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Re-Demarcation Process in South Africa: A Rural Perspective

A Case-study of the Ntuli Tribal Authority in Kwazulu Natal

By

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JANUARY 2002

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DEDICATION

For my husband and children and their everlasting support

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DECLARATION

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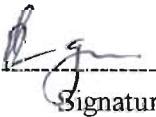
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is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or to any other University.



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ETHNICITY - S.A
TRIBES AND TRIBAL SYSTEMS.

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to examine the perceptions of rural people towards the demarcation issue in KwaZulu-Natal. The debate on land and land ownership and control has existed since Africa's invasion by colonists. A rhetorical question posed by Richard A. Lobban, Jr, author of "Africa Divide", "*if European colonialism has not altered the African continent, how would modern political geography differ?*" Questions of this nature have been through many a geographer's mind.

The "Scramble for Africa", resulted in Africa being cut up into portions. Colonial boundaries fissured natural territorial boundaries and split clannish groups of similar languages. The twentieth century was rife with civil wars resulting from clan divisions that arose among African nations.

South Africa, especially KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is no exception to conflicts. Tensions between local government and tribal authorities have soared since the question of regionalism in South Africa emerged from the 1994 democratic elections. South Africa was demarcated during apartheid into four provinces and as part of the democratic transformation further divided into nine provinces. With the new re-demarcation national government felt a need to incorporate rural areas into local government structures, for financial support.

The study attempts to link demarcation and socio-cultural factors of rural communities towards the concept of demarcation. However, particular attention is given to socio-economic elements of the community under study, what is demarcation, objectives of demarcation, the role of tribal authority and local government and more especially how these issues play a role in the lives of the rural community. Furthermore, in order to ascertain the extent to which the Demarcation Board had addressed the issue of demarcation in rural areas.

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CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The continent of Africa, has experienced many imprints of colonialism and a major factor was boundary demarcation. The "Scramble for Africa" written by Thomas Peckenham gives an historical testimony to this 'bewildered' behavior of the European nation, as they lay claims to African land and its people (cited in Nabudere, 2000).

In 1948 the Nationalist Party came into power, giving potency to the apartheid political authority, to immediately set up boundary demarcations in the form of 'homelands' and 'group areas'. This was to reinforce protection and 'enforce political control by the white elite' against the Black majority (Griggs, 1998). As part of transformation, according to Griggs, the South African post-apartheid government must determine new boundaries to allow previously restricted people more access to land and power. Drastic alterations, since the 1994 elections, impregnated the apartheid controlled Bantustans, 'redrawing every metropolitan and municipal boundary in the country, and transforming four old provinces into nine new ones' (Griggs, 1998).

The birth of the nine provinces burdened national government in two ways. Firstly, the finances of national government was on the decline and it was unable to sustain the nine provinces; secondly, boundary conflicts which where left unresolved by government led to bombings, arson attacks and even cases of death (Griggs, 1998). The emergence of the nine provinces, constructed transitional local councils, transitional metropolitan councils, transitional rural councils and together with the 1995-96 local government elections, 843 municipalities was established. The creation of these local bodies was an attempt by national government to address divisions and to provide delivery of services to impoverish communities (Department of Local Government, 2000).

South Africa has inherited many problems due to apartheid and one of them was a structure of race-based municipal boundaries. These boundaries are based on a policy of spatial segregation at local level which was ensured by means of separation, influx control and a method of own management for own areas. The main aim of apartheid was to control the extent to which elite white municipalities would carry the costs for servicing the disadvantaged black townships. The need for re-demarcation is to ensure a fair and equitable local government across the country in terms of financial viability, accountability and also to achieve democracy.

Local government is not about cutting grass verges in wealthy white suburbs, but about the front-line attack on poverty, about

mobilising resources for the social and economic upliftment of our people (Mr. Valli Moosa - Former Minister of Constitutional Development, Sunday Independent, 23/01/2000).

South Africa has gone through two national elections and now she is in the process of equipping herself for the next important Local Government Elections and together with this there are major debates and discussions around the elections have started. Together with Local Elections there will be many politicians vying for top posts within government structures and what better way to get peoples' attention, but addressing the re-demarcation issue.

Although the proposed boundary changes will be affecting the whole country, it is in Kwazulu Natal that the struggle will be the fiercest. People in the running for the elections see it as a way of centralizing power and forcing the better off areas to 'subsidize' the poorer areas or rural areas. Criticism of the proposed changes comes from traditional leaders in Kwazulu Natal, who accuses the Demarcation Board of taking away their powers and assign them to 'figure-heads'. As local elections goes ahead, the debate surrounding the demarcation is unlikely to go away. Nevertheless, it is important that rural communities who will ultimately face the brunt of the changes, remain aware and be informed.

1.2. Motivation

The Demarcation Board has outlined its main objectives, concisely on paper, and received approval from the parliamentarian sector, politicians, businesses, and other bodies of authority. However, how often does one question the agenda of a large corporate sector, in this case the Demarcation Board, as to whether they consulted people that are affected, namely, the rural communities. One often takes things for granted that people at grass-roots have been 'voiced for' by people that represent that community. Is this really the case in today's society?. Past experiences have shown, especially rural communities, were made many promises, one example is the Reconstruction Development Plan (RDP), only to find that it failed. This research has outlined its main motivation for this study.

1.3. Aim

The aim of the study is to determine rural communities perceptions towards the re-demarcation process in Kwazulu Natal, by using the case study of the Ntuli Tribal Authority in the region of Maphumulo in Northern KwaZulu Natal.

1.4. Objectives

1.4.1 To evaluate the socio-economic conditions prevalent in rural communities in Kwazulu Natal, for this study the Ntuli Tribal Authority, located in Maphumulo, North of Durban.

- 1.4.2 To examine the perceptions of rural communities pertaining to the re-demarcation process.
- 1.4.3 To examine the roles of traditional leaders in rural communities.
- 1.4.4 To critically examine the Demarcation's Board proposals, specifically for rural areas.
- 1.4.5 To forward recommendations to the Demarcation Board.

1.5. Study Area

The Ntuli Tribal Authority is situated in Maphumulo which is approximately 160kms from Durban Metro. It lies North West of Durban and is approximately 58kms from central Tongaat. Chief Ntuli, who has inherited the power of tribal chief, rules the study area. The primary source of income is cattle grazing, poultry and agricultural farming. The Ntuli Tribal Authority falls under the Ndlouw Regional Council, situated in Pietermaritzburg. This area was previously controlled and governed by Chief Gatasha Buthelezi. Historically this area was called Zululand. The Inkatha Freedom Party was the dominating political party in this area.

1.6. Chapter Sequence

This study comprises five chapters. Chapter Two provides an enlightenment on how Africa was divided. South Africa divided into regions and then the issue of demarcation. It also examines the role of traditional leaders. Chapter three examines the background of the study area. The chapter profiles the methodology utilized to deduce the appropriate data and the process hired for data collection in the study area.

Chapter Four offers a substantive analysis by usage of quantitative and qualitative methods. The results is bestowed in the form of tables, and mental maps which reflects interviews, questionnaires and the observation procedures. The data is assessed and interpreted.

A summary and conclusion to the study is presented in Chapter Five. Recommendations are specially drawn from the peoples perceptions on the issue of re-demarcation.

1.7 Conclusion

Geographical demarcation of land is an issue that permeates through politics, ethnicity, gender, heritage, tradition and culture and socio-economic constraints. This is an issue that needs decision-making consultations to be a bottom-up approach for the above reasons. Furthermore, past experiences should be examples of the future. Africa was demarcated without consultation, which was

done by taking a map of Africa, and basically slicing it up like a cake. This was the biggest mistake the European Powers could have made - life long civil wars are still prevalent in Africa today. At a local level local communities should have their decisions heard, especially rural communities as they have far to long been marginalised by urban biasness. An added factor is that majority of people in rural areas comprises of women and children, who depend on their migrant husbands for a source of income. Services and facilities should be provided to these poverty stricken people who are struggling to meet ends meat. This study harangues the voices of the rural communities.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Introduction

South Africa's democratically constituted new regional dispensation has failed to foster 'spatial consensus'. While national 'spatial emancipation' has been achieved, the struggle for civil liberties continues at the local level. (Narsiah and Maharaj, 1999: 36)

For South Africa to find peace within her boundaries, she had to correct past prejudices and address political conflicts. As Dr. Schoeman (1986) points out, apartheid was violence and the situation that was created in South Africa, by the apartheid policy was not indifferent to the rest of the world (cited in Njock, 1989). Segregation was one of the main issues of apartheid. The apartheid regime used boundary demarcations such as 'homelands' and 'group areas' to maintain and enforce political control by a minority White élite (Griggs, 1998: 1). Zille (1983) supported this notion because he believed that the "bantustan strategy" was invented to provide a technique of political participation for Africans, that would not threaten the sustenance of power in White hands (Zillie, 1983: 59). Therefore, it has become evident that South Africa needed a drastic restructuring policy to counteract these tensions. Co-existing geopolitical restructuring of political parties and national restructuring of provincial boundaries has led to tensions as evidenced by the indigenous populations and interest groups of the Bushbuckridge Region (Narsiah and Maharaj, 1999: 36). According to this

particular case-study by Narsiah and Maharaj (1999) the original people of the Bushbuckridge region were stressed with political and emotional tension. A crisis committee was found in 1997 to address its two main objectives. Firstly, to merge Bushbuckridge into Mpumalanga and to combine the people of this area so that everyone will stand together on this particular border issue.

As in the above case-study, the core of the dilemma revolved around control of political power which was in the hands of White people and it can be traced as far back as 1652. According to Warwick (1983), his description of pre-colonial South Africa was that Black people lived in independent chiefdoms and where people did not belong to any chiefdom they were incorporated into White settler states such as the Cape Colony but they had control over their own labour and access to land. The Indigenous people (Black) lived an autonomous life. Land was a common commodity to all people and production belonged to the whole community (Warwick, 1983). Maylam (1986) further states that families and communities had an equitable amount of land and they could produce as much as they wanted, but land was under the control of Kings and they never owned the lands privately and exploitation was not in existence. Their job function was to act as administrative guardians of the land, with the peoples' interests at heart (Maylam, 1986).

Presently, in post-apartheid South Africa the new provinces were built upon the local government systems which they inherited. Local authorities were responsible for the organisation of public services (Tordoff and Young, 1994). Tordoff and Young (1994) explained the case of Zambia, where rural local authorities had been established under the Local Government Act of 1965, used limited functions but at a high cost of the tax-payer's money. Further clarity from Tordoff and Young (1994) indicate that justification of decentralisation was important for local-level decision-making to offset unmanageable and unconcerned decision-making within local governments. In the same way, South Africa has to face the challenge of decentralising its local authorities to achieve a properly reflected social, cultural, political and economic diversity. Demarcation being one of many tools to address South Africa's many socio-economic problems, that was residue from apartheid (Galvin, 1999). A particular challenge that South Africa faces today is the burdens of rural areas. Rural areas, apartheid's dumping ground, were the Nationalist Government suffered a loss of memory, towards the most populated area in the country, is again facing marginalisation by the new democratic government policies of South Africa (Galvin, 1999). Disputes and arbitration emerged as struggles against new policies by local communities in many areas but most importantly, it took the form of land claims and the demarcation process. As mentioned earlier, a case study of the Bushbuckridge saga is a classic example of boundary dispute. Narsiah

and Maharaj (1999: 36) depict a detailed discussion on the dispute and how geographical demarcation of boundaries have direct impact on the people of this community, in particular one of 'political and emotional tension'. According to Griggs (1997), boundaries "creates the territorial spaces in which we live, distribute power to people who influence our lives, determine where we vote, create tax bases, construct regional identities, facilitate or impede easy transport, and determine access to public services" (cited in Narsiah and Maharaj, 1999: 36). To make sense of Griggs ideology of boundaries, Narsiah and Maharaj (1999) investigates the nature of dispute by the indigenous people living in the Bushbuckridge (BBR) region and according to these researchers boundaries intervening the Northern Province and Mpumalanga are on collision course with the lives of the people in this specific area. Boundary lines have sentimental meanings for people and in the case of the BBR, it has a territorial base because of the implications it has on the materialistic conditions of these peoples' lives. Boundaries demarcated without consultation may deprive people from their privileges (Narsiah and Maharaj, 1999). Boundaries influence peoples' lives within a geographical space, especially rural people, their lives are constructed by the ebb and flow of those few political élites and power is distributed accordingly (Seedat, 2000).

According to a comment released in Khanyisa (November, 2000), local government promises to improve the standards of service delivery, but the majority of rural South Africans will not enjoy the benefits of access to basic

services such as water, sanitation and electricity. This statement was further strengthened by Michael Sutcliffe, chairperson of the Municipal Demarcation Board(MDB), who remarked that "there are still huge developmental challenges that exist in rural areas and specifically areas of traditional rural communities, especially in terms of backlogs in service delivery" (Khanyisa, 2000: 1).

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first provides a brief enlightenment on the historical development of political South Africa and examines the extent of rural conditions and development in South Africa. The second part assesses the transitional phase and the objectives of local authorities. The final section addresses the issues surrounding the demarcation process; traditional authority and its relation to rural development.

2.2 Rural Conditions and Development in South Africa

Since South Africa's transition to democracy and the end of apartheid, the country is at the beginning of a new era. Formulation of development strategies to integrate urban and rural development, by the democratic South African Government is significant to regional development. Historians found that racial and ethnic divisions were major contributing factors in South Africa's past (www.nlc.co.za). This chapter examines the impacts of the Anglo-Boer War towards African rural economy, leading to the implementation of the Native Tax Act, building up resistance in Natal and eventually stealing land from Blacks, aided by the enforcement of the 1913 Native Land Act.

2.2.1 Anglo-Boer War

South Africa was attacked by many civil wars and an example of one of these major wars was the Anglo-Boer War. Warwick (1983) highlights that the Anglo-Boer War was between the British and Boers (White Afrikaans speaking people). However, according to Maylam (1986) the Africans of South Africa also contributed indirectly

to this war. Africans not only were actively involved but they endured much of its suffering and were greatly affected by its outcome. The British used Blacks as spies, transportation, brick laying and other tasks that a military camp would use them for. In 1899, the British were threatened and African Chiefs were called to support in the war against the Boers. At that time Zululand was under the protection of the Zululand Native Police and they fought against the Boers. As opposed to the British, the Boers used Blacks as farm workers, guides and a few of the Blacks fought alongside the Boers against the British. The results of the civil war was that it caused many Blacks to starve, towns were captured, for example, Mafeking. This resulted in approximately 1500 people being dead. Women and children suffered in British concentration camps. Camps of this nature further claimed approximately 14000 lives of Black South Africans (Maylam, 1986; Letsoalo, 1987).

2.2.2 The Status of the Rural Economy

Africans in South Africa had great expectations after the Anglo-Boer War. They felt that their lives would be much better but to their disappointment, land became accessible to only a few. Claassens (1991) states that land accessibility became even more difficult as years passed on as government began encouraging and supporting

White farming. The destiny of rural African was in dire straits as the rural areas became impoverished. According to Warwick (1983) the Boers, after the war, in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, benefited by gaining legal rights to land. They were accompanied by the military to reoccupy lands that they lost during the war. The post-war period also profited Africans. Many Boer farmers suffered shortages of stock as well as capital and were forced to sell their farms. Africans who had increased their stock and agricultural equipment purchased these farms. White landowners rented lands to African tenants so that earning money was easier than hard labour. Another alternative that was used instead of renting land was the idea of share-cropping. Letsoalo (1987) states that white farmers welcomed Black farmers with stock and equipment who could plough and plant and in return got a share of the crops. The African took this as an opportunity as their own land that is Basutoland, was closed to Blacks because of overcrowding. The method of share-cropping suited White farmers that didn't have the money to cultivate the lands. However, the British Government invented new strategies to increase large-scale White commercial farming in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, thereby decreasing land tenure and share-cropping. Letsoalo (1987) further states that these new methods increased the capital of White rural settlers drastically. Factors that influence the change in capital were:

new export markets for maize was opened, creation of new banks, increased capital to White farmers, the British compensated White farmers for war losses, Britain granted subsidies to Whites and not Blacks and grants were given for seeds and equipment, together with loans. With this kind of support from the British Government, White farmers went into direct land production and African tenants were under pressure as government favoured Whites (Letsoalo, 1987).

2.2.3 Native Tax Act

Maylam (1986) illustrated that in 1908 the Native Tax Act was imposed. A two-pound tariff was charged on rent-paying tenants. In the Transvaal some tenants were removed from White farms by direct intervention of government. In the Orange River Colony another Act was passed in 1908 that prevented all forms of African tenancy accept labour tenancy. This Act eventually lapsed because the British Colonial office opposed it. The important issue here was that government was going against the African peasant farmers in favour of the White commercial farmers and the mining industry. In the case of Natal and Zululand (now known as Kwazulu-Natal), there was a similar scenario of African rural economy, but Maylam (1986) shows that the only difference was that the Anglo-Boer War did not offer the same opportunities as in the Transvaal and the Orange

River Colony. In Natal, large-scale White commercial agriculture began much earlier, late 19th Century. The pressure of acquiring land by White farmers increased as demands for farm produced by the mining industry increased. According to Maré (1983) government intervention provided agricultural extension services, and encouraged White occupation and improvement of rural land. The end product was that farmers made a profit from land ownership as compared to land tenancy. This shift of land ownership put the Whites at an advantage but many Africans still owned land. Africans who were rent-paying tenants were either evicted or shifted into labour tenancy arrangements but those who opted to remain as tenants were faced with increasing rent charges. The demand of land by Whites was forever increasing, and to meet this demand there was massive expropriation of African-occupied territory in Zululand. Therefore, land became a commodity that was in high demand and because of this and together with other pressures placed a severe burden on the African rural economy. Blacks began moving into wage labour to supplement their subsistence. This shift was a result of the 1905 Poll Tax that was introduced in Natal. The main objective of this law was to force labour onto White farms and towns, so that it could increase Natal's revenue from Blacks. The Poll Tax was not the only reason for the movement into wage labour. Ecological disasters worsened the positions of the disadvantaged African rural producers. Disasters

such as the 1890 rinderpest epidemic and the 1903 drought left the African rural at the mercy of White farmers. (Maylam, 1986; Maré, 1983).

2.2.4 Obstruction in Natal

Further citation in Maylam (1986) depicted that the introduction and collection of Poll Tax as explained previously enhanced tensions in Natal. In 1906 three chiefs from the Maphumulo district supported their people and refused to pay taxes. On 27th February 1906 members of the Fuze Chiefdom refused to pay taxes. Unrest had led to the death of two policemen, therefore a state of marshall law was declared over Natal. Colonial troops were all over the poll tax stations and those who resisted were arrested, whilst others were executed publicly. An example of a chief that was found guilty was fined by giving up his stock and half his land was confiscated. Authorities resorted, as a form of punishment by disposing other chiefs and the chiefs eventually fled into the wilderness, ganging up with others to clash against government officials. Colonial requital led to large numbers of African rebels brought to book. The strain of African rural economy was a benefactor of landlessness, taxations and natural disasters. Natal was not the only region that experienced rebellious outbreaks. Warwick (1983) highlighted how Ciskei and

Transkei experienced rural deterioration, overcrowding and yearly subsistence requirements had become severe mechanisms for the regions' underdevelopment. Dependence on food increased migrant labour from the Transkei heading for the mines in the Transvaal.

2.2.5 The 1913 Native Land Act

The implementation of the 1913 Native Land Act played a crucial role in the history of South Africa. The Act imposed territorial segregation by setting aside existing African reserves for African occupation and preventing Africans from purchasing or renting land outside the designated reserves (Letsoalo, 1987 and Claassens, 1991). This Act had a long-term significance in that it meant that land was no longer accessible. Opportunities for buying land became arduous. In the short-term this Act differed from region to region. As an example, the Cape Province could not be affected by this Act because it had a non-racial clause that was already in the constitution. The Act was prejudiced against African peasant farming (Claassens, 1991). It prevented the possible emergence of African capitalist farmers. The Act was the foundation for the implementation of the Bantustan policy, which will be discussed further in the chapter. Twenty years after the introduction of the 1913 Native Act, the rural economy of South Africa was now being classified into racial lines. According to

Maylam (1986) it was the White bourgeois farming that was increasing at a high rate and on the other, the African peasants were impeded, resulting in rural subsistence decreasing at a rapid rate. In 1912, the establishment of the Land Bank further supported the White capitalist farmer. Special credit facilities were created to support White farmers. From mid-1920 the government created laws to promote agricultural exports and defended the prices of farm produce (Maylam, 1986).

According to Maré (1983) the 1960s and early 1970s more farm workers, their families and "squatters" (cash paying tenants) were removed from White farms, although labour tenancy was dislodged on white farms. These removals were carried out individually therefore making it difficult to quantify, leading to diminished public knowledge. Removals were not only restricted to White owned land, but communities that lived on Indian-owned land were also given eviction notices during late 1982 and early 1983. The catastrophe of the 1913 Native Land Act against the African peasant was best described by Bundy (1979):

There exists a vast and depressing body of evidence as to the nature and extent of underdevelopment in the reserves (and particularly the Ciskei and Transkei) in the forty years that followed the 1913 Act: the details abound of infant mortality, malnutrition, diseases and debility; social dislocation expressed in divorce, illegitimacy, prostitution and crime; of the erosion, desiccation

and falling fertility of the soil; and of the ubiquity of indebtedness and material insufficiency of the meanest kind (cited in Maylam, 1986:144).

2.2.6 Bantustans And Its Policy

Letsoalo (1987) points out that underdevelopment of African South Africans increased rapidly as a result of cutbacks on the availability of land, thereby driving them into wage labour. This shameful picture, together with political tension from national and international constituents, forced the minority South African's (Whites) to come up with a new strategy. The Whites launched a new approach of "de-nationalising" its bulk of African people and demanded that they be "citizens of tribal homelands" (Letsoalo, 1987: 43). Modification of African reserves was now called homelands. This process created forced removals of many Blacks from the 'White South Africa', to new settlements called tribal homelands. This form of forced resettlement, added to many Blacks being landless, shaping an environment for further abuse by the capitalist economy of South Africa. This strategically planned scheme of developing tribal homelands was to provide a ready-made pool of labour force (Letsoalo, 1987: 43).

Letsoalo(1987) stated that in the political arena, the Nationalist Party (NP) was voted into power in 1948. One of their top priorities is to

safeguard White South Africa. However, racial segregation was already implemented with the onset of the Natives Land Act of 1913. What was interesting to note was that Africans and the reserves were not categorised according to tribal affinity. According to Letsoalo (1987) and Claassens (1991) the policy of apartheid, together with its legislation converted the African reserves into bantustans. The difference between the reserves to that of bantustans was that reserves was multicultural, whilst bantustans were divided according to tribal affiliation. These bantustans, later became known as tribal homelands. Such examples of bantustans are in Kwazulu-Natal which were for the Zulu speaking Africans as well as Ciskei and Transkei which were for Xhosa speaking Black groups. Altogether there were nine bantustans that was created for eight tribal groups. Bantustans was said to be the ultimate 'love child' of apartheid (Letsoalo, 1987: 44).

Letsoalo's (1987) showed that the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 together with the Promotion of Bantu self-government Act of 1959 were legislature that was used to produce the homelands. These Acts also played a major role in strengthening the authority of tribal chiefs by reviving the old tribal establishment. This revival of tribal authority paved the way for tribal bodies to form 'Regional and Territorial Authorities' (Letsoalo, 1987: 44). The Bantu Self-

Government Act stamped out the Parliamentary depiction of the Africans and entrenched nine territorial authorities for eight different Black ethnic groups: Lebowa (North Sotho), QwaQwa (South Sotho), Bophuthatswana (Tswana), Kwazulu-Natal (Zulu), KaNgwane (Swazi), Gazankulu (Tsonga), Venda (Venda), Transkei and Ciskei (Xhosa). It was established that later on a tenth territorial authority was created known as KwaNdebele (South Ndebele) (Letsoalo, 1987:44).

The apartheid philosophy further discriminated Black South Africans by granting the homelands political autonomy. The Bantu Homeland Citizenship Bill introduced in 1969 further stipulated that all Blacks living within the borders of South Africa were to become 'citizens' of one of the other homeland, thereby disallowing citizenship in South Africa. According to Letsoalo (1987) and Beinart (1994) Africans were now forced to become citizens of tribal homelands and this is the only place where they could exercise their rights. The pressure to end racism by creating Black foreigners in South Africa was enforced by the Homelands Constitution Act of 1971. However in 1983 the Nationalist Party introduced the Constitutional Act because their belief was on Black citizenship rights and to promote independent homelands. At the end of 1981 four Independent homelands were formed. These were Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

However, independence had not changed their status of their political economy (Letsoalo, 1987: 45).

2.2.6.1 Resettlements

In an article by Hindson and Lacey (1983), they said that liberation in South Africa was associated with the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions¹ which established the resettlement schemes, the price many Blacks paid. Resettlement was in fact a concept of "forced removals" and it sounded better than the word "forced". Liberalism in South Africa, for Blacks meant that there was no restrictions to personal movement, relaxation of controls on trading, home ownership and building, the increased participation of Blacks in municipal affairs and administration. This was a clear attempt by the government to adopt a politically calm 'petit-bourgeois' denomination. South African Blacks experienced further division. According to Platzky and Walker (1983) they were called 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. 'Insiders' referred to Blacks who were pushed to live in the homelands whilst 'outsiders' where urban Blacks living in townships such as Soweto, situated at the edge of White metropolitan buildings. Platzky and Walker (1983) also highlighted the different resettlement plans

¹Riekert Commission was "to differentiate between the permanent urban and temporary migrant African populations." This was to ensure that people had residence rights and special admittance to jobs and housing to permanent urban

and it took many forms but the five key distinguishing features in South Africa were Black Spots, Homeland Consolidation, Abolition of Labour-Tenancy, Influx Control and Agricultural Betterment. These five important factors have a direct impact to landless people in the homelands.

The relocation of urban Blacks from townships into bantustans began slowing down after an estimation of about 510 000 were already moved to bantustans. The township of Clermont was established, near Pinetown. It comprised of 60 000 inhabitants and there was a boundary adjustment so that it was incorporated into Kwazulu-Natal. Group Area removals was already in place and attempts to save what was left of Coloured communities such as District Six in Cape Town failed miserably. The whites moved into renovated houses once occupied by Coloured families in District Six within the same month as the last Coloured family moved out (Platzky and Walker, 1983).

a. **Black Spots**

Black Spots existed in the 19th Century. Land that was owned by Black peasant farmers, which was situated within white zones was termed 'black spots' (Platzky and Walker, 1983; Letsoalo, 1987).

dwellers and increase 'controls over the movement, illegal residence and illegal employment' of the temporary migrant Black people.

Black farmers before the 1936 Land Act bought the lands that existed in Black Spots. This was a freehold occupation by Black farmers. Platzky and Walker (1983) further explained that in 1982 it was recorded that government procedures on Black Spots was transforming. Supporting evidence for this transformation was highlighted in the speeches of prominent National Party's (NP) Member of Parliament (MP). These MPs believed that Black landowners that farmed commercially should remain on the land. But there was no concrete evidence of this notion of transformation.

According to the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) there was approximately 189 threatened Black Spots that were found in Kwazulu-Natal alone. People from these black spots were to be moved to settlements at Quden and Mpembe. The intention of apartheid government was to eradicate small freehold land found outside the bantustans (Platzky and Walker, 1983).

b. Influx Control

The Department of Co-operation and Development strictly followed influx control also nicknamed "Genocide Bill". This policy was to control,

the movement of African people and access to urban areas; restrict permanent urban residence to a small elite; and re-activate controls designed to limit the number of Africans living on white-owned farms (Platzky and Walker, 1983: 90-91).

This Bill became a controversial issue amongst women organisations, political pressure groups and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), which ultimately led to debates and protests all over South Africa. Running parallel to the influx control, the Administration Board officials and the police force raided pass law offenders and 'squatters' increased tremendously. In Durban, pressure was placed against people who lived without official permission in the Inanda area. Landowners were fined for having illegal tenants on their properties. Despite measures, such as fines and raids taken, informal settlements still flourished on the outskirts of all major urban areas.

2.3 Homeland Land Tenure Systems - Experiences of Blacks in Apartheid South Africa

Apartheid had a direct impact on the relationship between Blacks and Whites in South Africa. Unequal distribution of land placed the White minority group at an advantageous position. With different racial regions found in South Africa, many types of land tenure systems emerged. Land tenure systems encountered in South Africa was not only heterogeneous in nature but was unfavourable for rural and agricultural development (Cowling, 1991; Cross, 1991; Beinhart,

1994). The following discussion will look at the land tenure system in the homelands of South Africa.

2.3.1. Locations

Locations were areas that were designed for Black occupation, which transpired in the late 19th Century. The 1913 Land Act legalised these locations to be called reserves. According to Carter (1980) this was a special characteristic that denoted separate development. Letsoalo (1987) highlighted that in the 1950's Tribal Authorities came into existence and these reserves were subjected to different Tribal Authorities and there was no form of rent paid to government although government officially owned the reserves.

Reserves in the union were created by the Government and can be dealt with in any way the Government desires (Letsoalo, 1987: 64).

2.3.2. Land Acquired by Tribal Authorities

Prior to the introduction of the monetary economic system in South Africa, there was no such thing as an outlet for the sale of land. Letsoalo (1987) stated that ownership of land by Blacks was obtained through war and bloodshed. Blacks believed that God gave land for all people. But according to White management, they discouraged

purchase of land by Blacks. However, the period during which Blacks were allowed to buy land, some tribes raised money and bought land. This reserve became known as Tribal Bought Land. Letsoalo (1987) and Cross (1991) showed that the people living on this land do not pay rent to the government but all land dealings has to go through the chief, for example, if any member of a particular tribe requires land, they have to pay an amount of money towards the tribal authority which the land falls under. This money is termed "land money" (Letsoalo, 1987: 64). This practice is not unanimous for all tribes, in some instances, only people settled on land purchased by tribal money pay towards the fund before getting land and in other cases "land money" applies to everyone (Letsoalo, 1987: 64).

2.3.3 Private Acquired Land

Beinart (1994) stated that the area allocated for reserves was just a small percentage as compared to the whole of South Africa. It was estimated that 80% of the Black population was 'dumped' into 13% land which were the reserves (Letsoalo, 1987). Given the traditional land practices and customs of African people these reserves were insufficient causing a major land shortage. Letsoalo (1987) further showed that in reaction to land shortages African people grouped themselves into syndicates to buy more land. These 'syndicates'

comprised of different ethnic tribes and individuals were not restricted membership to other organisations with similar objectives. At the time of buying land the groups needed a chief to act as signatory to all purchasing agreements. The choice of the chief was entirely the syndicates choice. However, Letsoalo (1987) stated that private land owners were at a disadvantage because they were not represented on the homelands policy. Therefore this group of land owners formed Community Authorities which shared the same status as Tribal Authorities. As this was not the case, it led to frustration and they felt marginalised. On the other level these people were made to pay taxes like all other residents but when it came to services they were forgotten (Letsoalo, 1987: 64-65).

Letsoalo (1987) stated that after the land was bought it was evenly distributed among the people that co-opted. Each owner received a residential site plus a piece of land for farming. These owners had choices has to use their piece of land, they could either rent it out, for grazing or hire workers to cultivate the land. Research has also provided evidence that commercial banks did not provide credit for people that owned privately bought land.

2.3.4 Trust Land

According to Maré (1983) and Letsoalo (1987), before the 1936 Land and Trust Act came into operation all land was declared Crown land. Immediately after the Act became effective the land was bought by the then South African Bantu Trust which is now known as the South African Development Trust. The Trust holds the land in its security for the Blacks and it is owned by the Government. When the geography of tribal boundaries were in place, Trust farms were included. Maré (1983) stated that Trust land was given only for tribes to live on and since the 1950s all tribal territories consisted of Trust lands. Trust farms were in the control of tribal authorities and the people were ruled by regulations that were stipulated in Proclamation R188 of 1969². The rent that is collected moves in a circular motion, from the people to the homeland magistrates to the Trust (Government) and back to the homelands as a form of revenue. The revenue helps as an aid in terms of development in a particular region thereby benefiting the people (Maré, 1983; Letsoalo, 1987).

2.4 1980s: Transition for Blacks under Apartheid

Researchers, Levin and Weiner (1997) illustrated that during the late 1980s conflict against apartheid led to political and military deadlock. Between 1990 and 1994 the national liberation movement went into a

²People paid rent to Government - 'an observer pointed out, "the right of occupation of Trust land is basically the agreement between the trustee and the land occupant".

negotiating settlement, creating an environment for transformation. However, Letsoalo (1987) stated that Black people in terms of National Party's policy, had their political future in the bantustans. This notion was backed up by the state's apartheid policy for Africans. However, as mentioned earlier, according to Levin and Weiner (1997) pressures from liberation negotiations, policy changes was eminent as planners attempted to respond to changing economic, political and ideological circumstances and secondly that the bantustans were not in the same economic conditions. Pressure by political organisations and internal leadership, methods and degree of repression and social composition of the various populations of these regions enhanced the new transition (Maré, 1983).

2.5 Re-Demarcation Process

Seidman and Seidman (1997) described South Africa by using this scenario and this represented a strong sense of how they saw apartheid. When one is travelling one will notice gigantic pylons carrying high voltage of electric power lines across the grasslands of the countryside. Destinations of these pylons was thought to be obvious that all households in the area was receiving electricity but how deceiving, because only White household on the farm would be privileged to enjoy this service. This symbol of apartheid shaped

South Africa's rural areas. According to Seidman and Seidman (1997) in April 1994 the people voted for a democratic governance and re-shaped the old regime structures of apartheid, this time distributing electricity to all, Black and Whites alike. Transformation took its form when South Africa's four provinces were demarcated into nine new provinces, symbolising new democratic South Africa. According to a local government document (www.local.gov.za: 2002) new legislation called for a re-demarcation to identify weaknesses in the existing system of rural planning and development. Therefore, it is proposed that new structures must be created to address these weaknesses. According to Dr. Michael Sutcliffe, Chairperson of the Municipal Demarcation Board, in an article for IDASA, highlighted the need for re-demarcation was firstly, due to previous municipalities were racially-based and secondly majority of the South Africans (Black people) had no local government attending to their local needs (www.demarcation.org.za: 2002). therefore, given the nature of these complex and sensitive issues, in 1993, negotiations were on the way to democratise local government (www.demarcation.org.za: 2002).

2.5.1 The Background into the Re-Demarcation Process

To through some light into the background of the re-demarcation process, it is important to comprehend the functions of boundaries.

An article released on the internet site on local government (www.local.gov.za, 2002), boundaries for local municipalities have significant roles such as political, financial and social effects which determines the responsibility of each municipality. According to Griggs (1998) post 1994 has caused emotional changes including the dissolving of the many existing ‘homelands’ or ‘bantustans’ that were created during the apartheid era. With the new non-existent ‘bantustans’ incorporated into South Africa, redrawing of every ‘metropolitan and municipal boundary in the country, and transforming four old provinces into nine new ones came into action (Griggs, 1998: 1). Post 1994, local government has changed tremendously. But it is still a long way to go before local government is able to keep focused on its goals which is set out by the new Constitution. Municipalities are making a significant contribution to development and democracy of the South Africa, but many ‘black local authorities’ are ‘still faced with conditions that make it very difficult for them to provide equitable and efficient services, build local democracy and promote social and economic development’ (<http://www.local.gov.za>, 2000). Literature in local government publications (2000) revealed that transformation of municipalities is expected to benefit poor communities who were ignored for such a long time by apartheid local government. These communities deserve the best form of municipalities possible.

According to the Municipal Structures Act (1998), the illustration of new municipal boundaries was the first step towards transformation of local government, but this was no solution to the problems that municipalities faced. Besides re-demarcation of boundaries, municipalities needs to make changes to its administration, to have stable and a back-up pool of income to draw on. Another very important point, is to have well-functioning neighbourhood structures to encourage community involvement.

Re-Demarcation was the ultimate core factor that will develop the way for the smooth functioning of the above needs for municipal transformation. However, boundary demarcation also determines the size and character, sustainability and identity of municipalities (<http://www.local.gov.za>). Therefore, the establishment of the Municipal Demarcation Board was to ensure that local democracy and governance was improved, in terms of preparation for the forthcoming local municipal elections. Legislation that governed the re-demarcation process involved a three tiered legislation which drew its objectives from the Constitution, the Municipal Act and the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 (www.local.gov.za).

2.5.2 The Demarcation Act

In terms of the new South African Constitution, there is a need for the verification of a separate body that will demarcate the existing municipal boundaries. Together with establishment of a new authority, a set of new rules and operations for the re-demarcation (s155(3)(b) of the Constitution, Act 108 of 1996) must be reviewed.

However, the revived Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998 caters for the creation of a Demarcation Board that will carry out the sensitive assignment of dividing the municipal boundaries. The Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998 plus the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998, which outlines the existing make-up of municipalities and the preview of the Municipal Systems Bill, gives rise to three sections of future local government. The Municipal Demarcation Act, No 27 of 1998 was pronounced on 3rd July 1998. This Act entailed procedures and criteria for determining municipal boundaries by an independent authority and in this case the Municipal Demarcation Board. This section of legislation was part of the implementation process, derived from the White Paper on Local Government. Therefore, it plays an important role in the transformation of local government.

The Municipal Demarcation Act requires the Municipal Demarcation Board firstly, to take into account all areas of South Africa with municipalities and secondly to consider a range of objectives and factors dealing with social and economic functions, viability and ability to deliver services (www.local.gov.za).

2.5.3 The Objectives Of Re-Demarcation

The following objectives was kept in mind when the Board was demarcating an area:

- a) enable the municipality for that area to fulfil its constitutional obligations, including -
 - i. the provision of democratic and accountable government for the local communities;
 - ii. the provision of services to the communities in an equitable and sustainable manner;
 - iii. the promotion of social and economic development; and
 - iv. the promotion of a safe and healthy environment
- b) enable effective local government;
- c) enable integrated development; and

In contrast, according to de Beer and Lourens (1995), Indian and Coloured municipalities acted in the capacity of advisory bodies to ‘parent’ White municipalities. They did not have any decision-making powers. However, the Local Government Act of 1983 granted full independence to such bodies, but this was discarded on the ground that the implications of “acceptance of racial separation in local government” (Bekker, 1991: 109).

Looking at African local government was only understood by referring to developments both within and outside the homelands. Before the Black Local Authorities (BLA) Act of 1982, such bodies were only given advisory powers and post Black Local Act of 1982 were granted full independence but it lacked experience and insufficient funds to run these local authorities (Bekker, 1991: 109). The aim of this section is to trace the evolution of local government/ or authority from the apartheid era into fully democratic system of post-apartheid South Africa.

2.6.1 Local Government Structures

The definition of local government may be described in many ways as described by provincial ordinances but in 1995 local government was defined as:

- d) have a tax base as inclusive as possible of users of municipal services in the municipality.

(Local Government Law Bulletin (LGLB), 1999: 3)

In brief the Board should re-demarcate with the view of creating municipal areas that are “democratic and accountable, financially sound, able to provide good services and able to develop the municipal area” (LGLB, 1999: 1).

2.6 Municipalities

de Beer and Lourens (1995) suggested that municipalities or local government in South Africa has many characteristics which evolved over a period of time and development of South African local government were images or ideas that were brought by colonial powers. They further suggested that historically, local government has been the responsibility of White town councils, who were acting as trustees of the urban areas demarcated for other population groups. In reality, it was structured on racial lines. White municipalities basically followed the British model and therefore enjoyed significant amount of freedom, within the limits of the powers awarded to them and in subordination to the control of provincial authorities and the central state.

local government is an autonomous and people orientated tier of government. It is a tier of government that is closer to the public, which can best address and have their local interests and needs at heart
(De Beer and Lourens, 1995: 3).

Local government is the closest form of governance to communities at grass-root levels. Therefore, local government has an important function in improving the quality of life of women, children and men. Women, especially in poor communities, are the main users of municipal services primarily because of their role at home, in the community and in society. However, government has remained gender blind in its structure planning and service provision (Gender Advocacy Programme, 2000).

2.6.2 Apartheid Local Authority

de Beer and Lourens (1995) traced the evolution of local authority leading up to the apartheid era and according to them, local authority can be described in five unique phases. One can group them as pre-union phase, the union period of 1910 to 1961, the republic period of 1961 to 1983, the so-called 1983 own affairs constitutional dispensation until 1993, and lastly the 1993 Constitution. Historically the development of local authority was of significant value in the year 1948. The National Party was elected into power in 1948 and the reigning government based its policy on separate

development. According to Huges and Grest (1993) this meant that the uniqueness of the different race groups became apparent in South Africa and the new government believed that each race groups political rights would be best satisfied within separate structures . The independence of these groups was stressed. Therefore, no allowances were made for joint handling of common interests with all sectors of people. Prior to the implementation of the policy of segregation, provision was already determined for ten national states for the various Black race groups, of which four of these states later gained independence, (Venda, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana).

However, according to de Beer and Lourens (1995) for Coloureds and Indians separate structures were produced in the form of the Representative Coloured Board and the South African Indian Board. However, Hughes and Grest (1993), types of local government are different for Indians and Coloured on one side and the African people on the other, in which they could obtain political autonomy. Therefore, they would remain part of the bigger South African people.

2.6.3 Post-Apartheid Local Authority

Post-apartheid local government stemmed up from the transition period that occurred in 1993. The Local Government Negotiating Forum's activities together with the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs determined the fate of local government in post-apartheid South Africa. The end product of these activities peaked in the creation of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993, appearing in Chapter 10 of the Constitution, 1993 and the Agreement on Finance, Services and Service Rendering. Both the laws and the principles of the Agreement were accepted by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, and thereafter referred to Parliament for endorsement (de Beer and Lourens, 1995).

Given the dilemma and inflexibility of the system of apartheid that local authorities found themselves faced with in South Africa, the Local Government Transitional Act catered for the democratisation of local government in three phases (Khanyisa, 2000).

Firstly, the pre-interim phase (1994-1996) developed new local government structures by combining present apartheid bodies with opposition structures. Secondly, the interim phase (1996-2000) was created after post 1995/ '96 local government elections. However,, the former 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'White' areas still had the equivalent number of wards as previously dominating African areas,

even though there was radical change in specific populations. The interim local governments tried simply to "de-racialise" the country through combining urban African areas with urban 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' areas (Khanyisa, 2000: 1). The municipal elections (5th December 2000), was the final phase of the Act. Programmes governed by municipalities, especially for meaningful rural development requires redistribution of resources on a large scale. An article released in Khanyisa (2000), municipalities no longer cause division in terms of settlements example urban versus rural or race or population density/ size. South Africa will be divided into municipalities operating as a sphere of government with constitutional functions assigned to them (Khanyisa, 2000). However, the Local Government Transition Act was officially enforced in February 1994 and it was governed by nine principles. The main theme surrounding the principles was one of racism. It clearly stated that all racially based local government bodies, including trust and legislations, that were specifically adopted for 'Coloured' and 'Indian' governance should be merged with other local bodies. The fate of 'Black' local authorities should be now directed under the governance of the provincial local government mandates, whereby all references to race to be removed and properties must be assessed. This Act also made provisions for participation of all role-players to address matters in a way that the local needs and state of affairs are adhered to. In the

pre-interim phase of the Act, it encourages local authorities and communities to create forums so that negotiations can take place for the betterment of communities (de Beer and Lourens, 1995). However de Beer and Lourens (1995) explained that provision was also made for provincial demarcation boards and they functioned as mediators in difficult and emotional disputes and the board was also responsible for re-demarcation of new areas of ownership.

2.6.4 Financial Constraints

Local government survives as an independent organism therefore it is taken for granted that it should be financially independent and as a rule the “consumer-pays-principle” should be adhered to (de Beer and Lourens, 1995: 3). This quotation is defined as the people themselves must pay for services which are provided by the local authority example removal of refuse, water and electricity and other services. According to de Beer and Lourens (1995: 4) classified services provided by local government into 4 groups:

a. Community Services

Delivered without any reimbursement tariffs being levied for it.

Expenses related to the rendering of such a service,

are financed from the usual income and subsidies
example pavements and urban planning.

b. Subsidised Services

Tariffs are determined by recovering the costs related to the rendering of the service. Shortfalls can be financed from usual income example of such services are cemeteries, fire-brigade services and libraries.

c. Economic Services

Costs are recovered in full without there being a surplus or shortfall, example are licenses and sewage.

d. Trade Services Tariffs

Determined in a way that service should deliver a trade surplus, example supply of water, electricity and urban transport.

2.6.5 Functions and Powers

The way in which local authorities functioned in the past, was controlled by the top-down approach (Hughes and Grest, 1993; de Beer and Lourens, 1995). Functions are listed in the provincial ordinances on local government and entail extensive lists of the

functions that local authorities must perform or may undertake. Local government's functions entail the provision of those service that the residents of each community experience everyday (de Beer and Lourens, 1995). Functions are entrusted to local authorities on the basis of a grading system. In the past, the powers and functions of local authorities in South Africa were derived mainly from the British system. Local authorities do however possess of all the powers and functions needed to effectively satisfy the needs of a community (de Beer and Lourens, 1995).

2.6.6 Capacity Of Rural Municipalities In South Africa

Rural communities are forever faced with the traumatic effects of urban development programs, according to Seedat (2000). He further argues that for the input that rural communities ploughs into elections to get a representative to sit in parliament is invidious. The final stages of local government transformation have left stumbling blocks for many municipalities, especially rural municipalities. In assessing the nature of municipalities this section focuses the capacity of rural municipalities to achieve the objectives of the local government.

2.6.6.1 Service Providers in rural areas

According to the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993, the transformation of local government in South Africa must strive within their financial and administrative capacities to:

- a. provide democratic and accountable government
- b. ensure the provision of services to their communities in a sustainable manner; and
- c. promote social and economic development within a safe and healthy environment.

But within the areas of dominion, primary local government structures exist in the form of Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) in rural areas. This is just one example of primary local government structures. A TLC (Transitional Local Council) exists in an urban area (www.local.gov.za). These miniature local authorities are given authority in the area that they are situated in. However, TRCs have neither total power nor any service delivery functions as their counterparts situated in urban areas. At the moment they function as a consultancy and/ or advisory structures to district councils. The responsibility to provide infrastructure and to deliver services in the rural areas falls largely on the district councils and the relevant departments example Water Affairs, Health

and Public Works, which are at the national and provincial circles of government.

Presently in the Province of North-West and KwaZulu-Natal, there are still remaining areas for which no primary rural municipalities exist. Within these areas the district councils hold temporary responsibility for the provision of services and infrastructure. According to the Katz Commission Reports (2001 cited in Mdlala: 2001), some of the former homelands, district councils, primary urban and rural municipalities, are only coming into existence, therefore revenue resources for municipalities are limited. Many factors need to be addressed for any major restructuring to occur and the following two factors are major contributing identities:

1. Accountability

In KwaZulu-Natal, most rural communities have had only one form of leadership and these were through traditional structures. Prior to local government elections communities fell under the jurisdiction of regional councils and this is where the *Amakhosi* exercised his powers, nominated as "ex-officio members" (Mdladla 2001: 1). Mdlala (2001) shows that

there is ongoing conflict between national government and the *Amakhosi*, in regard to their role within municipalities. A growing concern stemming from this dispute is that newly elected councillors are feeling insecure as they believe that they may not receive full co-operation from the *Amakhosi* and the communities they represent, thereby impacting on the democratic decisions that they take on behalf of the constituencies they represent.

2. Sustainability

The new re-demarcation process would allow for many rural organisations to flourish in terms of providing services as a result of merging with developed areas.

Rural municipalities are now in a better position to promote socio-economic development, in areas of development strategies for job creation. Majority of South Africa's poor who are situated in rural areas will not be able to pay for municipal services, posing a serious problem for many municipalities (Mdlala, 2001).

3. Environmental Awareness

Although environmental awareness should be a national issue, municipalities need to initiate and facilitate programmes to educate communities on health and safety issues such as AIDS, malnutrition and other diseases that relate to poverty. The significance of this awareness in rural areas, is that most diseases arises from the lack of basic services. Circulation of information and empowerment of communities is essential for participation of people at grass-roots level in local government. Illiteracy also being a major characteristic of rural communities, poses another challenge for municipalities to develop programmes for. In many cases these people are often ill-equipped to articulate their needs. This is no easy task for any municipality as lack of resources and daily challenges, newly elected councillors are supposed to work hard to implement strategic plans and meet their development goals (Mdlala, 2001).

2.7 Traditional Authorities

According to Letsoalo (1987) states that historically, African life in South Africa revolves around tribal authorities, chiefdoms or if one may call it the *Amakhosi*. Zulu (no date), qualifies this in terms of African practices, that in African society it was common for subjects of the chief's to exchange gifts towards the chief's marriage or his sons' marriage, therefore, leaning towards a communal way of living.

The question of chieftaincy and its future in South Africa, is of great significance in the context of demarcation. Description such as the 'alienation of land to Europeans', 'alienation' in this context meaning 'transfer of ownership' (Letsoalo, 1987) tells one that colonialism usurped lands from the African people, thereby exploiting African labour, creating political powerless Africans (Letsoalo, 1991). However, with all the discrimination and loss of political power, the existing traditional leaders are either born (royalty) into the chiefdom or some of them were put into place by the apartheid government. With a changing political environment faced in South Africa, a key concern is to what extent traditional leaders are allowed to participate in local government. Another issue is that with municipal bodies emerging all over the country, does the *Amakhosi* still secure their authority by building local agreement? This section examines the

historical aspect of traditional leaders, power and functions of the chiefs and also to what limits can the chiefs exercise their authority.

2.7.1 Historical Perspective of Traditional Leaders

Levin and Mkhabela (1997) argued that the chieftaincy was the main establishment in colonial and apartheid meaning of customary land law. Statements made by few people, which Levin and Mkhabela (1997) clearly illustrates:

In the new South Africa, chiefs will melt away like ice in the sun - *Civic Leader, Lilydale, Mhala, Gzankulu, 7/12/1993.*

The chief is a chief through money - *Marite resident, 10/07/1993*

What has the chief done for us? We have taken a wife for him. We have built him a house. He has done nothing for us...If in the new South Africa, the chiefs have the same power as now, then there will be no change. Nothing will happen..... - *Group interview with civic leaders, Belfast, Mhala, Gazankulu, 7/12/1993.*

Traditional ruling in reserves was strengthened by the Native Administration Act of 1927, which actually weaken the powers of the chiefs. According to Levin and Mkhabela (1997: 156), these chiefs were placed under a White Supreme Chief who functions was to employ, dismiss or suspend chiefs. Therefore, for statements made above, the search for a new system of land allocation and re-looking at the historical role chiefs had played in the apartheid era was being formulated. After months of research and consultation the end product of the new policy document is predicted to look at how government can reconcile traditional leadership with modern democracy (Whip, 2000). The important aspect of the policy document is what strategy government was going to use to handle the tension between the roles of traditional authorities and municipal local government structures. Numerous articles in various newspapers across South Africa claimed that resistance to the demarcation process was on the increase. One specific article which appeared in The Daily Mail and Guardian (February 2000) said that traditional chiefs raised objections to the demarcation process. They want to retain the status quo in the regional council and that they oppose the entire demarcation process. According to Whip (2000) the

argument that was put forward by traditional leaders believed that areas currently under traditional dominion cannot be included in primary local authority areas. The accusation that was made by traditional leaders felt that municipal authorities and the way they functioned will diminish their power and also that local governments will threaten traditional leaders' control over land, which will eventually lead to the decaying of their role in customary justice.

The sensitivity of the reactions of traditional leaders were to the issue was summed up in the run-up to the 1995 local government elections, when traditional leaders, including the ANC MP Patekile Holomisa, supported the boycott of the elections in parts of the Eastern Cape (Whip, 2000). The MP since declared the results null and void in rural areas, with a claim that people did not know the councilors and that chiefs would not support them (Whip, 2000).

However, according to McIntosh (1990) critiques supported by new governments post-independent Africa, traditional authorities were seen as conservative, reinforcing tribal rather than national affiliations and having histories of collusion with colonial governments. Such states believed that their new leaders would be able to select the

functions that government would perform, and to design structures which would perform efficiently (McIntosh, 1990).

According to van Rouveroy (cited in McIntosh, 1990) critical analyses of tribal authority within South Africa have not addressed what might replace them, the implication is that alternative forms of local government are possible. All writers of that post-colonial African experience, however, do not share this optimism. Many attempts to replace chieftaincy with reformed local bodies of authority have often been modified by pre-existing traditional structures. Van Rouveroy (cited in McIntosh, 1990) further stated that traditional leaders have reasserted or maintained their influence in a range of countries which attempted to limit their role and this includes Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia and Tanzania.

2.7.2 Politics of Traditional Leadership

Sean Jacobs (2000) states that traditional leadership, in the context of South Africa, is a force to be reckoned with, dictating political development and party politics. Party politics being prevalent in at least two major provinces Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal. Two issues, the part in party politics and their position in governance determine the political stance of traditional leaders. Jacobs (2000)

explained that the role of traditional leaders climaxed in the November 2000 elections, were many debates around proposals of the demarcation board on the issue of remarking new boundaries for municipalities was open for discussion. The fear of most chiefs was that municipalities might incorporate traditional authorities within the local government structures. Jacobs (2000) further reports that chiefs and their supporters had forced government to look at their demands. According to Chapter 12 of the South African Constitution, the role and status of traditional leaders is recognised, in terms of the customary law but in subordination of the Constitution.

Levin and Mkhabela (1997) highlighted the way traditional leaders, under customary law, took active roles in colonial and apartheid governance, as chief agents of social control in reserves and they functioned as local government, accountable to the colonial or apartheid rulers. However, role-players in rural politics take a much more influential role as opposed to political parties. Rural people are easily swayed by strong personalities, in this case a chief. Levin and Mkhabela (1997) further stated that rural areas experienced widespread corruption and control which was clearly visible to the chief's subjects, thereby increasing resentment. But Jacobs (2000) pointed out that people tend to believe in their chiefs as compared to an outsider and traditional chiefs exists to serve their people and

therefore the people cannot be misled. Education and tradition places chiefs at an advantage point within rural communities.

Jacobs (2000) highlights the inclination that there is very little chance of women becoming traditional leaders because chiefs are not elected by votes but put into power by "ascription and lineage" (Jacobs, 2000: 4), and culturally Africans believe in a patriarchal system. In a political sense traditional authorities is gender bias, and this is unconstitutional. While chiefly (or headmen's) accession to power is through inheritance in the case of tribal authorities, it is through election in the case of community authorities. Jacobs (2000) also explains that tribal councillors are appointed within tribal authorities by the chief, they are elected in the case of community authorities. Direct responsibilities to district magistrates, tribal and community authorities obtain representation to the Kwazulu Legislative through Regional Authorities. Consist of number of tribal/ community authorities within given districts representative to the Kwazulu legislative Assembly. There were twenty such legislatives.

2.7.3 Function

In terms of the Zulu Chiefs and Headmen's Act (8 of 1974), powers of tribal or community authorities refer primarily to judicial and control functions. The exception being one item referring to the chief's promotion of "the interests of his tribe and of the region, and to initiate measures for the advancement of his people" (Mare and Hamilton, 1987: 232). Functions of tribal authorities had to be limited to land allocation and judicial duties. These powers have generally been seen as the means through which chiefly authority is maintained. Land allocation and judicial functions are also areas where charges of abuses of power are usually leveled at tribal authorities (Levin and Mkhabela, 1997). Futuristically at a Workshop (9th January 1993), Cork presented different views of what the job description of the chief should be:

- a. The chief should be allowed to continue allocating land.
- b. The chief should continue allocating land with the assistance of civic or new local government structures.

At another Workshop (8th February 1993) by Malekutu, his response was:

- a. Chiefs should continue to allocate land and should be in control of additional land.

- b. The state in place of the chief should allocate land through elected community committees.
- c. A proper system of land ownership and registration should be introduced and be controlled by the local state and,
- d. Agricultural land should be allocated by the Department of Agriculture in collaboration with local farmers' association.

2.8 Key Issues Relating to the Demarcation Process

The release of the new demarcated areas have lead to many controversial issues in Kwazulu-Natal. Disputes against the process was witnessed in many newspapers around the country. With the introduction of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), Kwazulu-Natal started to buzz with concerns regarding the demarcation of new boundaries. The key concern was the issue of traditional areas. Traditional leaders govern traditional areas and they did not take the new dispensation lightly. This section will make mention of the key issues surrounding demarcation, looking specifically at the fears of the *Amakhosi* (chiefs) and also at how rural people look at this process.

2.8.1 Grievances of the Amakhosi

The MDB (2000) guaranteed that they would not divide the geographic areas of traditional leaders, providing that these areas were individual pieces of land and harmony existed between the traditional leader and the people living within the traditional authority. According to the Board the demarcation process has went on smoothly in KwaZulu-Natal. However, they did experience problems which was of no significant value and the other was local governments who have not given the process support, that was expected from persons who have sworn and oath of allegiance to the constitution and laws of our land (MDB, 2000: 1). The MBD goes on to say that it will do its best to see that the process goes on without interference and it involves as many people as possible. The Board also expects all stakeholders to give in one hundred percent to make the consultation process bigger and effective (Press statement, 20/02/2000).

The issue of traditional leaders and demarcation was dealt with in a press statement released on 20th January 2000. The Board's EXCO examined the interactions between the Board and traditional leaders throughout South Africa. According to the EXCO, the results were satisfactory and it was happy that it had gone through a process of

extensive consultations with traditional leaders, together with other stakeholders and that all demarcation issue, placed before the Board was properly dealt with. The press release goes on to say that many disputed issues around demarcation were released by the media was in fact not related to demarcation but it was matters that needed constitutional change so that traditional areas do not have elected local government.

The king of the Zulu nation, His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini, himself met with the Board to discuss his fears concerning demarcation. Some of his concerns that were brought before the Board were:

- (i) that the demarcation issue could lead to increased tensions and conflict,
- (ii) that the King had been informed that the Board was demarcating land, and
- (iii) that a whole set of gossip had been raised about municipal government in rural areas - that people would have to pay for water collected from rivers, they would be forced to pay rates, they would have to pay rent for their huts, etc (Press statement, January 2000).

According to the January 2000 press statement released by the Executive Committee of the Demarcation Board, the response by the MDB to the King's concerns was that the report given to the King was incorrect. The Board claimed that the demarcation process was about "rationalising the municipal system in terms of the constitution and legislation" (pg 1) and that all parts of South Africa fell under the authority of municipalities. The response further suggests that the Board was not demarcating land in terms of ownership but dividing what will be future municipal administrative areas. The Board goes on a bit further, that land ownership issues are not affected by the demarcation process and the Board gives its assurance that traditional areas are not split between municipal boundaries. The King's issue of paying for services, received a response that "all South Africans are presently part of municipalities and so why suddenly would they be forced to pay rates, water, hut taxes", etc (Press statement, January 2000).

The deadline for disputes to be submitted to the MDB was 31st January 2000 but a newspaper article "*Amakhosi meeting postponed*" reveals that traditional leaders are still afraid that their powers would be discontinued when rural lands are incorporated into proposed new municipal areas (Daily News, 27/09/2000).

However, this insecurity felt by the chieftaincy is further enhanced by a response from the President, Thabo Mbeki. A meeting of the *Amakhosi* of the Kingdom of Kwazulu-Natal met on 8th September 2000 and unanimously resolved that the *Amakhosi* should adhere to the proposals made by government. This response was contained in a letter from the President to the *Amakhosi*, dated 28th August 2000 (<http://www.ifp.org.za>). However, the President's response in the letter further aggrieved the *Amakhosi*, in the sense that government's proposal did not take into account the problem created by the establishment of municipalities. According to the letter the language that was used by the President implied that the *Amakhosi* did not struggle for liberation and that traditional leaders was an obstacle in the path of democracy and betterment of life and prosperity of rural areas. The *Amakhosi* claimed that President Thabo Mbeki should honour his promise made to them in a letter dated 16th May 2000, "that municipalities will not be established in rural areas" (<http://www.ifp.org.za>).

Incorporation of rural areas into new municipal structures (www.local.gov.za) is going to provide more pressure on local government. Rural communities in South Africa are increasingly faced with the growing effects of urban biased political structures.

The question that arises can the new local government structures meet the demands of rural areas?

Election periods are the only times that people from rural communities come into contact with representatives from local authorities or provincial government. Elected councillors fail to avail themselves for people at grass-roots, thus resulting in lack of confidence in the democratic system, thereby causing a trickle-down effect of loss of faith in the politics of rural South Africa (Seedat, 2000).

Seedat (2000) argues that this kind of behavior by political representatives has caused major uproar. To qualify this is the case-study of Mpumalanga Township in Kwazulu-Natal. The people of this community loss their confidence in the election process because the political councillors failed to see the difference of their living conditions, pre-1994 to the year 2000. For many the standards of living has deteriorated worse when compared to than the days of apartheid. This is further instigated by the visible changes of living standards of the elected officials. The people of this community feel that for many the elections do nothing but provides a stepping stone for elite members of their community to achieve a higher economic status (Seedat, 2000).

Seedat (2000) further states that decades have gone past and rural communities were silenced by the apartheid regime, used only as pick up points for cheap labour. But the expressions and hopes in many rural communities leapt for joy when the 1994 elections were won, promises of the new government, promises of the Reconstruction and Development Plan(RDP), built new confidences in the hearts of many a person in the rural area (Seedat, 2000). But with time, theses promises faded quietly into the background, suddenly no one seems to hear the cries of the poor and desolate people of the outlying communities (Seedat, 2000).

Rural communities are in dire straits, when free water access during apartheid is suddenly stopped and rates as well as services increased drastically. For many rural communities the first evidence of the new democratic South Africa was seen in the exceedingly high bills that they received at the end of the month. A research study by Seedat (2000) illustrates that rural communities were not notified in time about changes in policies governing service deliveries.

Although the African National Congress (ANC) is proclaiming to provide free water to all disadvantaged communities, these communities still face cut-offs and lack of basic water supply. Since the 1996 local elections communities were provided with services but

a lack of awareness by local government left communities with high bills. Seedat (2000) highlights that the ANC declared that it would provide basic services free to all poor South Africans, but the communities inability to pay for services resulted in people using cholera-infected water sources.

The dispute of traditional leadership in rural areas is receiving much attention. However, the Gender Advocacy Programme (2000) has highlighted that traditional leadership in rural areas is hovering in a patriarchal matrix, despite that majority of the population in rural areas are women. Traditional leaders have different political views but left wingers find it difficult to overthrow this system as they are dependent on the traditional authority for land and access to services. The Gender Programme (2000) also stated that to have rights in rural areas is to follow in the footsteps of the traditional authority. Evictions from traditional land must be addressed, so that a free choice of land ownership especially by women, would be politically represented (Gender Advocacy Programme, 2000).

Seedat (2000) noted that rural youth are also facing the brunt of marginalisation in development planning and activities. They do not participate in decision-making interaction with governing bodies, together with high rates of unemployment and lack of facilities, this

has extreme negative impacts on the youth of rural communities. There has to be a breaking away from traditional forms of leadership to one that would represent the struggles of the community. This breaking away from traditional practices does not mean that traditional leaders should be abolished, but it is a question of how these authorities can aid with betterment of the communities that they represent (Seedat, 2000).

In April 1999 a National Rural Development Initiative conference was held. More than 600 rural communities came together to debate on issues that they are faced with on a daily basis. Some of the concerns were:

Rural development planning is not co-ordinated;

There is too little consultation between local government, consultants and communities;

Local councillors account to political parties before the communities who elected them, and political favouritism and nepotism are resulting in an unfair distribution of resources;

Women are under-represented in community and local government structures, and are excluded from decision-making; and

The role of traditional leaders not clearly defined
(Seedat, 2000)

Seedat (2000) identifies an important aspect of the many demands that were made by the rural people. This particular ultimatum was summed up in the Rural People's Charter, and she said that there was enough consultation, cooperation of rural communities in planning, preference of governance, with government creating the appropriate environment for enabling the active collaboration of rural women and youth.

2.10 Rural Development and The Re-Demarcation Process

Apartheid in the democratic South Africa is something of the past but to remedy its injustices, especially the land question, one needs to address the land question by using a policy of land reform. Land reform seemed to be the cure for many obstacles in rural development. At the moment the land reform programme is driven by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) (Levin and Weiner, 1997). Levin and Weiner (1997) said that South Africa's land reform programme is bound by many factors such as political make-up of a new state, legacy of apartheid property rights and the acceptance of market-led land re-distribution (pg 254). However, according to a rural profile released by the Land Rights Programme (2001), South Africa's rural arable land is in short supply because most of the land although it is suitable for agriculture, but the terrain is rugged therefore making it impossible to cultivate. South Africa is also one of

the leading unequal societies in the world, with poverty being the most important obstacles to stability and growth. Poverty is a major challenge for development, with approximately 18 million people living below the poverty line. The average income for these people are approximately R353,00 per month of which women constitute the bulk of the victims of poverty.

To address rural development, in 1984 the African National Congress (ANC), drafted the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP). This was the action plan for government, for the first five years of being in power. The RDP set broad goals for development and one of them:

...Improving living conditions through better access to basic physical and social services and education and training for urban and rural communities, and establishing a social system and other safety nets to protect the poor, the disabled, the elderly and other groups.

(Rural Development Policy, 2001: 1)

The RDP paid much attention to the role of women, and it tried to remove all policy discrimination that inhibited women's access to land. A national reform programme was the vehicle to drive the rural development programme. The Rural Development Strategy of 1995 was established to engineer rural development and service delivery. Principles and structures for rural development was laid out but how to operate these mechanisms was yet to come. Few of the important

strategies summarised by the Land Rights Programme North Local Council:

The creation of structures of local government

Insisting on involving local communities in planning and managing infrastructure, budgets and other important matters

The creation of access to information for planning and implementing development programmes at local levels

The need for coordination between different tiers/ departments of government

The Land Rights Programme (2001) suggested that criticisms regarding rural development policy was related to lack of practicality. There were no institutions in place for implementations of these well-written goals. The end results of social gains in transformation of South Africa and development were the urban elitists. Women living in poor rural communities experienced greater hardships and pressure, violence and rape against women, is ever increasing in these areas. In defiance of many attempts by the South African government to draft an integrated rural development policy there was little success in heralding poverty or blending the actions of these different facets of government. This downfall had drastic consequences for rural women who constituted the majority of the

poor in rural areas and were most susceptible to the cost of unsuccessful development programmes. Another contributing factor to rural development policy is the lack of participation of people, NGOs and other civil society organs, in the process of drafting the development policy, complimenting to rural people being invisible and marginalised (Land Rights Programme, 2001).

With all the negativity that rural communities were bombarded with, drastic measures had to be taken by government. South Africa was going through a transition and for transition to occur all levels of government should be transformed. In this case transformation of local government is part of the process of transformation that was taking place in the country. Transformation at local government levels was being transformed from a racially divided one to a developmental local government (Khanyisa, 2000).

The legacy of apartheid has left a trail of racial imbalances causing local government service delivery to rural areas and townships to deteriorate whilst the cities and surrounding suburbs enjoyed the advantages of efficient services. Therefore, to correct this type of imbalances the Municipal Structures Act (December 1998) called for the demarcation of boundaries for the purpose of sustainable development and effective delivery of services to the disadvantaged

areas. The implementation of the Municipal Demarcation Act (1998) established the Municipal Demarcation Board, who had their own set of goals to meet. The function and objectives of this board was discussed earlier in the chapter.

The need for re-marking of new boundaries is essential for the reorganisation of local government. In an article by Matlou (2000) released in the Daily Mail and Guardian (February 2000), it was essential for the demarcation process was a long-term goal of local government transformation and accelerated service delivery to needy areas. According to Norton (1994) small local governments were seen to be inept, but employed skilled workers, thereby increased multiple roles and the high level of investment and efficiency required to guide the development of local communities. The main reasons for merger of small local authorities with larger ones are twofold. Firstly, small local government was inadequate to perform basic service functions and secondly, the financial status was unstable to develop staff with proper training, skills and scarce resources. Therefore, demarcation of municipal boundaries pursued to transform local government by bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, the urban/rural divide, in relation to access to basic amenities of water, sanitation, electricity and other infrastructure needed by poor communities (Matlou, 2000: 2). An example of a spatial form, as in

the case of city of Durban, that has been bombarded with segregation policies and is still characterised as a divided city. The city works well for those who have access to the facilities and opportunities in its urban core but it does not meet the needs and aspirations of the poor majority who are its residents, and these are mostly Black people who live on the outskirts of the city itself. Demarcating suitable boundaries to reconfigure the jurisdiction of the city was therefore a task that required urgent attention, so that irregularities such as spatial allocation of resources, structures and geographically marginalised people could be addressed (Pillay, date unknown).

Pillay (date unknown) stresses in his article that demarcation cannot address all abnormalities that were apartheid-based. He believes that the "process does not provide unique opportunities for addressing an inherently inefficient system" (Pillay, date unknown:203). However, he further argues that the main reason for the re-demarcation process prior to the local government elections was to try and correct the weak systems that were found within the structures of local government.

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt was made to place the demarcation issue within the discourse of rural South African politics. The evolution of

spatial contours has romanticised colonial dispossession with the Afrikaner conquest had penetrated the boundaries of once united South Africa. As a result the nation had recognised the right of Afrikaner to spatial domination. This special matrix of South Africa has matured with these theories, that emerged from apartheid in the form of social and residential isolation. This was incarnated in the Group Areas Act of 1950, to separate development or grand apartheid of the 1960s and 1970s as epitomized in the announcement of bantustans.

Post 1994 was characterised by an incipient re-structuring of the apartheid provinces and this demanded revised spatial imperatives. The government's reaction was the proposal of the development regions, which rendered bantustan boundaries superfluous. Transformation of local government structures involved further re-demarcation of areas so that rural areas can be financial viable for development to take place. Although government saw this as a way forward but traditional leaders viewed this as a threat to their position of power. Key issues relating to demarcation and traditional leaders allowed for negotiations to benefit rural development. However, local authorities thereby creating a new dispensation for the 'new' South Africa adopted the aims and the objectives of the Municipal Demarcation Board.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three is a brief overview of the area under research and the methodology that was used to gain information.

3.2 Area of Study

The area of study is situated North of Durban. It is a tribal authority and headed by a chief. An estimated population in the Tribal Authority of Maphumulo consists of 6440 persons. Maphumulo is divided into two sections, Maphumulo 1 Tribal Authority and Maphumulo 2 Tribal Authority. The area of focus is Maphumulo 2 Tribal Authority, which is headed under Chief Ntuli.

Regional governance for Nutli Tribal Authority, is the Indlovu Regional Council in Pietermaritzburg (PMB).

3.2.1 Present State of the Study Area - Ntuli Tribal Authority

Sosibo (1998) in his case-study on the Indlovu Regional Council highlighted and described the important factors that revealed the present state of the study area. The dominating factors described subsistence farming, education, health and infrastructure. A brief summary is outlined below which appropriately pertains to the study area at the moment.

3.2.2 Agriculture

Agriculture in this area is done on a small scale. The products are sold to small businesses or the household are small business holders themselves. The main crops that are grown widely on most farms are yams, mealies and cabbages. Other vegetables are tomatoes and potatoes (normal and sweet). Some of the farms are into planting of blue gums. They are contracted to the Mondi Paper Mill. The Ntuli Tribal lands is under the authorisation of the Ndlovu Regional Council but all land issues are controlled and distributed by the Chief and his Tribal Council. The chief owns majority of the land but there is no traces of communal ownership. The population consists mainly of women and therefore, these women practice subsistence farming. Crops are grown for personal use, but in many cases, crops are provided at the request of the chief for communal functions. The climatic conditions places an important constraint in this community, without rains crops are ruined, leaving women and children hungry.

Chickens are raised on many farms. These are used for subsistence as well as a source of income. The eggs are collected either for personal use or to be sold to neighbours. Chickens do not need much attention as cattle. They scavenge around the huts and into neighbouring lands and they breed in abundance. Cattle, however, is owned mainly by the chief. Cattle needs more attention than chickens and goats. Grazing land is essential for cattle farming and land is limited. One or two cattle maybe seen on farms, but its used for the practice of 'labola' (dowry).

3.3.2 Education

Education in this area is well catered for. There are three schools to be found in this particular area, including primary and secondary schools. The school buildings seem in fair condition on the outside. The community built these schools, without assistance from the government. Desks and textbooks were items that were provided by the Department of Education. The infrastructure leading to the schools, together with transport is satisfactory.

3.3.3. Health

Ntuli Tribal Authority does not have any permanent health facilities in the area. The nearest hospital is in Pietermaritzburg and in Verulam, plus minus two hours drive. However, the community has access to a mobile clinic, once a week. One has to be leave their homes very early to prevent sitting in long queues. If the doctor does not attend to one by 16h00, they are told to come the following week. Responses to emergencies are poor as hijacking rates were very high. Ambulances were easy targets, has they have to park their vehicles and walk a distance to tend to the patient. Community health awareness programs such as prevention of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Disease) is not evident in the area. Contraceptives such as the condom is a traditional taboo in few of the

households. The urgent need of at least a clinic is vital to improve the health status of these women and children.

3.3.4 Infrastructure

Majority of the women are uneducated, therefore, learning for a drivers license is difficult and besides that many of these women are not allowed by their husbands to be independent by owning vehicles. The community has a good range of taxis and buses which run at certain times of the day. Transportation is centrally situated and to get to the taxi rank one has to walk a great distance, to obtain a taxi. The community consists mainly of elderly women and men who cannot easily walk to a taxi rank. But this is the only means of travel for this community.

3.3.5 The Significance of Women in Rural Areas

"A female is not born a woman". The make-up of women is determined by social factors that she interacts with: sisters, brothers, parents, lovers, husbands and the community has a whole. It is from this social construct that people assume that activities like cooking, fetching and cleaning are naturally women's activities (Mfugale, 1994: 77). The majority of people that live in rural areas are women. They carry out agricultural work and provide work that is necessary to feed their families. These women are responsible for all household chores, including carrying of water, gathering of firewood, food preparations and processing.

Traditionally this time consuming effort put in by women is never taken into account as compared to women that work in the industries. Family fields are generally worked by both women and men. This includes planting, weeding and harvesting. An added factor, women tend to their own fields as well to supplement the household food supply and to earn an income. In the cases of migration, where men leave the family behind in the rural area to go into urban work places, the women heads the household and carries the entire responsibility for cultivation of the family farm. Women also face the task of storing of the harvest and processing the food products for both commercial and domestic consumption. Traditionally the women is responsible for marketing of the agricultural goods (www.fao.org).

Besides these traditional chores that the women face on a daily basis, women have a good understanding of what the community needs. When there is a lack of services or facilities it is the women who organise them, namely caring for the sick, the children, etc. Despite the close bond that a women has with her community, women are still under-represented in community leadership positions.

Women's participation in agriculture has increased, the lack of access and rights to land and capital, is an obstruction in the lives of many women. African societies have many values and beliefs that women are not equal to men. Limitations to women are increased by child-bearing and raising of children, farm-work and low-skilled employment. A case-study of the Rombo district in

Tanzania has limited land. These lands are used for cultivating, cutting grass, tending animals, growing bananas and coffee, are done by women. Very few men help out. Men stay at home and wait for their wives to prepare meals for them. The men participate in illegal businesses along the borders and spend the evenings in bars, but women are not allowed to share their ideas with other women in the community. In this area a women who gives birth to a baby girl, receives minimum maternity care but if the baby is a boy, a big goat is slaughtered and the mother receives excellent treatment. In the Rombo district it is a taboo for a woman to own land. If there is no male heir, it is thought better to give the land to a relative than to a girl. The death of a woman's husband, exposes her to every sort of humiliation and might be driven out of the marital house and denied any inheritance (Shirima : 1994).

However, the women in the study area of Ntuli Tribal Authority face similar exploitations by their spouses and sometimes by the chieftaincy. The women are burdened with multiple chores and at the end of all these tasks it's a question of survival. Against this backdrop it is necessary for gender planning to be alert and sensitive to the survival of women and her family in rural areas. All decisions and implementations of local government affect women, they are important customers of local government services. Community participation ensures that local government will hear the voices and experiences of women and women's participation in decision-making is increased. Women have been marginalised in

the past and gender inequality still exists in the community, in the home and in the workplace (Gender Advocacy Programme : 2000).

3.3 METHODS

The technique that was used to obtain information is described briefly. Prior to going out to do field-work, the researcher had to gain permission from the tribal authority to conduct research in the area under study, Ntuli Tribal Authority. Four major categories which are going to be discussed in this section, are primary and secondary methods, data collection and mental maps.

3.3.1 PRIMARY METHODS

The researcher developed a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to randomly selected local residents in the study area. An analysis of these questions were compiled. Were possible interviews was conducted with various indunas, but on a small scale and comments made were critically analysed. Interviews with political officials that were responsible for development in the area were carried out opportunities arose.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

3.4.1 COLLECTION OF DATA

The data collection was conducted over a period of three weeks. A questionnaire was prepared which were answered by the residents of the research area. An interpreter was used, since I do not understand the Zulu language. Respondents were randomly chosen from homesteads within the tribal authority and only forty five people responded. Permission from the Tribal Authority was necessary prior to questionnaires being administered. I was granted freedom of the research area, on condition that an executive tribal council member accompanies me so that the people will know that permission was granted from the chief himself. The study area included one tribal area only and this being the Ntuli Tribal Authority. Each interview entailed the answering of the questionnaire and the completion of a mental map.

3.5 MENTAL MAPS

Observations, memories, preferences and factors that contribute to the way humans perceive the environment, are contributions in creating mental maps. According to Jooste and Liebenberg (1997), psychologists believe that the manner in which human perceive the environment is a response of our sensory organs, but

inclusive of cognition, which refers to the way human-beings gather, select, acquire, organise, evaluate and use knowledge in their unconscious decision-making process about their behaviour in space. Images that are created from this mixture are called mental maps. These maps represent the source of the stimulus energy, which is the stimulus object or environments. Jooste and Liebenberg (1997) further explains that these coded impulses are integrated and interpreted, together with past experiences, emotions and values, imagination, build up a type of permanent picture, thereby developing a different perception. This form of perception is ideally suited to note the perception of the local community and the kind of development they envisage. However, priority is given to analysis of the structure of these mental maps because people construct their environment in different ways. Kate (1970) cited in Jooste and Libenberg (1977) states that the emphasis is on the content of the mental map. By breakdown of the make-up of the mental maps, one can see how people live their lives in relation to the environment. These maps have a spatial characteristic, which is suited to identify the perceptions of the community. Mental maps are directly related to the needs of the local community, therefore the people in the study area were allowed to provide their inputs when the mental maps were drawn up.

3.5 Research Experiences

The highlight of my research was when I was placed in front of a tribal court. To gain access into the community I had to seek permission and with the help of a friend, Mrs. Gugu Zondi, permission was granted. The tribal hearing was in the Zulu language, therefore, my fate was in the hands of my friend as I did not understand anything. However, meeting these rural women, really touched me. They are hard working women who see to daily running of a household just to see that their children have something to eat. Tending to the little garden, fowls and raising of children is a norm for these women. The sad thing to see, yet true, is the way these women put others first before themselves. These women were unkempt and yet their beauty was hidden beneath that untidiness. The norm for these women is to allow chickens in the kitchen, to pick of all the 'phuthu' (pap) leftovers from the pots, to me this is unhygienic and unhealthy. This process makes scrubbing of these pots easier. Another touching point for me is that these women have so much of respect, if I may call it respect or submissiveness. I was surprised to see the women offering a seat to the induna that accompanied me and the woman herself sat on a grass mat, with her head hanging low. There was no eye contact with my interpreter, the induna or myself and I was told this was a sign of respect and its was expected from all females.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt was made to provide a brief overview as to what the study area entails at the time of research. The present state of the study area together with the methodology is important for the analysis of chapter four. A brief synopsis describes the necessity of mental maps in research, as they can take the form of drawings, pictures which can aid in oral history and help present days developers in understanding the demographics of the area so that development can try to benefit all in the community.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Data collection and analysis of raw data can be two-fold. It can change mindsets in decision-making processes making this an advantage for developmental projects. Secondly, it can be a disadvantage in planning processes if necessary data results in a negative hypothesis. Planning of projects and decision-making processes rely heavily on information gathered from surveys.

The data collected in this project entails qualitative and quantitative data. The questionnaires representing the quantitative method whilst mental maps that were gathered served as a qualitative method of data collection.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES

4.2.1 RESPONDENT DETAILS

Table 4.1: Gender (n = 45)

Females	Males
91%	9%

91% of the respondents were females whilst 9% represented males. The males had no hesitation in answering the questionnaire whilst females were a bit reluctant to entertain us. This maybe due to the women not being able to make decisions whilst the husbands were away. An added factor maybe attributed to the guide (a chief induna, as well as a member of the executive member of the chief's tribal council) that was with us, who was appointed by the Chief. The induna being a male could have also attributed to the fear in respondents.

Table 4.2: Marital Status (n = 45)

Married	76%
Single	24%

Majority of the respondents (76%) were married whilst 24% fell into the single group. The married group consisted of both male and female respondents whilst the single category only had one male respondent with the rest being females.

Table 4.3: Members per Household (n = 45)

<5	16%
5-10	84%

84% of the families had more than six members per household. Each household had an elder (usually a women) and the rest were children and teenagers. The 16% represented newly married households who are establishing roots.

Table 4.4: Age Group of Children per Household (n = 45)

1-5	40%
6-10	31%
11-17	24%
>18	4%

The number of children per household was calculated according to age groups. It can be seen that as children grew older, there became lesser per household. The significance of the decrease is that as children became older they take up employment in urban areas thereby moving out of traditional homes, seeking higher education at tertiary institutions and female children are married off.

Traditionally, the rural home is seen as a sanctuary for rearing of grandchildren or for relatives from urban areas that need child-minders, and who could be better than an elder of the family back at the traditional home in the rural area.

Table 4.5: Type of Dwelling (Housing) (n = 45)

Hut	96%
Brick	4%

As one enters the boundaries of the Ntuli Tribal Authority, one would notice the types of dwellings of the indigenous people in the area. 96% of the dwellings are huts and 4% are bricked. These bricks were home-made or they are bought from someone in the area that manufactures these bricks within the confines of their home. Some households have both. The brick building which is the sleeping area whilst the kitchen is in the hut. The brick dwellings are constructed in cement blocks with tin roofs. The huts are made from sticks and mud and are painted white.

Table 4.6: Income per Household (n = 45)

< R500,00	84%
R501-R1000,00	16%

84% of the study group has a monthly income of less than R500,00 and 16% earns between R500,00 and a R1000,00. This is due to the high unemployment in the area and that these people are pensioners or collecting grant.

4.3. BACKGROUND

4.3.1 ACCESS TO SERVICES

The Ntuli Tribal area has a central point within the demarcated area of its borders for public services such as police station, banking facilities, post-office, supermarket and spaza shops. The only taxi rank for this area is found in this vicinity. Besides these services, the community itself had spaza shops within residential zones, where goods such as beers, mineral and cigarettes, are sold on a small scale. This prevents people from walking to the central village to purchase goods, which also took up much of their time.

However, telephones were found in homes of the chief and public phones are available.

Table 4.7: Primary Source of Water (n = 45)

Borehole	71%
Private tap	4%
Stream	24%

From Table 4.7, the 71% of the people drew water mainly from boreholes and the walking distance is approximately 1 hour (single only) away from their homes. According to the respondents, often this source of water is not reliable as the water is dirty, especially after rains. 24% of the people used the nearby stream for their water supply and this took about two and a half hours walking distance, single trip, away from place of residence. 4% used private taps and were concentrated in dwellings surrounding (\pm 3km in radius) the chief's private residence. Communal ownership to water rights was practiced by all residents.

Table 4.8: Primary Sources of Fuel

Source	Cooking	Lighting	Heating
Wood	84%	-	100%
Candles	-	80%	-
Paraffin	16%	20%	-

This community under investigation used wood, candles and paraffin as sources of energy. One could see from Table 4.8 that all respondents relied on wood for heating purposes and 84% of the community used wood for preparation of food. Families depended on candles and paraffin to provide lighting in the houses. Paraffin lamps were considered to be a luxury as these were glass lamps and paraffin was considered to more expensive than candles. Fuel gathering which was mainly wood, was not found in close proximately to the homes. It took

approximately three hours for this chore to be done. The community had communal rights to ownership of the wood in the area.

4.4 Community Institutions

The community under survey is located in a rural area but it has different institutions to help guide the community through conflicting forums. It has a water, health and school committee that discusses issues relating to water, health and school issues. At the time of research there was an issue relating to water. A certain politician who wanted majority votes promised piped water to the residents but when tension arose between the Municipal Demarcation Board and traditional leaders, this person left the work incomplete as a result the residents suffered the consequences with not receiving piped water. Presently the health committee was trying to negotiate with the mobile clinic to come into the area at least three times a week instead of just once a week which is a norm. Besides institutional committees the community is governed by tribal and regional authorities together with political parties. The Tribal Authorities hold meetings to inform the people of new developments. The respondents were unaware of any other community institutions, besides the examples listed above.

**Table 4.9: Individuals who Participate in Community Institutions
(n = 45)**

Participants	%
Community Leaders (Indunas)	31%
Traditional Leaders	49%
Head of Household	20%

49% of the respondents state that traditional leaders participate in community institutions, while 31% of the respondents indicated that the indunas also played a major role in community institutions. Its noted that 20% only representing households participated in community institutions. This low percentage maybe be attributed to majority being female headed households. Being a patriarchal society and the men are migrant workers, females are reluctant to participate in public institutions.

Table 4.10: Services Available (n = 45)

Services	Yes	No
Tap water in the house	-	100%
Bore holes/Standpipes	100%	-
Schools	100%	-
Clinics	-	100%
Toilets	100%	-

The responses to facilities or services that was available to them (as illustrated in Table 4.2.10) turned out to be 100% in each category. Although facilities such as boreholes and standpipes had a 100% response, the residents were not happy with it. The boreholes were often found dirty, especially after heavy rains and standpipes were destroyed by vandals. There was a 100% response to toilets but these were pit systems. Pits were often found in close proximate to boreholes which may cause water pollution, leading to cholera.

Schools were in close range to each other. They were centrally situated. Schools were built by the community itself. Funds were raised, but furniture for the school was provided by the government. Children had to purchase their own stationary whilst part of the text books were provided by the Education Department.

100% of the respondents answered No for receiving medical attention such as clinics. The community, however, does have a mobile clinic that comes into the community once a week, on a Wednesday. For emergencies residents have to call in ambulances to visit the clinic in Tongaat, which is approximately 50 Kilometers away.

Table: 4.11: Organisations in the Community (n = 45)

Name	Yes	No
Gardening	9%	91%
Sewing Club	4%	96%

Many of the respondents did not know about any organisations within the community. The percentage that responded Yes to the two organisations were women that volunteered their services at the tribal court or they lived closer to the Chief's household. The women that came from areas about five kilometers away from the chiefs place of residence did not know that a sewing club existed. One of the main goals for the sewing club is to empower and develop many women as possible. The Ndlovu Regional Council that was responsible for development in this area, sponsored sewing machines to the club. Members in the club had to apply for this grant, with supporting evidence as to why their club should receive this grant.

Development bodies that provided grants to this area expect written applications from community members and in this community 96% of the adult population didn't have any form of education. The community did not have any idea if there was an adult literacy programme in place. Having written applications posed a major obstacle for organisations to achieve their goals. Another issue was that many women did not leave their homestead to attend meetings of the club. Firstly, they had their daily chores to attend to and secondly, the distance to walk to these clubs that were held in the community hall took up much of their time. However, women who were skilled in sewing, did not go into other areas and develop the women there, therefore, sharing of knowledge and skills was limited.

Table 4.12: Most Powerful Authority Figure (n = 45)

Name	%
Chief	100%
Induna	100%

A response to the most powerful authority figure in the community led to a 100% response to the chief of the area. If the chief was away the next in charge were the indunas. No one challenged the chief's decision. The institution of the most high power was the Tribal Court, which was chaired by the Chief himself together with his executive members, who were all indunas. When problems arose in households when the husbands were away, the indunas had power over that household.

4.2.3 Access to Employment and Other Income Generating Activities

Table 4.13: Sources of Income (n = 45)

Income	%
Household Cultivation	9%
Household Livestock Production	9%
Pensions	62%
Informal Work	20%

From Table 4.3.13 62% of income is derived from government pension. In the Ntuli Tribal Authority, the population group can be categorised as majority pensioners. The young and middle-aged family members are employed in urban areas. 20% obtain their income from informal work, such as domestics or informal traders. Household cultivation and livestock production are 9% each. Due to climatic conditions and not enough land for grazing communities are moving away from livestock and agricultural production.

Work On Other Farms (n = 45)

Family members do not work on other farms, as there is no farms that are owned by specific community members. All land is owned by the chief and he allocates land to individuals as desired. The land that the chief resides on is an ancestral inheritance. Therefore, there is a communal understanding between two households if help is required. There is no exchange of cash or benefits from tasks performed by community members. If there is a function in the community everybody participates in it and make contributions such as vegetables, chickens and cows, to make meal preparations. There are no other sources of income available within the community.

Table 4.14: Cash Savings in Bank (n = 45)

Yes	4%
No	96%

In the view of the researcher, many of the respondents were hesitant in answering this question. This maybe due to the fact that it seemed to be a personal thing and maybe because the researcher was accompanied by an Induna. After each respondents answer, the researcher and her interpreter exchanged notes and it was mentioned that most of the respondents was not happy with the presence of the induna. In many cases, the researcher tried to keep the induna away from the respondents whilst they were filling out the questionnaires.

4.2.4 Knowledge and Expectations

Table 4.15: Heard about Demarcation (n = 45)

Yes	20%
No	80%

80% of the respondents did know or never heard of the word “demarcation” before. They didn’t even know what the word mean’t and didn’t even try. 20% responded, having heard the word “demarcation”. The 20% believed in the fact that their land was going to be taken away. They seemed quiet troubled by this

scenario as many claimed that the land was owned by the chief and that they were allocated to land. When it came to demarcation the land was an issue.

80% of the respondents didn't know about the demarcation process at all as compared to their counterparts, 20% knew about the process and they claimed that the chief, indunas and the community was involved in the process. However, the researcher noticed that the 20% of the respondents are involved in the tribal court of their community. They worked in close relations with the chief and his council.

Table 4.16: **Information Source (n = 45)**

Source	%
Radio	9%
Newspaper	4%
Other	4%

The 9% claimed that they heard of the demarcation process on the radio and 4% by reading the newspaper. By hearing about demarcation on the radio and newspapers did not make sense to this group. They felt that their chief's power was going to be taken away from them and that they were to pay for services.

However, 4% responded in the other category. This group intimated that the Tribal Authority informed the community of the Demarcation Process. The Indunas called up a meeting and informed the people. They claimed that the Traditional Leaders or the Amakhosi acted on behalf of the Demarcation Board by trying to help them understand what changes are going to occur.

When asked whether they were informed on how they can benefit from the re-demarcation process, 20% responded “No”. All that was mention was the disadvantages of re-demarcation and that their chief was going to loose power and that they are going to pay for water, lights and other services.

Table 4.17: Preferred Authority (n = 45)

Name	%
Chief	99%
Local Authority	1%

The communities preferred authority had their chief at heart as 99% responded that they preferred their chief as being in authority. The researcher's view, however, is that this 99% in favour of the chieftainacy may have been influenced by the accompanying Induna. The 1% responses were made by youth. They believed that their chief was not doing enough for them in terms of development and that they needed a change. Youths felt that other areas administered by local government was much developed as compared to their community. Local

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Authorities were subsidised by the government and if they had authority over the tribal land, the necessities would be met such as library and recreation facilities. Besides these needs other developments in the community will be met in terms of tap water and electricity.

Participation in the Demarcation Process (n = 45)

When respondents were asked if they had participated in the demarcation process all respondents answered No. They were not told that they could participate and besides all decisions were taken and made by the Tribal Council.

Demarcation is about Managing Land (n = 45)

All the respondents declared that did not know that demarcation is about managing land. All they thought about is that government wanted them to pay money for water.

Awareness of Type of Land (n = 45)

All the respondents claimed that the lands were tribal land and not municipal lands. However they could not support their answer. They knew that the land was inherited from past generations.

Table 4.18: **Land Ownership (n = 45)**

	Yes	No
Presently	4%	96%
Past	9%	91%

Presently only 4% claimed ownership to land whilst 96% responded that they do not own land. The 4% owned land in other areas, were mainly heirlooms, which was inherited. Land ownership was carried out on an individual basis. Within this 4%, few wives claimed that their husbands owned lands in other areas but other wives were living on them. In the past, 9% responded to owning land but lost this land in marriage. The 91% who did not own land in the past came from the reserves and the townships.

Table 4.19: **Land Arrangement, Type and Use (n = 45)**

Communal	96%
Individual	4%
Grazing	9%
Arable	91%

96% responded to communal arrangement, whilst 4% responded to individual arrangements. These arrangements were controlled by the chief. The land was 91% arable and 22% was used for the grazing of goats, sheep and a few cattle.

Cattle were moved to land that was of no residential value. Goats and sheep remained on the residential land and grazed around the house.

Decision-Making in Households (n = 45)

All responses confirmed that females in the households are responsible for decision-making. However, there is a limit, because she is only allowed to make decisions concerning household chores, children, cultivation, grazing, harvesting and ways to sustain her family.

Conflict over Land - Removal/Experience (n = 45)

Question 19 and 20 from the questionnaire are analysed as a single response. All respondents claimed that they did not experience conflict over their land. When asked whether they were removed from their lands due to conflicts all respondents stated there were not forcibly removed as a result of conflict.

Table 4.20: Grants (n = 45)

Yes	71%
No	29%

71% of the respondents stated that they received a government grant. However, it must be noted that this grant was not for their land but for pension and maintenance. 29% stated that they did not qualify for any government grant.

Table 4.21: Ownership of Livestock (n = 45)

Cattle	4%
Goats	20%
Sheep	9%
Poultry	67%

From the above table one can note that the people in this area preferred to own poultry (67%) as compared to owning of cattle (4%). The main reason for this is that land was scarce and cattle required large amounts of grazing land and water. Poultry on the other hand did not need much maintenance and the breeding period for poultry was shorter than cattle, sheep and goats. Ownership of goats (20%) was also a preferred species, as one respondent claimed that these were scavengers of the earth, therefore they were of no added cost to the family. 9% of the respondents claimed that they owned sheep.

Traditional Leaders in the Community (n = 45)

All the respondents indicated that there was a traditional leader within their community. The main roles of the traditional leader, firstly and most importantly the role of chief of the community, was handling all community disputes and then secondly to attend meetings and be the executive member of community organisations.

Table 4.22: Objections of Traditional Authority (n = 45)

Yes	2%
No	98%

The researcher thought this to be a very sensitive question as the difficulty arose due to the presence of the induna. However, all necessary precautions was taken as not to endanger the respondents or force the issue. The 2% response to this question were brave youngsters that spoke their minds. As mentioned earlier the researcher was accompanied by the Induna who was hand-picked by the chief himself. There is only one chief in this community and he is male. But the other 98% accepted that the chief have control over their community and decision-making.

Fears Concerning Demarcation Process (n = 45)

All respondents indicated that they feared the re-demarcation process. They stated that they felt their land was going to be taken away from them. They also indicated that they could not pay for services such as rates, water and electricity was also prevalent. Another strong indicator felt by these people, that government was going to force them to pay for services, even if they are against demarcation.

4.4 Challenges/Problems Faced

Table 4.23: Major Immediate Problems Facing the Household (n = 45)

Unemployment	80%
Development	100%

Immediate problems facing each household was unemployment. Most of the respondents were unemployed and this impacted on the family in terms of food, clothing, and other needs. The respondents also felt that the community needed development such as a reputable supermarket for example Shoprite Checkers, so that the quality of their food will be improved. Respondents indicated that development to them meant clinics, shopping, libraries, and sport centres. Recreation facilities for their children will not fall into drugs and crime. Those that were unemployed stated that employment is a major long-term need in the household.

Table 4.24: Affordability to Pay for Services (n = 45)

Yes	2%
No	98%

From this response one can see that only 2% can afford to pay for services such as rates, water and lights. The remainder of 98% cannot afford payment of services. With demarcation and local authority being controlling the services provided, respondents will not benefit these services that are available to them.

Table 4.25: Pay for Services (n = 45)

Yes	1%
No	99%

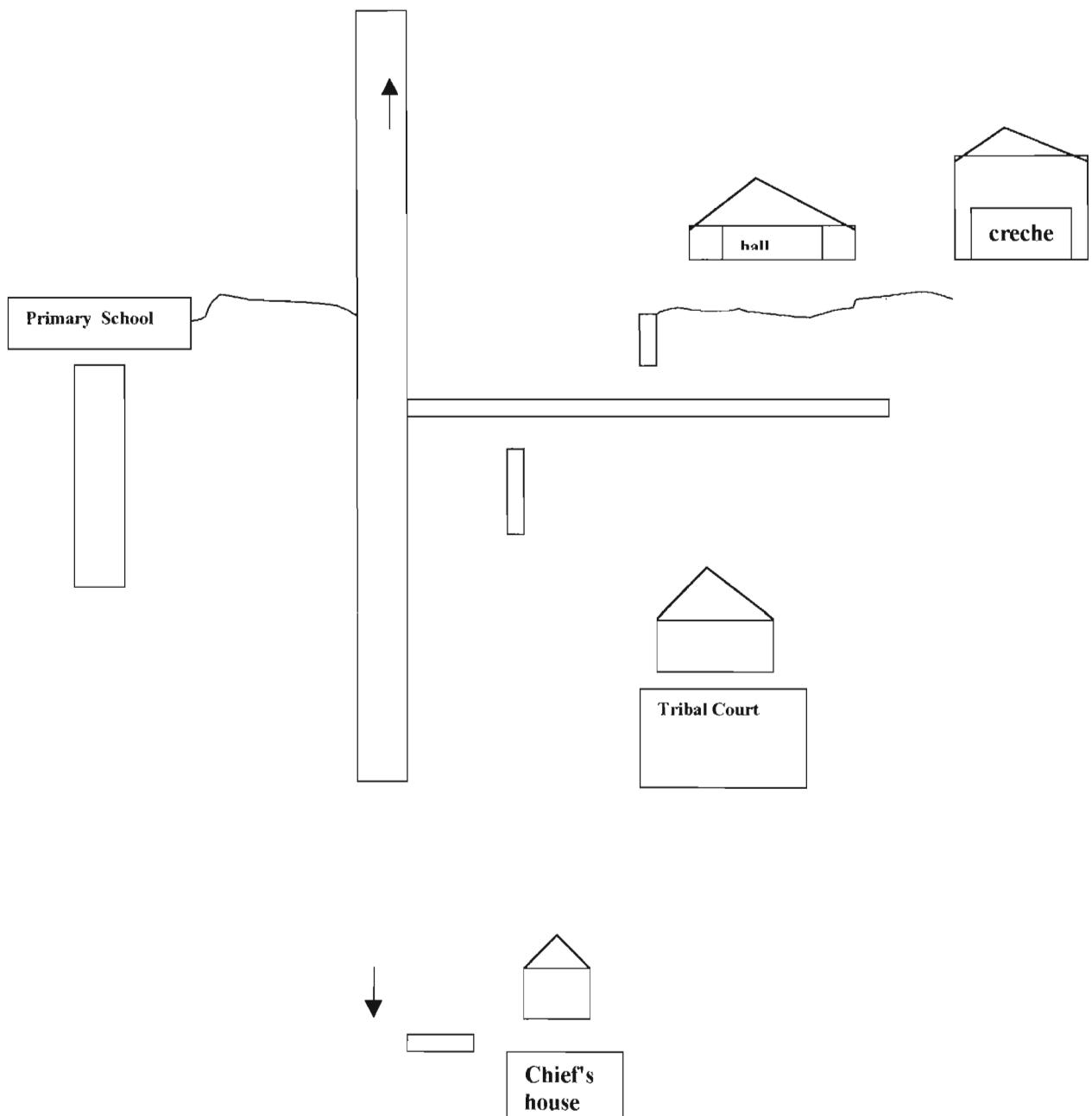
99% of the respondents stated that they should not pay for services because pre-historically they never had and that the democratic government must provide for them. They feel that it's their right to freedom, land, water and sanitation. They are unemployed therefore if they have to pay for services how are they going to feed their families and sustain themselves with what little they have now. 1% indicated that they are prepared to pay for services because they will get clean water directly in their houses and toilets with flush system for better hygiene and that government needs the money for maintenance of these projects.

4.5 Mental Maps

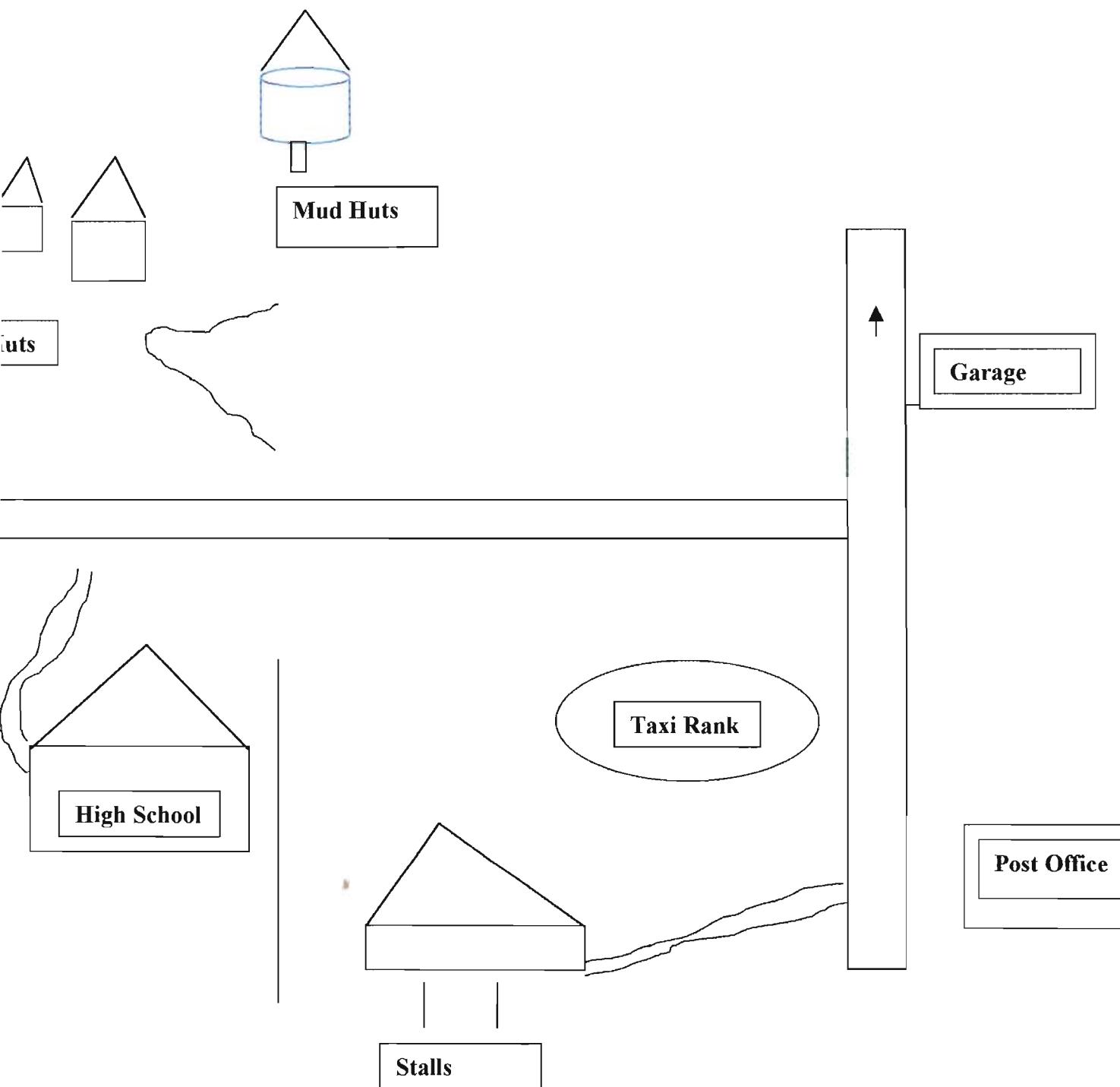
Mental map 1 was drawn by two illiterate ladies and Mental Map 2 was drawn by a group of ladies that belonged to the sewing club of the Ntuli Tribal Authority. The respondents stated that most of the homes in the region are huts, with a few exceptions of homes being constructed of brick and blocks. The respondents intimated the urgent need for housing in the area, since they lack the basic essential services. In mental map 1 reflects a taxi rank, stalls, post-office, and a garage, the women in this area of the Ntuli Tribal Authority does not know that 5km away, a creche, hall and a church exists(shown in mental map 2).

In mental map 2, there is sign of development such as a hall, and creche. This is the only significant difference between the two maps. Sewing classes are held in the hall that was provided by the iNdlovu Regional Council, together with a creche. Children attending the creche pay a fee of R40,00 a month, which includes meals.

Mental Map 2



Mental Map 1



4.6 Conclusion

From the analysis there can be no doubt that the people did not know about the re-demarcation process. Nevertheless, this chapter has shown that this constituency was limited in the Ntuli Tribal Authority and this calls for any speculation of any role which chiefs will be given in the search for a new structure of local government. It can also be stated that the chieftaincy only exists if the people want it to exist. However, the South African constitution does create space for the roles of chiefs although there is a ongoing political struggle.

Restructuring of local government are taking the necessary steps to dismantle apartheid's creation and re-demarcation was one such strategy. The analysis has also shown the need for consultation with the people in this particular case-study for because the Demarcation claimed that consultation was carried out prior to re-demarcation. However, according to the analysis this wasn't so. Consultation in development is important for reaping positive benefits to the new process of local government and that the benefits of new strategies are for the purpose of development and provisions of services.

The overwhelming evidence emerging from this research points to the fact that control by the chief over development and the provision of services is inconsistent with democratic South Africa. At the same time, it is important that transformation of local government be transparent and this can guarantee residents that their land is secure and this in turn can have a positive effective.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine how rural communities perceive the re-demarcation process set out by the Demarcation Board. Its primary focus was to evaluate the extent to which the residents of Ntuli Tribal Authority accepted the transformation of local government, with the power of the chiefs being pushed towards the backend of transformation. There is ample evidence suggesting that the transformation policy for local government has led to tensions between the chieftaincy and local government bodies, especially the Demarcation Board. Hence, there is a need to establish whether this tension exists among rural people who are governed by the Amakosi or would they rather be governed by the local authority and this means change. Change not only in terms of governance but land boundaries too.

South Africa has chosen a difficult and challenging road to stabilise inequalities of the past. Colonialism and apartheid spawned many forms of repression that instigated liberation movements to be formed countrywide (Levin and Weiner, 1997). In April 1994, a new democratic South Africa was unveiled. This was a celebrated event throughout the world, where political

rights were granted to all citizens. The spirit of reconciliation and nation-building is still in the air but delivering on election promises for a better life for all has proven difficult (Levin and Weiner, 1997: 5). The realisation of redemarcation is designed to undo the injustices of apartheid by reorganising the skewed spatial development policies. The Government has placed emphasis on rural development and therefore policies are being carefully structured to ensure its goals are met, and that they benefit the previously disadvantaged groups.

However, the first democratic municipal elections on 5 December 2000 brought an end to the interim system of local government and replaced it with a democratic system based on our Constitution (www.demarcation.org.za). Therefore, remarking of boundaries was necessary for municipalities to achieve objectives set out by the South African Constitution. Demarcation is an ongoing process and boundaries will continue to be refined after consultation with people at grass roots level. However, from this study, consultation at grass roots did not transpire as the Demarcation Board claimed to have done.

5.1 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The study highlights several factors as important determinants for resistance to the re-demarcation process. However, the majority of the respondents expressed their fear concerning the re-demarcation process set out by the Demarcation Board. Concerns such as loss of their land to government by the process of expropriation were raised. Another concern was the fear of having to pay for services provided such as water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal. This left respondents with a feeling of animosity towards the Demarcation Board and the government. Optimism by a large number of respondents was shown towards development, just as long as there was no financial constraints attached to it. The regional council did provide a hall, creche and they have funds available for club development, one example is the sewing club received free sewing machines. However, symptoms of depression, which was portrayed by many residents of the community, could impact negatively as it could lead to frustration and further rebellion against the Demarcation Board, if consultation is not carried out properly. An attitude of this nature aggravated poverty and hunger. Little or nothing has changed for them during apartheid. In fact, one respondent was brave to mention that it was better under Chief Buthelezi. The respondent said that he was the only leader that visited the area on a regular basis. Now that there are other political affiliations within this community there is no attention given to this community. These people require more than a change of authority.

The realisation of democracy has not dramatically altered the position of the rural poor. The redressing of former injustices by using the re-demarcation policy are conveniently only for selected communities, therefore equal development remains a myth to the rural poor of Ntuli Tribal Authority. The government's national programme like GEAR has not materialised for this community and even the Integrated Rural Development White Paper for Kwazulu-Natal has not changed their living standards. Another possible attribute that contributes to lack of development is the role of traditional leaders, since there is no organisation monitoring the activities of traditional authorities who were previously responsible for development in these rural areas. The chieftaincy reigns supreme in rural areas as mentioned in Chapter Two. But the results showed that the local people believed that all development in their area is the responsibility of the government and therefore, service provision is a government responsibility. The lack of clarity in terms of roles and responsibilities for development often leave marginalised rural communities vulnerable.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the Demarcation Board the aim of re-demarcation is to improve the quality of rural life and more importantly to transform the local government for the country. Unfortunately, from the data analysis, people did not know what the re-demarcation process entails and the necessity of this transformation. A process should be put in place to ensure that all sectors of the public are aware of developmental processes. Ways to educate the public will be to make use of civil society organisations, workshops and community meetings.

Civil Society structures, however, target certain sectors of the public. Therefore workshops run by these bodies must allow people to realise more of their potential and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. Platzky (1998) suggests that sustained economic growth is needed in South Africa to improve the quality of life. Although people differ in the methods they would employ for achieving development, the goals of development are usually globalised, which include a long and healthy life, education and job orientation training, satisfaction of basic needs (resources needed for a decent standard of living), political freedom, guaranteed human rights and freedom from violence. These essential ingredients are lacking in these impoverished communities in the study area.

Singh (1994) asserts that rural development entails infrastructure development as well as growth in secondary and tertiary industries like processing and making of produce which is essential for job creation. Singh (1994) further states that rural development implies not only a holistic change in techniques used at present in agriculture, but also a change in living and thinking habits, a redistribution of agrarian property, a modelling of village structures, reorganisation of present methods of cultivation, improving sanitation, water, education, community development and modernisation of rural life. Singh (1994) makes a valid contribution that the change of attitudes is needed by the locals to bring about a change to their lives. The point mentioned here are components what are necessary to make the study area a vibrant rural area.

Singh (1994) defines rural development as a desired change in economic, social, technological and natural atmosphere of the rural community. Hence, the relationship between re-demarcation and rural development is embedded in a common goal, to reduce poverty. Rural development means that methods must be in place to increase production and productivity. Better food supplies and nutrition together with basic services can improve the physical well-being and quality of life of the rural people, which can then increase productivity and help to contribute to the economy of the country. The Integrated Rural Development Plan is meant to involve all the people and takes into account all phases of rural life. It plans to transform traditional rural

cultures towards a greater acceptance and reliance on science and technology to improve the quality of life of all the people, provide the opportunities for all people to earn a living and to have socio-economic institutions and services similar to those of urban areas (Munro, 1996). Therefore, it is these basic inter-related factors that are needed for development to be effective in the study area. The study area is characterised by declining agricultural productivity, inequalities between urban and rural incomes, disorderly rural-urban migration and poverty. Ultimately there is a dire need for development in this study area. A further recommendation is the formation of community and local groups could provide the arena for people to contribute socially, politically and economically, thereby empowering the community. Decision making should be a democratic process in these community organisations and active participation by the rural population must be promoted to strengthen confidence in their own abilities and encourage their independent action that is so vital in the re-demarcation process.

A specific and important recommendation is the dire need to analyse the role of traditional leaders in rural development generally and the re-demarcation process specifically. There is a need for greater community organisations to get involved in decisions about themselves rather than some traditional authority. Water cannot be provided in the study area until the local authority obtains permission from tribal chiefs to install water pipes. The question

asked by these chiefs is which political party is behind this. The party-political stance impedes development. The control of land and its utilisation should be decisions taken by the communities. It is relevant that the Minister reviews the duties assigned to tribal authorities with regards to rural development and formulate capacity building programmes to alleviate confusion.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Arguably, the single most contentious word in South African politics today, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, is re-demarcation. There was a time when everyday the media reported on differing views on this controversial term. The debate surrounding the re-demarcation issue has hollowed out with varying degrees such as urban against rural, White against Black and most especially party politics, ruling party against its opponents. In spite of the popularity of the re-demarcation issue in the media, many ordinary citizens remain unaware of the finer points of the debate and more importantly, how it finally affects them. The study highlighted many concerns concerning re-demarcation, hence, many fears were portrayed on the faces of these respondents. This shows, as evidence in Chapter Four suggests, that many of these people were not informed of the importance of re-demarcating the boundaries. All they feared most of all was the loss of land. Land, which was their livelihood, past down from generations before and the only link to their ancestral beliefs. This cultural sense of belonging and clinging to their

beloved lost ones makes it much more difficult for local government to enforce their authority. As evidence suggests very little was done in terms of consultation by the Demarcation Board, hence, people at grass-roots have different perceptions concerning re-demarcation.

Although the boundary changes will be affecting the whole country, it is in Kwazulu-Natal that the debate is most radical. People in opposition to the process see it as a way of centralising power and forcing the better areas to subsidise the poorer areas, namely, rural areas. Traditional leaders played a major role in condemning the proposed changes. They accused the Demarcation Board of usurping their powers and relegating them to mere figureheads. Nevertheless, it is important that the views of people on the streets who will ultimately be affected by the proposed changes also be incorporated. Although a great amount of optimism was displayed by the respondents in their feelings towards the re-demarcation process, drastic action with regard to consultation, research and advice is needed to uplift the rural poor in the study area. There is also a need for the evaluation of strategic patterns in social development and to cultivate existing and potential strategic patterns by diffusing and preventing conflicts. The Government should ensure that all South Africans have the right to a decent quality of life through provision of appropriate standards of living and sustainable use of resources.

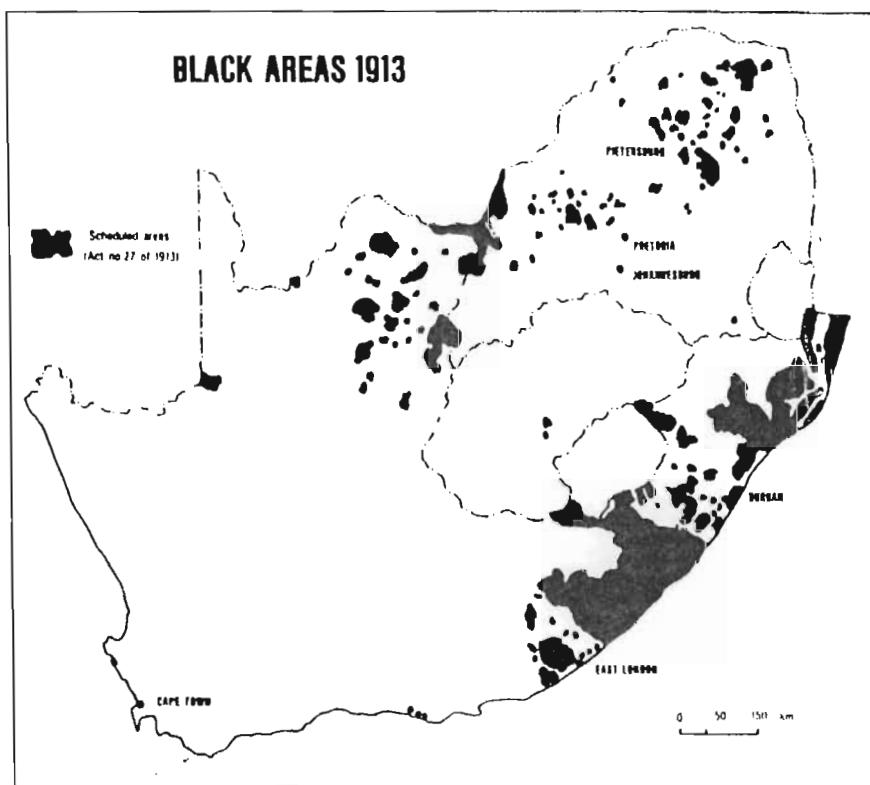
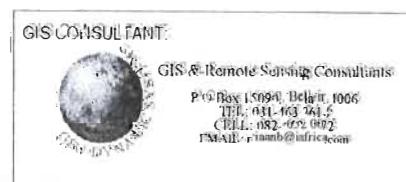
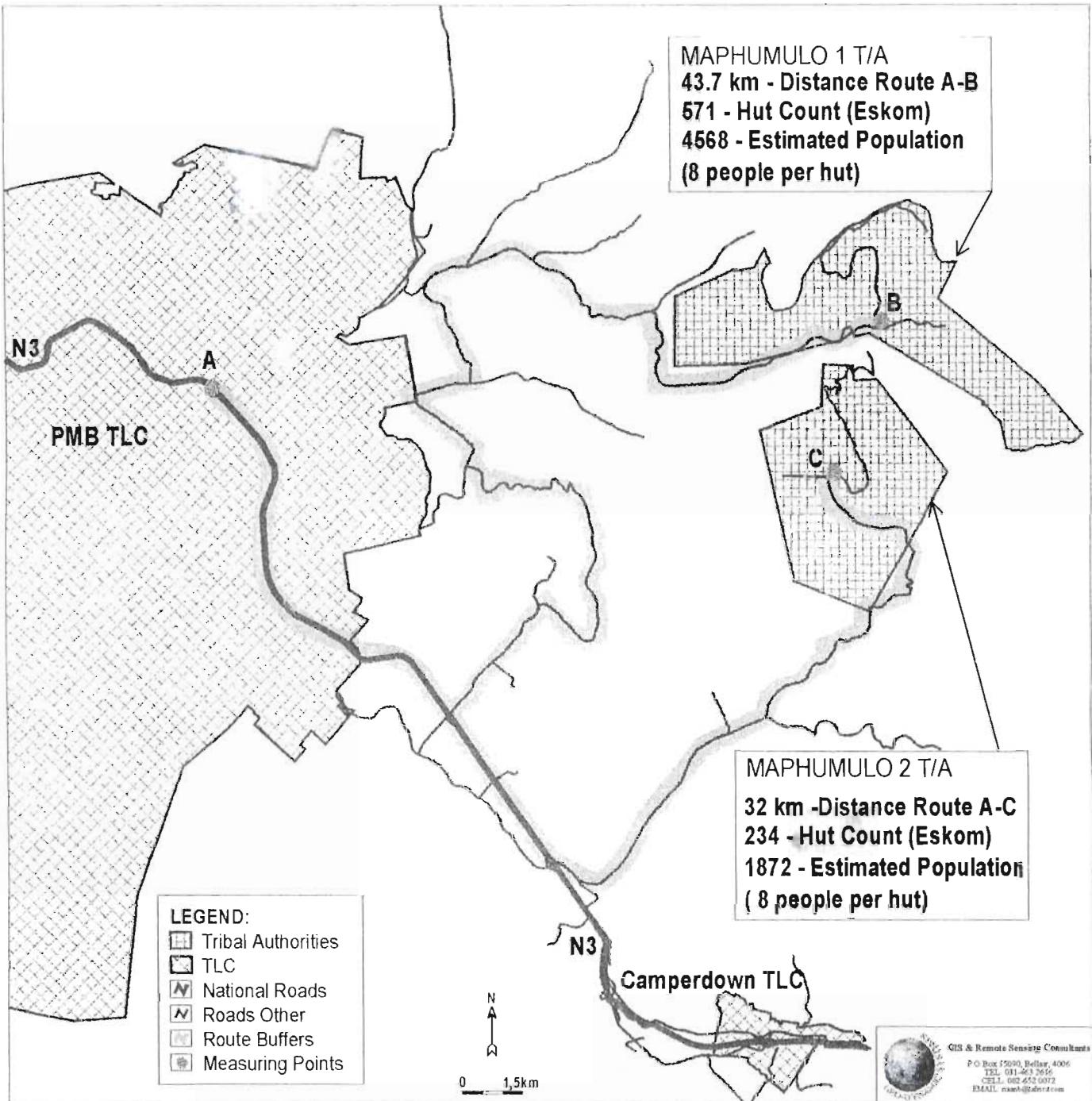


Figure 1: SCHEDULED AREAS

MAPHUMULO TRIBAL AUTHORITIES in NATAL CONTEXT



MAPHUMULO TRIBAL AUTHORITIES in iNdlovu REGION



A. COMMUNITY DETAILS

Name of Community: _____

Name of Local Government/Authority: _____

B. RESPONDENT DETAILS

Age (in complete years): _____

Gender:

Yes	No
-----	----

Marital Status:

Married	Single	divorced	Widow	separated	other
---------	--------	----------	-------	-----------	-------

Number of members per household:

Females	Males	Total

Number of Children per household

1-5	
6-10	
11-17	
>18	

Housing – Dwelling Type. Indicate below (Observe this question don't ask)

Hut	
Shack	
Brick	
Other(specify)	

What is the combined income per month for the household

Less than R500	
R501- R1000	
R1001- R1500	
>R1500	

C. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. ACCESS TO SERVICES

1. What are the primary sources of water for the household

Private tap	
Community tap	
Stream	
Well	
Borehole	
Other(specify)	

1.1. How far in time, from your home is the primary source of water supply?

--

1.2. What type of rights do you have to the water source?

Ownership (title)	Communal ownership	No rights	Other(specify)

2. What are the primary sources of fuel for cooking, lighting and heating for the household?

Source	Cooking	Lighting	Heating
Wood			
Paraffin			
Coal			
Gas			
Electricity			
Generator			
Candles			
Other(specify)			

2.1. If your primary source of fuel is wood

2.1.1. How far in time from your home are the collection points?

2.1.2. What type of rights do you have to the wood source?

Ownership	Communal ownership	No rights	Other(specify)

3. Does the community have the following? (Tick those that are available)

Hardware Shop	
Spaza Shop	
Supermarket	
Post Office	
Recreation/Community Center	
Banking Facilities	
Police Station	
Library	
Telephone	
Other(specify)	

2. COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

- 2.1. Does the community have any of the following institutions? (Tick those that exist in the community)

Community Trust	
Water Community	
Health Committee	
School Committee	
Land Owners Association	
Development project (such as MASKHANE) committees	
Non-Governmental Organisation	
Unions	
Tribal and Regional Authorities	
Community Boards	
Political Parties	
Civic Organisations	
Local Development Forum	
Other (Specify)	

- 2.2. If Yes to any of the above, who participates in these institutions? (Tick those that apply)

Community leaders	
Head of the household	
You & Your Spouse	
All Members of your Household	
Youth	
Community Elders only	
Traditional leaders	
Men only	
Women only	
Others (specify)	

- 2.3. Are the following facilities/services available for most of the households in the community?
State YES/NO for each.

		If YES comment on the condition of the service.
Electricity		
Tap water in the house		
Bore holes/standpipes		
Toilets		
Clinics		
Schools		
Other		

2.4. Is there any forum/organisation in the community?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.5. What are the objectives of the forum/organisation? E.g. sewing club, stokvel,etc

Name of Organisation	Objectives	

2.6. List and explain what do you think were the organisation/ forum achievements since the last elections? E.g. Women's forum, etc

Name of Organisation	Objectives	

2.7. What obstacles do these organisation face in achieving its objectives?

i.
ii.
iii.
iv.

2.8. Who is the most powerful authority figure in your community? If there is more than one, list according to power.

Name of Institution	Level of Power	Job description

2.9. Which institution is most powerful in your community? If there is more than one authority, list according to power.

Name of Institution	Level of Power	Function

D. ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

1. What are the sources of income of the household (indicate and rank multiple income generating activities)

Household cultivation	
Household livestock production	
Agricultural wage labour	
Non-agricultural wage labour	
Pensions/grants	
Living on income from rent collections	
Informal work	
Organised small business	
Traditional medicine	
Qualified professional	
Other (specify)	

2. Do you work on other farms?

Yes	
No	

- 2.1. If Yes, answer the following questions.

- 2.1.1. Are you employed

Full-time	
Part-time	
Seasonally	
Other (specify)	

- 2.1.2. Are you paid in

Cash	
Kind	
Both	

- 2.1.3. Do you receive any benefits?

Yes	
No	

- 2.1.3.1. If Yes, what are the benefits?

- 2.1.4. What tasks do you usually perform?

Cultivating	
Tending livestock	
Milking cows	
Ploughing	
Gardening	
Administration (clerical)	
Supervising	
Education (teacher)	
Other (specify)	

3. What sources of employment outside agriculture are available

3.1. Within the community

3.2. Within commutable distance

4. Do you have cash savings in a bank, building or other societies?

Yes	No
-----	----

E. **KNOWLEDGE AND EXPECTATIONS**

1. Have you heard about the demarcation process?

Yes	No
-----	----

2. What have you heard about demarcation?

i.
ii.
iii.
iv.
v.

3. Do you know what demarcation means?

Yes	No
-----	----

4. What do you think demarcation means?

5. Do you know the purpose of the demarcation process?

Yes	No
-----	----

6. Who is involved in the demarcation process? E.g. household members, chief, induna, community,

i.
ii.
iii.
iv.
v.

7. How did you hear about the demarcation issue? Indicate Yes/No and comment on the information you received

Information Sources(methods)	Yes/No	Comments
Workshops		
Demarcation publication		
Radio		
Television		
Newspapers		
Other, specify		

8. Who informed you about Demarcation? State Yes/No and provide a comment on your information that you received.

Information Source (Organisation)	Yes/No	Comment
Demarcation Board		
Traditional Leaders/Amakosi		
NGO		
District office(pilot)		

9. Where you informed on how the community can benefit from the demarcation process?

Yes	No
-----	----

- 9.1. Explain your answer to the above question

10. What specific needs would you like to be met through the demarcation process?

i.	
ii.	
iii.	
iv.	

11. Who would you prefer to have authority over your community? Indicate below.

i. Chief/Amakhosi	
ii. Local Authority	
iii. Other (specify)	

12. How could the Authority best help this community

13. Did you participate in the demarcation process?

YES	NO
-----	----

14. If Yes to the above question, how did you contribute?

15. Did you benefit from participating in the demarcation process?

16. Do you know that demarcation is about managing the land?

Yes	No
-----	----

17. Are you aware if the land is :

Comments

Tribal		
Municipal		
Other		

18. Do you presently own land?

Yes	No
-----	----

18.1 If no, did you own land in the past?

Yes	No
-----	----

18.2 If Yes, how did you lose the land? Please comment on your selection.

Sold the land		
Forced of the land		
Voluntarily gave up land		
Other		

18.3 Do you or any members of the household own land individually or jointly?

Yes	No
-----	----

18.4 If yes, complete the table below:

Owner	Arrangement	Land type	How acquired	When acquired	Land use

Codes:

Owner	Arrangement	Land type	How Acquired	When Acquired	Land Use
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1. Respondent	1. Communal	1. Arable	1. Redistribution		1. Arable
2. Husband/ partner	2. Individual	2. Grazing	2. Restitution		2. Grazing
3. Son/daughter	3. Mixed	3. Residential	3. Tenure reform		3. Residence
4. Parents	4. Other	4. Garden	4. Inheritance		4. Garden
5. Other relatives		5. other	5. Bought		5. other
6. Jointly			6. other		
7. Other					

18.5 Tenure of current residence

Owner	
Owned by wife	
Owned by husband	
Labour tenant	
Rented/Leased	
Other (state)	

18.6 Who makes decisions regarding land use in your household
(indicate relationship to respondent)

Female	
Male	
Jointly	
Other	

19. Did you experience any conflicts over land?

20. Where you removed from your land because of conflict. If Yes comment.

21. Did you or your household receive any credit or grants from the government?

YES	NO
-----	----

21.1 If yes, from who? _____

21.2 how much? _____

22 Ownership of livestock

22.1 Do you own any of the following livestock?

Livestock	Amount owned
Cattle	
Sheep	
Goats	
Poultry	
Pigs	
Donkeys	
Other	

23 Do you have any Traditional leaders in your community?

Yes	No
-----	----

23.1 If Yes, what roles does the Traditional leader take in your community?

23.2 Do you have any objections with Traditional leaders having authority in your community?

Comments

Yes		
No		

23.3 Are Traditional leaders : Also indicate how many traditional leaders are there

Male	
Female	
Both	

24 Do you have any fears about the demarcation process?

Comments

Yes		
No		

E. CHALLENGES/PROBLEMS FACED

1. What are the major immediate problems facing your household?

i.
ii.
iii.
iv.
v.

2. What are the major long-term needs of the household?

i.
ii.
iii.
iv.
v.

3. Can you afford to pay for services such as water, sanitation, rates and taxes on land?

Yes	No
-----	----

4. Do you think you should pay for the services?

Yes	No
-----	----

5. Explain your answer to the above question.

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