khutsong, which was characterised by protests in the township against increased rental and the eviction of residents who failed to pay their rent.

The second part of the chapter discussed historical developments in Khutsong that occurred when the country became a democratic state in 1994. Events during the transitional period (1990-1994) were analysed to understand the mood of the township towards democracy, which was a mood of violence mainly involving the Marashea mining gang against the community of Khutsong. The history of the Marashea and other gangs from Khutsong is explored in greater detail for their gang tourism potential

³²⁰ A Louw, "Woman Hijacked in Khutsong, Dropped in Westonaria", *Carletonville Herald* (Carletonville), 20 June 2024.

in Chapter Five. The study continued to review the roots of the increasing population in the township after 1994 and discovered that the construction of RDP houses was one of the main reasons for the expansion of Khutsong, the other being retrenched miners relocating from the mining compounds into the township. The violent protests during the demarcation period (2005-2008) showed that Khutsong is not as peaceful as its name suggests³²¹ as these violent protests will also be explored for their dark tourism potential in the township.

The trends of mines scaling down or closing in the FWR impacted the community of Khutsong as thousands were left unemployed, increasing the crime rates in the township. The mine decline in the FWR has caused an economic threat to the future sustainability of Khutsong. Therefore, Chapter Five heightens the historical legacy of the township by suggesting potential tourism products with long-term sustainability in Khutsong as a means of creating a new page of opportunities in this new century facing mine decline in the region.

³²¹ Khutsong is a Tswana word which means “a place of peace”. See Kirshner, “We are Gauteng People...”, 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEFINING KHUTSONG'S HISTORICAL LEGACY FOR POTENTIAL FUTURE TOURISM IN SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS

5.1 Introduction

South African townships are renowned for their diverse communities, which offer multicultural identities rooted in the history of migrant labour, which is, in some cases, associated with the country's mining legacies.¹ Against this backdrop, this chapter unpacks historical legacies found in Khutsong to understand the township's heritage and cultural identities. It begins by explaining the impact of mining legacies on the township's development and growth, which has seen Khutsong become a diverse cultural setting.² This is followed by the historical legacies arising from memories of political struggles in Khutsong, which include notable events of the township's struggle against apartheid, the establishment of a mining trade union,³ and the violent protests that took place during the demarcation process from 2005-2008.⁴ Semi-structured interviews from Khutsong residents produce important oral narratives describing milestone historical events from the township. The chapter lastly provides a glimpse of environmental legacies ranging from nature-based spaces to cave systems found in Khutsong.⁵

¹ Booyens, "Rethinking Township Tourism...", 273; Also see Philip, "A History of Townships...", 31-33.

² Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 41.

³ J Baskin, *Striking Back: A History of COSATU* (New York, Verso, 1991), 60.

⁴ Matebesi and Botes, "Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests...", 4.

⁵ Compare Taylor and Atkinson, "Delivering Community Benefits...", 1 with HJ van Niekerk and IJ Van der Walt, "Dewatering of the Far West Rand Dolomitic Area by Gold Mining Activities and Subsequent Ground Instability", *Land Degradation & Development* 17, no. 4 (2006), 443.

5.2 Understanding the mine worker and people's history in Khutsong

The history of gold mining and Khutsong are inseparable, mining activities have greatly influenced the township's current cultural identities.⁶ This section explores the economic influence gold mining activities had on the lives of the Khutsong people, the overall social development of the township, and the diverse cultural communities brought on by the migrant labour systems encouraged by mining companies in the FWR.⁷

The gold mining economy and the subsequent migrant economy have shaped Khutsong's history, developing it into an economically stable township from its early years of establishment.⁸ While the scholarly literature provides important discourse on the influence of mining activities on developing townships, it is also worth recognizing the historical narratives from the community perspective of mining townships.

Most Interviewees from Khutsong had bad memories of the mining industry. Interviewee 4 mentioned that mine employees worked in hazardous conditions and earned low wages in exchange for dangerous work.⁹ According to James, black miners in the South African gold industry have in the past (before 1990) been exposed to hazardous working conditions while earning low wages.¹⁰ Moodie adds that mining companies undermined the moral value of black miners with the low wages when compared to their working and living conditions.¹¹ The work-induced death rate was high among mineworkers; it was estimated at 470 deaths for every 100,000 mineworkers (including white mineworkers) per year, and Maseko argues that black mineworkers were paid sub-poverty wages.¹²

⁶ Van Eeden, "The Effect of Mining Development...", 75.

⁷ Cole and Broadhurst, "Sustainable Development in Mining Communities...", 3; Also see ES van Eeden and S Riukulehto, "Recognizing Traces of Colonialism and Coloniality in a South African Mining Region: Surfacing the Past in Regional, Ethnographic and Well-Being Research", *Cultural History* 12, no. 2 (2023), 22.

⁸ Tunce, "Dynamics of a Mining Township...", 20.

⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

¹⁰ WG James, *Our Precious Metal: African Labour in South Africa's Gold Industry, 1970-1990* (Cape Town, New Africa Books, 1992), 26; Also see J Crush, T Ulicki, T Tseane, and EJ van Veuren. "Undermining Labour: The Rise of Sub-contracting in South African Gold Mines", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001), 5.

¹¹ TD Moodie, "Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1988), 228.

¹² R Maseko, "Being a Mineworker in Post-apartheid South Africa: A Decolonial Perspective", *Decolonising the Human* (2021), 111.

Interviewee 5 recalled a painful memory when their father, who was working as an underground mineworker, never returned home after he was killed following the collapse of a mine shaft at the Blyvoor mine. Interviewee 5 added that the mining company promised their family compensation for the accident; however, they have not received any compensation since the accident.¹³ Turner illustrated fatal accidents that occurred in gold mines from Carletonville and East Rand districts, viewing consistent rock blasting and rockfall from mining activities as one of the main causes for shafts collapsing.¹⁴ These mining fatalities can be viewed from a deeper perspective than just the death of mineworkers but also as an opportunity for disaster tourism at the mining sites of the FWR.

Disaster tourism at mining sites involves visiting areas where mining activities have caused accidents, resulting in the loss of lives.¹⁵ Lennon and Foley mention that tourists who visit disaster sites in mining regions are drawn in by their curiosity to learn about the devastation mining activities can cause.¹⁶ Stone criticises disaster tourism as exploiting tragedy for entertainment, but also acknowledges the importance of preserving historical disasters from the past.¹⁷ The Kinross Mine in Mpumalanga is an example of a disaster where methane gas exploded and killed 177 mineworkers, injuring others on 16 September 1986.¹⁸ Mine management has erected memorials on the site to commemorate the lives of the deceased mineworkers, while disaster tourists explore the site to understand the historical significance of the accident.¹⁹ Another example is the Mufulira Mine in Zambia, where an underground mine flood trapped and killed 89 mineworkers in September 1970.²⁰ The Mufulira Mine has since attracted tourists with an interest in the mining history of Zambia, as guided tours operate on the site to explore the history of the disaster and its impact on the region.²¹ Similar

¹³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

¹⁴ PA Turner, "Causes of Falls of Hanging Wall Over Gullies Adjacent to Stabilizing Strike Pillars", *Chamber of Mines South Research Organization* No. 37 (1987), 3-4.

¹⁵ PR Stone, "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre-related Tourist Sites, Attractions, and Exhibitions", *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal* 54, no. 2 (2006) 146.

¹⁶ JJ Lennon and M Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London, Continuum, 2000), 41.

¹⁷ Stone, "A Dark Tourism Spectrum...", 146.

¹⁸ D van Niekerk, A Critical Analysis of the South African Government's Response to the Kinross Mining Disaster of 1986", *Jamba: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies* 6, no. 1 (2014), 2.

¹⁹ Van Niekerk, "Kinross Mining Disaster...", 2.

²⁰ A Fraser, "The Political Economy of the Mufulira Mine Disaster: Reproduction, Resistance and Representation", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36, no. 4 (2010), 817.

²¹ Fraser, "Mufulira Mine Disaster...", 817.

disaster tourism initiatives can be envisioned on the mining sites of the FWR where mining fatalities occurred, to commemorate the lives of miners who passed on during duty and preserve the disaster history of the region. The next section explores the cultural identities of Khutsong as a mining township and their potential to create tourism opportunities in the community.

5.2.1 Exploring diverse cultural identities in a mining township

Gold mining companies in South Africa have relied on migrant labour, sourcing their employees from different parts of South Africa and neighbouring African countries such as Lesotho and Mozambique.²² The migrant labour phenomenon has shaped the demography of Khutsong, which shaped Khutsong into a multicultural and multinational township.²³ Interviewee 6 mentioned a strong sense of identity and solidarity among the different cultures staying in Khutsong. Sotho, Tswana, and Pedi mineworkers got along well with the Nguni groups of Zulu and Xhosa mineworkers, with minimal cultural conflicts in the township.²⁴

Although one can argue that the cultural and ethnic grouping in Khutsong was rooted in the foundation of creating a township within apartheid policies,²⁵ interviewee 6 agreed to this argument to a certain extent, adding that Khutsong being linked with mining activities resulted in the township being flooded with a diverse range of cultures and ethnic groups from around the country (especially from the Eastern Cape).²⁶ One former mineworker (interviewee 5) from Khutsong who once lived in the Blyvoor hostel mentioned that cultural and ethnic relationships in the mining hostels were more brutal (for example, AmaXhosa would have been hostile towards Basotho and Mozambicans) when compared to situations in Khutsong.²⁷

Madonsela strongly claims that gold mining hostels in Gauteng are signified by ethnic and class affiliations, which have caused social fragmentations represented in violent

²² Compare B Verbrugge, and S Geenen, “The Gold Commodity Frontier: A Fresh Perspective on Change and Diversity in the Global Gold Mining Economy”, *The Extractive Industries and Society* 6, no. 2 (2019), 413 with M Nesvet, “Migrant Workers, Artisanal Gold Mining, and More-Than-Human Sousveillance in South Africa’s Closed Gold Mines”, *Illegal Mining: Organized Crime, Corruption, and Ecocide in a Resource-Scarce World* (2020), 329.

²³ Merafong City Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2020-2021 (Review 2016-2021), 69.

²⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²⁵ Zaiman and Mupambwa, “Political Power and Housing Provision...”, 9.

²⁶ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 6, 9 May 2024.

²⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 5, 9 May 2024.

encounters among different ethnicities in the mining hostels. Madonsela adds that such conflicts in the mining hostels would, in some cases, encourage ethnicity turf wars (for example, AmaXhosa attacking Bapedi/Batswana/Basotho visiting their friends and girlfriends living in the Xhosa sections of Khutsong). However, these conflicts were not entertained much by Khutsong residents.²⁸

The cultural legacies of Khutsong can be used to their advantage with the creation of a cultural village in the township. The presence of a cultural village in a region potentially contributes towards developing a sense of community development that brings financial opportunities to host communities.²⁹ Amoradis et al. add that sociocultural tourism products (such as a cultural village) increase local populations' understanding of their heritage and historical roots.³⁰ Other cultural villages have been established in South Africa, which have showcased the heritage and history of different cultures in the country.³¹

The Segaletsho Cultural Village is one successful cultural tourism product from the rural areas of South Africa. A Tswana cultural village near the Sun City Resort provides tourists with an authentic experience of the Batswana culture through exploring traditional dance, food, art, music, fashion, and photography of Tswana culture.³² Products offered at the village include viewing pantsula and gumboot dances and interacting with African musical instruments. The Segaletsho kiosk allows tourists to purchase African musical instruments, including handmade Tswana crafts and accessories.³³

Another example comes from the Basotho Cultural Village in Phuthaditjhaba, in the Free State.³⁴ Tourists visiting the village can explore the Sesotho art exhibitions,

²⁸ TK Madonsela, "Socio-economic Perspectives in the Redevelopment of Hostels in South Africa: A Case of Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown", (MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2020), 19-20.

²⁹ C Amoiradis, E Velissariou, and M Stankova, "Tourism as a Socio-cultural Phenomenon: A Critical Analysis", *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2021), 11; Also see R Sharma, "Tourism and the Value System: An Impact Assessment from Socio-cultural Perspective", *Himalayan Journal of Sociology & Anthropology* 3 (2008), 106.

³⁰ Amoiradis et al., "Tourism as a Socio-cultural Phenomenon...", 11

³¹ IO Ezeudui and S Nkosi, "Tourism Destination Competitiveness Using Brand Essence: Incorporating the 'Zuluness' of the Zulu Kingdom", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6, no. 1 (2017), 4.

³² A Douglas, G Hoogendoorn, and G Richards, "Activities as the Critical Link Between Motivation and Destination Choice in Cultural Tourism", *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Insights* (2023), 266.

³³ Sun International, "Segaletsho Cultural Village", <https://www.suninternational.com/sun-city/activities/kids/segaetsho-cultural-village/> (accessed October 15, 2023).

³⁴ LG Mokoena, "Cultural Tourism: Cultural Presentation at the Basotho Cultural Village, Free State, South Africa", *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 18, no. 4 (2020), 473.

including live stage performances at the unique sandstone amphitheatre. Products offered to tourists include a deeper insight into the lifestyle of South Sotho from the 16th century to the present.³⁵ Khutsong is a diverse township with a population made up of different ethnic groups, dominated by Xhosa, Tswana, and Sotho-speaking people,³⁶ This would give the township the potential to establish a diverse cultural village that showcases the community's different cultures.

One approach to establishing a cultural village in Khutsong is through Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT), defined as tourism that generates net benefits for poor communities; these benefits range from developing the community's economy to improving the social standards in communities, including caring for the environment and promoting the culture of the regions where tourism takes place.³⁷ Khutsong is located near Carletonville, which makes it easier for visitors to access accommodation while staying nearby.³⁸ It would allow tourists to decide whether they want to spend the night or a day exploring Khutsong, compared to cultural villages in rural areas, where visitors may be forced to spend the night or travel long distances when returning home.

Alternatively, analysing the challenges associated with implementing a cultural village in Khutsong is critical in projecting threats to longevity and sustainability. The first is the ethnic conflicts that have been present in the township from as early as the apartheid years in the mining compounds, stretching their presence to Khutsong and still visible today.³⁹ Interviewee 4 argued that establishing cultural tourism products that involve different ethnic and cultural groups would unite the community of Khutsong because they would focus on one common goal.⁴⁰ The diverse cultural village can be established at the Abe Bailey Nature Reserve (ABNR). Interviewee 3 mentioned that the ABNR would be suitable for developing a cultural village because of its

³⁵ SA Venues, "About Basotho Cultural Village", [https://www.sa-venues.com/things-to-do/freestate/basotho-cultural-village/#:~:text=The%20Village%20regularly%20hosts%20art,00\)%%20seven%20days%20a%20week](https://www.sa-venues.com/things-to-do/freestate/basotho-cultural-village/#:~:text=The%20Village%20regularly%20hosts%20art,00)%%20seven%20days%20a%20week). (accessed October 15, 2023).

³⁶ Merafong City Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2020-2021 (Review 2016-2021), 69.

³⁷ Compare D Roe and P Urquhart, *Pro-poor Tourism: Harnessing the World's Largest Industry for the World Poor* (London, IIED, 2001), 2 with S Chok, J Macbeth, and C Warren, "Tourism as a Tool for Poverty Alleviation: A Critical Analysis of 'Pro-poor Tourism' and Implications for Sustainability", *Current Issues in Tourism* 10, no. 2-3 (2007), 145.

³⁸ Kirshner, "We are Gauteng People...", 7.

³⁹ RC Morris, "The Mute and the Unspeakable", *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony* (2006), 64.

⁴⁰ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 4, 9 May 2024.

spaciousness and natural environment, which would attract tourists.⁴¹ The next section discusses how Khutsong established a violent identity filled with gang-related violence and killings, and how this violent identity can welcome dark tourism opportunities in Khutsong.

5.2.2 Gang violence as part of mining culture and dark tourism

The respondents from Khutsong identified the conflicts that occurred in the township during apartheid to have been caused by the Marashea gang; interviewee 3 claimed that this was a gang of illegal Lesotho miners who engaged in criminal activities in the township, murdering their victims in savage and brutal ways.⁴² According to Kynoch, the Sotho Marashea gang was renowned for its brutality, terrorizing mining townships in which they operated.⁴³ Interviewee 5 added that the Marashea gang gave Khutsong a notorious reputation for being a brutal township notable for savage killings related to gang violence.⁴⁴

Although the Marashea gang initially formed to protect Basotho migrants from other gangs, the gang later got involved criminal activities such as kidnapping, extortion, and drug smuggling, impacting the lives of black South Africans living around goldmining areas. In recent times, members of the Marashea gang have been linked to illegal mining activities, made up of members from different parts of African countries (including South African) known as Zama Zamas's.⁴⁵

Gang violence and crime scenes form part of dark tourism granting an opportunity for tourists to immerse themselves in crime scenes. In the context of South Africa, gang violence tourism mainly occurs in the townships of Soweto and Cape Flats in the form of guided tours.⁴⁶ Guided tours of the Cape Flats allow visitors to explore neighbourhoods affected by gangs (such as the Numbers Gangs and the Mongrels, which often engage in violent confrontations and turf wars contributing to the high levels of crimes in the region) educating tourists on the historical roots and significance

⁴¹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

⁴² See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

⁴³ Kynoch, "A History of the Marashea Gangs in South Africa...", 1-2.

⁴⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

⁴⁵ E van Hellefont, "A Tour of Gang Ethnographies: Key Themes in Contemporary Studies around the World", *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnographies of Crime and Criminal Justice* (2021), 304.

⁴⁶ D Pinnock, *Gang Town* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2016), 14.

of gangs in the area.⁴⁷ The historical significance of the Marashea gang in Khutsong can also be explored for its potential of creating gang violence tourism as a form of dark tourism in the township, similar to the approach used in the guided tours of the Cape Flats. Political struggle memories of Khutsong are discussed in the next section and explored for their potential of creating tourism initiatives in the township.

5.3 Memories of the Political Struggle in Khutsong

Baskin mentions that one of the most celebrated political figures linked with the apartheid struggle and the FWR is former trade union leader Elijah Barayi.⁴⁸ This section unpacks the historical narratives from Khutsong that have shaped the political history of the township by discussing notable events associated with the struggle against apartheid, and the impact of the violent protests in the township during the demarcation process.⁴⁹

When interviewing residents from Khutsong, interviewee 5 noted how the apartheid government ill-treated them, limiting their access to and movement in Carletonville by imposing curfews (as it was classified as a white town during apartheid). Still, interviewee 3 mentioned this was not the case in the township.⁵⁰ In Khutsong, residents from the township roamed freely regardless of the time of day and night. Still, one interviewee argued that there was nothing of significance to roam around for in Khutsong as the heartbeat of the region's economy was in Carletonville and the mines.⁵¹ Du Bruyn mentions that black people living in townships were subjected to evacuate white towns and cities during apartheid, adding that black people were arrested according to apartheid policies when they were caught in white designated areas after their curfew.⁵²

⁴⁷ Pinnock, *Gang Town*, 14.

⁴⁸ Compare Kirshner, "Reconceptualising Xenophobia...", 128 with Baskin, *Striking Back...*, 60.

⁴⁹ MT Dunbar, "'Igneous' Means Fire from Below: The Tumultuous History of the National Union of Mineworkers on the South African Platinum Mines", *Review of African Political Economy* 42, no. 146 (2015), 561; Also See Matebesi and Botes, "Khutsong Cross-boundary Protests...", 4.

⁵⁰ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

⁵¹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

⁵² D Du Bruyn, "Memories and Testimonies of Passbooks, Permits and Platkeps in Apartheid-era Batho, Mangaung", *New Contree* 91 (2024), 19-20.

Interviewee 7 mentioned that even though the economic stability of the township was heavily reliant on the region's gold mining industry,⁵³ other economic ventures naturally developed as part of an urban township culture also visible in other townships, such as the establishment of local places to socialize.⁵⁴ Interviewee 10 mentioned that alcohol was loved and enjoyed by the working class of Khutsong, resulting in residents establishing a beer hall⁵⁵ in the township.⁵⁶ However, interviewee 11 argued that it was not an easy task to own a beer hall because there was red tape that prevented normal individuals from the township from owning beer halls, resulting in the emergence of illegal shebeens, which were constantly raided by the police, leading to the confiscation of alcohol.⁵⁷

Beer hall tourism is a venture that has been implemented in some of the country's major townships, as evident at the KwaMuhle Museum in Durban, located on the former site of the Durban municipal beer hall.⁵⁸ The Langa Beer Hall is part of Cape Town's popular tourism routes. Tourists are educated on the historical significance beer halls had during apartheid.⁵⁹ Beer Hall narratives include them as being spaces that served as centres for political activism where anti-apartheid leaders met during the struggle.⁶⁰ The beer hall in Khutsong can also be imagined for tourism, perhaps being included during township guided tours, with visitors being educated on the history and impact beer halls had on the mining township during apartheid. The historical legacy of one the most prominent leaders from the region during apartheid, Elijah Barayi is discussed for his legacy as a potential tourism potential.

Khutsong has historically solid links with the mining industry. Elijah Barayi (see image 5.1) is one of the most celebrated people/figures following his contributions towards

⁵³ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 7, 9 May 2024.

⁵⁴ Sheerin, "An Ethnography of Mine Work in Crisis...", 50.

⁵⁵ Beer halls were venues in the townships where black people drank alcohol which was regulated by the apartheid government in residential areas where in most cases African brewed beer was sold to the residents; See CM Rogerson, "'In Their Right Place' Beer Halls in Johannesburg, 1938–1962", *African Studies* 51, no. 1 (1992), 95.

⁵⁶ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 10, 10 May 2024.

⁵⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 11, 10 May 2024.

⁵⁸ B Maharaj and K Ramballi, "Local Economic Development Strategies in an Emerging Democracy: The Case of Durban in South Africa", *Urban Studies* 35, no. 1 (1998), 131.

⁵⁹ CM Rogerson, "Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa", *GeoJournal* 60, no. 2 (2004), 205.

⁶⁰ Compare Maharaj and Ramballi, "Local Economic Development...", 31 with Rogerson, "Tourism and Development...", 205.

forming the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).⁶¹ Barayi was born in 1930 in the Eastern Cape. He joined the struggle against apartheid in 1952 when he joined the ANC following his inability to afford tertiary education after completing matric.⁶² Barayi and other ANC members were arrested in 1960 in the Eastern Cape after refusing to carry identity documentation, and he continued to take part in other defiance campaigns against apartheid after his release from prison.⁶³



Image 5.1: Elijah Barayi ⁶⁴

Barayi later moved to Johannesburg following harassment from Eastern Cape police officers after his release from prison. He served in different positions in mining companies, as a clerk at a gold mine in Brakpan from 1960 to 1973 and also working at the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine, where he chaired the mine's liaison committee.⁶⁵ The management at Blyvooruitzicht denied Barayi the opportunity to stand for a leadership position after his term of office ended because he raised political issues such as racial

⁶¹ Baskin, "Striking Back...", 60.

⁶² L van der Walt, "Barayi, Elijah (1930-1994)", *International Encyclopaedia of Revolution and Protest* (2009), 1.

⁶³ Van der Walt, "Barayi, Elijah...", 1.

⁶⁴ Source: P Letshwiti-Jones, "Honouring the Life of Elijah Barayi", ENCA (15 May 2024), <https://www.enca.com/videos/honouring-life-elijah-barayi> (accessed September 17, 2024).

⁶⁵ Baskin, "Striking Back...", 60-61.

discrimination and underpayment of black miners.⁶⁶ Barayi became one of the first members to join NUM after he met Cyril Ramaphosa in 1981. Barayi was elected NUM vice president a year later, playing a crucial role in building the union and stressing mineworkers' concerns.⁶⁷

Elijah Barayi fits in the context of the struggle history in Khutsong; it is important to note that most of the township's history is aligned with the mining history from the FWR.⁶⁸ He made contributions during his tenure as vice president of NUM to improving the working conditions of black miners and Khutsong's vast working population employed at mining companies; this proves that Barayi played a role in the liberation of people from Khutsong by advancing workers' rights in the township. Interviewee 8 mentioned that efforts have been made to honour the services of Barayi in Khutsong, and a section of the new housing development within the township was named in his honour, called the Elijah Barayi Housing Development.⁶⁹ This is a great gesture to remember Barayi's legacy; his legacy can be used for a greater purpose, which will have tangible benefits for the community of Khutsong.

Tourism products focusing on Barayi's narratives and his struggle associated with NUM that impacted the Khutsong community can be modelled as tourism products; similarly to Nelson Mandela and other struggle heroes and heroines, Barayi could be presented as a local struggle hero worthy of memory.⁷⁰ Efforts can be made to create a memorial establishment, such as a museum focusing on contributions made by Barayi and the NUM towards Khutsong during apartheid. Although this establishment would not attract as many visitors compared to tourism products on Mandela, it can be of great interest, as a secondary product, to tourists interested in history associated with mining and struggle movements such as trade unions. The museum would also showcase the history of the struggle of Khutsong as a community during apartheid and represent dark tourism from the township, which consisted of major narratives of the struggle years.

⁶⁶ See Baskin, "Striking Back...", 60-61.

⁶⁷ See Baskin, "Striking Back...", 60-61; Also see AW Marx, "South African black trade unions as an emerging working-class movement." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (1989), 394.

⁶⁸ Tunce, "The Dynamics of Mining Towns...", 41.

⁶⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 8, 9 May 2024.

⁷⁰ SS Nhlabathi, "Motivations to Engage in Dark Tourism: The Case of Selected Sites in South Africa" (PhD thesis, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, 2017). 121.

The events of violence and terror that occurred in Khutsong during the demarcation process are recognized by this study as possessing great potential for developing a product for dark tourism in Khutsong.⁷¹ Approaches taken by the residents of Khutsong are like those of the struggle against apartheid. For example, the streets of Khutsong were filled with protestors burning tyres and throwing stones at cars; this was also the case during the Soweto Student Uprising in 1976.⁷² The torching of houses of Khutsong councillors, including the house of former Merafong Mayor Des van Rooyen, represented a very dark period in the township.⁷³ One can argue that the efforts of Khutsong residents were a success because their end goal was achieved as Merafong was incorporated into the administration of Gauteng.⁷⁴ A dark tourism product can be developed in Khutsong by establishing a memorial representing the demarcation process to honour the historical achievement of this movement in the township and the Merafong Municipality. The study also recognizes the historical legacies and the role of women during the political struggle.

The position of women in Khutsong from the township's early years after its establishment and during the apartheid years was arguably mystified by masculinity. The men went to work to provide for their families, while women stayed at home to take care of household duties and raise children.⁷⁵ However, this was not always the case as black women from townships and rural areas did work long hours for wages mainly as domestic workers for white families to provide for their families.⁷⁶ This came as not all women in townships were married and as a result they had mind ways to provide for their families.⁷⁷

Interviewee 5 mentioned they never imagined their mother leaving the house, finding employment and spending most of her time away from home, as they believed it was their father's responsibility to be away from the house and provide financially for their

⁷¹ Van Rooyen and Naidoo, "The Promotion of Good Governance...", 457.

⁷² Compare Mavungu, "Frontiers of Prosperity and Power...", 69 with A Francis and V Marchese, "Apartheid South Africa and the Soweto rebellion", *Erisim Tarihi* 18 (2014), 3.

⁷³ Mavungu, "Frontiers of Prosperity and Power...", 3.

⁷⁴ Schoeman Puttergill, "Voting Behaviour in the SA...", 158-159.

⁷⁵ R Smit, "The Impact of Labour Migration of African Families in South Africa: Yesterday and Today", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 32, no. 4 (2001), 534.

⁷⁶ J Hickson and M Strous, "The Plight of Black South African Women Domestic: Providing the Ultraexploited with Psychological Empowering Mental Health Services", *Journal of Black Studies* 24, no. 1 (1993), 110.

⁷⁷ Hickson and Strous, "The Plight of Black South African Women...", 110-111.

families.⁷⁸ Smit adds that this phenomenon where men are the providers for their families in South Africa had its root in the introduction of hut taxes⁷⁹ where men had to earn money to pay tax for their homesteads in the rural homelands.⁸⁰ Viljoen argues that the introduction of the hut tax forced black men to find measures to generate an income to pay hut taxes, and one way to achieve this was to sell their labour, where, in most cases, they found employment in the mining companies.⁸¹

Although the situation in Khutsong was different compared to the migrant labour system from homelands (where the African mineworkers had to leave their homesteads for months, only returning home a couple of times a year), where mineworkers visited their families more often in mining townships such as Khutsong. The status quo remained: men provided for their families. Women remained home to take on household duties.⁸² The role of women in the African family changed in South African black townships and rural homelands during the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, black women from the townships (including migrant women from the homelands) found employment within the urban economy, where many were employed as domestic workers.⁸³

Interviewee 6 mentioned that they found it unusual to have witnessed their mother making money to support their family as she became employed as a domestic worker for a white family living in Oberholzer.⁸⁴ However, interviewee 6 further mentioned that

⁷⁸ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 5, 9 May 2024.

⁷⁹ The hut taxes were introduced by the government of South Africa following the shortage of mineworkers and the need to recruit low-skilled and low-paid black mineworkers to work in the gold mines which were mostly situated in the Transvaal white designated areas, located far away from the homeland in the rural areas. This required the black mineworkers to stay in the mining compounds/hostels full-time to acquire money to pay hut taxes and provide for their families (while women remained in the homelands to take care of the household and raise children) and only returned to their respective homelands and re-unite with their families a couple of times a year; See Smit, "The Impact of Labour Migration...", 534-526.

⁸⁰ See Smit, "The impact of Labour Migration...", 534-535.

⁸¹ S Viljoen, B Verbrugge, and S Geenen, "The Gold Commodity Frontier: A Fresh Perspective on Change and Diversity in the Global Gold Mining Economy", *The Extractive Industries and Society* 6, no. 2 (2019), 413

⁸² Verbrugge and Geenen, "The Gold Commodity Frontier...", 413.

⁸³ E Preston-Whyte, "Invisible Workers: Domestic Services and the Informal Economy. pp 34-53, In Preston-Whyte and C Rogerson (eds), *South Africa's Informal Economy*" (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991), 36; Also see J Cock, *Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1980), 52.

⁸⁴ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

their dad lost his life in a shaft accident and their mother had to find employment to provide financially for her family.⁸⁵

Another interviewee from Khutsong mentioned that the employment of women in the township resulted in the introduction of financial societies⁸⁶ which contributed to the well-being of the community. For example, the introduction of burial schemes ensured that families could afford to bury their loved ones, while food societies ensured that families from Khutsong had food, especially during festive seasons such as the Easter and Christmas periods when families met.⁸⁷ Maluleke argues that African households under the guidance of black women prioritized funerals as they sought to ensure that funerals amongst black people were dignified.⁸⁸ Khutsong has unique environmental spaces and legacies that can be explored for their tourism potential, which are discussed in the next section.

5.4 Environmental legacies from Khutsong

The residents of Khutsong had positive memories of their experience with environmental spaces in the township. An example is the interviewees in Khutsong, who mentioned that they were allowed access to the Abe Bailey Nature Reserve and added that although the country was under apartheid laws influenced by segregation characteristics, as black people they were allowed to interact with the white population in the nature reserve⁸⁹ This section aims to discuss the history of the people of Khutsong's interaction with the township's environmental spaces.

⁸⁵ See MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 6, 9 May 2024.

⁸⁶ Women's financial societies in townships are savings groups (mostly informal savings groups) operating as rotating credit schemes and have had a significant impact on financial inclusion and community empowerment. Women are the drivers of these societies, as they distribute resources to support one another financially in addressing needs such as funeral expenses and groceries; See G Verhoef, "Informal Financial Service Institutions for Survival: African Women and Stokvels in Urban South Africa, 1930-1998", *Enterprise and Society* 2, no. 2 (2001), 260.

⁸⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 1, 9 May 2024.

⁸⁸ TS Maluleke, "Urban Black Townships: A Challenge to Christian Mission", *Missionalia: Southern African Journal of Mission Studies* 23, no. 2 (1995), 162.

⁸⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 3, 9 May 2024.

5.4.1 The Abe Bailey Nature Reserve (ABNR) and the Khutsong people

The Abe Bailey Nature Reserve (henceforth, ABNR)⁹⁰ can be considered one of the main tourism potential opportunities that could be used to preserve the nature of Khutsong. Interviewee 10 mentioned that while growing up, the ABNR used to be a vibrant place during the early to mid-1990s, as it used to host events and attract a wide range of tourists from different backgrounds.⁹¹ However, the nature reserve has been downgraded recently, with facilities such as public swimming pools decaying and shutting down, adding that the downgrading of the nature reserve is rooted in the reserve not receiving enough government support to maintain its facilities, which attracts tourists.⁹²

Despite the ABNR's proximity to urban poverty within Khutsong, it still offers great tourism potential as a bird paradise, home to more than 220 bird species.⁹³ The nature reserve is also blessed with different landscapes, comprising grassy savannahs, bushveld, and wetlands as seen in images 5.2 and 5.3. Each provides a different habitat for a unique combination of birds, including flora and fauna found in the reserve. A picnic site is also found at the ABNR, surrounded by trees that provide visitors with shade while they enjoy their refreshments in stunning natural surroundings.⁹⁴

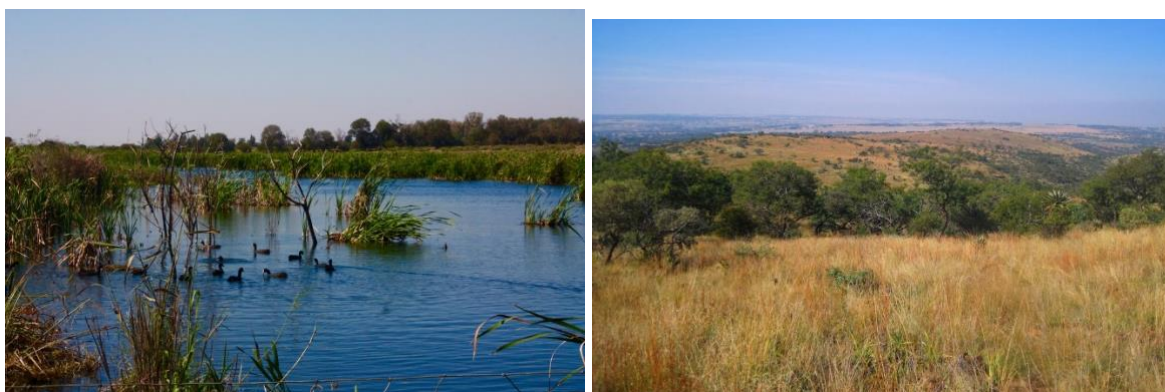
⁹⁰ The ABNR is a protected area on the outskirts of Khutsong, home to a diverse range of habitats (grasslands and wetlands) and wildlife (such as zebras and antelope), and wider range of over 200 different bird species. The nature reserve is named after Abe Bailey (1864-1940), who was an influential figure in the history of South Africa as a major supporter of conservation and philanthropy movements, which has seen him donate towards the establishment of the ABNR; See MV Mochesane, "Plant Diversity in Grassland of Selected Nature Reserves and Adjacent Grazing Areas Within the Gauteng Province, South Africa" (MA dissertation, University of South Africa, 2019), 34; K Steinke, "A Man for All Reasons: An Economic and Political Biography of Sir Abe Bailey, 1864-1940", (MA Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2024), 2-3.

⁹¹ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 10, 10 May 2024.

⁹² MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 10, 10 May 2024.

⁹³ South African Venues, "About Abe Bailey Nature Reserve". <https://www.sa-venues.com/game-reserves/abe-bailey.php> (accessed October 25, 2023); Mochesane, "Plant Diversity in Grassland...", 15-16.

⁹⁴ South African Venues, About Abe Bailey Nature Reserve, (accessed October 25, 2023).



Images 5.2 and 5.3: The ABNR is represented in wetland and grassy bushveld landscapes⁹⁵

Interviewee 9 outlined the tourism potential of the ABNR as they mentioned that in 2022, one individual from Khutsong hosted a birthday party at the nature reserve, which saw a large crowd of an estimated one thousand people attending the birthday celebration, as local artists were also present to perform for the crowd, with local entrepreneurs selling refreshments.⁹⁶ Interviewee 9 added that such gatherings would uplift the tourism of Khutsong if the government coordinated them with better resources to involve more people from the township in the arts and culture sector to perform while receiving remuneration and exposure. At the same time, local entrepreneurs could sell their goods during these gatherings.⁹⁷ The next section discusses the historical narratives and potential exploration of the natural caves found within the township.

5.4.2 The historical legacy of caves in Khutsong

Natural caves are admired for their beauty and mystery, attracting adventure tourists and researchers who acknowledge their natural caverns, where most caves are in rural areas of poor communities.⁹⁸ One interviewee from Khutsong mentioned that there is a cave on the outskirts of the township. However, he added that most of the community members are scared to visit the cave because of mysterious evil myths. The respondent provided an example mentioning that traditional healers (*sangomas*) from the township perform spiritual rituals in the cave, which has given the cave the

⁹⁵ L Bucibo, "Ducks at Abe Bailey Nature Reserve."

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/bucibolebo/26696436495> (accessed November 06, 2023).

⁹⁶ MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 9, 10 May 2024.

⁹⁷ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 9, 10 May 2024.

⁹⁸ SS Kim, M Kim, J Park, and Y Guo, "Cave Tourism: Tourists' Characteristics, Motivations to Visit, and the Segmentation of their Behavior", *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 13, no. 3 (2008), 300.

identity of being a feared space from the perspective of regular Khutsong residents who are not spiritually gifted.⁹⁹

The cave is called the Wonderfontein Cave. The cave system gets its water from the drainage of the Wonderfontein Spruit (hence the cave's name), which extends north-westerly for about 9.4 km and is 15 to 20 meters below the surface.¹⁰⁰ The cave consists of an interesting network of maze structures unique to the landscape, including four shaft entrances and several chimneys. Some areas within the cave have never been explored.¹⁰¹ One of the respondents interviewed suggested that instead of being feared because of the spiritual rituals occurring at the caves, the Wonderfontein Cave can be used as a tourism product to attract people to visit Khutsong and make the township people aware of its environmental features.¹⁰²

Cave tourism products offer a variety of cultural, recreational, aesthetic, and scientific values to satisfy different tourists' needs.¹⁰³ Scientific value includes the history of cave formation, which often attracts tourists interested in studying rocks and fossils; aesthetic value can include the unique wonders of attractive geological landforms inside caves and surrounding landscapes. Recreational value relates to tourists taking pleasure in products linked with caves, including exploring inner cave formations, hiking, and camping around caves.¹⁰⁴

The Sudwala Caves (located in Mpumalanga) is an example of a successful cave tourism product. It offers guided tours that allow visitors to explore the main sections of the cave system while the tour guides educate them on the history and folklore associated with the caves. The products offered to the visitors also include scenic nature trails that allow for birdwatching and hiking to explore the lush Mpumalanga landscape.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, Khutsong has access to a cave (although its tourism potential requires in-depth exploration) and is surrounded by the ABNR, which offers a wide

⁹⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 3, 9 May 2024.

¹⁰⁰ GC Du Preez, "Determining the Effect of Polluted Mine Water on the Ecosystem Health of a Karstic Cave Environment in the Witwatersrand Basin", (MA dissertation, North-West University, 2014), 52.

¹⁰¹ Du Preez, "Cave Environment in the Witwatersrand Basin...", 53.

¹⁰² MDPC, KI, Interview Informant 2, 9 May 2024.

¹⁰³ F Tongkul, "Geotourism in Malaysia Borneo". In RK Dowling and D Newsome (eds.), *Geotourism* (2005) 26 -41. (Burlington, MA thesis, Butterworth Heineman), 28.

¹⁰⁴ Kim et al, "Cave Tourism...", 301.

¹⁰⁵ T Hattingh and A Schoeman, "Preliminary Results from Archaeological Investigations at Sudwala Caves, Mpumalanga, South Africa", *Southern African Field Archaeology* 17 (2022), 6.

range of bird species and diverse landscapes such as wetlands and grassy savannahs) for hikers to explore.¹⁰⁶ This makes Wonderfontein a potential tourism initiative representing the environmental legacy of Khutsong. The northern regions of Khutsong (extensions 1, 2, and 3) are flooded with sinkholes in some areas, some of which have sunk houses in the township and have massive tangible environmental impacts on the mining township.¹⁰⁷ The next section analyses the potential of developing tourism opportunities from the environmental challenges of sinkholes Khutsong currently faces.

5.4.3 Imagining sinkhole tourism in a mining township

The tourism sector can benefit from the formation of sinkholes with natural structures that scare people but still make them want to see their formations being utilised as natural attractions.¹⁰⁸ Interviewee 7 raised concerns over the presence of sinkholes in Khutsong and stressed the government's unwillingness to fix the potholes. This led to interviewee 7 suggesting that the sinkholes be used to attract tourists to the township and capture the natural uniqueness of the sinkholes in Khutsong.¹⁰⁹ Cicekgadi also adds that local people living in sinkhole-prone communities should not be afraid of sinkholes, but they must be educated about their tourism potential, which can contribute to local economic development.¹¹⁰

There have been some documented examples where sinkholes have attracted tourists in residential areas. One is from Guatemala City, where enormous sinkholes developed in the city between 2007 and 2010, swallowing entire buildings.¹¹¹ Although these sinkholes have been dangerous and tragic to the city's residents, they have attracted global attention as people visited the site of these sinkholes to document and explore their uniqueness and curiosity.¹¹² Another example is the mining town of Berezniki in Russia, which has seen sinkholes developing in residential areas since

¹⁰⁶ Compare Bucibo, "Ducks at Abe Bailey Nature Reserve..." with Hattingh and Schoeman, "Preliminary Results from Archaeological Investigations...", 6.

¹⁰⁷ Ngubelanga, "Advances in Dolomite Land Risk...", 47.

¹⁰⁸ M Çicekgadi. "An Integrated Fuzzy Topsis and Best-Worst Methodology for a Sinkhole Selection as a Geotourism Destination", *Journal of Tourism and Gastronomy Studies* 10, no. 2 (2022), 957.

¹⁰⁹ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 7, 9 May 2024.

¹¹⁰ Cicekgadi, Sinkhole Selection as Geotourism Destination..., 958.

¹¹¹ RG Hermosilla, "The Guatemala City Sinkhole Collapses", *Carbonates and Evaporites* 27, no. 2 (2012), 104.

¹¹² Hermosilla, "The Guatemala City...", 104.

the 1980s due to underground mines collapsing.¹¹³ Despite the sinkholes being a danger to the residents of Berezniki, they have captured the attention of tourists and photographers who are interested in the unique landscapes created by the sinkholes.¹¹⁴

Interviewee 6 mentions that Khutsong is identified as a potential hotspot for sinkhole-related tourist attractions because sinkholes occur frequently in the region.¹¹⁵ Ngubelanga also mentions that Khutsong is built on 100% dolomitic land. The township experienced 219 ground instability events between 1975 and 2020, some of which resulted in destructive sinkholes that damaged several houses.¹¹⁶ Images 5.4-5.7 show the nature of sinkholes found in the residential areas of Khutsong, which can potentially draw attention from tourists interested in the unique landscapes these sinkholes have created.

¹¹³ DA Malovichko, R Dyagilev, DY Shulakov, P Butyrin, and SV Glebov, "Seismic Monitoring of Large-scale Karst Processes in a Potash Mine", *Controlling Seismic Hazard and Sustainable Development of Deep Mines* 2 (2009), 989.

¹¹⁴ Malovichko, "Seismic Monitoring of Large-scale Karst...", 989.

¹¹⁵ MDPC, KI, Interview informant 6, 9 May 2024.

¹¹⁶ Ngubelanga, "Advances in Dolomite Land Risk...", 47.



Images 5.4-5.7: Typical sinkholes in Khutsong in recent times.¹¹⁷

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter Five presented the historical legacies of Khutsong (mostly captured from residents with memories of the mining township and its immediate environs) to understand the township's identity and major historical narratives. Khutsong's association with gold mining history and the impact mining activities had on the black township in the spaces of the economy gave Khutsong an early identity of it being a mining township. This identity later shaped the socio-cultural dynamics in the township, making it a diverse community of different ethnic groups, which has seen the suggestion of a cultural village in Khutsong based on these diverse cultures. A cultural village in Khutsong would bring cultural value to the township by formally representing different cultures in the region.

¹¹⁷ MDPC, Image taken from personal device, 22 August 2023.

The second part of Chapter Five focused on historical narratives of the political struggles of Khutsong, beginning with the apartheid years when people from the township had to follow segregation policies enforced on them. This part explained the historical legacy of Khutsong as a black township established under apartheid regulations, including the role of women and the economic history of the township. This discourse suggested using the historical legacy of Elijah Barayi to formulate potential tourism products that represent his contributions to the mineworkers of the FWR, his legacy would be presented in a museum in Khutsong, which would also include historical material and narratives from people in the township.

The chapter concluded with a discussion on the environmental legacies of Khutsong and their impact on the history of its people. These involved legacies associated with the scenic ABNR nature reserve and the mysterious cave found on the outskirts of the township, including the legacies of dewatering, which have raised the possibility of developing disaster tourism through the sinkholes found in the township. Exposing the potential for boosting the economy and recognition of Khutsong can be achieved through various forms and types of socio-cultural and environmental products. Chapter Six concludes the dissertation on the discourse of the historical legacy of Khutsong and potential tourism products in the township.

CHAPTER SIX

TOWARDS A FUTURE WITH CULTURAL TOURISM

6.1 Introduction

Before conducting this study, the author briefly researched Khutsong and the FWR, and many questions on how such a gold mining region with a rich history of successful mining ventures towards the economy of the area arose. The possibility of creating alternative economic opportunities to diversify the economy of the area arose. This resulted in the idea of tourism opportunities as a method to create an alternative and sustainable economic opportunity in the region.

The study aimed to define the historical legacy of the FWR while suggesting potential tourism initiatives based on the historical legacies identified in Khutsong. This study mainly discussed the history of Khutsong, from a township constructed to house black people under the policies of apartheid to being a township facing a crisis of unemployment following the closure of mines in the region.¹ This study provided five descriptive chapters which discussed the past, present, and possible future narratives of Khutsong.

The methodology towards understanding historical legacies and township tourism was framed in Chapter One. The background of the study and theoretical frameworks of this dissertation included research questions and objectives that were discussed in the first chapter. The chapter also outlined the research design and methodology of the study, concluding with ethical aspects and the study's contribution. The first objective was explored in the second chapter as the scholarly methods and theories on historical legacies and heritage were discussed, which included approaches towards instilling tourism initiatives in townships.

Chapter Three revealed historical developments in the FWR dating back to the 16th century during the arrival of Sotho-Tswana people in the region, including the history

¹ J. Kirshner and C. Phokela. "Khutsong and Xenophobic Violence: Exploring the Case of the Dog that didn't Bark". *Centre for Sociological Research* (2012), 4.

of colonial establishment from the 19th century and gold mining developments in FWR. The third objective was discussed in Chapter Four, which unpacked historical legacies in Khutsong from the period the township was being planned before 1958 leading up to the recent history of mine closure and crisis in the township. Chapter Five responded to the fourth objective, presenting the local knowledge and memory of Khutsong residents on the legacy and their understanding of the township's identity, further suggesting tourism opportunities.

6.2 Core observations from the study

From a historical and socio-cultural perspective, the research revealed that the historical legacy of the Sotho-Tswana people in the FWR dates back to the 1500s. Some of the rock settlements can still be identified near Fochville, which can be considered for its heritage potential as cultural tourism products. It was also a captivating observation that the Difaqane wars influenced the FWR (contrary to the belief that these wars mostly affected the Zulu kingdom), with Mzilikazi and his Ndebele army causing disruptions on Sotho-Tswana people in the region during the 1820s. Before conducting this study, the FWR was imagined as a region dominated by the history of gold mining activities, however, out of curiosity, research of the region's history before the discovery of gold, was conducted. This resulted in the discovery that the FWR was a farming community following the arrival of the Voortrekkers at the FWR in 1837 and had developed farms in the region to cater for its people.

It was no surprise that after the discovery of gold, mining activities laid the foundation for the development of towns and villages, which increased and diversified the population of the FWR region by migrant workers from around the country and neighbouring African countries. However, there were a few revelations about the region that drew attention. The first was that the deepest operating mine in the world (Mponeng Gold Mine) is in the FWR on the outskirts of Carletonville. The existence of mine villages also came as a surprise, and a community can develop around a mine, providing essential services in the form of schools and hospitals and some cases the developing of recreational facilities for miners. A notable example was the Blyvooruitzicht Mine Village, which not only provided accommodation for miners but

also educational and health facilities for the families of miners, including recreational facilities in the form of sports grounds.

The first thought was that Khutsong was established only to provide accommodation for miners employed in the nearby mines in the region. However, this study made it clear that Khutsong was part of the broader apartheid spatial planning strategy aimed at segregating the FWR population along racial lines while maintaining control and surveillance of the population in the township. It also became evident how the apartheid government introduced community councils to strengthen their control of the population of Khutsong. These councils were elected by the government to keep control of residents in the township by ensuring that the population did not exceed its required limit and ensuring people paid their required municipal levies. This created a hostile relationship between appointed Khutsong community councils and community members and represented a violent legacy during the 1970s and 1980s, characterised by protests over rental increases. This hostile period continued into the early 1990s during the democratic transition period.

The research on the legacies of violence and killings by the Marashea mining gangs in Khutsong during the early 1990s created a better understanding of the violent identity within the township. While Kynoch provides historical background on the Marashea gangs, the interviewed residents of Khutsong provided first-hand narratives on the history of the mining gangs and their brutal actions in the township as the interviewees were present in the area during these events. Interviewees believe that people outside Khutsong misunderstood the identity of Khutsong because of the violent Marashea gangs. It caused people to move away, or not visit the township at all.

It also became apparent that before 1994, Khutsong was a relatively small township, with several shacks (squatter camps) developing as more people moved into the township. The population of Khutsong started to rapidly increase after the development of RDP houses in collaboration with mine employees being retrenched relocating to Khutsong and the influx of African foreigners in the township.

Dark tourism has been identified in this study as having the potential to accentuate the past socio-cultural and political role of Khutsong more prominently - especially the violent protests during the demarcation period (2005-2008). Furthermore, the legacies

of dewatering, and consequently the formation of sinkholes in the township, raised possibilities of developing disaster tourism. From an environmental point of view, it was a great discovery that the township forms part of a region with caves that stretch a few kilometres deep but has not been explored for its potential tourism opportunities.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution regarding township tourism literature was the account by Theodossopoulos of cultural tourism opportunities in Panama City where residents present heritage services such as dancing and singing to visitors in the region. It became clear that the locals from diverse cultural backgrounds in Khutsong could potentially create similar heritage tourism opportunities, as is the case in Panama City. Equally informative for Khutsong's future potential from its past sinkhole legacy *per se* was the study of Berezniaki on Guatemala City and how this seemingly “bad on the eye” disaster, might be organised as a benefit in disaster tourism, which may be a welcomed way forward in pro-poor tourism initiatives.

Learning from other close-by areas on how the history of a micro space such as Khutsong can be proactively valued for its perceived challenges (such as pro-poor-tourism initiatives around abandoned mines or dark tourism or disaster tourism initiatives in combination with other culturally diverse initiatives) requires some funding and good will to operationalise to serve this region's rich historical legacy as a continuation with a solid mining connection. Then also the capturing of the memories of former mineworkers, now retired and living in Khutsong, should be immensely valuable for mining tourism, possibly in bloom, shortly.

6.3 Scholarly suggestions for future research

The literature focusing on the establishment of tourism products in townships through their historical legacies has received scholarly attention in South Africa and globally. However, townships from the FWR, such as Khutsong, have received less attention when it comes to the historical capturing of microspatial legacies. One particular field that can perhaps be much better explored in a different research context, but also related to the FWR's historical legacy as an asset, is the role of women. This study mainly pointed out the role of women as care takers of their families under distressed socio-cultural circumstances. This reality requires much more in-depth research to be able to also reveal the richness of this still hidden history. More attention needs to be directed at gold mines that are closed or abandoned in terms of them being

rehabilitated for tourism purposes. This would encourage sustainable economic opportunities, and halt down the criminal activities that occur in abandoned mines such as those of Zama Zama's.

Perhaps the numerous potential gold mining closures that the FWR is facing, are resulting in the issue receiving more attention. More micro spatial studies on formerly marginalized communities working in mining regions are suggested to obtain a well-researched bottom-up and top-down understanding of their contributions, memory and historical legacy. If such a possibility can be consciously worked towards, it's possible that rural and urban communities can economically benefit from it through tourism possibilities.

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