A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY INVESTIGATING THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE GOVERNANCE OF DEMOCRACY AND TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE STUDY OF EMAQADINI TRIBAL AUTHORITY

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Abstract

The study focuses on the interface between the democratic governance and traditional leadership in rural development at EmaQadini Tribal Authority. The study tries to explore whether this institutions can or are suitable enough to function collaborate in developing rural communities.

A combination of sociological classical theories has been used since they are interrelated. The data from the two communities forming this tribal authority (ward 3 and ward 59) was collected by means of questionnaires and an interview schedule was administered to the two councilors of the wards.

The results and findings that, is there any development in these communities at the hands of these institutions are also presented.

The main conclusion of the study relates to whether is there any role of traditional leadership in rural development in the new democratic dispensation.

The recommendations of the study focus on the connection between the government and traditional leaders in rural development.

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CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1. Introduction

Rural development and strengthening of structures that deliver basic and essential services to grassroots communities have been the primary focus areas of government since the dawning of our democracy in 1994. In June 1999 South Africa's newly elected president, Thabo Mbeki, announced the governments' intention to design a rural development programme, saying. "The rural areas of our country represent the worst concentrations of poverty. No progress can be made towards a life of human dignity for our people as a whole unless we ensure the development of these areas." (Mbeki 1996:no.20357) The launch of the new rural development strategy places rural development and poverty alleviation at the forefront of the government's agenda and is a further confirmation of a shift in South Africa's rural development policy. The government's 1995 National Rural Development Strategy was criticized for its failure to adequately address the potential of the rural economy, and for ignoring issues of local governance, including traditional leadership. In 1997 the government began to address these deficiencies and published the revised Rural Development Framework, marking a shift in the focus of rural development strategy to incorporate issues of local governance (and in particular the role of rural municipalities in service delivery) and sustainable livelihood. The sustainable livelihood (or livelihood diversification approach to rural

development, according to Ellis, focuses on the ways in which individuals, families and communities ' construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living' (Ellis, 1998). The Sustainable Rural Livelihood (SRL) approach moves away from a compartmentalized approach to rural development, attempting to develop a holistic assessment of how rural communities draw together resources from disparate sources to assemble their livelihoods. This is a significant shift, and has important ramifications for communities, institutions and organizations that occupy the rural domain. The approach advocated by the Rural Development Framework places increased emphases on the role of rural municipalities in creating sustainable livelihoods and reducing poverty in South Africa- a role they are currently ill- equipped to perform..

Our constitution spells out the role of local government in democratic South Africa. Local government must be developmental, in the past, local government was mainly concerned with providing services to white communities and with such things as traffic regulations, issuing licenses and looking after parks and recreation facilities. Now local government must ensure that all communities have access to basic services that everyone can participate in decision making and planning, that the local economy grows that job opportunities increase and that local resources are used wisely to improve the quality of life for every one, now and in the future. The white paper, which deals with the relationship between local government and traditional leadership and not with other aspects of traditional leadership. The white paper proposed a co- operative relationship between municipalities and traditional leadership. Traditional leaders will have representation on local and district council, to advice on the needs and aspirations of their

people. This role is different from the role of voting by councilors. Sections of the Traditional Leadership (TLs) particularly in KwaZulu Natal, were vigorously opposing the re-drawing of municipal boundaries and the establishment of primary municipalities in traditional authority (TA) areas. The traditional leaders were opposed to primary municipalities in traditional authority areas or they wanted traditional authority themselves to be regarded as primary municipalities. It is not true that the powers and functions of traditional leaders will be automatically taken away by primary municipalities. This essay seeks to investigate how the Ethekwini municipality has dealt with this issue after extending its boarders to incorporate 15 tribal authorities to work with rural councilor's representatives

1.2. Background to the present study

Rural poverty is strongly linked to the policies of the colonial and apartheid governments, which alienated black people from their land first by forcing them to farm as tenants and the (under apartheid) forcing them into the Bantustans/ homelands. Black commercial farming was systematically destroyed through legislation, including the 1894 Glen Grey act, 1913 Natives Land act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land act, which restricted black people's access to land, and the amount of land they could farm. For the majority of homeland dwellers, profitable farming was impossible as forced removals of black people from urban areas zoned for whites only, and from white farms in the 1970- led to over crowding, landlessness and environmental degradation. Discriminatory practices in the provision of government subsidies, taxation, extension services and rural infrastructure

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development restricted black people's access to land, capital and markets. The consequences of discriminatory rural development policies and the legislative construction of a dualistic agricultural system in South Africa have been to concentrate poverty within rural areas, particularly former homelands. These factors, over which government at national and local level had significant impact, all influenced the comparative advantage between the rural and urban areas, influencing individual decisions about whether or not to move from one location to another. South Africa's policy towards rural development and rural poverty alleviation has undergone significant transformation between the first and second terms of the ANC- led government. The first phase extends from the adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as the manifesto of the ANC at the time of the 1994 general election. This phase focused on land restitution, land redistribution and centralized infrastructure provision as the central pillars of rural development policy. The second phase was triggered by the transition from the RDP to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996, which reduced the amount of resources available for large- scale land redistribution and for central departments to fund major infrastructure. The policy approach outlined by the Rural Development Framework begins to shift the burden of responsibility from the national focus to the local economy by advocating an enhanced role for rural local economic development, local provision of infrastructure and service provision and for rural local governments as the principle facilitator of rural development

13. The Field of Study

The field of study in which the present study is based is on development. The concept of development has a long history in Western philosophy, and has been re-worked over time, and ultimately come to mean the accumulation of knowledge and then manifestations of limitless material abundance (Rist 1997:227). Rural development, as a sub-set of the broader field, followed the general trends of developmentalism. According to *The Human Development Report* "Development must be woven around people, not people around development- and it should empower individuals and groups rather than disempower them" (UNDP 1993:1). The Study vigorously focuses on the connection between the governance of democracy and traditional leadership in rural development. The orthodox economists might define development as the achievement of economic growth and hence improved living standards. At its broadest, "Development" means quite simple "improving the society". This may appear rather tautological argument, but it has three virtues. Firstly, it indicates the fundamental necessity to build any development model on a foundation of democratic process. How else can we judge what people's aspirations area? Secondly, it reveals the need to make political choices- it goes without saying that it is impossible to satisfy all the ambitions of all the people all the time. Choices must be made by those who wield the power about which group's aspirations area to be prioritized. And thirdly, it speaks of "enabling" rather than "providing"-hinting that true development is done by people not to people, that development might be co-ordinate by the governments and official aid agencies in their provision of institutions,

infrastructure, services and support, but that it is achieved by the people themselves. Development is the process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destinies and realize their full potential. It requires building up in the people the confidence, skills and assets and freedom necessary to achieve this goal.

1.4. Motivation for the investigation

Like other countries in the continent, South Africa was thereby presented with the singular challenge of defining the place and role of the institution of traditional leadership in the new system of governance of local government. This motivated the researcher's interest to look at the connection between the democratic dispensation and traditional leadership in rural development. Traditionally, the king (isilo samabandla) and the chief (inkosi) acquire their positions through hereditary succession along the male line. The law of succession of each traditional community also informs succession. In 1994 the power to appoint traditional leaders was assigned to the Premier of KwaZulu Natal. The new constitution laid the basis for the definition of the role and place of the institution of traditional leadership and enjoined the new government the obligation to develop legislation that would put this matter to rest. The strength of the Rural Development program lies in its emphasis on a mechanism that can achieve results on the ground. This approach empowers rural stake holders to use Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process to select programs that address their priorities. Local government has enhanced

the status of municipalities and given them a new dynamic role as instruments of delivering.

The practical and fundamental significance of the study is to attempt to closely look at the interface between local government structure and traditional leadership. This is by means of evaluation and defining the role and place of the traditional leadership in the basket of selected programs co-ordinate at the municipal level through an expenditure envelop comprising of the municipal budget, the commitments of the provincial and national line function departments of donor organizations and non governmental organizations as well as private sector.

1.5. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is on the flowering of the IDP idea powered in part by money from Germany Technical Co-operation (GTZ) through its partnership with the DCD (now the Department of Provincial and Local Government) has extended to support roughly 20 pilot projects in a range of municipalities throughout the country. Whilst poverty alleviation, job creation, economic growth are key priority areas highlighted in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy of government of South Africa, organized local government's act 1999 (act 52 1997) serves as government's commitment to assisting municipalities with poverty relief, primarily through the provision of free basic services to poor house holds. This was made clear by substantial increases in the equitable share grant from R2, 6 billion in 2001 to R13, 9 billion in 2003

and R5, 5 billion in 2004/05.The introduction of Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000, (act32 of 2000) to establish the frame work for planning, performance management systems, effective use of resources and organizational change in business context in local communities. The act also established a system for local councils to report on their performances, and gives an opportunity for residents to compare this performance with others. Public-private partnerships are also regulated by the act. It allows municipality's significant powers to coporatise services establish utilities for service delivery or enter into partnerships with other service providers. The consolidated municipal Infrastructure programme constitute the major infrastructure grant for municipalities and aims to provide basic levels of service to uplift the quality of life of ordinary people. The finalization of the Integrated Development Plans and management support centers gave the municipality more power to function as a district municipality. This resulted in substantial extension of the Durban Metro to newly incorporate areas which are substantially rural and Semi- Rural. This means Metro is covering the area between the "Urban Edge" and the outer limits of the unicity accommodating 15 tribal authorities and covering 31 council wards.

In light of the background issues discussed above, the broad research goals of this study include *inte alia* the following objectives:

- To understand and define the place and role of traditional leadership as a customary system in the new institutional system of democratic governance in Rural Development.

- To evaluate the effectiveness of the connection between the democratic dispensation and traditional leadership and their effect in service delivery.

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- To determine the role that can be played by traditional leadership structures at local and also address traditional leadership institutions in relation to municipal and provincial boundaries and their implications.

- To seek to investigate how can the traditional system be transformed to be inline with the constitution imperatives in Integrated Rural Development?

- Attempt to restore the integrity and legitimacy of the institution of traditional leadership in line with customary law and policies.

The study intends to answer the following questions:

- How cans traditional leadership as a customary system can be utilized by the Metro council in developing the newly incorporated rural areas.

- How can a more meaningful and dynamic relationship between traditional leaders and government be effected and

- At which of the three levels of government should traditional leadership be allocated.

- Who should pay traditional leaders, and why? Should headmen be paid, and if so, by whom?

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1.6. Literature Review

In analyzing the literature on Rural Development, The Integrated, Sustainable Rural Development is identified as the major thematic and priority matter. This frame work endeavourer to provide a provincial context that shall ensure an effective implementation of rural development and poverty eradication. The Integrated

Development Plan (IDP) is a legislative requirement in terms of the Municipal Systems Act and it supercedes all other local government plans. This in a sense conforms the constitutional recognition of local government as a sphere in its own right and not an extension of provincial government as has been the historical norm. The strategic nature of the IDP is such that it must result in the facilitation of political and constitutional change to ensure that the principle of integration is not lost.

The Ethekwini Municipality has established a rural Development Frame work guiding the future development of recent substantial extension of the Metro area and newly incorporated areas substantially rural and semi-rural. Among many purposes of the Rural Development Framework is creating a clear understanding of issues impacting on the development of rural areas and identifying appropriate responses and guiding council policy programmes and projects.

There are some acts that will also be considered:

1. Municipal structures act of 1998 and the Amendments in 2000 (section 81)

2. The white paper on Traditional Leaders

3. Communal Land Rights Bill

4. The EThekwini Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

1.7. Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective in which the present study is based is Modernization Theory. In constructing their accounts of Development, most of the Modernization theorists drew on the tradition- modernity distinction of classical sociologist. Like

Durkheim and Weber, these theorists placed most emphasis on the values and norms that operate in these two types of society and their economic systems. Like Durkheim, most argued that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depended on a prior change in the values, attitudes and norms of people. Bauer (1976, : 41), for example, argues that: "Economic achievements and progress depend largely on human aptitudes and attitudes, on social and political institutions and arrangements which derive from these, on historical experience, and to lesser extent on external contacts, market opportunities and on natural resources."

Development then depends on 'traditional', 'primitive' values being displaced by modern ones. In 'traditional 'society, three crucial features are noted:

(a) The value of traditionalism itself is dominant: that is, people are oriented to the past and they lack the cultural ability to adjust to new circumstances,

(b) The kinship system is the decisive reference point for all social practices, being the primary means through which economic, political and legal relationships are controlled. One's position in the kinship system and hence in the society is ascribed, not achieved- that is the reflection of the status or standing of the family, clan or tribe into which one is born, one's position only changes as one moves up the family hierarchy. Status is then, not earned or achieved, but conferred by virtue of kin relationships,

(c) Members of the traditional society have an emotional, superstitious and fatalistic approach to the world: what 'will be will be, 'things have always been this way'.

1.8. Study Area

This empirical research is taking place at two Locational Communities, which are NGonweni and Ogunjini. The geographical area of Ngonweni is 13,6km2 and the distance from the CBD is 31 kilometers. The closest major commercial center is Verulam (17km away) and the closets major transport is also Verulam (17 km away). The metro wide public transport accessibility is low. The administration of Ngonweni area is under councilor Frans, Mcedisi Wilden, ward 3, and the traditional authority Qadi (1) under nkosi (chief) Mzonjani Alpheus Ngcobo. The total population of the area is 3783, Blacks comprising 99, 6% and 0, 4% the other.

The geographical area of Ogunjini is 17,9km2 and the distance from the CBD is 30 kilometers. The closest major commercial center is Verulam (12 km away) and the closet major transport node is also Verulam (12 km away). The Metro wide public transport accessibility is low. The administration of OGunjini area is under councilor Thobela, Lawrence Bhabha, ward 59 and the traditional authority is Qadi (1) under nkosi (chief) Mzojani Alpheus Ngcobo. According to demographics from census 1996 the total population is 3714, Blacks comprising 99, 6% and 0, 3% the other.

1.8.1 Research Methodology

The methodology that will be used in the present study is both qualitative and quantitative methods. In a quantitative side a literature of primary data comprising relevant books, minutes, journals, legislation and written commentaries will be

undertaken. In order to obtain a global perspective on the structuring of municipalities information will be obtain through several mediums including *e-mail*. It will be necessary to communicate with numerous practitioners and councilors in the field of municipal government and administration as well as the general public to ascertain their views on the impact of the changes municipal government is experiencing in Rural Development.

In a qualitative side a survey will also be conducted in these two communities by distributing 25 semi - structured questionnaires to each community to measure the quality of life in these two rural tribal communities. It will be a simple random based survey where households will be selected on a probability base. The interpretation of the data will consist *inter alia* of analyzing and evaluating the data to enable policymakers to gauge the success of the changes municipal governments have undergone in rural development.

1.9. Limitations of the study

A research undertaking of this nature always presents limitations. The key concerns are the following:

-Further legislation that will emanate out of the White paper on Local is still being developed and could therefore not be critically analyzed

-Rural development is still in progress, which is the development of rural areas outside the "urban edge" and will continue for some time to come. It is therefore not possible to comment factually on its success or failure.

- There are numerous options in the Local Government: Amendment of Municipal Structures Act of 1998 in 2000 (Act No.117of 1998) that is available to municipalities. Some of them are new types of structures for South African municipalities, for example an executive mayor as opposed to an executive committee type of municipality. Whether this structure will work or not in developing rural areas still be tested. All one can do at this stage is analyze the changes to date and measure such changes against the relevant theory.

1.10. Definition of concepts

It is necessary for the researcher to define certain concepts at this stage, concerning this chapter of the study. Other concepts will be explained in the text.

1.10.1. Growth Employment and Redistribution Program (GEAR)

The GEAR can be defined as the macro economic strategy which was launched in 1996 by the government of South Africa after the closure of the RDP offices in 1996. The goal of the GEAR is 'sustained growth on a higher plane', and achieve this 'competitive outward-oriented economy' is necessary (Department of Finance, 1996: 2). A 'new burst of economic activity' which will need to 'catapult the economy to the higher levels of growth, development and employment needed to provide a better life for all South Africans' (GEAR,1996: 3). Economic growth is the be –all and the end-all of GEAR. Nothing new is said about rural development, but the cost recovery approach is

consolidated for social and economic infrastructure investment, with government committing to public-private partnerships on this (GEAR, 1996:14).

1.10.2. Integrated Development Planning (IDP)

Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is the provision of the Municipal Systems legislation (Republic of South Africa 1999:68), which required all district municipalities within its area of jurisdiction to assume responsibility for service delivery and infrastructure development, co-coordinating the development activities of the municipality. (Republic of South Africa, 1999:68)

1.10.3. Isilo Samabandla (King)

The term Isilo Samabandla is a Zulu word referring to the head or the king of the Zulu nation and is the main leader of all the traditional leaders of the Zulu nation in general. (Zulu Dictionery, 1975:62)

1.10.4. Inkosi

The term *amakhosi* is a Zulu word referring to traditional leaders in general. *Inkosi* refers to one particular traditional leader. (Zulu Dictionery, 1975:42)

1.10.5. Rural areas

Rural areas in this case refer to all the areas that did not fall within the old boundaries of the Metro area and which are under the tribal authorities. (Bantu Authorities Act, 1951:18)

1.10.6. Rural Development Framework

The Rural Development Framework was the framework passed on from the RDP office to the Department of Land Affairs for completion and was meant to be the culmination of the detailed policy process started by the RDP's 1995 Rural Development Strategy. (RDP, 1995:6).

1.10.7. Semi Rural areas

Semi Rural areas refer to those areas that were not part of the old boundary of the Durban Metro which, fall under the tribal authorities that are closed to the Durban Metro. ((IDP, 1995:24)

1.10.8. Sustainable livelihood or livelihood diversification

The sustainable livelihood (or 'livelihood diversification') approach to rural development, according to Ellis, focuses on the ways in which individuals, families and communities 'construct a divers portfolio of activities and social support in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living' (Ellis 1998 :64).

1.10.9. Tribal Authority

Tribal Authority refers in this case to the authority that is incurred to a tribal leader within a tribal area in a hereditary succession. (Bantu Authorities Act, 1951:6)

1.11. Summary

Rural Development is a necessary move in this dispensation of local government and the new system of District and Local Municipalities in South Africa. In summary, the researcher has introduced the study on the interface between the Democratic Governance and traditional leadership in rural development. The researcher went on to highlight the field in which the present study is based which, is the field of development, and further pointed out what motivated the researcher to conduct a study on the interface of governance of democracy and traditional leadership. That resulted in the researcher highlighting the aims and objectives of the present study. Also included in the study is the

literature review about rural development and traditional leadership, the theories that will

be used, and also the methods that will be followed in conducting the study of this nature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The subject of the interface between the democratic government and traditional leadership in rural development in South Africa has wide potentials for scientific enquiry. It well known that South Africa has a dualistic agrarian structure, sharply divided along lines of race. This dualism is most apparent in the legal-administrative and social division of the rural areas into commercial farming areas owned by the state and historically administered by 'tribal authorities'. Colonial dispossession of the land of the indigenous population in the period up to the 1890s was ratified in law with the passing of the Land Act of 1913 and subsequent legislation, including the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. Between them these laws set the legal framework for corralling the African population onto less than 13 per cent of the land, and allowing the remainder to be carved up into private and state property for the exclusive benefit of the white population. The subsequent history of the rural areas is dominated by attempts by the government and white landowners to enforce these laws, and sporadic open resistance by the African population against these attempts.

The African National Congress's (ANC) 1994 election manifesto, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), identified land reform, among other things, as the driving force in South Africa's rural development initiative. Soon after the elections, the ANC

led government, represented by the Department of Land Affairs, announced a wide-ranging land reform programmed based on three key and related components: restitution, redistribution and tenure reform. All three have a constitutional standing. Additionally, in keeping with the democratic principles enshrined in the Constitution and various legislation, the post –1994 South African state aims, at least in theory, to establish new democratic and accountable structures, with significant community participation, for land administration and management

Similar democratic principles have been extended to local government. The Constitution requires that municipalities, consisting of elected representatives, be established in the whole of South Africa, including the rural areas of the former Bantustans, previously ruled by traditional authorities. The White Paper on Local Government defines post-1994 local government as developmental local government involving integrated development planning. This requires municipalities to co-ordinate all development activities within their areas of jurisdiction. Developmental local government seeks not only to democratize local government by introducing the notion of elected representatives. But also transform local government, with a new emphasis on uplifting previously disadvantaged sectors of the community. In addition, developmental local government requires that citizens actively participate in their areas.

These changes, however, should be viewed against the background of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid in rural areas. Prior to the first democratic elections, local government and developmental activities, including recommendations for the allocations of land, happened at the local .village level, and were centered on the Tribal Authorities.

Under apartheid, the Tribal Authorities officially derived their legitimacy from 'traditional', but in practice these bodies were incorporated into and became extended arms of the apartheid government. According to Ntsebenza (1999:18), during the apartheid period, in particular, the Tribal Authorities became highly authoritarian and despotic. The state and the South African Development Trust were legal owners of land in these areas. Although rural residents were the owners of land in practice, in the sense these they have lived in these areas for long period of time, there was limited recognition of this. In addition, rural residents were largely excluded from the administration and management of the land, which was rooted in the Tribal Authorities, dominated by hereditary traditional authorities. Furthermore, there was clear distinction between rural and urban local government. In urban areas local government took the form of municipalities composed of elected councilors (meaning in general, only whites councilors were eligible for election in the urban areas outside the Bantustans during the colonial and apartheid periods), while in rural areas it took the form of 'native administration', which traditional authorities appointed by government played a pivotal role at the local, administrative and Tribal Authority levels.

It is almost a decade now after the first and second democratic elections in South Africa, the conditions in the rural areas remain, by and large unchanged. The shortage of land and insecurity of tenure are, as during the colonial and apartheid periods, in deed of urgent attention. Land administration and management have, in some areas, virtually collapsed, while in power to allocate land. At the heart of the problem is the unsolved issue of roles, functions and powers of traditional authorities in South Africa's democracy, including in land tenure and local government reform. A compromised had to

be reached during the constitutional talks of the early 1990s; resulting in the recognition of the 'institution of traditional leadership' in the South African Constitution without much clarity about that institution's role. In addition there was a widespread dissatisfaction on the ground with traditional authorities. The role of traditional authorities in South Africa's democracy remains unsolved, and a key challenge in service delivery and rural development.

2.2. The debate about democracy

2.2.1 Post- colonial Africa

The role of traditional; authorities in the post- colonial era in Africa was debated long before it became an issue in South Africa. The debate is as old as the independence of the firs African country in the 1950s. Its origins are in the imperialist imposition of multiparty democracy and decentralization after the cold war. 'Political or democratic decentralization' is said to occur when powers and resources are transferred to authorities that are 'downwardly accountable to local populations' (Agrawal &Ribot ,1999:478). The fundamental issue has been how to accommodate a hereditary institution of traditional leadership and its incumbents, while embracing multiparty democratic principles and decentralization. There appear to be two basic positions in the debate: common citizenship and co-existence.

2.2.2. Common citizenship

Mamdani (1996:23) is one of the foremost proponents of the argument for common citizenship. His notion is that colonial state in Africa was 'bifurcated', with different modes of rule for urban 'citizens' and rural 'subjects'. The colonial strategy of divide and rule took on two related forms: an enforced division of Africans along ethnic lines on the one hand, and enforced division between town and countryside on the other. According to Mamdani (1996:23), the African was 'containerized', not as a native or indigenous African, but as a 'tribesperson'. Colonialist justified indirect rule on the basis that 'tribal' identities were indigenous forms of social organization. They imposed, reinforced, and exploited these identities to divide and manage rural Africans. In order to enforce their dual policy of 'ethnic pluralism' and urban-rural division, colonialist exercised 'force to an unusual degree' (Mamdani 1996:23). In this way, colonial despotism was highly decentralized.

According to Mamdani (1996:24), the traditional authorities played a pivotal role in government at the local level- the Native Authorities. Their authority was rooted in the fusion of judicial, legislative, executive and administrative power. Native authorities, according to Mamdani (1996:25) were protected from any external threat. Their officials were appointed, never elected. They had no term of office, and remained in position for as long as they enjoyed the confidence of their superiors. Mamdani (1996:25) argues that the colonial system was produced after independence. Each national government attempted to reform the colonial state, but in doing so reproduced part of it- the legacy of

colonialism-creating its own variety of despotism. Post- colonial African governments whether conservative or radical, de- radicalized the colonial state but did not detribalize and democratized it. On democratic transformation, Mamdani (1996:34 proposes 'nothing less than dismantling' the 'bifurcated state'. This will entail 'an endeavor to link the urban and the rural- and thereby a series of related binary oppositions such as rights and custom, representation and participation, centralization and decentralization, civil society and community-in ways that have yet be done'Mamdani (1996: 34). In other words Mamdani (1996:34) argues for creation of a common citizenship for all, urban and rural, Africans.

2.2.3. Co existence

A broad spectrum of scholars argue for an adaptation of the liberal conception of democracy to African conditions, based on the assumptions that African institutions should be preserved and accommodated in a liberal multi-party democracy. Sklar (1994:1) argues for what he calls 'mixed governments', which he describes as 'one that conserves Traditional Authority as a political resource without diminishing the authority of the sovereign state, Sklar (1994:1). The political officials of these 'second states', the traditional authorities, 'hold positions of public trust in accordance with customary rules, although their functions are normally regulated by law as well' Sklar (1994:1). In this arrangement those who fall under the jurisdiction of traditional authority would be both citizens and subjects. According to Sklar(1994:2), the constitutional powers of traditional authorities in most African countries at present are severely circumscribed, and the role

of traditional authorities and their 'subordinates titleholders' is reduced to the 'advisory, ceremonial, and extra-constitutional',Sklar (1992:3). Sklar does concede, though that Southern Africa (Botswana, South Africa, and Swaziland have a wide range of mixed governments.... Representing a gradation from marginal to maximal authority for traditional rulers Sklar (1994:3). In Botswana traditional authorities perform government functions that are authorized by prescribed constitution arrangements, while in Swaziland; traditional authorities have been incorporated into the constitutional system of the state.

2.3. The debate in South Africa

Bank and Southhall (1996:45) and Ismail have provided contrasting South African contributions to the debate. Bank and Southhall question Sklar's (1992:3) 'mixed government' thesis. Their critique is based on the understanding of Sklar's (1992:4) suggested political (albeit secondary) role for traditional authorities and their institutions. For Bank and Southall, democracy in post- colonial Africa would be compromised if traditional authorities were accorded an active role in politics, because their capacity in political administration is doubtful. Bank and Southall(1996:45) based their argument on the grounds that a large number of traditional authorities collaborated with apartheid regime, discredited themselves in the eyes of many South Africans, were unaccountable and corrupt when they administered the Bantustans, and, lastly, that there is a conflict between the patriarchal values of traditional leadership and gender equality in the Constitution. While organizing a 'customary' role for traditional authorities, Bank and

Southall (1996: 67) argue strongly that traditional authorities are denied a role in state constitutional matters. They go on to suggest that traditional authorities be confined to ceremonial functions.

Ismail (1999:1) accuses South Africans who address the issue of the role of traditional authorities' before 1994 of merely making 'platitudinous statements regarding the future role for chiefs' (Ismail1999:1) without making any concrete suggestions. According to Ismail, (1991:1) the general trend has been the 'dramatic marginalization' (Ismail, 1999:1) of traditional authorities and their roles or 'mere symbolic retention of the institution' (1999:1). Ismail put forward a model that he considers to be effective and realistic, and that would engage traditional authorities 'and aspects of indigenous governance in liberal democratic governance' (Ismail, 1999:2). Ismail strongly proposes that 'indigenous governance' has democratic elements that 'can strengthen rather than weaken current efforts to build democratic culture among the African people' (Ismail, 1999:4). According to him, this kind of engagement could lead to the democratization of the institution on traditional authority itself. Of the two broad positions, common citizenship and co-existence, a version of the latter was accepted in the political negotiations of the early 1990. Given the centrality and the dominance of the ANC in the negotiations and after, it is important to review the ANC position towards traditional authorities in historical perspective.

2.4. The ANC and traditional leadership in historical perspective

2.4.1 On Robben Island and exile

The ANC's position on traditional authorities has always been ambivalent. When the ANC was formed, traditional authorities opposed to the 1910 Union of South Africa were among its founding members. As the ANC radicalized from the 1940s onwards, with strong pressure from its Youth League and growing alliance with communists, two broad streams began to emerge. There were those, such as Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, who supported the Traditional authorities who were critical of government policies, and those, clearly under the influence of communists, who argued that the institution of traditional authority belonged to a previous feudal era and needed to be replaced by democratic structures. Govan Mbeki represented the latter:

'If Africans had Chiefs, it was because all human societies have had them at one stage or another. But when people have developed to stage, which discards chieftainship, when their social development contradicts the need for such an institution, then force it on them is not liberation but enslavement' (MBeki1984:47). However, the ANC was inclined to continue its strategy to woo 'progressive' traditional authorities. Indeed them ANC in the rural areas was considerable weak and never had a coherent programmed to build alternative democratic structure there. Even Mbeki at times, did not seen consistent on the question of discarding traditional authorities. He argued that if traditional authorities failed 'the peasants', the latter would 'seek new ones; (MBeki1984:146), that is they

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would not discard the traditional authorities. What eluded Mbeki is that the institution of traditional authority, insofar as its incumbents are hereditary leaders and thus unrepresentative, is inherently undemocratic. Its 'subjects' are not given the chance to choose their leaders (MBeki, 1984:145).

The role of traditional authorities in the liberation struggle received renewed attention from the ANC and its alliance partner the South African Communist Party (SACP) when traditional authorities such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accepted Tribal Authorities in the 1950s, and the debate continued after political organizations were banned in 1960 (Mbeki:1996). Mbeki, incarcerated on Robben Island, was the leading figure in cautioning against working with traditional authorities operating within the system. Mandela, it appears was the leading proponent of the strategy of working with Bantustans leaders such as Buthelezi. There seems to have been less debate amongst ANC and SAPC members in exile in the time before the formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in 1987). According to Mbeki, the exile members 'encourage Buthelezi to establish a political party in the Transkei' (MBeki1996:92). It appears from Mbeki, which the exile members' position met with strong opposition from members in Natal- people, I should add, who were in the thick of things. The exile members compelled Mbeki to make the following powerful observation: "The ANC leadership in exile seems to have seriously underestimated the capacity of government created institutions to fulfill their intended role. They continued to believe that people who were not affiliated to the ANC could be trusted to fight apartheid from inside the apartheid created institutions. This confidence led to a situation in which MK cadres who were being infiltrated into the country were instructed to call on Buthelezi. But the chief

minister of KwaZulu Bantustan was playing a different game from that of the ANC in exile (MBeki1996:92). Quite clearly, the fact that the ANC did not have a stronghold in rural areas drove it into seemingly desperate measures. Oliver Tambo confessed: 'We have not done and are not doing sufficient political work among the millions of our people who have been condemned to the Bantustans' (Mbeki 1996:95).

2.5. The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa

The formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) was critical in the recognition of traditional authorities in both the interim and final Constitution. 'Contralesa was officially launched on 20 September 1987 by a group of traditional authorities who were opposed to the declaration of apartheid state, they saw the UDF as an organization that can give them protection, and help them in organizing other traditional authorities' (Oomen 1996:65). The question is how one explains what appears to be a contradiction in UDF policy. On the one hand, the 1987 rural report denounced 'chiefs and promised to replace them with democratically elected village structures. On the other, and in the same year, the UDF was instrumental in establishing Contralesa. The apparent contradiction can partly be explained in terms of the growing influence of the ANC on the UDF. Unlike the UDF, the ANC was not keen to write the traditional authorities off, preferring to categorize them into 'progressive and collaborating chiefs'. The ANC had relied on 'progressive chiefs' as their rural

organizers, but what the role of traditional authorities would be in liberated South Africa was not clear in ANC policy. The establishment of Contralesa was clearly informed by the ANC's ambiguous and expedient policy towards traditional authorities. That it was the UDF that played a leading role that can only attest to the influence of the ANC. According to Van Kessel 1995:174), largely due to the effects of the national state of emergency, declared in June 1986, which resulted in the detention of many political activists, while others went under ground or fled the country.

2.6. The present co-existence approach

After its banning in 1990, ANC policy on traditional authorities has been, as before, difficult to pin down. Oomen has argued that traditional authorities have never been officially denigrated in ANC documents, quoting Mandela on the occasion of his release from prison on 11 February 1990: ... I greet the traditional leaders of our country- many of you continue to walk in the foot steps of great heroes like Hintsa and Sekhukhune" (Oomen,1996:101). By 1991, according to Oomen, it was common to hear traditional authorities mentioned by some ANC members as part of the coalition forces struggling for national liberation, which is alongside 'black workers, students, the rural poor, professionals and black business –people' (Oomen, 1996:101). An attempt to clarify the role of traditional authorities was, however, made in 1992, when the ANC formulated its policy guidelines:

' The institution chieftainship has played an important role in the history of our country and chiefs will continue to play an important role in unifying our people and performing

ceremonial and other functions allocated to them by law. The powers of chiefs shall always be exercised subjects to the provisions of the constitution and other laws. Provision will be made for an appropriate structure consisting of traditional leaders to be created by law and other matters relating to the powers and functions of chiefs will be made by parliament after such consultation has taken place' (Oomen ,1996:103). In sum, the guidelines were clearly informed by the notion of the co-existence of democratic and traditional authority structures. The future powers of traditional authorities would thus lose the substantial powers they enjoyed, under the apartheid regime in particular. The guidelines also spelled defeat for the Mbeki position on traditional authorities. Mbeki had consistently been skeptical, to say the least, of the role that 'chiefs', and Buthelezi in particular, could play in the liberation struggle. Some ANC members, such as Albie Sachs (1992:89) - also a constitutional expert envisaged that traditional authorities, as hereditary authorities, would have a primary role in local government. Sach (1992:35) suggested that there would be growing tendency towards creating democratically elected councils to work with traditional authorities in local administration. In other words, the role of traditional authorities would be subordinated to that of elected representatives. How this arrangement would be operationalised was never spelt out. However, there were skeptics. Writing in the SAPC organ, the *African Communist*, Maloka (1995:43) warned that although there were 'genuine and dedicated' traditional authorities who might play an advisory and ceremonial role in elected local government structures, others 'survive on the fringes of our society through clientalism and coercion' (Maloka,1995:43). Maloka, though did not provide any evidence of who the 'genuine and dedicated chiefs'

were, and on what he based his claim, the guidelines were formulated in the midst of the political negotiations of the early 1990s.

2.7. The constitutional negotiations

2.7.1 The ANC and the NP woo the Traditional Authorities

The negotiations began in earnest when on 2 February 1990 the then ruling National Party (NP), under the presidency of De Klerk, unbanned political organizations, released political prisoners, including Mandela and allowed exiles to return and be part of the early talks. In May 1990, the ANC made proposal for multi- party negotiations- the Conference for Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The NP accepted in January 1991. The CODESA negotiations were suspended in May that year. The ANC argued that the Inkatha Freedom Party's use of 'traditional' weapons was largely behind the violence in KwaZulu Natal and the former PWV (Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and Vaal) area, and the talks deadlocked when the NP government refused to ban these weapons.

Despite attempts to involve traditional authorities when negotiation talks resumed in December 1991, they were not integral part of the process. Where individuals participated, they did so as part of the delegations of the former Bantustans. Chief Buthelezi proved to be critical of this lack of involvement He demanded separate delegations for his KwaZulu government and King Goodwill Zwelithini. When this was not granted, Buthelezi and the King pulled out of the process. There was also a deadlock

over regional powers, but before this could be resolved there was a massacre in Boipatong in June 1992, and the ANC decided to suspend negotiations.

After a series of discussions, a Record of Understanding between the NP and the ANC was signed on 26 September 1992, and the negotiations, now called the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP), resumed in March 1993. By then, both the NP and the ANC accepted that 'the institution of traditional leaders is still relatively widely supported, especially in rural areas where they fulfill an important government function at local level' (Henrard 1999:397). According to (Oomen, 1996:56 the ANC and the NP saw traditional authorities as 'important vote brokers (Oomen, 1996:56). The broader context is that by this time, the question of non-racial elections was squarely in the cards- and voters counted. What cannot be disputed, though, is that in areas in areas where traditional authorities were feared, some rural residents could be intimidated to vote for a candidate preferred by a traditional authority. Contralesa rejected the ANC's vision that the institution of traditional leaders is ceremonial and advisory, and the election of Chief Patekile Holomisa as president of Contralesa seems to have been critical to this rejection. It was, indeed, during Holomisa's presidency that Contralesa pushed for the recognition of traditional authorities and their institutions as the primary level of government in rural areas. In the early 1990s, Contralesa rejected the notion that in the rural areas of the former Bantustans, Municipalities and elected councilors should be the primary level of local government. It is arguably due to this uncompromising stand that there was no provision in the Local Government Transition Act of 1993 for the form that local government would take in rural areas.

2.8. Local Government and Land Reform

Since 1994 the ANC led government has attempted to dismantle the 'clenched fist' of the Tribal Authorities and their incumbents. Municipalities made up of elected councilors were established throughout the country. During the transition period up to 2000, entrenched interest (either the white minority or traditional authorities) had veto powers in the transitional municipalities. With regard to land reform, the 1997 White Paper on Land Policy drew a crucial distinction between 'ownership' and 'governance' of land in rural areas, introducing a separation of these functions (White Paper on Land Policy, 1997:18. The distinction was blurred in the colonial and apartheid eras, as the state was both legal owner and administrator of land. By 1998, the Department of Land Affairs had developed principles that would guide its legislative and implementation framework, including:

- These rights should vest in the people who are holders of the land and not in institutions such as tribal or local authorities. Where the rights to be confirmed exist on a group basis, the rights holders must have a choice about the system of land administration that will be used to manage their land rights on a day to day basis

- In situations of group-held rights, the basic human rights of all members must be protected, including the right to democratic decision-making processes and equality. Government must have access to members of group-held systems in order to ascertain their views and wishes in respect of proposed development projects and other matters pertaining land.

- Systems of land administration, which are popular and functional, should continue to operate (Thomas, Sibanda& Claassens)

It is quite clear that, formally, post –1994 policies and laws on local government and land subjected traditional authorities to democratic and accountable processes. At the same time, their roles remain unclear. In rural areas where councilors were elected, the Local Government Transition Act of 1993 reduced their status in local government to that of interest groups, and without voting powers. The intention of establishing democratically elected municipalities with 'developmental functions' and democratic decision-making processes regarding land was to separate local government and land administration functions and introduce this particular form of democracy, even in rural areas. Quite clearly, at least on paper, this is a major departure from Tribal Authorities, in which power was concentrated in a single functionary and almost no official was democratically elected. Traditional authorities are, of course not happy with the situation. However, (deliberate) ambiguities in the formulations both in the Constitution and in the laws have allowed traditional authorities to contest the reading that they are subject to democratic and accountable processes.

2.9. Traditional authorities respond

What is striking about the post-1994 period is that traditional authorities, despite earlier divisions, seem to be drawing closer and closer to one another. Traditional authorities in both Contralesa and the IFP took the ANC- led government to the Constitutional Court over the issue of establishing municipalities throughout the country, including the rural areas under their jurisdiction. While the initial collaboration was around local

government, it is quite clear that the main issue that brings traditional authorities together is their opposition to the separation of power. They would be happy to preserve the concentration of power they enjoyed under apartheid. They are also opposed to any attempt to introduce alternative structures that could compete with them, and between 1998 and 2000 rejected the demarcation of municipal boundaries required by the constitution and related legislation. They did not want any interference with 'their' boundaries and repeated their position that they do not want municipalities in rural areas. With regard to tenure reform, traditional authorities agree with government that land in the rural areas of the former Bantustans should not be the property of the state. However, they rejected the notion that where land is held on a group basis it should be transferred to democratically constituted and accountable legal entities. The big question around this consternation about land is to what extent are they obliterating the delivery of services to the rural communities.

2.10. Government's position

The issue of the role of traditional authorities was the subject of much discussion and negotiations in the run up to the second local government election in December 2000. In April 2000, The Department of Provincial and Local Government published a draft discussion document on a White Paper on traditional leadership and institutions. The foreword stated that the aim was to engage 'South Africans in a dialogue regarding the institution of traditional leadership... and 'clarify' its role in democratic governance' (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2000:3). When the document was

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launched in August 2000, traditional authorities refused to participate in discussions, claiming among other things, that they cannot enter into discussions with their 'subjects'. Governments promised that a White Paper would be published early in 2001 were not realized, and it is not clear what has happened to this process. It may be clear that in the run up to the elections the government launched the document in order to absorb the efforts of the traditional authorities and demarcate the issues that would be open for negotiation.

Lack of clarity on the role of traditional authorities was instrumental in causing the postponement of the announcement of the date in 2000 local government elections. After series of meetings between government and traditional authorities, government made some concessions. The first significant concession was the amendment of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, which was successfully rushed through Parliament just before the elections. The amendment increased the representation of traditional authorities on local councilors. Further, traditional authorities would be represented not only on local government level, but at the district level, and, in the case of KwaZulu- Natal, at the metropolitan level. They would not, though, have the right to vote.

This concession seemed to have encouraged traditional authorities to ask for more. They rejected the proposed increased representation, demanding nothing short of constitutional amendments and legislation flowing from these. They wanted municipalities in the rural areas of the former Bantustans to be scrapped in favor of the apartheid era Tribal Authorities as the primary local government structures. The position of traditional authorities was likely to be strengthening further by what was perceived to be the failure of the ANC- led government to deliver in rural areas.

2.11. Legislation and policy for developmental local government

To give effect to the new local government system, a range of policies and new legislation have been promulgated beginning with the White Paper on Local Government issued in March 1998. The 1998 White Paper established the basis for a local government system geared towards development by putting forward a vision of the developmental role of local government, centered with working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives. The White Paper identifies four inter- related characteristics of local government geared towards development:

*exercising municipal powers and functions in a manner which maximizes their impact on social development and economic growth

* playing an integrated and co-coordinating role to ensure alignment between public and private investment within the municipal area

* democratizing development, empowering the poor, and redistributing income and opportunities in favor of the poor

* building social conditions favorable for development (White Paper, 1998:18-22)

Furthermore, local government is urged to focus on development outcomes, such as:

* The provision of household and infrastructure and services

* The creation of livable, integrated cities, towns, and rural areas

* The promotion of local economic development

* Community empowerment and redistribution

Following the adoption of the White Paper, a series of acts and bills were enacted to give effect to the provisions of the White Paper and provide a legislative reform framework for developmental local government. The Municipal Structures Act (1998), the Municipal Demarcations Act (1998), the Municipal Systems Act (2000) and the Municipal Financial Management Bill (2000) form the foundations of the future local government system. Taken together these, these pieces of legislation establish municipal types and their governance structure, pronounce the powers and functions of local government, provide for the rationalization of local government through the demarcation process and restructure local government systems, procedures and processes. The Structures Act gives weight to the categories of municipality identified in the Constitution- metropolitan, local, and district- and defines the different types of municipalities that can be established within category. The act also divides the functions and powers between the categories of municipality. It regulates matters connected with local government and its internal systems and structures, including electoral systems.

The Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 made provision for the re-demarcation of municipal boundaries and established a Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) tasked with demarcating municipal boundaries in accordance with a set of factors listed in the act. The board also determined the ward boundaries within each of the municipalities. Following the demarcation process in terms of the Demarcation Act in 2000, South

Africa's 843 municipalities were reduced to 284. The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 focuses on the internal and administration of a municipality. It uses a municipal's

integrated development plan (IDP) as a departure point for managing and evaluating performance, allocating resources, and organizational change. At the same time, it aims to promote synergy between the local, provincial, and national spheres of government and their inter-governmental functions and relationships. Essentially, an IDP sets out the vision, needs ,goals , and strategies of a municipal council to develop the municipality during its term of office, as part of a long- term vision and plan for development. Community participation in governance is a defining feature of the new system of local government. In terms of the Municipal Systems Act, community participation in both the content of the IDP and the process by which it is drafted is compulsory.

2.12. Government's approach to rural development

The above strongly suggests that a rational and coherent system is being created on paper. The crucial question that stands out is what prospects the above legislative and policy reforms offer for developmental local government to take out root and flourish in rural municipalities. As stated early on, unlike urban areas, rural local government and the problems in rural areas did not get substantial consideration until much later. Though the RDP made repeated reference to the need for a special focus on developing rural areas, little emerged. The 1995 National Rural Development Strategy (NRDS)

Integrated some institutional aspects of the emerging local government local government framework with the RDP's objectives, but was criticized for its failure to address

adequately the potential of the rural economy and for ignoring issues of local governance, including traditional leadership. The government was to publish a White Paper on Rural Development on the basis of public comment on the NRDS, but this never happen.

In 1997 the government attempted to address the criticism of the NRDS by producing the revised Rural Development Framework (RDF). The approach advocated by the RDF placed an increased emphasis on the role of rural municipalities in creating sustainable livelihoods and reducing poverty in South Africa. The RDP Office drove this process, and with its closure the RDF was shelved shortly after it was released. In 1999, newly elected President Thabo Mbeki announced the government's intention to design a new rural development programme. This was partly in response to the push by rural people-via Rural Development Initiative (RDI), a coalition of rural NGOs, community representatives, and trade unions- to place rural issues on the negotiation agenda before the second democratic elections in 1999. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) emerged. The ISRDS identifies local government structures, specifically district municipalities, as major role-players in managing and integrating rural development programmes at a local level to ensure that they respond appropriately to local needs. Whilst acknowledging the capacity constraints of local government structures, the ISRDS sees this sphere as vital to the successful implementation of rural development programmes: 'The reform of municipal government places organs of local government in a central role in integrating programmes to achieve synergistic rural development. Many will need assistance and guidance to develop capacity, but their role and responsibilities are clearly established. They are required to clearly identify local

development needs and opportunities and to plan to respond to these. They must align their budgets to achieve their planned objectives' (Office of the Deputy President 2000: 4). The primary locus of integration is at the municipal level through the IDP process... 'Technical assistance and management assistance will be provided through IDP and ISRDS structures. The objective will be to bolster and develop local capacity' (Office of the Deputy President 2000:20).

The ISRDS can be considered to have the potential to be the most powerful single innovation to realize the vision of developmental local government by linking local development needs as expressed in IDPs produced by municipalities with the active participation of communities and the resource allocation flows from the national and provincial spheres of government

2.13. The systems of rural local government

The principal aim and purpose of developmental local government is the improvement of service delivery and poverty reduction. The success of developmental local government in ensuring sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction is heavily dependent on local government as the prime entity in rural development. Moreover, developmental local government calls active participation of communities in the identification and implementation of development activities and in the general affairs and decision- making processes of municipalities. However, the structure and context of the local government system in rural areas raises important paradoxes and contradictions that may prove to be daunting obstacles for the task required for developmental local government. 'Moreover,

many rural municipalities are plainly ill- equipped to play a meaningful role in creating sustainable livelihoods and reducing poverty (Pycroft, 2002: 106). Key challenges nevertheless remain principally in the areas of the distribution of powers and functions between district and local municipalities, financing and revenue sources for local government, administrative capacity and community empowerment and participation. The risk are that while policy and legislation suggest a rational system on paper, the complex rural context with its high levels of poverty and lack of capacity of municipal structures to deliver may threaten the vision of developmental local government and sustainable livelihoods.

2.14. The challenges

2.14.1 Powers and functions

The system of local government outside of metropolitan areas is characterized by a two-tier system. Unlike their counterparts in metropolitan areas, rural municipalities share executive and legislative authority with district municipality. South Africa's secondary cities and large and small towns all have local municipalities. What is significant is that the boundaries of large and small towns have been re-demarcated to include their surrounding rural communities. This means that the majority of South Africa's rural communities now live in one of South Africa's 231 local municipalities. 'The extension of local municipal boundaries to combine small rural towns and adjacent rural areas is an acknowledgement of the economic, social, and political linkages between rural and urban

areas' (Pycroft 2002: 114). South Africa's 47 district municipalities have overall executive and legislative authority over district management areas- those rural areas in which there is low population density and very little activity, such as nature conservation areas. There are 26 district management areas. District municipalities also have power over all local municipalities in the district and, theoretically, their recourses and liabilities. This is a new concept in local government, aimed at ensuring equitable and sustainable municipal services for all citizens in rural and urban areas within a district. District municipalities are therefore the main implementation agents for rural development in South Africa. It is on these grounds, that this essay seeks to investigate how the EThekwini Municipality as one of the District Municipalities is tackling the issue of working with traditional authorities in rural development.

The Municipal Structures Amendment Act of 2000 highlights the role of district municipalities by stating that they must seek to achieve the integrated, sustainable, and equitable social and economic development of their area as a whole by:

- ensuring integrated development planning for the district as a whole
- promoting bulk infrastructure development and services for their district as a whole
- building the capacity of local municipalities in the area to perform their functions and exercise their powers where such capacity is lacking
- Promoting the equitable distribution of resources between the local municipalities in the area to ensure appropriate levels of municipal services within the area.

Section 84(1) of the Municipal Structures Amendment Act makes provision for the division of municipal functions and powers between a district municipality and the local municipalities within its area. The amendments allocate functions that were traditionally local municipalities' functions to district municipalities, namely:

- potable water supply

- bulk supply of electricity

- domestic waste water and sewerage disposal

- municipal health services

2.15. Summary

The main focus of this chapter is on the literature on the interface between the government and traditional leadership in rural development. This section has examined the common citizenship and co-existence approaches to democratic transformation in post- colonial Africa, and how these are debated in South Africa. It has attempted to show that the ANC led government- despite internal differences and the dubious history of traditional authorities, particularly during apartheid- has opted for the co-existence approach. The institution of traditional leadership won recognition in the Constitution, which simultaneously upholds a Bill of Rights based on liberal representative government. It further argued that the recognition of the institution of traditional leadership was by and large influenced by political and reconciliation considerations, rather than by conditions on the ground. The section also indicated how the traditional authorities, including those of Contralesa were united in rejecting the no-ceremonial roles

and how they fought to constitute the primary structures of local government and land administration in rural areas. It is true to say that elements of the institution of traditional leadership, especially as it existed in pre- colonial times, can and should be incorporated into a post-colonial democratic agenda. As Skalnik (1996:76) points out, African 'indigenous institutions' were democratic in so far as traditional authorities consulted their subjects whenever critical decisions were taken. It is one thing to say that the 'values' associated with 'indigenous institutions' are incorporated in the post-colonial democratization project, and another to say that the institution of traditional authority is the sole bearer of these values. Both the participatory and representative elements of democracy are vital in the post-colonial democratic transition. The issue here is whether rural residents will continue to be 'subjects' under the rule of hereditary traditional authorities, or whether they will enjoy the citizenship rights- including the rights to choose representatives and leaders- that the South African Constitution confers on all South Africans. This is how the notion of local development as a mode of democratic decentralization as intended to produce superior outcomes of state action comes into play. At the core of this notion is the involvement of people not merely in making demands, but in playing an active part in decisions on how to improve their lives and their community. To produce the superior outcomes of reducing poverty, ensuring sustainable livelihoods and promoting social, economic and political rights requires a number of changes in administrative structure, allocation of functions and powers and control over resources. In all of these aspects the system of local government developing in rural areas is faced with a number of challenges. The shifting of powers and functions to the district level poses the danger of reducing weaker rural municipalities and communities to

spectators in their development. For many poor South Africans the advent of democracy in South Africa meant hope for a better life. Failing to meet people's needs and expectations can lead to disillusionment and, ultimately, their questioning the value of the democratic system.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

For every sociological investigation, theory is used as a guide. Peter Berger in his invitation to sociology defines sociological perspective as searching or general in the particular, i.e. attempting to determine how particular facts or individual behaviors may be the basis for general patterns. Through systematic study, sociologist search for patterns in social interaction, group and organizational behavior and societal stability and change that help us understand socially constructed arrangements and why people think and behave the way they do.

The investigation of any social phenomenon is based on certain assumptions about the nature of social world. As such these assumptions determine and direct the nature of the methods utilized within the research process. The assumptions emanate from two opposing philosophies of Positivism and anti-Positivism. Each one of these two opposing philosophies is linked to a specific methodology. Positivism uses the quantitative method, where as ant-Positivism uses the qualitative method

The current study however, focuses to the so- called Modernization Theory, which in constructing its account of Development draw on the tradition- modernity distinction of classical sociologists. Like Durkhaim and Weber, these theorists placed most emphasis on the values and norms that operate in these two types of society and their economic systems. Like Durkheim, most argued that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depend on prior change in the values, attitudes and norms of people. Buer (1976,:41), for example, argued that: 'Economic achievements and progress depend largely on human aptitudes, on social and political institutions and arrangements which derive from these, on historical experience, and to lesser extent on external contracts, market opportunities and natural resources'(Buer,1976:41).

It is thus true to say that elements of the institution of traditional leadership, especially as it existed in pre- colonial times, can and should be incorporated into a post- colonial democratic agenda. It is one thing to say that the 'values' associated with 'indigenous institutions' are incorporated in the post- colonial democratization project, and another to say that the institution of traditional authority is the sole bearer of these values. Skalnik (1996) appears to suggest that the values and the institution cannot be separated. But not separating them entails the risk of undermining the representative element of democracy. The only way traditional authorities can be democratic, it seems, would be for them to abandon their hereditary status and subject themselves to being chosen by their people.

3.2. The theoretical origins of Modernization theory

As noted above, modernization theory has its roots in the ideas of Durkheim and Weber which can now examine more closely.

3.2.1. Emile Durkheim

To appreciate Durkheim's theory of the development of complex modern society from a simple 'primitive' past we must understand his theory of social order and stability. For Durkheim, the crucial question was how do people combine in stable groups to form cohesive societies and what is the nature of their relationship to one another as society grows to becomes more complex. Durkheim tried to answer this question in his doctoral thesis, which subsequently became his first major book, *The Division of Labour in Society*, published in 1893. In this he proposes that there are two basic types of society, the 'traditional' and 'modern' which have very different forms of social cohesion between their members. The people of a traditional society perform the limited tasks of a simple agrarian community based on grounds of families or clans in village settlements. One village is like any other in what people do, think and believe. In these circumstances, social cohesion is based on the simple common lifestyle and beliefs that prevail within and between settlements. Durkhaim calls this form of cohesion 'mechanical solidarity', 'mechanical' in the sense that the separate groups are very similar to one another, conforming to a rigid pattern of traditional norms and beliefs (Durkheim, 1984:86).

The similarity of groups within traditional society does not mean that they are heavily dependent on each other: quite the contrary. Each group, though similar to all others, is relatively self contained, its member's performing all the required roles of farming, childbearing, social control, defense, and so on. In other words, 'the division of labor' is restricted and within the capabilities of all in the group. Each group is then a sort of 'segment'- a discrete unit- in a larger society: hence Durkheim also called this a 'segmental society'. The traditional or segmental society is contrasted with the modern society. How do the latter develop? The basic mechanism that undermines the traditional way of life is the ever increasing number and density of the population. This leads to more people competing for relatively scarce resources. Adopting his evolutionist position, Durkhaim believed that in these circumstances, when competition was not most fierce, a social resolution to this problem has emerged: society had in some way to adapt to the circumstances or go under. The problem was resolved by as gradual increase in the social division of labour. New resources could be generated by people taking on the role of producers (as cultivators, livestock farmers, etc.) on a full time basis while others became similarly specialized in other areas of life outside of material production. Thus, the division of labour became more complex and created an increasing *interdependence* among people.

The modern system creates a new pattern of morality and a system of norms, these social rules are much less rigid than those of a traditional society since they have to act as guides for much more complex and diverse social activities. This means that a modern person has a much greater freedom of action within a general set of moral constraints.

Durkhaim believed, however, that this carries potential dangers to society if the individual's desires and ambitions get out of step with general code. When individual desires go beyond the moral order then people become dissatisfied with life and social cohesion begins to break down. Thus, Durkhaim believed, being the conservative moralist he was that the individual must be encouraged to conform to the collective morals of society and to do so for his or her own good. Some key features of Durkhaim's argument can be isolated. First, one should note the stress on the system of morality and norms as the foundation stone of social integration, whether 'mechanical' or 'organic' in form.

Secondly, although Durkheim regarded the coming of modernity as progress in as much as modern society was more cultured, less rigid, and allowed more scope for individual expression, it is also clear that this flexibility could potentially be a source of individual frustration and unhappiness. At a more theoretical level two comments are worth making. Primarily, it is clear that Durkhaim give us little explanation for the passage to modernity other than population growth and density. His arguments about increasing social differentiation are not explanations but descriptions of the modernizing process. His theory is then, relatively limited in its explanatory power. Secondly, we ought to be cautious about his claims for the good reason that they are speculative with little regard for historical evidence. The researcher shall discuss shortly how Durkhaim's ideas have influenced the development of modernization theory. The other major sociologist whose work has had at least a great impact was Weber whose theory of the development of capitalism the researcher can now consider.

3.2.2. Max Weber

Like Durkhaim, Weber sought to explain the emergence of industrialization, though focused his attention on answering why capitalist manufacturing became dominant only in the economies of Western Europe. In his work, most of which appeared in the first decade if this century, he argued that the basic explanation for this occurrence was the existence of a cultural process peculiar to Western society, namely, 'rationalization'. Weber proposed that a crucial element in the expansion of capitalist manufacturing was the rational organization of business enterprise to establish steady profitability and the accumulation of capital. This involve a number of tasks, including an assessment of the most efficient use of capital, expansion through cost reduction and diligent investment, a continual effort to better one's competitors, and an attempt to meet consumers' demands. Weber (1971:7) characterized the transition from the 'traditional', 'leisurely' pre-capitalist culture to the diligent hard working ethos of 'modern' capitalism in the following manner:

'What happened was often no more than this: some young man from one of the putting-out families went out into the country, carefully chose weavers for his employ, greatly increased the rigour of his supervision of their work, and thus turned them from peasants into labourers. On the other hand, he would begin to change his marketing methods by so far as possible going directly to the final consumer..., and above all would adapt the quality of the product directly to their needs and wishes. At the same time he began to introduce the principle of low prices and large turnover. There was repeated what every-

where and always is the result of such a process of rationalization.....The new spirit, the spirit of modern capitalism, had set to work'. Unlike Durkheim's primarily speculative analysis, Weber actually supported his propositions with historical evidence. As suggested earlier, supporting evidence is always a matter of selection and thus there have been those who have challenged Weber's particular selection of data and interpretation of the history of capitalism. The central theme in Weber's entire body of work is his belief that as Western society has developed, more and more of its members act in ways that are guided by the principle of rationality and less by the customs of tradition. Like Durkheim, Weber thus draws a distinction between traditional and modern society and again like Durkheim sees much of this distinction in terms of a fundamental contrast of ideas and values. Both see the coming of the 'modern' era as the social birth of the 'individual' as a relatively free agent not bound by rigid and unquestioning conformity to past tradition.

In their different ways Durkheim and Weber have provided many of the basic themes of present day modernization theory in particular their contrast between traditional and modern societies. Each conceives of this contrast in different terms yet this has not discouraged today's social scientists from attempting to combine Durkheim's and Weber's notions into a grand theory of development that incorporates an analysis of changing normative systems, differentiation, rationalization, business motivation and individual ambition.

3.3. Tradition versus Modernity

As it has been pointed out early on, that, in constructing their accounts of development, theorists drew on the tradition –modernity distinction of classical sociologists. From this it is evident that various ideas from classical sociology are incorporated in these profiles of the two types of society. For example, the description of the modern society includes reference to the splitting off or 'differentiation' of kinship from the economy, stresses individual freedom from constraint especially in business and points to the rational, calculating character of innovative entrepreneurs. Parsons (1951:97) develops this model in considerable detail elaborating on the choice of actions or behavioral orientations that tend to typify the two types of society. For example, he argues that in modern society an achievement orientation is the likely choice of action for people particularly within the economic sphere since it is much more rational criterion for deciding who should be given what sort of jobs with what level of reward, than are ascriptive criteria. In the achievement oriented society jobs are allocated and rewarded on the basis of achieved skills and hard work. It is on these premises that the classical sociological approach was used to discuss the relationship between the governance of democracy and traditional leadership in rural development.

3.4. Summary

In this chapter the researcher has attempted to present the modernization theory since the study is based on modern developments of rural development. The chapter opened by

discussing the theoretical origins of modernization theory. It went on to provide a brief discussion of Emile Durkheim approach to the modernization theory which distinguish modern society from the traditional society. This chapter also attempted to take the discussion further by providing Max Weber's approach to the modern society and this included some views on Parsons Approach which eventually draws a clear distinction between the traditional society and the modern society. This provided a clear elaboration as to why modern society is good for the development of rural communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

4.1. Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the methodological procedures that will be utilized in undertaking the present study. According to Bless and Smith in their argument about the accuracy and skills required in collecting data for any research project, (Bless and Smith,1995:99) reveals that " a research stand or fall on the quality of the facts on which it is based". It was with this regard that the task of constructing an appropriate and accurate instrument for data collection remained an absolute necessity for the researcher.

4.2. Methods of data collection

Haralambos (1991: 718) state that many sociologists advocate methodological pluralism, where a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods are used. In the present study the researcher will use both qualitative and quantitative methods. In a quantitative part of it questionnaires will be distributed to both members of these communities and on the qualitative side of it face to face interviews will be done with the Chief and the councilors of the two wards. An in depth discussion of both questionnaires and interviews is provided below.

4.3. The questionnaires

To obtain the information from the general members of both these communities, the questionnaire method will be used as a way of data collection. Questionnaires according to Bless and Smith (1995: 122) have advantage of being simple to record and score and they allow for easy results. Some negative aspects of structured questions live over restrictive response possibilities or exclusion of important ones can be greatly reduced by adding an open- ended option. The two types can be used to gain the confidence and cooperation of the participants in different ways. Open- ended questions may relieve the anxiety of participants of giving "false" answers since they can speak freely. But easy structured questions will also reassure participants who recognize that they are able to answer precise, straightforward questions without difficult. These are the advantages of questionnaires.

The disadvantages of both open-ended and structured questions are that the open –ended questions are not based already on conceived answers. They are thus well adapted to exploratory studies or studies based on qualitative analysis of data. Answers may be quite complex and not easily comparable to those of other respondents. Their recording and scoring give rise top some difficulties. In contrast, structured questions, by restrictive the number of possible answers may produce bias if important categories are left out (Bless and Smith, 1995: 122).

In the present study the 25 semi-structured questionnaires will be randomly distributed to each ward to measure the quality of life in these two areas. It will be a simple random based survey where households will be selected on a probability base. The reason for

using simple- random sampling is to allow all members of these communities to stand an equal chance of being selected. The purpose of administering the questionnaires is to avoid mistakes, since the age group will be between 20 and 70 and above and most people from rural areas cannot read or write. Through the use of questionnaires, the researcher will get all the relevant information for the present study on the connection between democracy and traditional leadership in rural development.

4.4. The Interview schedule

As it has been highlighted before, there are many different ways of conducting research. But those different ways seem to follow the same format as others. The interview schedule will also be used in the present study as a way of gathering data. The interview schedule has certain advantages and disadvantages. One major advantage (Bailey, 1994:174) of the interview is its flexibility.

Interviewers can probe for more specific answers and can repeat when the response indicate that the respondent misunderstood the question. In the study of this nature, where the interview will be between the researcher and the Chief, and the two ward Councilors, the researcher is bound to follow strict procedures of the interview schedule.

According to Bailey (1994:174) the interviewer is present to observe non- verbal behavior and asses the validity of the respondent's answer. The interviewer has control over question order and can ensure that the respondent does not answer the questions out of order or any way that thwart the structure of the questionnaire. The interviewer can record spontaneous answers. The respondent is unable to "cheat" by receiving prompting

or by having others compete the entire questionnaire for him or her, as often happens to mailed questionnaires. The interviewer can ensure that all answers are complete. These are some of the advantages of the interview.

The disadvantages of the interview schedule are that studies can be extremely costly (Bailey, 1994:175). He also states that interviews are often lengthy and may require the interviewer to travel long distances. The interviewer can cause error: he or she may misunderstand it but make a critical error of recording it, or may simple record an answer even when the respondent failed to reply. In the present study the interview schedule as highlighted early on is directed at obtaining a profile of the leadership structure of these two communities. The interview schedule will only be conducted to these structures because they are the lower leaders in the hurdle of developmental local government. The interview schedule is thus advantageous for these leaders and the researcher on the grounds that they will divulge a; the information that is required about the connection between the government approach in developing rural areas and traditional authorities as hereditary institutions.

The interview schedule for the present study is mainly aimed at obtaining a profile of leadership structure in order to engage with the government handling of the issue of the role that can be played by traditional authorities in rural local government development. Through the use of an interview schedule, the researcher will be able to obtain the information direct from the respondents. Also through the use of the interview schedule, the researcher will be able to uncover the underlying obstacles that hinder development in these communities in the presence of the unsettled position of the traditional leaders in rural development.

4.5. Summary

In this chapter the procedure and the techniques for gathering data have been discussed. Those procedures and techniques include the questionnaire and interview schedule. These made it possible for the researcher to obtain information about the interface between the government's modern structure of rural local government development and traditional leadership in rural development.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to provide an analysis of data obtained for the present study. The data have been gathered through the use of questionnaire and interview schedule. The literature reveals that there is still no clear understanding of the link between government's rural local structures and traditional leadership in rural development. The role of traditional leaders in the new democratic dispensation of developmental local government is not clearly defined. It is therefore imperative that an analyses of data is made so that it can correspond with the assumptions upon the study has been formulated. This chapter present the empirical findings based on interview schedules administered to both ward councilors and the 50 questionnaires distributed to communities or two wards of this tribal authority. The analyses will be done and presented within the theoretical framework of the study and discussion follows after that.

5.2. Background information

5.2.1. Age

Table one

AGE	No.	Percentage
20-30	4	8%
31-40	25	50%
41-50	10	20%
51-60	10	20%
Over 60	1	2%
Total	50	100%

According to the above table the majority of the respondents fall between the ages of 31 and 40, 41 and 50 and 51 and 60 for both wards. According to statistic South Africa (Stat.SA:2000), the population group of most of South Africa's rural communities fall between the age group of 30 and 60 because of the increase in unemployment. The findings seem to concur with those of the present study because the majority of the respondents were between 30 and 60 years. The table indicates that the respondents between the ages of 20 and 30 were 4 (8%). Out of that 8%, 2 (4%) was from NGonweni, ward 3 and the other 2 (4%) were from OGunjini ward 27. These respondents were originally from these communities.

The single majority of respondents came from the ages between 31 and 40 which, was 26 (52%). Under these age groups the researcher followed the same criteria of selecting 13 (26%) respondents from ward3 that is NGonweni and the other 13 (26%) from ward 27 that is OGunjini. All the respondents 13 (26%) from NGonweni were originally from that area. The respondents from OGunjini 12 (24%) were originally born in that area, and 1 (2%) respondent had joined that community in 2000. The respondents from the age groups of 41 and 50 were also selected from both wards, 5 (10%) from ward 3 and 5 (10%) from ward 27. Both these respondents were also born and breed in these two communities. The respondents between the age groups 61 and 60 were also selected using the same criteria of distributing 5 (10%) questionnaire to each ward and that gave the researcher the total of 10 (20%) respondents form both wards and they were all originally from these communities. They were no respondents above the age of 60 and the reason was most of the respondents between the above analyzed age groups were always present during the time of data collection and they are the owners of the most of the houses. This hindered the researcher's intention to obtain information from the elders who were present in some families.

TABLE Two

Response	No.	%
Black	50	100%
Indian	0	0%
White	0	0%
Coloured	0	0%
Total	50	100%

The above table indicates that all the respondents in the sample are Blacks since they constitute 50 (100%). The literature survey shows that in South Africa's most of the rural areas are predominantly owned by Blacks because of the apartheid government system of the Bantustans which pushed the Blacks to rural areas. The Bantustans, covering just 13 per cent of the land surface of South Africa, were areas where Africans were forced to live if they were not working for whites. During colonial conquest on the 1800s, the African population had been pushed, violently and not without resistance into small areas of the country. These form the basis for the 'native reserves' during the British rule. After independence was given to the colonizers in South Africa in 1910, a number of acts were passed to formalize these areas. Under apartheid they were given a stronger ethnic component so that each African was assigned to a Bantustan based on their 'tribal' origin as defined by the apartheid bureaucracy. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Bantustans were

given a superficial 'self - governing' status of various types, but in reality remained under the indirect control of the apartheid state. The notorious forced removals, especially from the 1960s onwards, aimed to move the entire African population that was surplus to the needs of the white economy into these areas. Though the apartheid state was never entirely successful in achieving this goal, it caused massive upheaval and dislocation for many millions of people across the country. It is on these grounds that South Africa's rural areas are characterized by Blacks.

5.2.3. Highest Educational Qualifications

Table Three

Educational qualification	No.	%
No education	10	20%
Until standard 6	15	30%
Standard 6- standard 10	15	30%
matric	5	10%
technikon	3	6%
university	2	4%
total	50	100%

In the question of the respondents highest educational qualifications 10 (20%) had no education, 15 (30%) respondents had education up until standard 6 and another 15(30%) respondents had education between standard 6 and matric and 5 (10%) respondents were holding matric. Three (6%) were holding technikon education and only 2 (4%) respondents had University educational qualification.

5.2.4. First languages

Table Four

Languages	No.	%
IsiZulu	40	80%
IsiXhosa	10	20%
SeSotho	0	0%
English	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Total	50	100%

Under the respondents first language, 40 (80%) responded were Zulu first language speakers and 10 (20%) respondents were IsiXhosa first language speakers. All the IsiXhosa first language speakers were not originally from these communities; however they obtained their permanent residence as a result of working in the surrounding commercial farms.

5.2.5. Occupation

Table Five

Occupation	Number	%
Still at school	11	22%
Have worked but now staying at home	19	38%
working	15	30%
Self employed	5	10%
pensioner	0	0%
total	50	100%

The indications under occupation reveal that 11 (22%) of the respondents were still at school and 19 (38%) were not working but had worked and 15 (30%) respondents was working and the remaining 5 (10%) was self employed.

5.2.6. House hold's average monthly income.

Table Six

Income category	No.	%
Less than R500	20	40%
Between R500 and R1 000	15	30%
Between R1000 and R2 000	10	20%
Between R2000 and R5 000	5	10%
Over R 5000	0	0%
Total	50	100%

Under the estimation of household's average monthly income 20 (40%) respondents estimated less than R 500 and 15 (30%) respondents estimated between R500 and R1 000, and 10 (20%) respondents estimated between R 1000 and R 2000 and the last group of respondents 5 (10%) estimated between R 2000 and R 5000 household's average monthly income.

5.2.7. Ownership of Fields for cultivation

Table Seven

Ownership of fields	No.	%
Who have fields	2	4%
Who have fields to grow	40	80%
Who have more than one field somewhere	8	16%
Total	50	100%

Under the ownership of fields for cultivation the results from the sample indicate that 2 (4%) did not have the fields and 40 (80%) respondents had the fields on which they grow and 8 (16%) respondents had more than one field on which to grow.

5.3. Questions about land and housing

5.3.1. How long they have been living on this land

Table Eight

Duration of stay	No.	%
For a long time	20	40%
Grand parents first came	10	20%
Parents first came	15	30%
Moved in recently	5	10%
Total	50	100%

Under the respondents duration of stay on this land 20 (40%) responded had been living on this land for a long time, and 10 (10%) responded their grand parents firs came to the land and 15 (30%) responded their parents came first, and 5 (10%) have moved in recently.

5.3.2. How the land was obtained

Table Nine

How land was obtained	No.	%
Bought it for R.......	3	6%
Allocated by the inkosi and paid R100, R 200 and R300	40	80%
Who just occupied		
Who inherited	7	14%
Other	0	0%
Total	50	100%

On the question of how the respondents obtain the land 3 (6%) of the respondents bought the land but decline to mention the amounts they paid. The majority of the respondents 40 (80%) were allocated the land by the inkosi and paid R100, R200 and R300, depending on the period of their arrival to these communities.

5.3.3. How did they obtain their houses?

Table Ten

How the house was obtained	No.	%
The house came with the land	5	10%
Who bought the house	0	0%
Who built the house themselves	45	90%
Who got government subsidy	0	0%
Total	50	100%

The results from the respondents as to how they obtained their houses 5 10%) responded that the house came with the land and 45 (90%) respondents built the house themselves. They were no respondents who got the government subsidy for the construction of their houses.

5.3.4. The were also required to give their opinions as to who has the right to sell their houses and / or land or to decide what happens to it?

Table Eleven

Who has the right to sell their house	No.	%
The male head of the house	25	50%
The female head of the house	5	10%
The family as a whole	15	30%
The government	0	0%
The Inkosi	5	10%
The Induna	0	0%
Total	50	100%

The results from the respondents in the sample indicate that 25 (50%) respondents felt that the male head of the house is responsible for the selling of their house. Five (10%) respondents felt that the female head of the house is responsible for selling the house. The other 15 (30%) respondents responded that the family as a whole is responsible for selling the house. The remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded that the Inkosi should be responsible for selling their houses.

5.3.5. The respondents were also asked who they think should be responsible for the allocation of land?

Table twelve

Who is responsible for the allocation of land	No.	%
Inkosi	5	10%
Induna	10	20%
government	0	0%
Local municipal council	35	70%
Democratically elected committee	0	0%
Total	50	100%

The analyses of the above table on the question of allocation of land indicates that 5 (10%) responded that the Inkosi should be responsible and 10 (20%) responded that the Induna should be responsible for the allocation of land. There were no respondents on the question of government. The other 35 (70%) responded that the local municipal council should be responsible for the allocation of land. There were also no respondents on the section of democratically elected committee.

5.3.6. The question on the responsibility for the allocation of housing

The results from the sample indicate that 5 (10%) of the respondents responded that the Inkosi should be responsible for the allocation of housing. The other 5 (10%) respondents revealed that the Induna should be responsible for the allocation of housing. The

remaining 40 (80%) respondents responded that the local municipal council should be responsible for the allocation of housing. This resulted in a total figure of 50 (100%) respondents having covered in this section.

5.4. Questions about local government

5.4.1. The respondents were asked whether they know of the EThekwini Metropolitan Council (or Durban Metro).

Under this section of the survey 5 (10%) respondents responded that they are not aware or do not know of the Durban Metro. The other remaining 45 (90%) respondents responded that, yes they are aware or they do know the EThekwini Metropolitan Council.

5.4.2. The respondents were also asked as to how they access the performance of EThekwini Metropolitan Council

Under this section 40 (80%) respondents responded that the Metrpolitan Council was performing very well, and the 5 (10%) respondents responded the Council was performing well and the remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded that the Council was performing neutral.

5.5. The respondents were also required to provide in their opinions, who is responsible for the following functions:

5.5.1. To provide democratic and accountable government to local communities

Here 40 (80%) of the respondents responded that the Metro Council is responsible, and 2 (4%) of the respondents responded Political Parties are responsible, and 5 (10%) respondents responded the Provincial Government is responsible and the remaining 3 (6%) respondents responded the National government. There were no respondents under the section of traditional leaders and civics in their communities.

5.5.2. To ensure the provision of services to the communities

Under this section 45 (90%) of the respondents responded that the Metro Council should be responsible for the provision of services, and 3 (6%) of the respondents responded Provincial Government should be responsible and the remaining 2 (4%) respondents responded the traditional leaders should be responsible for the provision of services to the communities. There were no respondents under the political parties, Civics and the national government.

5.5.3. To promote social and economic development

Under this section 45 (90%) of the respondents responded for Metro Council, and the 3 (6%) respondents responded for Provincial government and the remaining 2 (6%) of the respondents responded for traditional leaders. There were also no respondents under the National government, civics, and political parties.

5.5.4. To promote a safe and secure environment free of violence

Here there were 30 (60%) respondents, who responded for Metro Council, and 10 (20%) respondents responded for Provincial Government and five (10%) respondents responded for traditional leaders and the remaining respondents responded for National government. There were also no respondents under political parties and civics organizations.\

5.5.5. To encourage the involvement of community organizations and matters of local government.

There were 10 (20%) respondents under the Metro Council, and 25 (50%) respondents from the political parties, and 5 (10%) respondents responded for provincial government, and 5 (10%) respondents responded for traditional leaders, and the remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded for national government.

5.6. The respondents were also required to provide their assessment in the developments in the following fields in their communities over the last five years.

5.6.1. Access to school:

Here 15 (30%) of the respondents responded it is slightly better, and 30 (60%) responded it is much better, and 5 (10%) respondents responded it is still the same. There were no respondents under slightly worse and much worse.

5.6.2. Access to clinics:

Under this section of the survey 10 (20%) of the respondents responded much better, and 25 (50%) respondents responded still the same, and 10 (20%) responded slightly worse, and the remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded much worse. There were no respondents under slightly better.

5.6.3. Access to water:

Under this part of the survey 5 (10%) of the respondents responded much better, and 40 (80%) responded still the same and the remaining 5 (10%) responded slightly worse. There were no respondents under slightly better and much worse.

5.6.4. Access to electricity

In this section of the survey 5 (10%) respondents responded slightly better, and 45 (90%) respondents responded much better. There were no respondents under still the same, slightly worse and much worse.

5.6.5. Access to jobs

Under this scenario of access to jobs 15 (30%) respondents responded much better, and 30 (60%) respondents responded still the same, and the remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded slightly worse.

5.6.6. Access to transport

In the question of transport 10 (20%) respondents responded it is much better, and 35 (70%) respondents responded it is still the same and the remaining five (10%) respondents responded it is slightly worse.

5.6.7. Access to policing

Under the question of access to policing two (4%) of the respondents responded it is much better, and 40 (80%) respondents responded it is still the same and 5 (10%) of the

respondents responded it is slightly worse and the remaining 3 (6%) of the respondents responded it is much worse.

5.6.8. How is their financial situation?

Under the improvement of their financial situation 5 (10%) of the respondents responded it is much better, and 10 (20%) of the respondents responded it is still the same, and 20 (40%) of the respondents responded it is slightly worse and the last 15 (30%) respondents responded it is much worse.

5.6.9. How is their general situation?

Under the general improvement of the situation 10 (20%) respondents responded it is slightly better, and 30 (60%) of the respondents responded it is much better, and 5 (10%) of the respondents responded it is still the same and the remaining 5 (10%) respondents responded it is slightly worse.

5.7. Interview schedule

As it was mentioned in the opening part of this discussion that according to (Bless and Smith, 106:1995) "an interview involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions". It is for this reason that the date collected through interview should be analyzed and interpreted. The interview was between the researcher

and the two councilors of ward 3 and ward 59. Unfortunately the researcher could not have or get hold of the tribal chief to get his side of the story as far as rural development is concerned.

5.7.1. The general information about the councillorship

A councilor is required to perform the functions of office in good faith, honestly and a transparent manner, and all time act in the best interest of the municipality and in such a way that the credibility and integrity of the municipality are not compromised. A councilor must attend each meeting of the municipal council and of a committee of which that councilor is a member. A councilor may not use the position or privileges of a councilor, or confidential information obtained as a councilor, for private gain or to improperly benefit another person. A councilor who is a full- time councilor may not undertake any other paid work, except with the consent of a municipal council which consent shall not unreasonably be withheld.

5.7.2. Intervention in administration

A councilor may not, except as provided by law to interfere in the management or administration of any department of the municipal council unless mandated by the council. He or She may not give or purport to give any instruction to any employee of the council or a committee by an employee of the council, and lastly a councilor may not encourage or participate in any conduct which would cause or contribute to

misadministration in the council. A councilor may not use, take, acquire from any property or asset owned, controlled or managed by the municipality to which that councilor has no right.

5.7.3. To the general questions as far as rural development is concerned

In an interview schedule the councilors were required to answer the following questions:

- Since their areas have become the part of eThekwini Metropolitan Council (Durban Metro), how the situation has become in terms of rural development?

- What role should the amakhosi play in local government?

- What is the relationship or how should relationship should be between ubukhosi and elected government?

- Do they think in general terms ubukhosi is a right thing in as far rural development is concerned or in terms of the new democratic dispensation?

In an interview with councilor Frans. M. Wilden of ward 3, in the question of how his area has become since it became part of the Municipality, he responded very positive citing the developments that are brought about the municipality like the construction of roads, installation of electricity, the construction of cluster post box which he claimed was something that they never dreamt of in his community. The current development that he highlighted was the trench that was being dug for the supply of water to the local communities. The councilor stressed the lack of funding which serves as a delay in the development process, however he did give reason for that which was the municipality is

still focusing on Area Based management which is why they are a little backward in the rural areas as far as developments are concerned.

In the question of what role is played or should be played by amakhosi in local government, the councilor stressed the current state of play that they are working with the amakhosi or inkosi in dealing with the issues concerning their community since the role and functions of the amakhosi have not been clarified. However, the councilor did mention that the legislations and laws that are guiding their councillorship from the municipal council does somehow limit their relationship with amakhosi in terms of development issues. In the question of is ubukhosi a right thing as far as he is concerned, he did say that traditional speaking it is a right thing, but under the new democratic dispensation which carries along lot of policies and legislations, an individual who is holding such position should be qualified for it, so in the question of having inkosi leading or dealing with such issues that can hamper the development process if such a person is not having enough qualifications since ubukhosi is hereditary.

With the councilor Thobela, L. Bhabha of ward 59, in answering these questions of how is the situation in his area since it became part of Durban Metro, He also pointed out very positive things that are under development like the installation of the power station which prevents the frequency of the lack of power in his community. The councilor also mentioned the construction of the community hall which is part of the Durban Metro in developing rural communities, the installation of electricity to all households of his community, which is a major contribution as far as developing rural areas. The councilor

also mentioned other development plans that are under way like the recreation centers and sports fields which are part of the Metro Council in developing the rural areas.

In the question of what role should be played by inkosi in local government, the councilor was very strong in saying that he see no role on the grounds that these people were not elected by the community, meaning they do not understand the needs of the community and the worse part of it they had been in power for so long and they made no attempts in developing their communities, so why should they be given a space in the new democratic dispensation since they do not hold the relevant or required qualifications. In the question of the relationship with the inkosi in terms of development, the councilor did mention that they are some hip caps since the guidelines that are designed for the councilors are completely different from those of the traditional authority and this hinders the development of the community in some way, but he hopes that after the next year elections they would be some changes or amendments to allow both these institutions to function in a more effective way. In the question of whether he thinks ubukhosi is the right thing, he retaliated by saying 'I think the question of traditionalism is phasing out since the whole world is moving to a modern style of leadership which is democracy'. The councilor further stressed that since it is part of traditions, there should be no link or it should not be confused with the current development standards.

5.8. Summary

The present chapter contains analysis and interpretation of data. Data collected by means of questionnaires and interview schedule is presented by providing frequency

distributions and percentages in the form of tables. In the next chapter, a general summary, conclusions and recommendations will be mainly based on the present chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter conclusions and recommendations related to the study will be presented. The problems identified regarding the connection between the democratic governance and traditional leadership as an institution in rural development will be presented. The research objectives will be restated and the recommendations and conclusions will be based on objectives.

6.2. Major Findings

The major findings of the study will be summarized below

6.2.1. On to the literature

The literature reveal that the notion of local developments as a model of democratic decentralization is intended to produce superior outcomes in promoting equity, improving the quality of citizenship and producing better outcomes of state action. At the core of this notion is the involvement of people not merely in making demands, but in playing an active part in decisions on how to improve their lives and their community. To produce

the superior outcomes of reducing poverty, ensuring sustainable livelihoods and promoting social, economic, civic and political rights requires a number of changes in administrative structure, allocation of functions and powers and control over resources. In all these aspects the system of local government developing in rural areas is faced with a number of challenges. I have argued that the recognition of the 'institution of traditional leadership' was by and large influenced by political and reconciliation considerations, rather than by conditions on the ground. Organizationally thin on the rural ground, the ANC had hoped that 'progressive/ comrade chiefs' (Claassens 2001: vii) would embrace the ANC policies of democratizing rural areas, and accept the non-political ceremonial role they were offering traditional authorities in the post-1994 democracy. The traditional authorities, including those in Contralesa were united in rejecting this role. If any thing, they want to constitute the primary structures of local government and land administration in rural areas. They are opposed to the transfer of land to democratically constituted CPAs and argue that it be transferred to Tribal Authorities. Government's response to this opposition has been ambivalent, and this ambivalence about the role of traditional authorities in a democratic dispensation throws serious doubt on the prospects for development and democracy in rural areas.

6.2.2. On to the community members

Most of the responses from the community members reveal that they had been living on these lands for a long time. It further reveals that most of them obtained these lands by being allocated by the Inkosi and paid certain amount of money. However, in a twist

response most of the community members seem to be aware of the latest democratic dispensation of being now the part of eThekwini Metropolitan Council (or Durban Metro). This is clearly indicated on who should now responsible for the allocation of land, of moist of the respondents view the local municipal council as responsible for this role. This is further revealed on the question of who should now perform the community functions like, to provide democratic and accountable government to local communities, to ensure the provision of services to the community, to promote social and economic development and to promote a safe and secure environment free of violence and most of the respondents view the Metro Council as responsible for all these duties.

The other major findings are on the assessment of developments in certain important fields in these communities over the last five years or since they became part of the Metro Council. The indications on this part of the study reveal that even though there had not been much developments since it is early for them taking into consideration that the Metro Council is not only focusing on one rural community, the indications reveal that there had been improvements in the field of access to schools, access to electricity and the general situation has also improve. The access to clinics and water, which are still under construction has not improve but there is hope since the trench for the supply of water is under way, and the clinics are being constructed other the Metro Council supervision.

On the question of the councilors response there seemed to be no clear understanding since they are following the guidelines from the Metro Council which is part of the national strategy on District Municipalities. The traditional leaders on the other hand

follow the instructions from the Department of Local and Traditional Affairs which functions as the arm for the national government on the issues of traditional leaders in rural communities. In conclusion, this is a clear indication that the role and place for Traditional Authorities in South Africa under the new democratic dispensation is still not clear which somehow hinders the development of rural communities.

6.3. Recommendations

In view of the findings and the discussions provided in the literature which reveal that South Africa is still faced with the problem of defining the role of traditional leaders in rural development under the developmental local government, there is still lot to be done. With the local government elections coming next year and still faced with this problem of defining the role of the institution of traditional leaders, from the findings of the two communities in which the survey was conducted, it is recommended that the government should conduct an extensive survey to all traditional authorities in order to obtain the views of the people from the ground about the role of the institution of traditional leaders in rural development. This will enable the government to understand as to where and how it should fit these institutions on the developmental local government. This is because at the end of the day people or perhaps the communities have to be developed since they voted for the democratic government to deliver services to them. On a closing note the presence of the institution of traditional leaders should not obliterate the development of rural communities, since most of these institutions are found in rural areas.

6.4. Summary

The present study focused on the interface between the democratic governance and traditional leadership in rural development. The main focus was on how these two institutions are operating in the Metro Council in developing rural areas. The results however indicated that these institutions are currently operating together even though under the conditions of democratic dispensation which is developmental local government which requires the councilors to operate under the guidelines of the Metro Council concerned, the indications reveal that there are some developments taking place under these institutions. However, the intake from the communities indicated that they are more concerned about the Metro Council since it is represented by the councilors they voted for. Under these developments it is still difficult to conclude on this issue with the local government elections coming up next year.

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS OF EMAQADINI TRIBAL AUTHORITY OF ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY
INHLOLOMBONO YABANTU ABAHLALA ENDAWENI YASEMAQADINI ETHEKWINI

Notes by researcher	Questionnaire Number:

Name of Local Council................   Interview Number.....................

Name of Interviewer.....................   Dates of Interview.....................

General questions/ Imibuzo

1. **Ungakanani ubudala?**
   What is your age?

	Ngaphansi kuka 20/ under 20	1	
	20-30	2	
	30-40	3	
	40-50	4	
	50-60	5	
	60+	6	

2. **Yibuphi ubuhlanga bakho?**
What is your race?

	Black	1	
	Indian	2	
	Colored	3	
	White	4	
	Other	5	

3. Wafunda wafika kuliphi ibanga esikoleni?
   What is your highest educational qualification?

	Angifundanga/ No education	1	
	Ngagcina ebangeni lesithupha/until standard6	2	
	Standard 6- Standard 10	3	
	Ibanga leshumi/ Matric	4	
	Technikon	5	
	University	6	

4. Yiluphi ulimi olusebenzisayo ekhaya?
What is your first language?

	IsiZulu	1	
	IsiXhosa	2	
	SeSotho	3	
	English/ IsiNgisi	4	
	Olunye/ Other	5	

5. Wenzani Empilweni yakho?
   W hat is your occupation?

	Ngisesesikoleni/ I am still at school	1	
	Ngake ngasebenza manje senghlala ekhaya/ I have worked but now I stay at the house	2	
	Ngiyasebenza/ I am working	3	
	Ngiyazisebenza/ I am self employed	4	

6. Ingakanani imali engena kulelikhaya isihlanganisiwe?
   Can you estimate your household's average monthly income?

	Ingaphansi kuka R500/ Less than R500	1	
	Phakathi kuka R500 no R1000/ Between R500 and R1000	2	
	Phakathi kukaR1000 no R2000/ Between R1000 and R2000	3	
	Phakathi kuka R2000 no R5000/ Between R2000 and R5000	4	
	Ngaphezu kuka R5000/ Over R5000	5	

7. Unawo amasimu okulima?
   Do you have fields for cultivation?

	Asinawo/ no, we don't have fields	1	
	Sinayo insimu eyodwa esitshala kuyo/ Yes we have fields on which we grow	2	
	Yebo sinawo amasimu/ Yes, we have more than one field on which we grow	3	

Questions about land and housing/ Imibuzo emayelana nomhlaba kanye nemizi

8. Waqala nini umdeni wakho ukwakha kulendawo?
   For how long has your family living on this land?

	Kade/ For a long time	1	
	Obabamkhulu bethu babehlala lapha/Our grandparents first came here	2	
	Abazali bethu abaqala ukuhlala lapha/Our parents first came here	3	
	Sisanda kuthuthela kulendawo/ We moved here recently	4	

3

9. Nayithola kanjani lendawo/ lomhlaba?
   How did you obtain this land?

	Sayithenga ngo R/ We bought it R……….	1	
	Siyithelela UR/ We rent it for R……………	2	
	Sabekwa yinkosi sakhokha imali engangoR/ We were allocated it by the inkosi and paid R…………..	3	
	Sazihlalela ngokwethu singabekwanga/ We just Occupied it	4	
	Iyifa esalishiyelwa ngabazali/ We inherited it	5	
	Okunye/ Other	6	

10. Lendlu/ lomuzi ngabe nawuthola kanjani?
   How did you obtain your house?

	Sakuthola kuhlangene nomhlaba/ isiza/ The house came with the land		
	Sazakhela thina indlu/ We built the house ourselves		
	Saxhaswa uhulumeni ngemali engu R…. Ngonyaka ka…. / We got a Government housing subsidy of R…. in the year…….		
	Okunye / Other………		

11. Ngokubona kwakho wubani onelungelo lokuthengisa umuzi wakho noma indawo okanye ongathatha isiqumo ngokwenzeka kuwo?
   In your opinion, who has the right to sell your house and/ or land or to decide what happens to it?

	Inhloko yomuzi yesilisa/ The male head of the house	1	
	Inhloko yomuzi yesifane/ The female head of the house	2	
	Umdeni wonke/ The family as a whole	3	
	Uhulumeni/ The government	4	
	Inkosi/ The Inkosi	5	
	Induna/ The Induna	6	
	Omunye/ Other	7	

4

12. Ngokwakho ngabe ngubani onelungelo lokwaba umhlaba/ ukunikezela izindawo?
Who do you think should be responsible for the allocation of land?

	Inkosi / the Inkosi	1	
	Induna / the Induna	2	
	Uhulumeni / the Government	3	
	Inkansela lendawo / Local municipal council (eThekwini)	4	
	Ikomidi lendawo elikhethwe ngokwentando yeningi/ a democratically elected local committee	5	
	Omunye / other	6	

13. Ngokubona kwakho ubani onelungelo lokwaba izindlu?
Who do you think should be responsible for the allocation of housing?

	Inkosi / the Inkosi	1	
	Induna / the Induna	2	
	Uhulumeni/ the Government	3	
	Ikhansela ledawo/ Local municipal council (eThekwini)	4	
	Ikomidi lendawo elikhethwe ngokwentado yeningi / a Democratically elected local committee	5	
	Omunye / other	6	

Questions about local government / Imibuzo mayelana nohulumeni basekhaya

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14. Uyawazi uMasipala awseThekwini?
Do you know of the eThekwini Metropolitan Council (or Durban Metro)?

	Cha (qhubekela kumbuzo 16)/ No (proceed to question 16)	1	
	Yebo / Yes	2	

15. Ukubona kunjani ukusebenza kukaMasipala kuleminyaka emihlanu edlule?
(Kusukela ngokhetho lomasipala luka 1996).

How do you assess the performance of eThekwini Metropolitan Council (or Durban Metro) over the last five years? (Since local govt. elections in mid-1996)).

	Kuhle kakhulu /Very good	1	
	Kuhle /Good	2	
	Anginambono / Neutral	3	
	Kubi / Bad	4	
	Kubi Kakhulu / Very bad	5	
	Angazi / Don't know	6	
		7	

16. Ngokwakho ngabe lemisebenzi elandelayo ingekabani?
Who, in your opinion is most responsible for the following functions?

16. (a). Ukuletha uhulumeni wentado yeningi nobulungiswa kohulumeni basekhaya.
To provide democratic and accountable government to local communities

	Umkhandlu kaMasipala / Metro Council	1	
	Amaqembu ezombangazwe / Political parties	2	
	Uhulumeni wesifundazwe / Provincial government	3	
	Amakhosi / the traditional leaders	4	
	Izinhlangano zomphakathi / Civics Organizations	5	
	Uhulumeni kazwelonke / national government	6	
	Abanye / others	7	

16. (b). Ukuletha usizo emphakathini
To ensure the provision of services to the community

	Ukhandlu KaMasipala/ Metro Council	1	
	Amaqembu ezombangazwe / Political parties	2	
	Uhulumeni wesifundazwe / Provincial government	3	
	Amakhosi / the traditional leaders	4	
	Izinhlangano zomphakathi / Civics	5	
	Uhulumeni kazwelonke / national government	6	
	Abanye / others	7	

16. (c). Ukuthuthukisa ezenhlalo kanye nomnotho
To promote social and economic development

	Umkhandlu kaMasipala / Metro council	1	
	Amaqembu ezombangazwe / political parties	2	
	Uhulumeni wesifundazwe / provincial government	3	
	Amakhosi / the traditional leaders	4	
	Izinhlangano zomphakathi /Civics	5	
	Uhulumeni kazwelonmke / National government	6	
	Abanye / others	7	

16. (d). Ukwakha isimo sokuphepha kungabi nondlame
To promote a safe and secure environment free of violence

	Umkhandlu kaMasipala / Metro council	1	
	Amaqembu ezombangazwe / political parties	2	
	Uhulumeni wesifindazwe / provincial government	3	
	Amakhosi / traditional leaders	4	
	Izinhlangano zomphakathi / civics	5	
	Uhulumeni kazwelonke / national government	6	
	Abanye / others	7	

16. (e). Ukukhuthaza ukubamba iqhaza kwemiphakathi ezinhlangnyelweni kanye nezindaba zohulumeni basekhaya
To encourage the involvement of communities in community organization and matters of local government

	Umkhandlu kaMasipala / Metro Council	1	
	Amaqhembu ezombangazwe / political parties	2	
	Uhulumeni wesifundazwe / provincial government	3	
	Amakhosi / traditional leaders	4	
	Izinhlangano zomphakathi / Civics	5	
	Uhulumeni kazwelonke / national government	6	
	Abanye / others	7	

17. Ngabe ulibona linjani izinga lentuthuko endaweni ohlala kuyo kuleminyaka emihlanu eyedlule? (Kusukela okhethweni lohulumeni basekhaya luka 1996)
How do you assess the developments in the following fields in your community over the last five years? (Since local council elections in mid-1996)

17. (a) Ukuvuleleka kokuya ezikoleni / ukufinyelela kwezikole:
Access to schools has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono kakhulu / much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi /don't know	6	

17. (b) Ukufinyelela / ukubakhona kwemitholampilo:
Access to clinics has got:

	Kungconywana/ slightly better	1	
	Kungcono kakhulu /much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi /don't know	6	

17. (c) Ukutholakala Kwamanzi:
Access to water has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono kakhulu / much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17. (d) Ukutholakala kukagesi:
Access to electricity has got:

	Kungonywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono / much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17. (e). Ukutholakala kwemisebenzi:
Access to jobs has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono / much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17. (f). Ukutholakala kwezinto zokuthutha umphakathi:
Access to transport has got:

	Kungconywana /.slightly better	1	
	Kungcono/ much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17.(g). Ngabe asebenza kanjani amaphoyisa emphakathini:
   Access to good policing has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono / much better	2	
	Kusanjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17. (h). Sesinjani isimo senu sezimali:
   Our financial situation has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono / much better	2	
	Kusenjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

17. (i).Ngabe isimo sempilo sisonke sesinjani:
   Our general situation has got:

	Kungconywana / slightly better	1	
	Kungcono / much better	2	
	Kusanjengakuqala / still the same	3	
	Kubi kancane / slightly worse	4	
	Sekukubi kakhulu / much worse	5	
	Angazi / don't know	6	

Interview Schedule with the Local (wards) Councilors

The researcher was also bound to undergo an interview with the Rural Local Councilors as it was highlighted in the chapter of methodological orientation. The Councilors were required to answer the following questions:

1. Since their areas have become the part of eThekwini Metropolitan Council (Durban Metro), how the situation has become in terms of rural development?

2. What role should the amakhosi play in local government?

3. What is the relationship or how should be the relationship between ubukhosi and elected government?

4. Do they think in general terms ubukhosi is a right thing in as far rural development is concern or in terms of the new democratic dispensation?