



**AN ORAL HISTORY OF RURAL VIOLENCE: NARRATIVES OF VIOLENCE IN
EMAKHUZENI (SPRINGVALE), IXOPO, KWAZULU-NATAL. 1980-1990**

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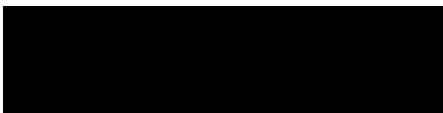
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DECLARATION

I, **Nomathemba Zondi**, declare that this thesis is the product of my original thoughts, knowledge and skills. All the citations, references and borrowed ideas were acknowledged accordingly. The thesis is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It has not previously been submitted to any other institution or university for a degree.

PhD Candidate

Nomathemba Zondi



DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my two daughters, Ayanda and Asanda Ngcongo, who endured tremendous inconvenience when I was working on this study.

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I am grateful to God the Almighty for blessing me with wisdom. With God on my side, I was able to achieve such a milestone! Moving from one place to another and changing from one school to another was not easy but it made me curious and want to know the reasons for leaving my place of birth, eMakhuzeni (Springvale). This thesis would not have been completed if it was not for the participation of the survivors of the violence of 1983 to 1986 in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal province. I would like to thank everyone who made the writing of this thesis possible. To my participants from Jolivet and Ixopo, I say "Thank you!"

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ABSTRACT

The 1980s saw both rural and urban South Africa being gripped by internecine violence. This research is a study of the violence that occurred in the rural area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in Ixopo. It is a historical account conducted using the qualitative methodology with reliance on oral history. The study presents narratives from eyewitness accounts to reconstruct the history of the violence that occurred in the 1980s. The study revealed that, in spite of the political violence that occurred during the apartheid era in the cities, rural-rural Black-on-Black violence within the same community was at its peak, it had nothing to do with the apartheid violence. The study reveals major instigators that always led to this violence: traditional festivities-where young men usually engaged themselves in stick fighting as a test of their masculinity, which often culminated in violence. The study traced the root of this violence between Ntshona and Dukathole *izigodi* (factions) to the 1960s as these two factions had once been at loggerheads. This hostile relationship led to incessant killings, displacement of people, loss of lives and property, psychological trauma, migration to other areas and disruption of economic activities, amongst other dire consequences. The study uses the Frustration Aggression theory, Relative Deprivation theory and Masculinity theory to contextualise arguments regarding the reasons for the eruption of violence in this locality. The impact of the violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had far-reaching consequences, the most notable being the underdevelopment it brought to the society as many prominent people who would attract development to the area relocated to other peaceful regions. There was a lack of infrastructure and loss of numerical strength that would have attracted government attention. The study came up with recommendations in the conclusion to end such hostilities among the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) community, namely constructive programmes for youths that would help in empowering them, trauma counselling for the affected community, economic reconstruction and development of the area, building recreational facilities that would aid in intergroup sporting activities, sustenance of the Peace Committee, and encouraging traditional authorities to work with councillors to maintain a peaceful atmosphere within the area.

Keywords: Violence, narratives, oral history, rural area, eMakhuzeni (Springvale), *Ntshona*, *Dukathole*, faction fights.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organization
BAAB	Black Affairs Advisory Board
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COGTA	Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
Contralesa	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DEC	Department of Education and Culture
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
DET	Department of Education and Training
FEDsem	Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa
GNU	Government of National Unity
HAYCO	Hammarisdale Youth Congress
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KLA	KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MPURA	Mpumalanga Residents Association
NP	National Party
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers
PAC	Pan African Congress
RHC	Red Hand Commando
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers Union
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SASO	South African Students Organisation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force

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CHAPTER ONE

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Most societies have experienced some form of violence in their evolution, with far-reaching socio-economic and political consequences in many instances. Violence occurring at the societal level takes different forms. It is precipitated by different factors. Violence has different consequences and serves as a catalyst for social change in some instances. Of all the types of violence, political violence has the most far-reaching consequences. It takes on the form of riots, ethnic cleansing, terrorism, revolution, genocide, rebellion, torture, and police brutality. Violence can also be either legitimate or illegitimate.

The historiography of the South African society attests to the occurrence of different sources of violence. The first was the Dutch infiltration, which occurred from 1652 to 1795, followed by British colonialism, which occurred from 1803 onwards. Both the Dutch and the British used different forms of violence to subjugate South Africa's indigenous population. The period between 1815 and 1840 witnessed widespread political chaos and conflict amongst the indigenous communities, which resulted in the Mfecane – the dispersal of different indigenous communities when Shaka Zulu exerted his militaristic might on those communities to consolidate his power over the Zulu Kingdom. In the 20th century, the Apartheid regime, under the Nationalist Party, perpetrated different forms of violence against the disenfranchised Black communities during its 45-year reign before the advent of democracy in 1994. Even after the advent of democracy, a new form of violence emerged amongst the indigenous Africans as they sought to exercise their political hegemony on other ethnic and political groupings. KwaZulu-Natal province was beset with internecine violence occurring between and amongst tribal groupings with allegiance to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)¹ and the African National Congress (ANC). It is in the latter context that this study

¹Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) Inkatha Freedom Party was formed on the 21st of March 1975 by Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is a former member of the African National Congress. The Inkatha Freedom Party has a large number of supporters in KwaZulu-Natal. The majority of people who live in KwaZulu-Natal are amaZulu, which the largest ethnic group in South Africa. Tracing back their history, they were

investigates the nature, causes and consequences of political violence amongst two ethnic groups in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal. As an introductory chapter, this chapter provides a brief background to the study locality, expounding on why it was chosen. Thereafter, it briefly introduces the historical and socio-economic context of the research locality followed by an analysis of the characteristics of the unrest. The researcher presents the motivation for undertaking the study, the assumptions upon which this research study is based, the main arguments this study seeks to interrogate and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Rationale for the study

The 1980s witnessed heightened levels of political violence in South Africa, as the White minority regime sought to suppress rising opposition from the United Democratic Front (UDF)² and later the broad-based civil society organisation named the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). This violence refrained from pitting Whites against Blacks, but this conflict took on what has been termed “Black-on-Black” violence, with the apartheid government being alleged to have set up special units to foment such violence. The “Black-on-Black” violence was welcomed by the White ruling government as it served as a useful distraction from the regime and a portrayal of an inevitable outcome of endemic tribal enmities. During the 1980s, conflict swept across the urban townships of the then Natal Province and rural Zululand. Although violence has been studied in South Africa, the research focus has been exclusively on political violence and rural conflicts. Precisely, no such study was undertaken in the study area, specifically the rural village of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) located in the Ixopo District of KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. This conflict consequently affected household economies, as people were displaced and rendered homeless, landless, and traumatised; their livestock and personal possessions were looted. It is against this context that the study hopes to interrogate the actions taken by the post-apartheid government to pacify the victims of the violence by restoring land to its rightful owners who lost it

the dominant group among other ethnic groups under their powerful leader King Shaka. When Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi formed the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), he formed it as a Zulu cultural movement. It attracted many amaZulu who continued to support it even when it was a political party especially in the rural areas.

²The United Democratic Front was formed on the 20th of August 1983 by Allan Boesak. Its aim was to create a united and non-racial South Africa. Many people who formed UDF were trade unionists, students, women organisations and parachurch organisations. It came to an end in 1991.

during this period. The study also aims to portray the impact of rural factional fights on household economies. Lastly, the thesis seeks to investigate the factors that led to violence and to ascertain whether the underlying political motivations precipitated this conflict. In this respect, Meyer (1999) argued that factional fighting could be linked to rampant urban-based political events that were taking place in the country. Meyer (1999) postulated that this conflict spilt over to the rural areas, as traditional leaders were contesting for political hegemony in their areas of jurisdiction.

1.3 Background to the study

This study analyses the causes of the violent conflict that took place in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)³ in the Ixopo District, KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is a rural area under Ubuhlebezwe District in Ixopo. It is under the jurisdiction of *amakhosi* (traditional leaders). The political violence that took place in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s has been studied extensively. These studies were conducted by researchers such as Hughes (1987), Minnaar (1991 and 1992), Morris (1994), Ainslie and de Haas (1995), Freund (1996), Jeffery (1997), and Kaarsholm (2006). These studies focused on the political violence, examining the role of the African National Congress (ANC), United Democratic Front (UDF), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the apartheid state and elements of the “third force”. This study focuses on the rural context of the violence that involved the youth in the 1980s. During the 1980s saw both rural and urban South Africa was gripped by internecine violence. During this period, the two dominant Black political parties in South Africa were the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The United Democratic Front (UDF) was in support of the the African National Congress (ANC), which was still banned at that point in time⁴. The protests that occurred in the 1980s took the form

³eMakhuzeni was taken from the word Amakhuze, this is a very big area that spreads to Bulwer area, both *Amakhuze* are under Ixopo, the first one is eMakhuzeni (Springvale) that is under study and the second Amakhuze (eMakhuzeni), located in Bulwer, an adjacent village. The area under study eMakhuzeni has Springvale affixed to it as it incorporates both areas within the boundaries.

⁴The United Democratic Front (UDF) was a major anti-apartheid and a non-racial organisation of the 1980s. It was formed in 1983, initially to fight the new Tricameral Parliament (this was the name given to the parliament of South Africa from 1984-1994 when the National Party was still in power). Inkatha, is now known as the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party), an organisation that was led by KwaZulu homelands Chief Minister Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. It was founded in 1975. After a meeting in London in 1979, Buthelezi criticised the African National Congress' (ANC) tactics of armed struggle and international economic sanctions and as a result, these two groups fell. The ANC was initially founded as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) on 8 January 1912 in Bloemfontein. The founders of the organisation were Saul Msane, Josiah Gumede, John Dube, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, and Sol Plaatje along with chiefs, people's representatives, church organisations, and others. Its aim

of internecine violence that sought to dethrone the apartheid regime. The two political parties fought to gain political turf against apartheid. The apartheid system excluded Black people in any decision making in the country's governance and denied most of the disenfranchised population basic services. Although the main objective of the political parties was to fight apartheid, the violence also took the form of Black-on-Black violence as both parties jostled to gain political hegemony amongst their constituencies. It is against this context that this thesis seeks to ascertain the nature, extent and consequences of Black-on-Black violence in two affected communities in KwaZulu-Natal province.

At the beginning of the 1980s, eMakhuzeni (Springvale) could be described as a "traditional" village characterised by gender divisions, with girls performing domestic chores and young men tending cattle. Stick and fist fighting was a popular form of entertainment amongst young men and has long been part of the socialisation process for young African boys in South Africa (Carton and Morrell, 2012). There were three main groupings or alliances in eMakhuzeni (Springvale); the *Ntshona*, *Dulela*, and *Dukathole*. These were initially formed to contest in traditional dance and stick fighting competitions. For the members to determine the group to join, they ought to have certain surnames as affirmation of their identity.

Rural conflict that occurred in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) involved two factions namely, *Ntshona* and *Dukathole*. The violence between these two factions, in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), created a community divide, social instability, fear, and loss of lives. These two groups' competing ideologies, aims and interests led to several deaths and the displacement of families. Thieves took advantage of this conflict and began looting unguarded houses as their occupants had fled from the violence besieging the community. Household goods were stolen, and so was livestock, which comprised the families' assets. Assumptions are that the conflict started when some young men manipulated stick fighting games to revenge some old grudges. The conflict coincided with the political conflict that ravaged KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s between IFP and those groups aligned to the UDF. This "Black-on-Black" violence took place at a time when the apartheid regime experienced the pressure to disband, and this strategy was

was to bring all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms. It was given the new name the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923.

used to render the country ungovernable. Anger was directed against the chiefs (*amakhosi*) through which the apartheid government's *de facto* hegemony extended over their constituency. The chiefs (*amakhosi*) were perceived as puppets of the apartheid regime illegitimately elected to manage various ethnic groups; thus, during the violence, they had very little control over their subjects. Another assumption was that the problems affecting eMakhuzeni (Springvale) stemmed from the wider violent political contestation unfolding in the country. Given the timeline, and the fact that many of the young men involved in the conflict were new migrant labourers flocking into cities such as Pietermaritzburg and Durban were politically sensitised about the atrocities of apartheid. Although this perception may be true, the violence was also an outcome of localised factors, particularly the contestation over scarce resources.

1.4 Historical and socio-economic background of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

Ixopo is situated on the tributary of the Mkhomazi river in KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. The word "Ixopo", or rather "Ixobho", as it should be correctly spelt in isiZulu, is the name given to the river that passes through the area on its western and northern borders. In 1878, the then magistrate's court proclaimed that Ixopo was a town, which was developed through land presented to the authorities by one Mrs John Grant of Lansdowne. The town is situated on a sub-division of Ellerton Farm, which was also donated for the development of the town. Within the same year, postal and railway services were extended to Ixopo from the north. In 1880, Martinus Stuart opened a court branch in Highflats, thus establishing stronger links between Ixopo and the surrounding hinterland. Commercial development in Ixopo started with a few trading stores and associated outlets. The first improvement involved the tarring of the road that goes through the Umkomaas valley to the Eastern Cape, but due to problems with the railway line, obtaining stocks and supplies was difficult. However, the town grew steadily owing to improvement in communication and an increase in the population. Over the last few decades, the town has experienced varied development trends. This is the urban part of Ixopo. The general economy of Ixopo has declined following the changes that were brought by the repeal of apartheid laws and the introduction of the democratic dispensation in 1994. The decline in the agricultural sector was caused by the lack of support for small-scale farmers.

Linkages between the town and the agricultural sector were weakened while the number of public administrative services provided from Ixopo also increased. The level of informal trading also increased while the existing infrastructure has not been coping adequately with an increase in demand (Ixopo Town Regeneration Plan, 2010).

eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is a rural area that falls under Ixopo (Ubuhlebezwe District). The area falls under the jurisdiction of the Traditional Authority; other areas that fall under the same district are Vukani Vumakwenza, Nyuswa, Ukuthula Mjoli-Mawushe, Ikhwezi Lokusa, Shiyabanye-Nhlangwini and Dlamini-Vusathina Mazulu.⁵ Springvale was divided into two areas, a church-run mission and *Esabelweni*, which was not under any church but, was under the leadership of a headman (*Induna*).

To understand eMakhuzeni, it is necessary to trace its socio-economic background dating back to the 1980s. The area was characterised by high levels of poverty. Although agriculture had always been their major economic activity, it had its own challenges. This area did not have enough water as people depended on small streams that dried up in winter. The only perennial rivers in the area were Insunguze and Umntungwane ; however, these rivers were far away from residents' homes. De Haan (2010) indicates that during the late 1970s, tensions between the Springvale Mission and its tenants, supported by the inhabitants of the neighbouring location, became more and more evident, reflecting the growing unrest in South Africa as a whole. The complaints levelled against the Mission encompassed poor service delivery in terms of health care and lack of development. In 1979, a proposal to start a community project was made and it consisted of health and adult education programmes. The inhabitants of the area suffered from chronic malnutrition, gross starvation, poverty, and a multiplicity of other diseases. During the first half of the 20th century, the living conditions in Springvale became worse as a result of rinderpest, locust plagues, TB and in particular, the socio-political developments taking place in the country. According to Steinberg (2008), Springvale became indistinct from the neighbouring African reserves. Its soil became unfit for crop cultivation and its plots were too small to sustain the growing population, resulting in the adult population drifting into the cities in search of work (de Haan, 2010).

⁵ These are municipal areas together with Amakhuze that after the national census of 2001 fell under the Ubuhlebezwe district.

However, it is difficult to determine the exact date when the violence began in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Several incidents were reported to have occurred before 1984 and these may be regarded as factors that contributed to the violence that broke out in the 1980s. Before the violence that broke out in 1984, there was an *Umemulo*⁶ where some people who belonged to *Ntshona* and *Dukathole* factions embroiled themselves in a fight. After this incident, people from the two warring groups made peace and re-united. However, this peace was short-lived as the violence erupted again in 1984 when two men from the *Ntshona* and another from the *Dukathole* faction fought over a woman with whom they both fell in love. This violent incident resulted in several people being murdered, homes being destroyed and burned down and consequently, people were displaced and fled and sought refuge in other areas.

1.5 Motivation for this study

The motivation to undertake this study emanated from the researcher's own experiences and those of her family members who had fallen victim to the spate of violence in the 1980s. Ten years ago, the researcher's family moved to New Germany (one of the small suburbs) in Pinetown on the western side of Durban. When the researcher was asked about where she lived, she said that she lived in New Germany. Having been given this answer, the inquisitive person asked the researcher to elaborate further. The researcher was asked, "Ikuphi inkaba yakho?" (This literally means, "Where did you leave part of your belly-button?" (This translates to: Where do you originate?))

This question raised the researcher's self-consciousness regarding her genealogical roots, as the memories of her childhood were vague. The researcher recalled her family moving from place to place as she was growing up. The researcher's family did not settle in any particular place as they believed that they would be avenged by the warring *isigodi*. The researcher's father did not want to take part in this fight, but the fact that his surname was Zondi, aligned him to the *Ntshona*, a grouping dominated by the Zondi clan. Everywhere the family settled, the members had to hide their place of birth fearing that one day the violence that often occurred in eMakhuzeni

⁶*Umemulo* is a traditional Zulu coming of age ceremony for women. The rituals involve slaughtering a cow and the traditional Zulu dance *ukusina* involving a spear. A woman's *Umemulo* ceremony signifies that she is now ready for marriage.

(Springvale) would erupt again resulting in the family being embroiled in it, again. The researcher hardly got clear answers from her family regarding why and how the violence started. This created the curiosity that prompted the researcher to delve into the unanswered questions with regard to her roots and the cause of this violence.

The researcher was born in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and started her schooling in this area, but at the end of 1984, her family had to leave the area due to widespread violence. EMakhuzeni (Springvale) area had only one school, which catered for Grade 1, 2 and 3 learners. When a learner completed Grade 3, he or she had to attend school at Springvale Mission for the remaining years. The area was not very far from eMakhuzeni (Springvale). This school was managed by the Anglican Missionary Church. The researcher's family left the area when she was in Grade 3. Although her father did not participate in the fight, the family had to move because the family's surname suggested that they belonged to the *Ntshona* faction.

The researcher was eight years old when the family left eMakhuzeni (Springvale), but she still remembers the sadness she felt when she left the rural homestead, leaving her childhood friends behind. The researcher's feelings were also mixed. She remembers the day her mother and three siblings left the area (her other sibling was staying with the researcher's grandparents in Richmond); it was early in the morning and the fighters were singing the war song "*Thath' umkhonto ugwaze phansi*" (Take a spear and point it down). The researcher could not see them but only heard their voices. The family was at the bus stop. Due to the shortage of buses and taxis in the area at that time, it was unwise to wait, and people relied on the benevolence of a White man called Nompundu by the locals who was driving his van in the area. Nompundu owned a farm nearby, and this is where most locals worked. The researcher is not certain why the White man was there; however, he gave the family a lift, and packed them like sardines in this van. The only thing the family members took with them was just their clothes packed in a bag. That was the last time the researcher was in the area until a few years ago when she visited the area to collect data for this doctoral thesis.

During the 1980s, the researcher's father was renting a room in KwaMashu, north of Durban metropolitan area. The room could hardly accommodate the whole family, compelling him to move to Lindelani (an informal settlement that was under the

leadership of one Thomas Shabalala). Lindelani was an area dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The house that the family lived in was very close to Mr Shabalala's house and his offices; and almost every week there would be a meeting. What the researcher remembers the most is that these offices were also used as "community courts". During this time, there were police stations in the area so to maintain discipline in the area those who were suspected of committing any crime would be brought to these offices and were *sjamboked*⁷ as part of their punishment.

There were no schools in Lindelani, so the researcher had to attend a school in Ntuzuma, a nearby township dominated by UDF. The researcher felt relieved that the life of sleeping in the forest at night due to the violence was over. The researcher's family had left everything in eMakhuzeni (Springvale); their home, furniture, and the livestock their father owned. The family had relatives who belonged to *Dulela*, a group that was not involved in the violence. They helped by taking care of the livestock until the researcher's father decided to sell them. They kept the furniture until the researcher's father hired a truck to collect it towards the end of 1986.

During the 1980s there was chaos in the townships. Sporadic riots occurred in KwaZulu-Natal as the UDF, which was aligned to the ANC and the IFP were engaged in violent confrontations to gain political turf in the province. The researcher's stay in Lindelani came to an end at the end of 1986 when the family had to move to the Ndwedwe area (a rural area close to Verulam) where there was relative peace until 1990. From then on, the inhabitants of the area started to be involved in political violence; the challenge was that they kept on changing from one political party to the next. One minute the area was controlled by the IFP and the next minute it would be controlled by the ANC. A lot of people also died in the area due to political violence. In all these areas, the family had to hide its identity because members were scared that people from eMakhuzeni (Springvale) might trace them. The researcher believes that her family was traumatised, especially her father because she did not recall him ever having a long talk about any of the violence in any area the family lived in.

The personal experience described above motivated the researcher to conduct the study as she was psychologically unsettled during her adulthood and could hardly determine why the family was displaced from a beautiful rural homestead and the

⁷ To be beaten using a whip. The word sjambok is Afrikaans for whip.

The map below shows the location of Ubuhlebezwe Municipality under which Amakhuze/eMakhuzeni falls.

Study Area

- Springvale Mission
- KoZondi
- KoShange

1.6 Significance of the study

10

apartheid rule. This study seeks to demystify the notion that the violence that occurred in the research locality was in fact not politically motivated, although political conscientisation from the urban to the rural areas may have fuelled the violence.

This study also adds to contemporary socio-historical debates on political resistance in South Africa. The study offers an opportunity for the survivors of violence to find some closure on the traumatic experiences they were subjected to at the time. It also adds to the histories of youth political activism in the rural context, an area that has largely been neglected in narratives about historical resistance in South Africa.

1.7 Research methodology and approach

The study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative studies provide rich insights into issues where little is known or documented on a particular event. Through an exploration of issues around violence, the study provides an important record of historical events that can inspire future studies. It provides a baseline that enables a further analysis of the subject under investigation. In this study, survivors of violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) provide an account of their experiences with regards to the events leading to violence, coupled with the consequences of these events.

For this study, 30 participants were purposefully selected using both purposive and snowball sampling technique. The participants that were selected for the study had to satisfy the following selection criteria: had their genealogical roots in the study locality, lived through the violence, and had the ability to narrate their experiences. Given their lived experience in a violence-torn area, this group adds credibility to the study as they have a first-hand account of the nature, cause and extent of the violence in question.

In-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with the victims of the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence. Oral histories of victims of the violence were recorded. Oral historical methods can be a complex process that is dependent on the interaction between the interviewer and an interviewee about past events through constant probing. Interview fatigue (given the age of participants), not remembering the events and avoidance of sensitive issues were some of the precautions taken by the researcher. Attempts have been made to source archival material on the community, which yielded very little records on the violence. *Ilanga laseNatal* (an isiZulu newspaper) referred to the violence when the attacks were taking place in the cities,

especially in Umlazi, a location south of Durban where some of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) attacked each other. The Daily Sun also covered the violence between the two factions (*izigodi*) that were embroiled in the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence. The researcher visited Ixopo court and was advised to go to the Highflats police station where dockets were kept. Pietermaritzburg Archives and Kielie Campbell Archive were also visited when some information about the violence was kept on record.

Throughout this study, the term clan has been used to refer to a group of people sharing the same ancestors, and have the same surname while the word *izigodi* (factions) is used to refer to tribal groups that were formed by the different clans. Many interviewees belonged to the same clan and in the study, their surnames instead of first names were used to distinct them.

1.8 Prior studies

Many scholars have written much about different forms of violence occurring in South Africa, with most of them focusing on the political violence that erupted in the 1980s between UDF and Inkatha (now known as Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]). The fight against apartheid in South Africa resulted in political violence in both rural and urban areas. Researchers who have written about political violence include: McNulty (2013) whose study focused on Umbumbulu, an area south of KwaZulu-Natal; Mathis (2013) whose study also focused on the Umbumbulu conflict between the Embo and Makhanya clans; Mchunu's (2013) study that focused on the political violence of the 1980s/1990s in KwaNxamalala, in KwaZulu-Natal Midlands (Pietermaritzburg); Bonnin (2001), who focused on political violence occurring between the UDF and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal; and a study conducted by Marks (1986) that focused on political violence between the IFP and UDF.

Most factional fights in South Africa were caused by shortage of resources such as land, job opportunities and so on. Factional fights took place in the rural areas and in the mines. Some researchers that focused on factional fights include Mare and Hamilton (1998) whose study examined factional fights in rural northern KwaZulu-Natal while Sithole (1992) covered the factional fights in Umzinto and Umbumbulu areas. Sithole (1998) focused on factional fights that occurred in the Umlazi area and most of these factional fights were taking place because people were fighting over

scarce resources. Clegg (1979) wrote a lot about inter-tribal wars that took place in Umsinga in KwaZulu-Natal, and these too, were also fought over scarce resources. Beinart (1981) wrote about the rural conflict of Qumbu in former Transkei (now Eastern Cape province). Breckenridge's (1990) study focused on the formation of *isitshozi* (a gang of criminals based on certain ethnic groups) that left several people traumatised in the mines. All these studies are examined in this thesis to ascertain the nature, causes and consequences of violence in the study locality.

1.9 Objectives of the research and key research questions

The aim of this study is to ascertain if there was any relationship between the violence that gripped the community in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and the political violence that gripped the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s between ANC-aligned UDF and IFP at the said time. On the other hand, if there was no relationship between the political violence that occurred between the two political movements, then what would be some of the underlying factors responsible for the violence in the research locality? In the documented history of the liberation struggle in South Africa and its various regions, scant attention has been dedicated to an understanding of the nature and extent of rural violence. There has been a bias towards documenting urban contexts where trade unions, political movements, organs of civil society organisations and faith-based religious movements that have been engaged in the struggle towards democracy. A tendency towards focusing on township violence has been predominant during this era. Hence, the objective of this research is to document an untold story of the nature, causes and consequences of inter-clan conflict.

Violent encounters in rural areas were left largely outside the scope of the history of violence, and as McEwan (2003) argued, even South Africa's post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) ignored rural people's agency about telling their own stories. Oral history thus provides a means of uncovering what has otherwise been hidden, including factional fights, boundary disputes, scarce resources, and poverty.

An area that has been missed is the impact that migration has had in flaring violence in the rural areas. The extent to which urban radicalisation of freedom movements through association with progressive social movements in the city was carried over to the rural homestead, influencing the family, extended kinships, and the identities of

rural folks. How this dichotomy of urban-rural radicalisation of the rural community structures by the ANC and IFP is examined in this thesis.

Using oral history as a methodological tool, the study sets out to give voice to the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) by recording their experiences of rural violence through life histories. More broadly, the study focuses on how subsequent generations in the area remember the events, and how the process of healing has been in the post-apartheid period. This study also seeks to explore the kind of trauma arising from displacement as well as the loss of homes, livestock and farming fields and the effects of resettlement without any compensation for those who decided to leave the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and build houses in other areas.

1.10 Main argument and contribution to the study

This thesis seeks to establish the causes and impact of the violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). It also seeks to establish if there was any connection between the violence that occurred in eMakhuzeni and the political violence of the 1980s that took place between the UDF and the IFP. This study also documents the original narratives of the conflict as conveyed by the survivors of the violence.

1.11 Scope and limitations of the current study

This study uses oral history to record the experiences of the participants who had been victims of violence and the subsequent displacement. Since this violence took place some three decades ago, many elderly victims may have died. Hence, the study is limited to those young people who have experienced the violence and are now adults. Written records covering different aspects of the violence are virtually non-existent as such records were not maintained. In addition, considering that the study locality is a rural area, perhaps it missed the eye of journalists who focused primarily on the urban context of the violence that was unfolding in the country. Apart from the violence targeting the apartheid state, the UDF and IFP were also in conflict, which spread to the rural areas. Additionally, those victims that fled the area did not return, hence contacting them was a major constraint as they were dispersed in different parts of the province and the country at large. Undertaking a tracer study would have been too costly and time-consuming. However, those that survived the violence and returned to the research locality were interviewed. This cohort of participants, in many instances,

had been youths when the violence unfolded, although it now constitutes the adult population.

1.12 General structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises six chapters. *Chapter One* introduced the study, focusing on the main thrust of the study, its nature, and scope. It also briefly provided the motivation behind the study, the need for a study of this nature, the context of the study, and the basic assumptions underlying the study. *Chapter Two* comprises a literature review on the key concepts that the study seeks to interrogate. The concept of violence and the different forms of violence are examined in some depth followed by the nature, causes and scope of violence at a global scale, on the African continent, and on the local context. It also reflects on the chronology of important events that took place in the 1980s in South Africa.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework upon which this study is based, followed by the methodology that was used to gather data. It provides a historical background to the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in the years leading to the 1980s. This includes the socio-economic background, participants' demographic profiles, and the area's leadership structure. This chapter also examines how the factions *Ntshona*, *Dukathole*, and *Dulela* were formed and how their respective clans interacted before and at the time of the violence. It also examines the role of traditional leaders as the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was under the jurisdiction of the *Amakhosi*. The chapter further examines masculinity and the history of stick fighting and other violent games and their impacts on the lives of young men.

Chapter Four deals with the broader canvas against which this thesis is located. It focuses on the long-term and immediate causes of the violent conflict, such as poverty and the migrant labour system. *Chapter Five* presents the findings of the research and the oral interviews that were transcribed and from which deductions and conclusions were made. *Chapter Six* focuses on the summary of findings and the lessons learnt from the study. It examines the areas that still need further exploration, and this is followed by a section on the important conclusions drawn from the study and concludes by proffering a set of recommendations.

1.13 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a brief background to the violent conflict that took place in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal. It has also presented the rationale for the study, the major objectives of the study, key research questions, the significance of the study, research methodology and approach, prior studies, scope of the study, and the concepts underpinning the study were defined. The chapter outlined the study limitations, and the general structure of the study. It also provided the historical and socio-economic background of the area under study. A brief profile of the research locality has also been presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Throughout human civilisation, violence, which arises from a variety of causes, has continued to be part of the human society. Violence can take place at individual, community, and societal levels; it can even manifest amongst and between societies. An increase in incidences of violence affects the security status of nation-states, and large quantities of resources are expended in curbing this scourge.

Violence can be psychological, social, and physical in nature. Victims of violence suffer from post-traumatic illnesses, depending on the nature, and type of violence. In its intense form, violence results in the displacement of people from their environment and quite often, they migrate to other regions and neighbouring states. Those that return to their place of origin are often faced with abject poverty as they do not have any resources to restart their lives. It is in this context that the literature review provides an exploration of the different dimensions of violence. The chapter defines the concept of violence and examines the different types of violence and their causes. It particularly examines structural violence in the South African context, a phenomenon which was legitimated through policies both in the colonial and apartheid periods as a means of enforcing White hegemony over most of the Black population. It also examines the impact of the Mfecane (1815 -1840) and the two Anglo-Boer Wars (First Anglo-Boer War, 1880 -1881 and the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899 -1902), which has a historical bearing on how the South African society has been shaped in its earlier evolution.

2.2 Definition of violence

The word violence derives from the Latin verb '*violentia*' that means injure or plunder. Achtenberg (2014) quotes Plato where he defines violence as a situation when one's life is forcefully interrupted or violated. Lawrence (1970), states that violence connotes illegitimate use of excessive force. Lawrence (1970) defines violence as an end of a range of aggressive behaviours that are characterised by severe force. Lawrence (1970) quotes H.L. Nieburg (1968) by defining violence as direct or indirect action

implied to restrain, injure, or destroy a person's property. He concludes that all acts of violence can be put to rational use whether they are directed towards oneself or others. A definition that meets all the requirements can be said to encompass the entire class of actions, which result or are intended to result in serious injury to life or its material conditions. The serious injury must include the biological damage, severe physical restraint or property destruction and psychological impairment (Lawrence, 1970).

As mentioned in Chapter One, there are different forms of violence and political violence has far-reaching consequences for the entire society. Owing to the context of this study, it is impossible to discuss all forms of violence as the study restricts itself to the different forms of political violence, which are relevant to the topic under investigation. It takes on forms such as riots, ethnic cleansing, civil war, terrorism, revolution, genocide, rebellion, torture, and police brutality. These forms will be discussed in some depth in the following sections.

2.3 Political violence

Balcells (2015) stated that the process of defining political violence runs into a serious debate as the concept cannot be defined as one word but as two words, "political" and "violence". Thus, this concept can be defined as "repertoires of collective action that involves great physical force and causes damage to an adversary in order to impose political aims" (Della Porta and Tarrow, 1986: 614, cited in Della Porta, 1995:2 and cited in Balcells, 2015:377). Political violence includes phenomena that range from mass protests, coups, and terrorism to riots, massacres, ethnic cleansing, and genocide (Kalyvas, 2013) as cited in Balcells (2015:377). Balcells (2015) emphasises the importance of including institutions when studying political violence because they are systems of rules, beliefs, norms, and organisations that collectively generate regularity of (social) behaviour (Greif, 2006). Since institutions are often targeted by political violence, they are expected to play a role in explaining the violence spurred by political aims. She argued that institutions create opportunities and dimensions for the use of violence. If citizens that fall under their rule are satisfied with them and they all notice that there is inclusiveness, they will make violent conflict disappear.

Balcells (2015) has further stated that existing literature on civil war has shown that institutions vary seriously. Thus, violence has considered both ethnic and non-ethnic civil wars. Scholars that have studied ethnic conflicts have stressed that institutions

play a role in preventing this type of violence. Horowitz (1985), as cited in Balcells (2015), explains that the distribution of economic and political power between ethnic groups is crucial in fostering an understanding of ethnic conflict. For example, “civil wars and armed conflicts are most likely in ethnocracies that violate the principles of ethnic self-rule” (Wimmer, 2013:6). Therefore, institutions can help prevent these wars.

As alluded to earlier, political violence is instigated by human rights abuses. Usually, it is the State that abuses human rights and as a result, people rebel against it, which they perceive to be inefficient and tyrannical. Abrahams (2010) stated that apartheid may thus be seen as a system of institutionalised violence, in that its success could only be achieved by means of enforcing repressive laws. Institutional violence stems from the establishment of explicit rules within a particular society where such rules may inculcate a culture of racism and separatism, as was the case in apartheid South Africa. During the apartheid system, the distinction between political and criminal conduct was often blurred. ‘Freedom fighters’ justified their conduct as a legitimate weapon against a racist regime. Various laws such as segregation and pass laws enacted by the State entrenched political violence across racial barriers.

As alluded to in earlier sections, factional fights are common among African people and in many instances, they result in political conflict and armed rebellion. Cases in point include conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Rwanda, and Sudan among many others. Internecine violence can also be perpetrated through the outbreak of civil wars and the formation of terrorist groups. Cases in point are Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al-Shabaab whose origin is Somalia. The Deprivation Theory explains why people in Nigeria engaged in violence. The root cause of the ongoing violence in Nigeria is unemployment (Ajaegbu, 2012). Unemployed youths are perpetrators as well as victims of crime and violence (Okafor, 2011 as cited in Ajaegbu, 2012:316). Political corruption, poverty, poor governance, increasing population, and lack of policy initiatives and execution, to some extent, encouraged the formation of criminal groups across Nigeria. Frustration produces aggression in people; a country like Nigeria has produced many university graduates but has equally failed to create jobs for them. When students graduate from the university, they get excited because they hope to eliminate poverty as they would find jobs. However, many of them do not

find jobs and frustration begins, thus triggering aggression. This frustration results in the youth committing crime.

2.3.1 Riots

A riot can be described as a violent social unrest or a disturbance of public order. It occurs when three or more people come together and act in the same violent way. Studies on violent behaviour reveal that riots are often caused by the anger and frustration people experience when they have been mistreated. According to Marx (1970: 23), riots can be described as "the violence of illegal groups against traditional practices." He identifies three different types of riots, namely:

- Instrumental riots, where common sense or general opinion exists.
- Riots where there is a common sense, but which does not help to solve the party's problems, such as mass destruction and civil unrest; and
- Unproductive riots, where the common belief in dissent is absent and has little effect on social mobility and change.

Riots may involve an insurgent group representing the government and civil society. These usually occur in institutional contexts such as an organisation, industry or a school. Some riots may have a more widespread nature and often involve violence between groups divided on religion, race, ideology, race, or region, with the government being the spectator. Many riots occur as community members clamour for change in society. Radicals view violence as a natural response to stress, which involves a high level of morality, protest, and the right response to end the oppression that causes the stress. The social upheaval entails chaos, the eradication of racism or competition, low wages, and job insecurity, as well as colonial rule and so forth. While most participants in riots share the same beliefs and motives in seeking positive change in society, criminals can take advantage of the general confusion during riots to achieve their selfish goals. Riots clearly provide cover for illegal conduct.

In the violence that gripped KwaZulu-Natal before and after democracy, IFP firmly believed in a non-violent way of asserting freedom. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) strongly believed in dialogue and reconciliation in the country. They hoped that time would come when Blacks and Whites would have to sit down and discuss power sharing. Violence could have been avoided at this time, but some organisations had

an ideology different from that of IFP. For an example, the ANC believed that a good society would not exist until it adopts a constitution acceptable to all. There were riots in all South African townships as South Africans fought for their freedom. Many schools, shops, government and other buildings and houses of political dissidents were destroyed. At this point, criminal gangs began to take advantage of the situation and they felt threatened by those who did not want to participate in the violent action.

"Anything people decide to use to get rid of those enemies is their decision. If they decide to use a necklace, we support you" stated by Mr Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC's external mission, in an interview with the London Sunday Times, September 14, 1986. During this time, strikes turned violent between those who wanted to exercise their democratic rights and those who were determined to prevent them from demanding these rights. Some cars were hijacked while others were stolen for what they called 'political motives'. Homes were attacked and those who continued to shop in "illegal" stores (shops that belonged to people who seemed to support the apartheid system) were forced to drink cleaners and cooking oil. Petrol-filled car tyres were placed on the necks of people who were seen as obstacles to the achievement of their goals and then set on fire. At that time, IFP was trying to adhere to its non-violent tactics. Chief Buthelezi had warned people about the civil war just before the brutal political assassinations of those who were active in politics, including the wife of an IFP Central Committee member.

2.3.2 Terrorism

Terrorism is a direct, violent action without legal or moral restraints. It mainly targets civilians and opponents, and it is moulded by political and socio-economic forms, as well as ethnic and ideological conflicts and history, demographic characteristics, regional segregation, and the availability of weapons. Terrorism usually takes place in countries that have high levels of corruption, human rights abuses, and group-based inequalities.

According to Möller-Leimkühler (2018), countries with the highest rates of terrorism are Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Syria. The most active and global terror groups are the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), Boko Haram, the Taliban, and Al Qaeda, whose terror campaign have been measured by the Global Terrorism Index. Möller-Leimkühler (2018) stated that the forces driving men to violence are

ideological, political, economic, regional, demographic, or psycho-social and occurrences of threatened masculinity. In most countries, the main causes of violent behaviour and terrorism are linked to colonisation, weakness of the state, political exclusion and social inequality, economic stagnation or decline, and the negative effects of globalisation.

Acts of terrorism are considered as a political form of violence. Terrorism has been growing since the attack of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001. In Netherlands, a group called the Loyalist was involved in a shooting and bombing campaign. In Ireland, the “Troubles” in the 1960s carried on until the signing of Belfast or Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Loyalist paramilitary groups were pro-British armed militants, which employed political violence and sectarian murder to sustain the political status quo in Northern Ireland and maintain Northern Ireland’s position within the United Kingdom to force the British government to withdraw from Northern Ireland (Ferguson et al., 2015). The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and The Red Hand Commando (RHC) were the groups that employed a range of violent means, from bomb attacks to assassination of people. Sectarian conflict aimed at frustrating the Irish Republican Progress Union Party, which was emerging to provide political support to the organisation and acted as the apolitical voice of the UVF in the 1970s. The imprisonment of participants in the violence played a role in forcing them to disengage from the violence.

2.3.3 Ethnic violence

Ethnicity refers to a group of people sharing a common culture, religion, and language. Ethnic violence often occurs when ethnic groups compete for the same goal as well as scarce resources or power. Often, ethnic violence occurs when groups of people are motivated to engage in violence by hunger for power. The source of the controversy may be political, social, religious, or economic. People who take part in this war fight for their party's position in society. In Africa, economic factors have been identified as the main cause of ethnic conflict. One of the greatest ethnic conflicts in Africa took place in Rwanda from 1993 to 2005. Rwanda's largest ethnic group is the Hutu, and the second largest ethnic group is the Tutsi, followed by the Twa. Rwanda was under Belgium. Belgium tried many times to create independence for Rwanda but failed because of the high level of violence in the region. It ended up being divided into

two separate countries namely Rwanda and Burundi. Rwandans were divided into ethnic groups although they spoke the same language and had the same religion and culture. They were divided into economic groupings, one of which was the Hutu who were predominantly farmers and Tutsi who were mostly herdsmen.

Historically, the two groups (Hutu and Tutsi) co-existed peacefully until the colonial powers disrupted the peace. The Belgians, like most colonial powers, chose to govern the colony through local authorities by taking over land and local resources. The Tutsi were willing to work together to provide Belgian guarantees of sustaining their local power and the right to receive education. In a bid to consolidate local resources, the Belgians took over the territories under the Hutu leadership and brought in the Tutsi regime. According to Sadowski (1998), until 1929, most Rwandan chiefs were Hutu, but the Belgians decided to reorganise the provincial administration, removing all non-Tutsi chiefs from power. In 1933, the Belgians introduced policies that divided Rwandans.

2.4 Socio-economic causes of violence

When reflecting on violence, it is important to focus on the socio-economic factors that contribute to the increase of the phenomenon. The most recent literature on the economic effects of conflict acknowledges that inequality is a precursor to violent conflict (Crammer, 2003). Violence can be caused by social and economic factors, especially poverty. Studies conducted by Bonnin (1997), and Marks (1986) reveal that one of the factors contributing to political violence in KwaZulu-Natal is poverty. It is amazing that South Africa was known by the world as a country that could feed itself and be able to export surplus food to other counties, yet its own Black citizens were struggling to live. It was only the White farmers that enjoyed the abundance of food and Black farmers had to leave their areas to seek employment in the towns as the state's control on the movement of the Black population increased.

On the socio-economic condition of the province of Natal in the 1980s, Natrass (1984) posited that in KwaZulu-Natal in 1980, half of the people living in urban areas were earning R1 600 a year while half of those who lived in the rural areas earned R700 a year. The source of income for children and women were those migrant labourers (men) working in the urban areas; since their wages and salaries were very low, they

sent very little to their families. Nattrass (1984:13) pointed out that, “the mechanisms of the migrant labour system also contribute to the persistence of the cycle of rural poverty and the high absentee rate amongst men of working age increases the work burden placed on those adults who remain in the rural areas”.

Further, there were very few jobs available in the rural areas, with some people depending on the KwaZulu government grant that they received for old age and some disability grants. Nattrass (1984) asserted that the roots of rural poverty include: underdevelopment of the areas where the majority of Black people live, the migrant labour system that brought about tight controls on the movement of Black people imposed by the government policies, leading to an increase in shacks. Nattrass (1985:2) argued that those migrant labourers leaving rural areas in search of jobs in urban areas fail to secure jobs end up being “forced to live in an informal 'shack' area”. The third cause of poverty was racial discrimination that brought about inferior education and lack of training that kept Black people in the lower-ranked jobs. This led to a situation characterised by manpower crisis, thus: “in both the educational system and the job market in South Africa have created a situation in which the majority of all the posts in the higher levels of the job ladder are presently filled by whites, and the supply of adequately trained Africans is still so small that it is virtually impossible for the national states to recruit the people needed to staff the public sector properly” (Nattrass, 1985:5).

There are structural and cultural factors that cause violence. These structural factors include poverty and poor living conditions emanating from the state’s inability to provide adequately for its citizens. The state, as a provider of livelihoods, fails to deliver essential services and development, resulting in citizens expressing frustration at their inability to eke a livelihood. Numerous studies conducted in the South African context have suggested that the main cause of violence was apartheid, which has led to poverty and inequality that left a bitter legacy amongst the present Black generation. In a paper, Mr Gavin Woods, Director of the Inkatha Institute, made the following statement: Violence caused by South African youth based on high levels of unemployment, poverty and general dissatisfaction with their status and lack of a bright future led them to express their anger through violent crime rather than politics (Kentridge, 1990).

The cultural dimension of violence in the South African context was engineered by the apartheid government. Historically and prior to colonisation, the inhabitants of the African continent had their own socio-political and economic structures that provided them with a sense of identity and community well-being. The traditional authority system (*amakhosi*) used to be the guardian of cultural beliefs and practices, social order and control and the management of all forms of social organisation. Under colonialism, the traditional forms of governance were diluted and, in some instances, destroyed, and ultimately supplanted by the values and norms of Western colonial powers.

Consequently, the glue that cemented African societies and communities was eroded. For instance, the apartheid government in South Africa snatched opportunity to divide and rule the colony as the British had done in the past. In some instances, tribal authority structures were changed in favour of other clans and tribes⁸, whilst in others they were arbitrarily immersed into clans and tribes. These cultural shocks led to a laxity in social control measures that managed violent behaviour. Rural-urban migration has also been a source of acculturation, where urban values and norms were either exchanged or plunged into conflict with those held traditionally in tribal communities. Arguably, the high rates of violence and crime that are prevalent in South Africa are a result of apartheid.

South Africa has a seemingly high rate of poverty, mostly amongst Black communities who were restricted from accessing the resources and materials they could otherwise have used to establish themselves and their communities (Morris and Hindson, 1992). Therefore, due to distressingly high rates of unemployment and poverty, numerous people turned to crime and violence. So, from an ethical point of view, it can be asserted that this is in fact true; however, an all-inclusive view of whether or not apartheid is to blame for the high levels of violence in South Africa renders the explanation rooted in material, social and historical processes under which one can pose a few basic questions: “Why is this (*high employment rate*) happening almost two decades later rather than when apartheid was at its peak?” “Why were Black communities killing each other rather than the White people who predominantly

⁸ Tribes, this word has been used in the study as it is found in the citation of other scholars of the past as it was used to differentiate between African ethnic groups especially during the times of King Shaka Zulu, but the commonly used phrase in newer days is ethnic groups.

oppressed their commentators during this era of oppression, racial divisions, prejudice and struggle?" (Morris and Hindson, 1992).

Almost 25 years after apartheid, South Africa still grapples with the consequences from the apartheid era, and contrary to civil tensions and violence occurring throughout the country, these have indeed increased. However, due to what apartheid did to South Africa and its effects on African (Black), Indian and Coloured communities, many predicted that civil tensions and violence would decrease; nonetheless, the opposite was true. Violence is believed to be caused by the unfairness and injustice that riddled the nation, thus, the White (advantaged) communities were left a fair distance ahead of all the other races, leaving the disadvantaged communities always under pressure to catch up and to level the playing grounds of life.

2.5 Violence in the urban and rural contexts of South Africa

South Africa is not the only country that experienced violence in rural areas. Conflicts occurring in rural areas were part of the colonial landscape in Africa. In Zimbabwe and Mozambique, social banditry was an important form of protest in rural areas during the early years of the colonial period. Isaacman (1977) stated that banditry was a response to colonialism and new forms of capitalist social relationships, which disrupted the traditional order through policies that led to social, economic and political repression and exploitation. Tique (2002) suggested that land dispossession sired by the colonial system and land allocation after independence were the major causes of violent conflict in rural Mozambique in the 1980s and 1990s.

In Latin America, rural violence was mainly caused by inequality and unequal distribution of land. This discrimination manifested itself in unequal and exclusionary agrarian socio-economic systems in Chile, Peru, Columbia, Brazil, and Mexico where some of the violence was experienced (Kay, 2001). Like any other colonised regions, peasants in these aforementioned countries were subjected to forced labour and other forms of hardships such as land shortage and unpaid labour services. Peasants responded by demanding better wages and working conditions. Although the peasants protested peacefully, the government of the time responded by implementing detention without trial and unleashing widespread terror against the freedom fighters. Owing to unequal colonial agrarian systems in Latin America, rural violence decreased

in 1990 following the transition to democracy. Kay (2001:770) concluded that “the important step towards dealing with rural violence in Latin America entailed resolving the land question so that the landless and poor peasants can gain access to sufficient land and economic resources”. Three-quarters of the poor workers live in rural areas; significantly, more than a half are expected to follow suit in 2025. Progress in terms of poverty reduction in the last decade has slowed. Therefore, the rural sector has largely remained neglected despite its large concentration of poor people. (Epstein et al., 2003).

Shivji (2008) argued that colonialism divided the African society in many ways. The urban and the rural sectors were literally two countries within one country. The colonial powers had divided the continent into mini-countries where boundaries cut through cultural, ethnic, and economic affinities. This was exacerbated by the divide-and-rule policy, leaving behind an extreme form of uneven development. Some regions were more developed than others. These kinds of divides and inequality within African societies led to conflicts. The conditions under which capitalism has penetrated African countries have not produced the kind of capitalist development that occurred in Europe. Shivji (2008) argued that both internally and externally dominant classes exploit the rural peasantry.

In the South African context, several studies have been conducted on the conflict occurring in rural parts of the country. A classic example is Govan Mbeki’s book titled *‘The Peasant’s Revolt’*, which examined the revolt in Pondoland in 1960 in response to worsening economic and political conditions. The book’s standing in the academy is affirmed by the fact that in 2011, Kepe and Ntsebeza edited a volume that re-examined Mbeki’s key arguments and the long-term and short-term impact of the revolt. Another excellent example is a study done by Beinart and Bundy (1987) titled *‘Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa’*, in which the authors warned that academic studies of resistance politics tended to focus on movements led by educated urban elites, to the detriment of rural resistance. Not much has changed with the historiography on rural conflict and opposition to White encroachment. Colonial intrusion resulted in competition for land, labour, and natural resources from the seventeenth century and continues to the present (Beinart, 2001).

In the urban context various causal factors instigate violent behaviour. Poverty, homelessness, unemployment, and access to basic services are some of the frustrating experiences pitted against urban dwellers. Amongst the urban dwellers are the newly arriving migrant workers migrating from rural communities to eke out a living in urban settings. Their hopes and aspirations tended to weaken as they competed with other urban dwellers as they eked out a living. Given their marginal status in towns and cities, migrant workers are susceptible to taking on norms and values of urban living to assimilate within the urban community. This implies that the longer their stay in urban environments, the greater the likelihood of them being acculturated from their rural norms and values. A classic case in point manifests itself in South Africa's hostel community that sold labour in the urban economy thus adopting an urban culture.

In Durban, the bustling port city attracted hostel dwellers from its province and the then apartheid homeland, the Transkei. Companies hired hostel blocks to accommodate their employees to facilitate easy access to labour, close to the city. Finding accommodation in the hostel was also through personal contacts as well as kinship and tribal ties. This resulted in the formation of the homeboy cliques, resulting in the provision of accommodation being organised around ethnocentric networks. An overwhelming number of hostel dwellers came from rural areas. According to Zulu's (1993) study, 93% of the dwellers came from rural areas. An estimated 50% of the hostel population were unskilled and approximately a third was unemployed. Only a tenth (11%) were either in skilled or white-collar jobs and almost an equal number (14%) in semi-skilled jobs. Almost all of them were within working life, that is, below pensionable age.

The interface between rural-urban cultures and the manner in which it is managed determines the way people behave. Mediating these cross-cutting cultures can be a difficult process and may come into conflict with traditional cultures or the rural culture may be marginalised.

2.6 The Mfecane and the emergence of the Zulu Nation

Violence in Africa did not begin in the 20th century, but dates to the Mfecane era, a time of turmoil and civil strife between African people in the 1700s. Eldredge (1992) asserted that a drought reduced the ability by the indigenous people to manage arable and grazing land, and competition for scarce resources increased in the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During this time, Portuguese traders introduced corn to the African continent. By this time maize had become a staple food for the Africans. Planting maize needed rain, but a famine rendered the cultivation of fields impossible. The inadequacy of rainwater resulted in another challenge as competition for grazing land increased. This led to land disputes that led to violent conflicts. This era may be classified as one of Black-on-Black violence as people fought over fertile land. This resulted in many people losing their lives and there was instability within the African continent as many nations experienced inevitable migration. For example, the Sesotho people reorganised themselves and established a state now known as Lesotho.

Given the importance of land for agrarian and subsistence purposes, the protection and acquisition of land became the mandate of the tribal constituency, which exercised hegemony over land and thus began strengthening security to protect it. Young men were enlisted in the military to defend their nation and tribes. Some tribes became powerful and exercised authority over others as they conscripted young men from weaker tribes into their armies. The integration of weaker tribes into stronger ones led to constant power shifts within tribal kingdoms. The legendary Shaka was very good at using this system resulting in him building the Zulu Kingdom in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

The Battle of Incombe, also known as the Battle of Blood River of 1838, changed the socio-political landscape of KwaZulu-Natal. The beauty of KwaZulu-Natal, its good climate and fertile soils attracted European immigrants to the province. Europeans wanted to extend Natal and attempted to negotiate with King Shaka. At the same time, the Afrikaner Voortrekkers also ventured into Natal and came into conflict with the indigenous Zulu Nation. A bloody war ensued with over 3 000 Zulu soldiers being massacred over the Ncome River (hence the reference to the Battle of Blood River as the river was smeared with blood from dead Zulu warriors). After the Battle of Blood River, the Afrikaners annexed Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal as their capital.

The resistance against White rule in South Africa had been going on for centuries, and it involved the Bapedi, Basotho, Mpondomise, amaZulu and others. All these ethnic groups of South Africa participated in the fight for the preservation of their land that was being expropriated by the White colonialists. In KwaZulu-Natal, the amaZulu

fought with the Boers in the Battle of Income (1838) and fought with the British in the Battle of Isandlwana (1879). Despite the British's advanced armoury, they were defeated by the amaZulu with their inferior weapons. It estimated that 852 British men died in comparison to 471 amaZulu warriors.

The reason for the Battle of Isandlwana was that the British had made an ultimatum compelling King Cetshwayo to split his strong army comprising 35 000 warriors. When the Zulu kingdom, under King Cetshwayo kaMpande, did not want to cede to British territorial demands; Sir Henry Bartle Frere (the English High Commissioner) together with Commander in Chief, Lieutenant General Lord Chelmsford who was leading the troops were so confident that they would have an easy victory, as they crossed the Buffalo River into Zulu territory with his mixed force of 17 000 troops. The British were confident that they would win the victory over amaZulu because they were carrying superior weapons (guns) in comparison to the inferior weapons (spears). Cetshwayo's regiments, armed with shields and spears, fought and defeated the British (Williamson, 2019). However, despite the great heroism and skill of the African people, by 1880, the Whites had established their rule over the whole of South Africa. This was followed by the Bhambatha Rebellion in 1909. The division among the Africans led to the creation of the National Congress in 1912; its objective was to unite all Africans. In the struggle against White rule in the 1970s, the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe (the spear of the nation), which was dominated by young people, performed about 200 armed assaults and acts of sabotage that shook the foundations of apartheid regime. Umkhonto weSizwe's manifesto was adopted from the Freedom Charter⁹. In its manifesto, Umkhonto weSizwe declared that,

“the time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom” (Umkhonto We Sizwe Manifesto, *December, 16*. Page 1).

⁹The Freedom Charter was once the assertion of core standards of the South African Congress Alliance, which consisted of the African National Congress and its allies: the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress

2.7 Colonialism and political violence in Africa

The challenges facing Africa began about 500 years ago when Europeans first arrived on the continent. While Europeans and Africans reaped some benefits, especially in the exchange of goods and ideas, this commercial intercourse also brought a long and painful trade; the tragic Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade where Africans were captured and enslaved by the European kingdom. This made Europe economically prosperous but through the oppression of the African people. Iweriebor (2011) states that by 1900, most African countries were ruled by seven European military hegemonies, namely, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. While the colonial powers sought to impose the capitalist economy on Africa through free trade laws and policies, public works, forced labour, mining ventures, and agricultural production, Africans and their rulers opposed the expropriation of their resources. Carton (2000) stated that Africa's natural disasters hampered agricultural production, which led to the colonialist powers acquiring more African land and labour as well as levying taxes on the Africans. Many African societies got engaged in violent confrontations with the colonialists to protect property, but failure was imminent given Europeans' advanced military might. Africans were often compartmentalised along ethnic and clan lines in the rural outskirts of the colonial cities.

The period from 1881 to 1914 is viewed as the colonial period in Africa. During the colonial period, local political struggles against White settlers required innovative political mechanisms for them to survive. In the rural parts of the continent, the monarchy remained politically organised comprising clans and tribes which provided governance structures that kept the communities cohesive. Chiefs or traditional leaders, as they are known today, draw their political hegemony from kinship ties which represent the interest of their chieftainship.

African taxation and strict control over the way indigenous people managed their environment or livestock used to be a stumbling block for the rural agrarian economy within colonised states. This led to civil unrest and protests. One example of domestic violence is the 1906 Bhambatha Rebellion, which occurred in KwaZulu-Natal. The Zondi chief, Bhambatha kaMancinza, and a resident of Umvoti District in Natal were opposed to the collection of voting taxes and other forms of colonial exploitation. They felt that colonial rule was undermining their legitimacy. The Indigenous Law Code of

1893 reduced the powers and functions of the monarchy. Bhambatha was sentenced to imprisonment for a number of reasons, which included unpaid bills, theft, lure, gang warfare and criminal prosecution. When the colonial government introduced a poll tax in January 1906, violent demonstrations occurred.¹⁰

Later, apartheid was established as a lawful system of racial discrimination, isolation, exclusion, and segregation against non-White¹¹ South African citizens who were also denied access to many resources. There are so many apartheid acts and laws that were passed in South Africa in the period between 1949 and 1959. These acts were the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Amendment Act in 1950, and Population Registration Act in 1950 (which boxed people in certain areas based on race). There was also the Group Areas Act in 1950, Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act in 1951, Reservation of Separate Amenities Act no. 49 in 1953, Bantu Education Act in 1953 and Extension of University Act in 1959 (that prevented Black students from attending a university that was reserved for White students). Many more acts were passed and the majority were designed to control radical challenges to apartheid (Gikandi, 2013).

The enforcement of Bantu education was met with some resistance and backlash, with violence and protests by students within the Black and non-White communities and many people who formed part of the mining industry (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015). The provisional influence of the apartheid system was reinforced and bolstered by its oppressive laws, which also powered opposition to the Bantu education system (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015). Violence was on the rise during this period, with police brutality and arrests targeting people who disobeyed the apartheid laws, people who led and followed political liberation movements especially the ANC, which formed part of the resistance in the form of protests, boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience. The ANC later joined forces with other liberation movements including the Congress of Democrats, Indian Congress and the South African Coloured People's Party and together these liberation organisations conscripted the Freedom Charter, which consisted of a list of demands, planned protests and complaints.

¹⁰ Poll tax was a form of tax that was imposed by the government in 1905 to every man over the age of 18 and it had to be paid in cash.

¹¹ Non-white, this was the term used to describe people of different colour and race that included Indians and coloured people.

The Freedom Charter became the banner for the ANC used during their successive opposition to the oppressive apartheid government (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015). Some of the things contained in the Freedom Charter caused some Africanists to challenge it as they felt that the inclusion of the non-African organisations might dilute the voice of Africans (William, 1988).

The intention and purpose of the Freedom Charter are stated in a well-known declaration that,

“South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people... the rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex... all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside” (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015:206).

Therefore, the Freedom Charter declared that all people living in South Africa regardless of race, sex, age or any other trait or characteristic is liberated and has access to the same resources and rights. Unfortunately, the Nationalist Party did not appreciate this declaration and reacted to the Freedom Charter through strengthening and reinforcing control throughout the 1960s, a period later known as the ‘second phase’ of apartheid. This reinforcement included an increase in the country’s police force and its power as well as the strengthening of law authorities through the implementation of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015). The Pan African Congress was not part of the Freedom Charter, it was formed by the members of the ANC who opposed alliances with Indians, Coloureds and whites. Robert Sobukwe led this group that broke away from the ANC. Mangaliso Sobukwe was one of the people who fought strongly against apartheid. He was imprisoned after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. The apartheid government feared the influence he might have resulting in him being released from prison (Hayes, 2016). Mangaliso Sobukwe made it clear in their statement that what he was fighting for was the liberation of those who were oppressed. He once said, "I wish to make it clear again that we are anti-nobody. We are pro-Africa. We breathe, we dream, we live Africa; because Africa and humanity are inseparable" (Pogrand, 2015:37).

In 1952, during the Defiance Campaign, Nelson Mandela was appointed national volunteer in chief. It was during this time of the campaign whereby prominent leaders of the ANC were banned and restricted in the provinces. About 156 people in 1956

were charged with treason, and these people included Chief Albert Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Robert Resha, and Nelson Mandela (Nwafor, 2012).

Having removed the leaders of the liberation movement, the State continued to heighten the 'urban influx control laws' to eliminate residents' rights particularly those from Black communities situated in urban areas. The rationale for such actions was to control and limit urban radicalism. Therefore, throughout the apartheid era, the State sought to deprive all non-Whites of their basic rights; the State was determined to strip Black citizens of their rights to governance, residency, political contestation, and participation in the economy or have access to any form of personal wealth or further education in their own language. This was all done to enforce the State's power and control over Black communities. The State continued (for decades) to increase its control and prohibited all liberal activity or involvement in the liberation movements (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015).

In the 1920s, there was a new form of gangsterism that promoted organised crime among immigrants in the Rand. The gang was formed by a group of criminals operating from the buildings (immigrants). This was followed by the construction of the *Isitshozi* during the Thirty Years' War, represented by organised African crime in the Rand. The gang began to spread to nearby urban communities and grew in number as marginalised urban youths joined. It also brought about an increase in criminal activities in the 1950s.

The *Isitshozi* Gang was seen as another form of criminal organisation that seemed to strengthen the unity among the Mpondo mineworkers' movements and it aimed at brewing racial divisions. *Isitshozi*'s leadership was kept secret. According to Breckenridge (1990), there is very little information about this gang as former members were reluctant to talk about certain details about their organisation. The gang had many people leaving the mines. They lived in disused mines during the summer months and sneaked into the organisations on winter nights. The gangs escaped the passport laws by getting food from their friends and relatives living on the mine at night, returning early in the morning. The gangs attacked other single workers and stole from small White neighbourhoods near their hideouts. Their actions prompted police to raid the March shaft, which was once inhabited by criminals. Those arrested during the raid were sent to prison. The streets and buildings belonging to the *Isitshozi*

were similar to those of the Ninevites, a gang that existed prior to the *Isitshozi*. Leaders of *Isitshozi* played two roles, one for workers and the other of criminality.

The main activities of *Isitshozi* were robbery and the recruitment of young Pondos to join these gangs to strengthen their homosexual relationships. According to Breckenridge (1990), the leaders of *Isitsozi* avoided engaging in urban women altogether as they preferred to make the youth their 'wives' or as sexual partners. Young employed men were required to perform duties similar to those performed by women in rural areas, such as collecting firewood, fetching water, and preparing food. The perpetrators committed all kinds of crimes, including burglary, assault, robbery, and murder. After looting, the stolen goods would be handed over to the local leader who was responsible for distributing them to its members and some periodically distributed to non-members in the community as a form of support. Stolen items were hidden in places where it was difficult for the police to locate them. These people caused terror in the mines. These attacks forced some employees to develop their own self-defence networks. The most common weapons used by the gang included sticks, knives, and machetes.

Conley (1999) raises an important point regarding racially motivated group wars and asserts that historians have ignored the importance of entertainment in the study of violence. He identifies another form of violence as recreational violence, which is separated by explicit rules, determined participants and the absence of any malicious intent. Under these conditions, a fight can be seen as a kind of a game.

2.8 Communal violence in KwaZulu-Natal and other provinces during and after the colonial period

Violence in KwaZulu-Natal did not start in the 1980s, especially in the rural areas. From about the 1880s factional fights were reported by the colonial magistrates in KwaZulu-Natal. These fights were between tribal or clan groupings within their magisterial districts. According to Minnaar (1992), these were full-scale violent confrontations between traditionally armed gangs of men and the community. Usually, these factional fights were family quarrels or beer drinking conflicts that got out of hand, marriage ceremonies, traditional stick fighting or theft of cattle. The setting up of native reserves in the 19th century by Theophilus Shepstone further instigated these

fighting as people were fighting over the shortage of land and disputed boundaries, resulting in revenge and retaliation between and amongst the tribes.

McNulty (2013) traced the roots of violence in Umbumbulu, an area south of KwaZulu-Natal, from the 1840s when the Embo (the Mkhize people) were joined by the Makhanya people in the region. After the 1840s, Umbumbulu was subject to colonial administration and re-organisation. Shepstone, a diplomatic agent to the Native Tribe in Natal, without discussing matters with the people who were there for a long time, started placing several refugees from other places in the area. He favoured some of them by installing community leaders, better known as tribal leaders. In doing this, he inadvertently instigated violence between various ethnic groupings in the region (McNulty, 2013).

Rural conflict, such as the one that occurred in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), was not new in South Africa. In 1912 and 1913, the Qumbu district in the Transkei once faced social disorder due to a series of violent clashes involving neighbouring locations. Several people died during this violence and homesteads were burnt down. According to Beinart (1981), the officials had to send the military to dethrone the seating *induna* (headman), and arrest some of those involved in this violent episode. The officials acknowledged that this violence manifested itself in the tensions that built up in the district following its annexation by the Cape Colony in the 1870s. This is how these tensions built up. It all began when the Transkei was captured by the colonisers in 1880. Two chiefs, Mhlonhlo and Mditshwa, who were from the Mpondomise group, rebelled against the Cape Colonial government that had annexed their land. This did not pose a threat to the government as these chiefdoms were very small. The situation became tense when the magistrate of Qumbu and two other officials were killed. This angered the family of the magistrate and the colonial powers, resulting in violent retribution. Mditshwa was imprisoned and Mhlonhlo fled the area. A big portion of land was subsequently taken from their followers.

The colonies then embarked on the racist awareness drive in Qumbu. The war was between the Pondomise and the Fingo/Mfengu community. The Mpondomise had lived in the area for many years and the Fingo/Mfengu communities had recently moved to the region at the time of the capture; as a result, land became scarce, and a struggle ensued between the two groups. The Qumbu conflict occurred between

1912 and 1913, during the difficult years in the region when there was a severe drought and the spread of the East Coast Fever (a disease that killed livestock). The district was facing many challenges, as crop exports to Qumbu declined and migration increased while options in the labour market were closed. The people of Qumbu expressed their distrust of violence and insurgency manifesting themselves in different forms in different districts. Beinart (1998:98) stated that the Qumbu people protected themselves both from each other and the pressure imposed by the colonists. He argued that the Mfengu (immigrant) communities, Christian and literate leaders were to some degree useful in the colonial enterprise, as their views on how the district could be run or managed, resource development and education of the colonies were important.

South African media are heavily influenced by political bias and there is not much to say about the violence across Africa, and not just in South Africa, there has been sectarian strife and very little has been reported or documented. Phimister (1979) concurs with this observation, stressing that many historians, humanists and social scientists have not delved into an in-depth study of the phenomenon. Jacobs (1999:1) argued that in South African media has been biased and had favoured the government in the past. He states that “television and radio, long dominated by the state broadcaster, have a history of bias in favour of the apartheid government and the main newspaper titles, catering largely to the country’s white minority, have historically sided with mining capital”.

In 1900, 250 Ndebele people were attacked in a Zambesi camp near Christmas Town, apparently in retaliation for the killing of the Xhosa and Ndebele people in the north. Phimister (1979) observes that after the Boer War, there was concern about the Xhosa and Ndebele differences. These conflicts were most common in rural areas, mines and among hostel residents. Onselen and Phimister (1979) provide an example of a December 1901 clash between Shangaan and Zambezi workers at the Tebekwe Mine, in which men were involved, armed with sticks, assegais and axes. It is believed that the incident was not reported. During this period, another fight broke out on Christmas Day in 1907 at the Nellie Mine compound and that resulted in two people being killed and 15 others being. At the Gaths Mine in July 1919, a fight broke out between the Kalanga and Nyasa workers. Another major disruption occurred in May 1920 at Fred Mine, when White workers shot and wounded one Black worker. Phimister (1979)

concluded by arguing that factional fighting reflected the senseless and irrational national violence.

2.9 Overview of rural violence during the apartheid era

In the later part of the apartheid period, rural violence took different forms and stemmed from various sources. A study conducted by Mare and Hamilton (1998) attested to the different forms of rural violence that occurred in the 1980s. The authors argue that rural-based factional fights were mainly between clans fighting over grazing rights, land claims and ethnic differences.¹² They cited examples of the 1985 Umbumbulu conflict, arguing that one of the causes of domestic disputes is the theft of domestic products (cattle and crops). Their research also found that the ANC's recruitment activities were not only in urban areas but also in rural areas, where the party organised the youth for its Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) wing. Negative social and health conditions, which were also caused by poverty, contributed to the rural uprising that occurred in 1985 (Mare and Hamilton, 1998). Finally, Mare and Hamilton (1998) stated that the "Gold Rush" was one of the causes of violence in the 1980s. Rumours spread in Babanango, in the northern part of KwaZulu-Natal, that gold had been discovered in the Nsuzi river. This led to conflict as people invaded the area in search of gold (Mare and Hamilton, 1998). Thus, violence took different forms and originated from different sources.

Mathis (2013) examined the conflict that occurred in the rural areas of Embo and Makhanya in the 1980s and 1990s in southern KwaZulu-Natal. The study describes the rise of "warlords" in the area. There were few ANC military chiefs due to the lack of the presence of the African National Congress (ANC) in the area. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters were apparently in control of the factional groups that focused on warlords who were members of the ANC in the region. Violence spread because young men were hired to assist military commanders in executing the war (Mathis, 2013). Mchunu's (2013) study focused on memories of the 1987 political violence involving the KwaShange Community in Vulindlela District, Pietermaritzburg. Disagreements began in 1983 when some members of the community began associating with the newly formed United Democratic Front (UDF). Mchunu (2013)

¹² A clan is a group of people united by kinship (South African context).

focused on how families faced hardships after their traumatic experiences and their attempt to rebuild their lives after the factional war.

A study conducted by Philippe Denis (2006: 64) shows that in KwaZulu-Natal alone, 12 000 people lost their lives between 1985 and 1996. This loss directly resulted from a dispute between the UDF/ANC on the one hand, and IFP on the other. In Nxamalala (Midlands) many people were injured, tortured, raped and abducted, with private and public property being damaged. Petrol bombs were frequently used to damage property and vehicles. The reason for this violence was complex and not easy to understand. It is believed that people from different tribes began calling each other names, which sometimes provoked violent reactions. Reference to places such as the 'Russia' village affiliated to Inkatha typifies these disparaging labels. Jealousy and envy also seemed to contribute to this violence as some people had better property than others. The use of *Intelezi* (an African plant used to give strength and courage to those who go to war) was also seen as a factor contributing to violence.

The political violence of the 1980s that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal was compiled by Hughes (1987), Minnaar (1991 and 1992), Kaarsholm (2006), Morris (1994); Ainslie and de Haas (1995), Freund (1996) and Jeffery (1997 and 2014). The authors' studies explored political violence, focusing on the role of the ANC, UDF, IFP, the apartheid regime and the "third force" in instigating this phenomenon. These studies highlighted the complexity of the political dynamics in the province and perceived the scramble for hegemony as being responsible for increasing the internal pressure meant to disband the apartheid regime.

The turning point came in the 1980s, when the economic downturn in 1983 and 1984 forced people from rural areas to move to the suburbs, living in slums with their families. Most of these studies managed to establish a link between violence and the lack of resources and poverty which were a result of apartheid policies and the growing internal and external pressure exerted on the government. Bonnin (2001) singled out poverty in KwaZulu-Natal as a factor contributing to the violence that occurred in the province. She believes that the Bantustan policies of apartheid regime were a major contributor to violence. In her study on political violence between the UDF and the IFP in 1985, Marks (1986) concurred that poverty played a role in instigating civil

disturbance.¹³ She maintains that attacks by IFP warriors, known as *impis*, were not only directed towards UDF members, but on Indians and the Mpondos (who were from the Eastern Cape) as well; thus, the main organising principles in this violence were ethnicity and political affiliation. Most South Africans pride themselves for their ethnicity, but the apartheid government that ruled by dividing people saw an opportunity to keep them divided, which brought about more violence. As most migrant workers lived in hostels, their ethnic groups were seen as their place of safety. It was in these hostels that migrant workers learned to discriminate against each other based on ethnicity. Van Zyl and Theron (1995:71) quote Vogelmann (1990c:3) when he mentioned that

“a group identity is fostered by living in a hostel set-up, where large groups of people have to live within a small confined place, resulting in their becoming amenable to being organised and this organisation, which stresses ethnic identity, partly explains the current violence, as violence does not occur because of spontaneous ethnic conflict, but because it is well organised, orchestrated and planned.”

The general perception was that the amaZulu or Zulu people would support the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) while other ethnic groups would support the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Marks, 1986). The IFP had power over KwaZulu-Natal; it even introduced a subject called Ubuntu-botho¹⁴ in schools. Ubuntu-botho was a compulsory subject that was introduced in KwaZulu-Natal in schools that were under the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) in 1979. This non-examinable subject promoted Inkatha's political ideology. This was an attempt by the IFP to win the minds of the learners in schools in KwaZulu-Natal (Mdluli, 1987).

2.10 Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s

Van Zyl and Theron (1995:70) defined political violence as “all those who have died as a result of action by the security forces or as a result of black on-black violence”.

¹³ Bantustan was a homeland or area designed for a particular ethnic group. These areas were established based on apartheid. Homeland System (in the 1950s), Africans were grouped according to their languages. Africans were supposedly holding to distinctive sets of practices and common belief systems in each homeland and did not enjoy any rights.

¹⁴ Ubuntu-botho was a syllabus that was introduced to schools that were under Department of Education and Culture, this was a compulsory non-examinable subject that promoted Inkatha ideology.

Van Zyl and Theron (1995) point out that although there was what was called Black-on-Black violence, apartheid itself was the cause of the violence. They quote Tshwete who was one of the ANC leaders, saying that “apartheid is violent, by its very definition and by its very nature; that it generates all the violence and all the chaos that exists in the country today” (De Villiers 1987 a: 48). Apartheid in South Africa angered Black people as they were deprived of basic human rights. Van Zyl and Theron (1995:71) quoted, Vogelmann and Simpson (1990:4) who state that “apartheid caused social deprivation which led to frustration, creating the potential for violence to flare up repeatedly and this type of violence, not necessarily political, permeates the entire community and causes an increase in crime, murder, rape and domestic violence.” According to Van Zyl and Theron (1995), a study done by Dale and Nieuwoudt (1991:16) revealed that more than 50% of the youth voiced the concern that the only cause of violence in South Africa was apartheid.

Globally, South Africa is considered a country engulfed with crime and is especially known for the brutal violence with which crime is executed (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation [CSVR] 2007, 102; Altbeker, 2007; Schuld, 2013). It has often been reported that farmers have been murdered on their farms, car hijackings have been on the rise, policemen have been attacked and murdered, women and children have been abused and all this has added to the alarming statistics of violent crime in South Africa. Violence has recently been on the increase and South Africa’s violent society has been shaped by the apartheid system and the political violence dominating Black residential areas in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Saw, 2002 in Schuld, 2013; Simpson, 2004; Emmett 2000; CSVR, 2009). Since this study focuses on eMakhuzeni (Springvale), it is important to examine KwaZulu-Natal Province as a whole. Schuld (2013) pointed out that political violence and armed resistance against the apartheid system in KwaZulu-Natal escalated into a full-scale civil war between the governments affiliated Inkatha and the ANC. This kind of violence carried on until the first democratic elections of 1994 where the decline of political violence under apartheid government had to vanish to provide a space for democratic rule. Between the 1980 and 1990s, KwaZulu-Natal Province experienced more political violence between the UDF and IFP than any other province as the majority of the amaZulu ethnic group constitute the majority in the province; so, Inkatha had a huge political support base during this time. The KwaZulu-Natal Province was characterised by a

complex network of power relations between political parties and factions. The warlords, vigilantes, gangs and other criminals also took advantage of the violence perpetrated during this time (Minnaar, 1992a; Schuld, 2012). Where political violence has taken place, a civil war usually follows.

Studies point out that political violence had various sources, and it shows that intergenerational conflicts structured violent action in rural areas of the Natal Midlands (Gibbs, 2017, cited in Krämer, 2020: 543; Carton, 2000). “Violent conflict spread along migrant routes and was entwined with and exacerbated by patterns of conflict associated with the criminality of uncontrollable young migrants” (Gibbs, 2017:378). According to Schuld (2013), as he quotes Dugard (2003) and Du Toit (2001), transitioning from being ruled by the government that promoted division to democracy is not easy; so, for South Africans to experience this form of transition from apartheid to a ‘rule by the people’ was like a miracle.

Taylor (2002), as quoted by Schuld (2013), estimated that 20 000 people were killed due to political conflict during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Some of the people died in the township wars in KwaZulu-Natal province (Bonnin et al., 1998). Brutal killings took place between the supporters of the UDF /ANC during the 1980s and the homeland of KwaZulu that was under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi who was the leader of Inkatha. Like other homeland leaders, Buthelezi received a lot of support from the apartheid government of the National Party as this government was against the United Democratic Front (UDF) /African National Congress (ANC). Political violence was on the rise in KwaZulu-Natal before the country transitioned to democracy in 1994. Although the violence slightly subsided after the elections, there were still some violent episodes in some other places. Krämer (2020: 540) emphasised that “this particular manifestation of violence started in the 1980s, reached a peak during the transition from apartheid to democracy in the early 1990s, and has persisted on a lower scale over the next twenty years.”

Although the participants of this study do not remember the exact date when the violence started, the majority agree that it was in 1983. In the extract below, Mr Madondo indicates that:

“It was in 1983; it (violence) became stronger in 1984. People started fighting with spears and then later they used guns, especially in 1985. It started subsiding in 1986” (Participant 10).

During this time, there was violence throughout South Africa. The easy access to explosives during the 1980s was widespread, especially in urban areas, and these explosives put human life at great risk. In South Africa, before the elections held in 1994, the end of apartheid and the release of liberation movement leaders (like Nelson Mandela) in the early 1990s, saw South Africa experiencing high levels of violence that occurred in the 1980s as a reaction to apartheid and the oppressive nature of South Africa at the time. The violence that broke out in the 1980s was characterised by political and civil unrest occurring in South African townships and rural areas, and the people who were involved in the violence and unrest were mainly students in rural areas (and townships) opposing the apartheid regime, oppression, disturbances pertaining to their schooling (which would ultimately put them at an overall disadvantage in the long-run) and the ‘Bantu Education system’.

Many historical events have occurred in South Africa and that has shaped the country into what it has become today. It was during this time that the country witnessed a lot of changes that were brought by the youth. The country witnessed the rise of Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement. The youth demanded change, they felt that the older generation was not keen to challenge the government by using protests in the country leading to the 1976 Soweto Uprising. The response of the apartheid regime was not to meet the demands of the youth but to eliminate those who were at the forefront of the protest. Resultantly, many youths were arrested and sent to Robben Island, whilst Steve Biko died in detention.

As indicated earlier on, the youth were not just involved in the education-related issues; the unrest and the behaviour of the youth at this time represented many issues some of which being overt and focussed on the larger politics, financial frustration, rental and township charges, poor living conditions, unemployment, breakdown of family and traditional authority as well as discipline, poor recreation, instigation and education-related issues (Schlemmer, 1985). The youth of the 1980s showed the country and the world that they were capable of strongly mobilising and were prepared

to make a difference in the political formation and to see to it that the socio-economic problems and inequality existing in their country were resolved.

South Africa became ungovernable in the 1980s; this was not just happening in townships but in the rural areas as well. According to Super (2010), the term 'unrest' was used for various activities taking place in the country, ranging from strikes, boycotts, student marches and unrest, tribal clashes, and faction fights. For example, "Unrest (petrol bomb incidents; arson; fire damage; looting; hand grenade incidents; persons killed by others; injured by others; killed and injured by security forces; killed by development board officials; injured by development board officials)" are all characteristics of types of violence that presented itself in this era (Super, 2010).

The Soweto uprising and the subsequent revolts came with huge upheaval and violence and these were met with increased police violence and brutality during the late 1970s into the 1980s (Fassin, Le Marcis and Lethata, 2008). In the late 1980s the KwaZulu-Natal province witnessed unprecedented violence that was also spurred on by the hostilities among the amaZulu tribal group which degenerated into bloodshed thus resulting in many people losing their lives, their family members or members of their communities (Fassin, Le Marcis and Lethata, 2008). During this period there was political unrest in Johannesburg located in the Gauteng Province. The political violence erupted between the IFP led by Buthelezi and the ANC led by Nelson Mandela at the time of the political transformation. Even more surprising was the racial discrimination and confrontation that was so overwhelming under the agonising regime of apartheid, but this never explicitly appears in the narrative. All kinds of violence that have been defined in the chapter may be political violence, ethnic violence, riot, and terrorism have one thing in common which is a physical force that aims to damage, abuse, destroy and injure.

2.11 The Role of the youth in the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal

The militarisation processes in the 1980s affected South African youths who actively took part in the political struggle and therefore became the focus of State violence. The South African youth saw themselves as key agents of social and political change, and as defenders of their communities against oppressive security forces. During this time, the police were unwilling and unable to work in Black

communities and ensure the safety of Blacks. Violence and crime should be managed by the South African Police Service (SAPS) but over the years there have been problems emanating from a lack of public trust in the SAPS and several issues emerged as the years passed. These issues include a lack of trust between the South African public and the Police Service, corruption in the South African Police Service, bribery and several other issues (Fry, 2013).

In South Africa, after the end of apartheid, there has been a strong effort to address the issues within the SAPS and this began with the implementation of the Code of Conduct under the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (Fry, 2013). This Code of Conduct put in place regulations and pieces of legislation that dealt with police exploitation, police custody and treatment, non-adherence to the Domestic Violence Act and deaths and mistreatment of people in police custody or in detention facilities (Fry, 2013). The assumption was that there was an element of the 'third force' in the KwaZulu-Natal violence. The violence of the 1980s was seen as the violence of the Inkatha, which was predominantly supported by the amaZulu and the ANC, which was seen as predominantly supported by the amaXhosa. The apartheid government wanted to shift the blame from itself for being the cause of the violence and single out the cause of the violence as a Black-on-Black violence between the ANC and IFP, while there were so many other causes.

The investigation on the issue of the 'third force' was examined by The Goldstone Commission whose findings revealed that "a police force and army which, for many decades, have been instruments of oppression by successive white governments in maintaining a society predicated upon racial discrimination. A history over some years of state complicity in undercover activities which include criminal conduct. Those activities have enabled critics of the government and others, fairly or unfairly, to place the blame for much of the violence at the door of the security forces. That the well-documented criminal conduct by individual members of the South African Police and the KwaZulu Police exacerbate the perceptions of the many South Africans that the government or its agencies are active parties responsible for the violence" (Zulu, 1992:8).

When the State labelled the violence as ethnic or Black-on-Black violence, it raised different arguments. The fact is that this mass violence was an epitome of resistance

against racial discrimination and disapproval of the status quo of White domination created by apartheid. Zulu (1992) argues that given the capability of the South African security forces, neither the ANC nor the IFP would have the capacity to sustain violence at the scale that has been witnessed in the past years. However, South Africa is yet to see the positive effects of the efforts being made to better the country's police force and positions of authority as these efforts have not been hopeful and over the past years, the country has seen even cabinet ministers and government officials in high positions of power and climbing the career ladder being demoted and removed due to corruption, exploitation, fraud and unjust behaviour (Fry, 2013).

An investigation into the efficiency of the police service and trust between the public and the police service was carried out; two thousand four hundred people were asked if the "South African public service was user friendly" (Fry, 2013). The outcomes of this investigation indicated that 40% of the respondents communicated that it was relatively easy to get help from the police service, although people who lived in rural areas were said to have been less likely to report efficient interactions with the police service and were statistically at 30% whereas urban residents were at 43% (Fry, 2013). A further 10% of the respondents reported having been victimised by the police to provide a bribe or gift in the form of money to avoid being fined or arrested (Fry, 2013).

South Africa has one of the largest national police forces worldwide with a large network of precincts across all the provinces. The country employs thousands of police officials, but unfortunately, its history of policing violence has been marred by crime, individual cases or reports that are not attended to (Fry, 2013). With South Africa's history being marred by many cases of violence and protests, the country's police force has been weakened in implementing and enforcing good behaviour and existing laws regarding violence, arrests, and detentions and control of violence.

Dowson (2014) concurred with the ideas raised above, arguing that the youth in South Africa had been at the bleeding edge of dissent, as they had always been the ones that continuously experienced destitution as employment and a place to stay were beyond their reach. Black youth got involved in the resistance movement as the injustices of the past were felt by every non-White citizen of South Africa. Naidoo (1992) stated that Africans, Asians and 'Coloureds' had been victims of government

policy and had come to accept racial designations. The youth, all over South Africa took part in the resistance struggle. They took their struggle to schools, institutions of higher learning and out of school and the unemployed youth took the struggle to township streets and those employed to their places of work in the cities. According to Naidoo (1992), there was a growing acknowledgement on the part of youth leaders that it was necessary to organise unemployed youth, as leaders themselves had no jobs especially in the early 1980s. The jobless youth were struggling; some of them, especially the unemployed Indian and Coloured youth, relied on their family income for survival while the unemployed African youth found themselves in extreme states of destitution.

Naidoo (1992:149) argued that the 1980s

“ushered in an era of even greater hardship for urban dwellers. Political restructuring, economic recession, increasing levels of unemployment, and unaffordable social services characterised the period. In the formal townships of Durban, there were intense battles over education, transport costs, rents, water fines, and the incorporation of Port Natal Administration Board townships into KwaZulu. Deteriorating material conditions in the 'informal settlements' increased”.

In 1980, Andrew Zondo, a devoted Christian, a youth and a high school student in KwaMashu (one of the African townships in KwaZulu-Natal), was drawn into the widespread political protests that took place in schools. He became a member of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS)¹⁵ and later joined the ANC . Zondo placed a bomb in Amanzimtoti, killing several Whites for which he was executed. Another example of a youth from the Indian township of Chatsworth was Lenny Naidu, who originated from a Hindu family and joined the military wing of the ANC in Mozambique. He was also killed by the South African security forces at a young age on the border of Swaziland.

¹⁵ The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in June 1979. It was formed after the South African Students' Movement was banned in 1977. It consisted of Black students as it represented their interests in the wake of the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

In 1981, COSAS wanted to see the youth being united. It encouraged the youth that had just left schools to be active and be involved in creating community-based forums. It is in the same year that the ANC declared 1981 the youth year as it wanted to build ideological support for the youth wing for liberation. Fighting to destroy all forms of racial discrimination was the aim of this youth movement. The other main objective of the youth movement was to form a Natal Youth Congress. The members were confronted by many challenges as there were so many ideological differences bordering on the education system, poverty level, recreational resources, political history, and the resources needed to advance the organisation. Many youths joined the ANC and the Youth League faced challenges as the IFP was doing its best to constrain it. In Durban townships such as Umlazi, once an IFP stronghold, Inkatha support base began to wane as the youth became so politically conscientised that they were determined to undo apartheid. In Indian townships such as Chatsworth, youth structures became constrained due to local factors that involved gang warfare that brought about disunity amongst the youth. In 1985, one high school in the Coloured township of Wentworth, Durban, became the first non-African township to form COSAS.

The youth under the tutelage of the IFP formed themselves in 1976. It was during a period in which the youth at national level were protesting inferior and discriminatory forms of education. The casualties of the Soweto student uprising included Hector Peterson and other youths who were killed by the apartheid forces on June the 16th 1976. The Inkatha formed its youth wing called the Inkatha Youth Brigade in 1976. Most of the members of the Youth Brigade were recruited from schools that were under the KwaZulu-Natal Government led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The first national administrative secretary of Inkatha Youth Brigade was Ziba Jiyane.

There were clashes between COSAS and the IFP as Buthelezi saw this organisation as being dominated by the unruly youth. IFP tried to discourage students from taking part in school boycotts and worker protests through powerful trade union movements (Beinart, 2001). Beinart pointed out that the Inkatha youth were better armed and less likely to attract police hostility due to collusion with the apartheid government. Most of the 4 000 people who died in the three years of township violence were the youth. The 1980s were among the most brutal and violent episodes in the history of South Africa (Hamber, 1999). During this time, there was wide use of power and influence by the

South African government and the people who opposed the government and the oppressive state of the country.

The violence that took place during the 1980s was characterised by physical violence, arbitrary arrests and detention without trial, civil and political unrest, acts of sabotage, harassment, abuse, torture, unexplained disappearances, murder of political opponents and rivals (Hamber, 1999). The highest rate of violence was coordinated and planned by the State, inside or outside the country's borders. Those who were targeted were relatively young victims or those related to activists who opposed the State and its oppressive system. South Africans who were targeted were subjected to immense physical abuse and maltreatment. Soon, these horrific acts and violent outbursts occurring in South Africa got major publicity in all media platforms which led to the later revelations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Hamber, 1999). The term used to refer to the violence imposed by the State against its country's inhabitants was "vertical violence" (Hamber, 1999).

During the 1980s there was a rise in political and social rivalry which was also attributed to the rise in violence, there was also armed resistance by the liberation organisations and movements. All of this resulted in the country being "placed under continual stress of potential violence, and through acts of sabotage" as the liberation forces opposed government control and oppression through living in unsafe, tumultuous, and forcefully regulated townships as the police force and the State heightened their sense of power and intimidation through closely controlling and regulating these areas where Black communities lived (Hamber, 1999). A few years later, the expression "culture of violence" had become a commonly used term referring to the high levels and capacity of conflict that had unfortunately become South Africa's reality (Hamber, 1999). In the 1980s, violence included "the civil war in KwaZulu-Natal" which quickly spread to other provinces as reported in the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Hamber, 1999).

Statistically, the 1970s witnessed the violence and political unrest killing an average of 44 persons a month and by the time the 1980s rolled, that number had risen to an average of 86 people a month and later in the 1990s, this number had risen to an average of 250 people a month (Hamber, 1999). The nature of violence in the early 1990s also changed from vertical to horizontal. In other words, the violence had

changed from violence imposed onto the South African citizens by the State to the violence imposed by South African citizens against one another. In the 1970s and 1980s, the police were responsible for most deaths (Hamber, 1999).

Apparently, apartheid was not only a legalised system of racial discrimination, but it was also a system devised to enforce the segregation of Blacks from Whites in different systems like the government, labour market and residency (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015). Apartheid used education as an oppressive tool utilised to deprive Black people in South Africa of their rights such as land rights, equal education right and other rights hence promoting racial inequalities and therefore later putting Black individuals at a disadvantage in life.

In light of the above, White people were far ahead in terms of careers, education and the acquisition of personal wealth whilst Black people were set back and had limited access to education, making it harder if not impossible to find higher-paying jobs in higher positions in career ladders. Therefore, this limited Black people to minimum wage jobs. Apartheid set South Africans back as many Black people had restricted access to certain resources like basic education, tertiary education, land, and residential power and even access to basic resources (Mhlauli, Mokotedi and Salani, 2015).

Over the period of the negotiations for transition to democracy spanning from February 1990 to April 1994, 14 807 people having been killed (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2016). This is in stark contrast with the previous five years when the Institute reported 5 387 deaths from political violence. It should be noted that the distinction between what is labelled 'political' violence and what is termed 'criminal' violence in South Africa has always been blurred. This accounts for some discrepancies between different agencies' statistics on fatalities. In addition, relativising (and approximating) the number of fatalities should be used cautiously. Statistics cheapen the lives of everyone killed and obscure other forms of repression. Considering the number of deaths that took place in the 1980s alone tells half the story. For example, between 1984 and 1986, the South African police shot dead 300 children, wounded 1 000, detained 11 000 without trial, arrested 18 000 on charges relating to political protest and held a further 173 000 in police cells awaiting trial. Since the first democratic

elections in April 1994, reports of political violence have decreased although the phenomenon had not disappeared.

In 1997, the Human Rights Committee reported that more than 300 people in Kwazulu-Natal and 151 people in the rural Eastern Cape had been killed in political violence. The South African Institute for Race Relations reported that in 1997, 470 people died in political feuds (Hamber, 1999). Between 1 January 1998 and 31 July 1998, a further 218 people had lost their lives due to political conflict, suggesting a slight increase in political violence with the advent of the second democratic election. Although alarming, this is significantly lower and more manageable than it had been in the years immediately prior to the first democratic election (Hamber, 1999).

The lawlessness and violent crimes occurring in South Africa are attributable to the political violence that occurred during the 1980s and the 1990s in many parts of South Africa (Kynoch, 2005). The political unrest that existed in South Africa during this time increased the scale of violence by flooding the townships with weapons, forcing people into rival camps (Kynoch, 2005). For example, a historical examination of the Witwatersrand townships disclosed the view that many years of social and economic deprivation, combined with repressive policing, criminal predation and a corresponding reliance on vigilantism, produced environments in which violence frequently became a normative means of pursuing material interests, as well as resolving conflicts and seeking 'justice'.

During the 1980s political organisation, protest and conflict occurred on an unprecedented scale and duration in South Africa's townships and rural areas, as a reaction and measure of action towards the apartheid government and the oppressive nature of the laws that were passed during this period (Seekings, 1991). All the oppressive laws were in favour of all-white citizens in South Africa but against all non-White citizens in primarily Black communities (Seekings, 1991). Protesters and other active participants in the organisation and overt conflict have for the most part been identified as the 'people', the 'community', 'workers', 'youth', 'township residents', or even the 'masses' - all gender-blind categories (Seekings, 1991).

The 'Vaal Uprising' of September 1984 has widely been identified as marking the start of the mid-decade township revolt (Seekings, 1991). However, in the years prior to the

revolt, there had been a rise in organisation, mobilisation and protest in many townships over a variety of civic, school and political grievances (Seekings, 1991). Township residents in general successfully sought to avert confrontation with the State in the belief that it would involve high personal costs with little likelihood of a direct benefit. Only on a very few occasions did protest erupt into riots and full-scale confrontation - for example, Mhluzi (Middleburg) in 1978, Tembisa (East Rand) in 1981, Ikageng (Potchefstroom) and Sobantu (Pietermaritzburg) in 1982, and Durban's Lamontville in 1983 - and these were generally limited both in duration and in terms of the number of deaths and injuries resulting from State action (Seekings, 1991). The focal point and drive of the township and rural area disputes were the discontentment over the direct, residential, and correlating problems of the facilities and allocation of resources and the cost of housing, township and area development and municipal services and the roles of township and area councillors (Seekings, 1991). During the early and mid-1980s, there was widespread "radicalisation" (the procedure in which an individual or group of people proceed to undertake progressively radical and revolutionary or reformist views in opposition to political or social state) of the township and rural politics, which included the rise in support of and fellowship for radical organisations and diminishing space for popular conservatism (Seekings, 1991).

There were mass protests between 1984 and 1985 and this was against the rise in rent along with other community grievances. These protests were led by radical civic organisations and liberation movements and committees, for example, the protest marches in Tumahole (in the northern Orange Free State) in July 1984, the Vaal Triangle in September 1984, and especially Mamelodi (Pretoria) in November 1985. At a meeting held in Duduza (on the East Rand) in February 1985 and the people who formed part of these organisations proposed that residents leave their night soil buckets at the administration offices protesting the State's failure to provide a sewerage system in the township (Seekings, 1991). A civic organisation (a community-based association or committee) and protest constituted the major components of township and rural area politics in the early 1980s; the other major component was student and youth organisation (Seekings, 1991). In many of the townships in South Africa, student and youth organisations were not very strong until the violent confrontations of the period 1984-1986 (Seekings, 1991). Mathis (2013) states that one of the main post-apartheid challenges facing South Africa is the establishment of

an effective and accountable system of governance in areas that experienced significant levels of violence during the 1980s and 1990s. This is particularly the case in former Bantustan areas such as Umbumbulu near Durban, where violence associated with the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as well as with local power struggles was widespread (Mathis, 2013). A lot of the violence, fighting and disputes in the rural areas was considered factional (a small, organised non-conformist group within a larger group, particularly in politics or communities or areas) fights (Mathis, 2013). A large volume of students and youths involved in organisations was seen as the product rather than the cause of the revolt (Seekings, 1991). However, in some townships, there was embryonic organisation, comprising branches of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and, to a lesser extent, the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), and Youth Congresses and the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) or similar organisations (Seekings, 1991).

According to Schlemmer (1985:7), many government officials were killed during the 1980s - “the calculated brutality of some of the murders and violence perpetrated against elected local government representatives bore the signs of well-considered symbolism” This statement shows the extreme nature of the violence that occurred during the 1980s and 1990s was an indication that the youth and their organizations were willing to take extremely dangerous and potentially lethal action to fight the injustices of the country. According to The Star 4/10/1984, the apartheid government was totally rejected by the students, the youth organisation and the black community as a whole. At this stage, they were willing to fight and even die for their freedom. It was the student’s organisation (COSASs) that got blamed for the unrest, protest and violence in the country especially the school protests that were seen to be initiated by COSAS (Schlemmer, 1987).

It was immensely a major concern that civilisations going through major social and political transition have a lot of attention focused on the large-scale political conflict and criminal violence, and particular brutal acts of violence (Hamber, 1999). Unfortunately, the “micro-effects” of political violence and unrest that undulate through societies tend to go unnoticed and are generally overlooked, but these effects of violence tend to have major long-lasting effects on the country and its division of resources, access to resources, distribution of wealth, disruption in schooling

(resulting in an incremental disadvantage overtime) and previous privilege in an oppressive society (Hamber, 1999). All the violence that South Africa has experienced, particularly in rural areas (and townships) has traumatised South African communities and therefore in need of social and political rehabilitation policy which the Truth and Reconciliation advocated (Hamber, 1999). South Africa's history of struggle, violence, unrest and oppression has taught us that on the backbone of a fragile social fabric undermined by years of apartheid's destruction, political tensions often result in violence that spreads horizontally across communities (Hamber, 1999). The negotiations between all the congresses and the political parties that led to peace in South Africa helped suppress this form of violence before, but not before an excessive loss of life and the erosion of the social fabric (Hamber, 1999).

The American Committee of Africa (ACOA, 1981) details that: Since the Soweto uprising of June 1976, five years had passed and not much had changed in South Africa, particularly for Black communities. Blacks are still denied the rights of citizenship in the country of their birth and live tightly controlled lives of abject poverty created by the apartheid system. Apartheid not only continues but is becoming more repressive. The White minority regime repressed the student community and labour leaders to stem the strikes and protests which were sweeping across the country. The regime has particularly focused on mass arrests. A total of 200 people had been detained in what some observers described as the largest government campaign against opponents since October 1977 (ACOA, 1981). The unrest at the time had begun mid-May as a reaction to the "boycott campaign" that was triggered off by the regimes' "Republic Day" celebrations (ACOA, 1981).

The celebrations marked the country's 20th anniversary of its withdrawal from the British Commonwealth and its establishment as a republic had come to symbolise the consolidation of hatred for White minority rule. "What have we people to celebrate but poverty, disease, malnutrition, oppression, and exploitation?" asked one Black labour leader. "Republics are supposedly founded 'by the people, for the people, '" added another, "but in the case of the South African 'republic, ' only 8% of the population endorsed it in 1960, so this republic was foisted on the majority." As the celebrations got underway, mass protests involving labour unions, students, and community organisations spread across the country and onto the university campuses.

South African flags were burned to the chant of "White Republic no! People's Republic yes!" and chanting continued on a number of campuses, which were then stormed by riot police who dispersed demonstrators and arrested students. In one Cape University alone, 48 students were detained. Liberation movement activity such as a week-long series of sabotage attacks by the African National Congress (ANC), added to the protests and sent thousands of soldiers from the Defence Force into the streets of Durban, Johannesburg, and other major cities. Among the targets of the bombing campaign were rail lines, power lines, and police stations. On May 27, a bomb planted by the ANC blasted a military recruiting station in Durban and caused damage amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Also, in late May, a significant new development emerged in the labour movement when Black workers at Ford, General Motors, and Firestone plants in Port Elizabeth staged a militant two-week strike in solidarity with workers at the Firestone plant who had been dismissed in an earlier dispute.

The largely successful action was led by the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA) - the union which was formed after the two-month strike led by Thozamile Botha in late 1979 at the Ford Cortina plant in Port Elizabeth - and served once again to underscore the role of U.S. corporations in the oppression of black South African workers. Major strikes have also taken place at British Leyland's subsidiary in Cape Town and at textile factories in Natal. On May 28, some 1600 Black mineworkers at the Buffelsfontein Gold Mine were dismissed and deported to the homelands after a work stoppage protesting working conditions. By the end of June, 60 members of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) alone had been detained, including SAAWU President Thozamile Ggweta and vice president Sisa Njikelana.

MACWJSA has also been targeted, with almost every union officer detained, along with such well-known union leaders as Joseph Mavi, president of the Black Municipal Workers Union. Earlier in June, Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of Media Workers Association of South Africa and son of imprisoned ANC Secretary-General Walter Sisulu, was taken from his home where he was under banning orders and placed in detention. Shortly after this incident, Thami Mazwail, the news editor of the Sowetan, was also detained. Protests continued through early June with police responding

particularly harshly to mixed ancestry ("coloured") youth demonstrating in townships outside of Johannesburg (ACOA, 1981). On June 3, thousands of protesters marching in a peaceful demonstration against the detention of student leader Aziz Jardine were attacked by riot police wielding clubs and whips and using tear gas and guard dogs (ACOA, 1981). Witnesses reported unprovoked brutality and widespread beatings by the riot squad. "I saw mothers and bystanders being beaten and chased into homes," said one witness. "The police were going wild. I had a total feeling of helplessness and when I protested, they came at me with a bullwhip and slashed me." Protests and school boycotts continued through June.

Among the students that were held were Wantu Zentile of the Committee of South African Students (COSAS), Khotso Seatloho of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, and the chairman and many members of the Black Student Society of the University of Witwatersrand ("Wits") (ACOA, 1981). Progressive White students had also been facing repression. Andrew Borraine, President of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), was detained on June 18 and then released and banned along with Sammy Adelman of the Wits Student Representative Council. This mounting repression exposed the central flaw in the Reagan Administration's claims that signs of positive change in South Africa justify a policy of "constructive engagement".

2.12 The chronology of violent events in KwaZulu-Natal

Although most of the interviewees hardly recalled the exact date of the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), they all revealed that the violence began in 1983. Since the perpetrators of this violence were migrant workers in Durban where mass violence was taking place. This section includes some important events of violence that were happening from 1983 when the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) ended in 1986.

1983: In January, PUTCO buses were boycotted. The Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) was formed in 1983 following a rent increase in the townships of KwaZulu-Natal. This was then followed by the assassination of its leader Harrison Dube in May. Violent unrest erupted and this resulted in the rent increase being postponed. During this period Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi made an announcement that Lamontville was to be incorporated into KwaZulu. In June there was going to be a memorial for those

youth that had died in the Soweto Uprising of June 16, 1976, but the police feared that violence might erupt and they decided to ban it by setting up roadblocks. The police attempt failed as violence erupted and the youth stoned vehicles. In October there was a protest in a school in Umlazi where students were angry because the funds collected for the speech day were misused by the school. On the 22nd of November in Hammersdale, the Inkatha stopped the UDF supporters from entering the hall and the police were called to escort the UDF members and their buses were stoned by the Inkatha supporters (Byerley, 1989).

1984: Nothing much was mentioned about the beginning of the year except the incident that took place in Clermont in March where buses were stoned. June 16 went peacefully without any protest or violence. The student at the Medical School boycotted classes on the 17th of August protesting the elections. In the same month, many UDF members were arrested for intimidating voters in Chatsworth. In August, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held an anti-election meeting at Durban City Hall and during this meeting clashes between the police and those attending took place. In Nqetho near Hillcrest, a bus boycott took place in October, and this was because bus fare had been increased. Buses were stoned and places that sold tickets were burnt down (Byerley, 1989).

1985: It is said that Medical School students intimidated workers of King Edward VIII after 5000 casual workers were dismissed. At the beginning of 1985, the police announced they would not supply information about certain unrests and protests, and this resulted in the restriction of media in covering unrests. Clashes between the UDF and Inkatha members took place in May in Hambanathi, and some houses were destroyed. On the 16th of June 1985, violence erupted again where cars and buildings were stoned in Durban townships. On the 21st of July, the State of Emergency was introduced. Victoria Mxenge was assassinated on the 1st of August and this led to the outbreak of violence in the province. Between September and October petrol bombing of police and councillors' homes was occurring in many townships of KwaZulu Natal¹⁶. In November, the conflict between the amaZulu and amaMpondo at Malukazi and

¹⁶ KwaZulu-Natal was created in 1994, after the democratic elections. It was called Natal prior 1994 then changed to KwaZulu-Natal after.

Umbumbulu emerged. In December, 5000 people met at Curries Fountain for a rally that was held to call for the release of Nelson Mandela (Byerley, 1989).

1986: In January, the violence that was between amaZulu and amaMpondo continued, leaving many people dead. Factional fights in Umbumbulu continued. Clashes between the UDF and IFP in the Durban surrounding townships also continued. In March the State of Emergency was lifted. Between September and November, many policemen, councillors and IFP officials were killed. The Metal and Allied Workers Union held a meeting in Curries Fountain in November, when the police heard them singing and dancing, they panicked and ended up shooting at the crowd and one worker died (Byerley, 1989).

2.13 Bantustans and tribal hegemony

The institutions of traditional leaders in KwaZulu-Natal can be traced as back as 1840, when the Shepstonian Location System promoted *amakhosi* (chiefs) to rule in the tribal areas. When people visited the chief's home, they were expected to bring a respected gift to be presented to the chief. If people want a piece of land on which to build a house they have go to the king, after paying a certain amount required by the *inkosi* (chief) and get permission from him to build their house. This system was started by Shepstone to make African people self-sufficient, allowing the chiefs to rule their own people (Minnaar, 1992: 63).

Mwere and Mayekiso (2014) argued that the activities of *amakhosi* (chiefs) in South Africa focused on land redistribution, the promotion of peace, culture and values, unity and the judiciary within their district. *Amakhosi* (chiefs) are seen as the custodians of values and culture in the African nation and this includes Ubuntu. The apartheid government changed all that, the loyalty of the chiefs to the apartheid government was rewarded by appointing them as the indirect ruler of the rural people. According to Mwere and Mayekiso (2014), an example of this was Kaiser Matanzima of the Thembu people who won the apartheid government's favour and Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, on the other side, was sidelined because of his role in leading the uprising in the Thembu land.

In the pre-colonial era, the institution of traditional leadership was the centre of political governance in South Africa's traditional rural communities. The institution of traditional

leadership was the main form of government with the highest authority. The leadership control of traditional leaders changed when the colonial authority and rulers introduced their authority to the landscape of traditional governance (Beal and Ngonyama, 2009).

The policy of indirect rule appeared to falsely protect the pre-colonial structures of the traditional leadership. In practice, it was established as a means of controlling traditional communities in their ethnic areas. The pre-colonial leadership's domination of *amakhosi* (chiefs) changed when the colonial rulers introduced their authorities. Through the colonial system, *amakhosi* (chiefs) were obliged to work for the colonial government constituted by the British. The traditional authorities were acknowledged and given form by the colonial government to suit, adopt and promote the objectives and aims of its colonial strategies and missions.

The aims and objectives of the colonial government were to control the economic, political and social system of the country as well as maintain White domination. Nattrass (1984) points out in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, Whites felt they were outnumbered by the Black population as there was 9 to 1 as 5 to one in comparison with South Africa as a whole and that it created racial conflict and fears. Ulundi was the most important place in the province as Ulundi administered many people living in urban areas in the province. "KwaZulu is an integral part of all Natal's major urban conurbations; KwaZulu, therefore, cannot be seen as a rural government, separate from the 'problem' of the urban Black" (Nattrass, 1984:4).

The Black Administration Act of 1927 was passed by the South African colonial government to ensure that traditional authorities advance the strategies and objectives of the colonial government. The Act was passed to restrict the powers and duties of *amakhosi* (chiefs). The Black Administration Act of 1951 was passed to regulate traditional authorities and traditional courts. At the same time, the Act aimed at the adoption and application of customary law to govern the institution of traditional leadership by ensuring that Blacks were governed by a political state from the rest of the country. The 1951 Act was also passed to give *amakhosi* (chiefs) the power to manage land in their provinces.

The leading *amakhosi* (chiefs) were given substantial incomes by the State, more than a magistrate's salary; *izinduna* (headmen) received smaller amounts of about three

times a migrant worker's earnings. The Native Affairs Department (NAD), which sought to enlarge its own powers by monopolising the administration of Africans, and separating these functions from other State authorities, advanced this strategy in the Native Administration Act (1927).¹⁷ The NAD ensured that the appointment of chiefs and recognition of their courts was to be extended throughout the reserved areas. It was important to consolidate the system of State authority around a conservative rural hierarchy. To defuse national political organisation, the segregationist politicians emphasized on the retribalisation of the African society.

The traditional leadership system incorporated its own unique development plan. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 made amakhosi (chiefs) the rulers of the apartheid land in their reserves and began the process of establishing new political institutions for the Africans. This was strengthened by the passing of the Bantu Self-Government Act in 1959, which provided for the establishment of 10 autonomous Bantustan homes. The homelands were places where Africans who were denied South African citizenship could exercise their citizenship rights within an area where the system defined by race was determined by national authorities.

The colonial and apartheid governments also took away certain rights such as controlling the allocation and management of land. That led to a radical change in the leadership roles traditionally performed by the amakhosi (chiefs). Bantustans such as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei set a good example of the transformation in the activities of traditional leaders (chiefs) during the colonial period.

Most Black South Africans live in the areas that are ruled by *amakhosi* (chiefs). There are more than 800 traditional leaders in the country. Although traditional leaders played a very important role in leading the people, there were many things the people were not happy about. Some of these were: when the apartheid government wanted to impose tight controls over African labour, it used the structures of traditional leadership and the *amakhosi* were trusted more by the government than the citizens. Van Kessel and Oomen (1997:561) articulated this reality in the following quote: "The

¹⁷ The Native Affairs Act No 23 recognised a native affairs commission; offered for a structure of local councils in the reserves; and approved the administration to organise conferences of chiefs and councillors and with a view 'to the ascertainment of the views of the Native population.

African reserves in the countryside played a crucial role in the governments' efforts to establish tighter control over African labour”.

Labour bureaux regulated the supply of labour to the mines, commercial agriculture and industrial sector. Labour mobility was further controlled by a tightening of the pass laws. In the African villages, the administration of the passbook and the running of the labour bureaux, where permits had to be annually renewed, were the responsibility of the chief”. Other issues that made people displeased with the *amakhosi* included the fact that they played a role in the implementation of agricultural betterment policies that involved livestock control and the demarcation of land. When the country experienced serious revolts in the 1960s, those traditional leaders who were seen as supportive of the apartheid government received a lot of opposition, especially from the youth. An example made earlier is that of Kaiser Matanzima in the Transkei. The imposition of Bantu authorities upset so many people as it brought about division among Africans. Those traditional leaders who opposed the government, especially the Bantu Authorities System, were targeted by the government, as some of them were internally exiled and a case in point was the acting chief of Sekhukhune (Morwamoche Sekhukhune). The Bantu Authorities System manipulated the chieftaincy as

“Chiefs had become civil servants, to be hired, fired, paid and, if necessary, created by the government. If they were lucky enough to be designated a member of a homeland parliament, they would also receive a car and some other perks” (Van Kessel and Oomen, 1997:564).

When the pass laws were abolished in 1986, traditional leadership had to face loss of authority and income as its constituency did not see a need to present itself to the *amakhosi's* office any longer. *Amakhosi* lost control of labour permits and other travelling documents. Some *amakhosi* oversaw the coming of the New South Africa and prepared for it. They formed Contralesa¹⁸ in 1987 with the intention of trying to unite traditional leaders. Its aim was

¹⁸ Contralesa: this is movement established in 1987 by the traditional leaders of South Africa especially those who were coming from the homeland of KwaNdebele (in the Transvaal Province). It was supported by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC)

“to unite all traditional leaders in the country, to fight for the eradication of the Bantustan system, to 'school the traditional leaders about the aims of the South African liberation struggle and their role in it', to win back 'the land of our forefathers and share it among those who work it in order to banish famine and land hunger', and to fight for a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa” (Van Kessel and Oomen, 1997:569).

The African National Congress (ANC) tried every strategy to make the traditional leaders see themselves as having an important role to play in paving the way to democracy. Van Kessel and Omen (1997:569) stated that,

“Contralesa was regarded as an important rural partner in the African National Congress (ANC)'s strategy to 'isolate De Klerk' by drawing all kinds of disparate forces into a broad alliance under ANC guidance. Chiefs were seen as constituting part of the middle ground between the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party government, hanging in the balance from where they could swing either way”.

When Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990, he addressed the traditional leaders reassuring them that they had played an important role in South Africa and they still had a role to play in the near future. He said, “the role and place of traditional leaders in our society has in the past been systematically undermined by successive racist regimes which sought to reduce their role to enforce repugnant apartheid politics. Today's meeting should be seen in the context of restoring traditional leaders to their rightful place in society” (Van Kessel and Omen, 1997:854).

Amakhosi themselves knew how powerful they were in influencing people under their tutelage in terms of choosing the political parties they would support. This manifests itself in Chief Mhlabunzima Maphulo's speech. Chief Mhlabunzima Maphulo, who was a Zulu chief and an active member of Contralesa, said, “Once a chief has identified himself with us, then we know that the whole tribe or the majority of the people in that area are now with the progressive forces” (Van Kessel and Omen, 1997:571). These attempts by the African National Congress (ANC) to win traditional leaders and form an alliance with them were challenged by the youth as the institution of chieftaincy was viewed as not in line with democracy. This institution was said to be dominated by men and there was no female representa and the *amakhosi* are born and not elected; only

one race (Africans) could be *amakhosi* and it also promoted ethnic division, which was encouraged by the homeland system. The African National Congress (ANC) always wanted to have a good relationship with the people of KwaZulu-Natal, especially those who had been made to believe that the IFP was the political party that represented the amaZulu. In trying to show cultural diversity in KwaZulu-Natal, the Sisonke Festival was held on 24 October 1993. This festival had been called by the African National Congress (ANC) to show that KwaZulu-Natal belonged to everyone, not just the Zulus. This festival was well attended by the Zulu, and the well-respected poet Mzwakhe Mbuli, was there who, according to Kloppe (1996:54), “stirred the crowd 'into a frenzy as he invoked the memories of the Battle of Isandlwana when Zulu warriors defeated the British colonial army in 1879”. Most rural communities are still under *amakhosi* (chiefs) post-1994. EMakhuzeni (Springvale) is a rural area that is still under the leadership of *amakhosi* (chiefs). *Amakhosi* (chiefs) are still playing a major role in maintaining peace and stability in South Africa, so it is important that amakhosi are working well with the councillors as what people need is service delivery.

2.14 The first democratic elections

The 1994 elections marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa, as the country became a democratic nation and elected its first Black president, Nelson Mandela then leader of the ANC. As every citizen of South Africa enjoys the freedom that they fought for, the people of the grassroots level especially in rural areas mustn't be forgotten. People of rural areas played a very important role in fighting for the freedom that South Africans have. As alluded to earlier they made the country ungovernable as one of the strategies for fighting the apartheid government. It is important that they also reap the fruit of freedom.

Before South Africa celebrated the birth of its democracy, there was a need for reconciliation. Truth and reconciliation are a very important part of all conflicts; truth is the property or state of being in line with all facts and the reality and reconciliation is the restoration of friendly or cordial relations between two or more people or parties (settle disagreement). Therefore, when conflict occurs, there tends to be a lack of truth and reconciliation. There are disagreements, which are often compounded by violence and prejudice. However, as people reach the end of their disagreements, all violence

ends paving way for truth and reconciliation. This moment is very important as many pivotal roles are played and decisions are made for the development of a country.

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was founded on the grounds of promoting national accord and the rebuilding of friendly relations, under the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 (Guelke, 1999). This Act lawfully decreed that it would work as a link between the nation's history and its future, which enables the transformation and development of South Africa through the strengthening of human rights, the transition into a democratic nation, friendly co-existence and fair distribution of resources to all citizens without bias or prejudice (Guelke, 1999). All of this would be acquired with the intent of keeping all South Africans' well-being and unity in mind.

South Africa has a lengthy record and past riddled with oppression, suffering, conflict, struggle, violence, political or civil unrest, and division (Langa, 2000). The divisions, racial prejudices and the struggle against the apartheid system led to the political unrest and violence that broke out in parts of South Africa in the 1980s. The most important question South Africans alike must ask is whether one should remember or forget these past grievances; many may argue that there are potential advantages and disadvantages to this (Langa, 2000). If the South African society chooses to forget what has happened in the past, it may appear an easier choice, but ultimately, it would also imply leaving behind lessons learnt and the potential for a repetition of our past rather than transforming society for a better future, having a better understanding of how to solve these matters (Langa, 2000). However, if a South African society has chosen to recall the past historical wrongs, the nation may stand a better chance of being able to effectively embark on the transformation and democratisation of the political leadership, as these lessons may be put into practice and thus build a better future; it may be painful or uncomfortable to revisit and possibly unearth these problems but the advantages are far greater and have the potential to yield a greater outcome (Langa, 2000).

The truth and reconciliation agenda have been heavily associated with the term 'Ubuntu', an IsiZulu word whose English translation means "being humane", which is based on the understanding that 'I am because you are' (Guelke, 1999). Therefore, in a cosmopolitan and highly stratified society, people can co-exist and collectively add

value to their well-being. The reason for the need for truth and reconciliation during was due to the political unrest involving the political parties, the National Party, the ANC , the IFP , and the families and communities of the people who were murdered during the political violence of the 1980s (Guelke, 1999). There were many outcomes that arose from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the positive ones included liberating moments of reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, the revelation of the truth about the past killings, the locating of the bodies of the people who had disappeared during the time of this political violence and unrest, and the exposure of wrongful actions and the pivotal decisions made by the apartheid State (chemical and biological warfare) (Guelke, 1999). Societal stratification played a huge role in the violence and past unrests, as it often happened between different tribes, political parties and their supporters, racial groups (apartheid) and even in areas where people lived.

The 1994 elections in South Africa marked the beginning of a new age where the country was ruled by a democratic government. Democracy can be defined as a system in which a country is governed by the country's entire population or through elected representatives thus giving all individuals the right to vote. Therefore, South Africa became a democratic country, where all individuals who had been previously excluded (all non-Whites) would be able to vote and have control over the entire nation. The majority of the country's citizenry was able to vote and have an equal say in who should represent the country in government. These elections took place over three days (from the 26th to the 28th of April 1994). The years before the elections, specifically on the 2nd of February 1990, the then President of South Africa, President FW de Klerk, announced the unbanning of all the liberation parties including the ANC , the PAC, and the South African Communist Party [SACP] (Southall, 1994). The unbanning of the liberation parties coincided with the release of political detainees such as Nelson Mandela (Southall, 1994).

Upon his release after 27 years of incarceration, Nelson Mandela said, "We have waited too long for freedom" and this was part of his address to millions of people present in Cape Town and across the world via satellite (Campbell, 1990). His words, although simple, emphasised the wait and struggle that all non-White South Africans endured during the apartheid era and in the fight for their rights and freedom. Upon

Nelson Mandela's release, all the bans under the apartheid governance were lifted, allowing all political parties to participate. The lifting of all these legislations was a good thing, although it also came with difficulties for many South Africans who had previously been denied access to many resources, as they were now under pressure to catch up with the previously privileged White people who enjoyed advantages in careers, education and different sectors of life, like the economical wealth and personal wealth (Campbell, 1990). Now,

“after a century of political, military and cultural resistance, the transformation of the consciousness and the organisational capacity of the people pushed forward for a new democracy has a long road ahead in terms of transformation of its society and the implementation of a democratic change” (Campbell, 1990:147).

According to Krelekrele (2018), the challenge currently facing South Africa after more than twenty-five years of democracy is the continuous political violence that engulfs the entire country. KwaZulu-Natal was leading in terms of political violence in the 1980s, but even now, the province still accounts for considerable violence, especially around the election time. Krelekrele (2018:1) points out that “the 2016 local government elections brought an end to the single dominant party situation in some major metros and rural municipalities, but the process that preceded the elections was marked by numerous political killings in KwaZulu-Natal”. Violence has now become a pattern, every time election time approaches, several killings take place.

Local government election will be taking place on 1 November 2021 and several people have already been murdered, especially those who have indicated the desire to stand for their political parties as councillors in the elections and most of these killings have taken place in KwaZulu-Natal. As alluded to in earlier sections, South Africa has lived under apartheid for a long time and most South Africans, especially those who were previously oppressed, learned that, “whenever they requested their human rights, they were met with more violence and came to the realisation that violence was effective to achieve freedom in a colonial system that only understood the language of force” (Krelekrele, 2018:1). Violence, as a way of solving conflicts has continued unabated in the post-democracy era in South Africa.

2.15 Conclusion

Chapter Two has introduced the reader to the literature on the concept of violence and examined the different forms of violence and some case studies that elaborate the nature of the phenomenon. It looks at how the colonial and apartheid regime perpetrated acts of violence in its quest for land, natural resources and displacement of the indigenous people to small plots of land, which were insufficient for subsistence farming. This made rural areas as catchment areas for the growth of capitalism amongst the Whites. Hence, rural areas are underdeveloped, with escalating numbers of households living in abject poverty.

It is in this context that the chapter contextualises violence during the colonial and apartheid years and how this phenomenon continues to manifest itself after democracy. As the violence took place during the 1980s, it was also important to look at what was happening politically in the country at a time when the violence erupted in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). This chapter has also presented the role of youth in violence in South Africa during the period. I also presented the events of violence that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal at the same time as eMakhuzeni violence was taking place. It also captures Black-on-Black violence due to contestation over political hegemony amongst tribes and clans until the advent of democracy.

Hamber (1999) stated that the situation in South Africa had become very different. The legacy of the violence of the past lives on, but the political consensus was no longer the key to a stable political environment. Rather, what is needed is a mature government that is prepared to invest in the well-being of its citizens. Such a government would welcome a critical evaluation of its achievements, invest energy in genuine economic re-distribution and continue to forward an unequivocal human rights agenda. Stability in the long term requires the government to stand by its human rights policies and not to retreat from them, despite the misplaced fears of the population that it is the new human rights-orientated dispensation that has resulted in a rise in violence in post-apartheid South Africa (Hamber, 1999). This chapter has also covered political violence in the first democratic elections of 1994.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents and discusses three broad theoretical frameworks on which this study is based. The theoretical framework is a structure that supports theories and helps with the formulation of the research design and methods used in the study (Osanloo and Grant, 2016). This is important as it helps with the conceptualisation of the study in a broader socio-political and economic context. The theoretical framework for this study incorporates knowledge components drawn from various applicable theories to explain the nature, causes and consequences of violence. Theories of Relative Deprivation, Frustration-Aggression, and Masculinity are reviewed to explain, predict, and to understand the phenomena of violence and to interrogate existing knowledge and assumptions on the concept of violence. This chapter also covers the methodology used in this study. The researcher describes the research design, data collection instruments, and data analysis that are involved in the study. The investigation is about recording and analysing the history of the violent conflict of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) from the narratives provided by survivors of the violence.

3.2 Broad theoretical issues

The theoretical framework for this thesis includes the Theory of Frustration - Aggression, Relative Deprivation, and Masculinity. The works of Ted Gurr (1968), John Dollard (1939), and Leonard Berkowitz (1989) are used to explain the Frustration and Aggression Theory. Frustration and Aggression Theory was chosen for this study because the study participants explained that the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was caused by two men who got frustrated because they both wanted to marry the same woman (interview with Participant 25). Dollard (1939) stated that aggressive behaviour always assumes the existence of frustration and, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. This tells us that there is a link between frustration and aggression. It suggests that aggression does not occur

without any form of prior frustration, and the assertion that frustration always takes us to some form of aggression implies that aggression is an outcome of frustration. Secondly, the Theory of Relative Deprivation was also chosen for this study as it is defined as the feeling of anger, resentment and frustration that is caused by being compared to someone who has achieved more than their counterpart and a clear example is South Africa's past where during the apartheid era white people had more resources compared to black people (Appelgryn and Bornman, 1996). This means that there is a lack of resources to sustain a lifestyle. Thirdly, the Theory of Masculinity was used in this study as the violence was started by men. Masculinity theory covers the hegemonic masculinity that deals with a practice that legitimises the dominant position of men in society and rationalises the subordination of the common male population and women, and other marginalised ways of being a man.

3.2.1 Frustration-Aggression Theory

This idea of violence was promoted by John Dollard in 1939 and was continued by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. Frustration is a feeling of resentment when things go wrong, your path is blocked or where you will not be able to reach your goal (e.g., when someone or something stops on your way to reach your goal). This triggers an angry feeling that can turn into violent acts. This theory attempts to explain why people resort to violence to express their feelings. According to Dollard et al. (1939), frustration is the condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference while aggression is defined as an act whose goal-response is an injury to an organism (Berkowitz, 1962).

In 1964, Leonard Berkowitz stated that it is necessary to have an aggression stimulus to make aggression take place. Subsequently, Berkowitz remodified the frustration/aggression hypothesis in 1974 and 1993 into a theory that removed the importance of aggressive cues to the aggressive behaviour. Which is to say, the extremely angry subject will show aggression even if the aggression cue is absent. According to Berkowitz (1962), competition can lead to frustration. Competitive encounters are at least partly frustrating as contestants block each other's attempt to reach the disputed goal and threaten each other with a total loss. Competition has more opportunities to arouse violent tendencies than provide cathartic exceptions as hostile considerations. Further, Berkowitz (1968) argued that there is a link between

frustration and violence. Hence, this concept can be used to describe any social violence whether it is political turmoil, social unrest and disorder, or robbery and youth crime. Economic, social, and emotional upheaval is often a factor in anger.

Frustration produces anger and that leads to violence (Masango, 2004). For Masango (2004), sometimes people use anger to protect themselves as it helps them deal with frustration. For example, in the political arena, anger is used as a means of changing social structures. Considering the causes of violence in South Africa, Masango (2004) reflected on the history of oppression that forced the oppressed to respond to constitutional or institutional violence with violence. Violence was justified during apartheid because it was part of the liberation struggle that helped the oppressed to regain their freedom. South Africans are now reaping the fruits of violence, namely violence, street rage, murder, anger, intolerance, murder, and so on and this was accepted as normal during apartheid (Masango, 2004). An example of this violence in South Africa is the Soweto uprising in 1976, which was characterised by extreme frustration caused by apartheid structures (Masango, 2004; Melkote, 1993). Young people realised that nonviolent tactics were unlikely to bring about change, hence, they engaged in violent activities.

3.2.2 Relative Deprivation Theory

This theory is used in this study as it explains that physical deprivation results in poverty which plagues people's survival. In the social sciences, relative deprivation theory explains why people act for social change in order to acquire something (for example, opportunities, status, or wealth) that others possess and which they believe they should have too. Some social scientists believe that evolutionary theory explains why people join civil society organisations or promote social change.

Gurr's (2011) basic premise is that the necessary requirement for a violent civil war is a limited reduction, defined as an actor's view of non-compliance with social violence between their expected values and the perceived power of their nature. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life that people believe they are entitled to. Price indicators are found mainly in the social and physical environment: they are the conditions that determine the perceived opportunities for people to obtain or retain the prices they rightly expect.

Related reductions are related to the concept of frustration. A frustrating situation can be seen as a barrier to obtaining value. There are two classes of deprivation; personal and group experiences. A group can experience collective frustration. An example given by Gurr (2011) is that of a political party that is suppressed. The example of personal frustration given by Gurr (2011) in his theory is that of an individual who seeks promotion at a workplace and finds a barrier in getting it. It assumes that the closer one approaches a goal, the more intensely motivated they get. Earlier, it was noted that most rural conflicts are caused by the scarce distribution of resources and most political violence conflicts were caused by inequalities (Cramer, 2003; Bonnin 1997).

Gurr (1968) argued that the higher the degree of frustration, the greater the political instability. In short, the intensification of relative deprivation with regard to participation, prosperity, collective/communal values and societal status can lead to a 'decline in ideational coherence', which consequently leads to a breakdown in the social order and to violence.

Societal threats come in a wide variety of forms, but there are four obvious basic types: physical threats (pain, injury, death), economic threats (seizure, or destruction of property, denial of access to work or resources), threats to rights (imprisonment, denial of normal civil liberties), and threats to position or status (demotion, public humiliation). The difference between what people expect and what they get out of it leads to frustration. Further, 'the relative strength of a related reduction varies greatly with the average level of apparent difference between expected values and potential capacity (Gurr, 1971:60). The larger the gap, the stronger the intensity of the violence and the greater the fighting.

To understand protests and rebellion, Gurr (2011) emphasized the importance of analysing the minds of men and women who oppose anti-government policies that are unpopular and know about the beliefs of their communities and cultures, as well as the governments that oppose them. He emphasises three factors that are important when analysing protest and rebellion and these are; popular discontent (relative deprivation), people's justifications or beliefs about the justifiability and utility of political action and the balance between discontented people's capacity to act, that is, the ways in which they are organised and the government's capacity to repress or channel their anger.

Gurr (2011) emphasized that it is important to understand the source of people's grievances before talking about big issues such as political and economic structures.

Skocpol (1994) argues that to understand rebellion, one must first analyse how the state's social organisations influence social change. People do not just get involved in political revolutions unless they are an organised party with active leadership. Stouffer et al. (1949) immensely contributed to the concept of relative deprivation. They used relative deprivation to describe what happened during the American military research. The United States military expressed their frustration more than the police. They felt that the promotion to higher positions was done unfairly. This unfair system created feelings of anger, resentment, and privilege.

An example of relative deprivation would be in an area with a muddy road which makes it difficult for the residents to get into their homes, when gravel is put on the road and getting to their homes is now made easier, the residents become happy. However, when the same residents soon see their neighbouring area getting tarred roads, they now feel deprived of what they think they deserve, and this creates frustration. As soon as people compare themselves with others, they begin to see or believe that they do not have what they deserve. When that happens, they become angry and frustrated.

Another clear example that explains relative deprivation is found in Van Zyl and Theron (1995:71) as they quoted Marmor (1978:13) that violence is highest among deprived groups when their circumstances are improving, when a deprived group realises that better living circumstances are possible, they become less tolerant of circumstances which they previously took for granted when they were in a stage of hopelessness. Hence unmet expectations can lead to violence (Van Zyl and Theron, 1995). They quote Vogelmann (1990a:7) where he said that "rising expectations do not lead to violence - unmet expectations do". This has been seen many times. One recent example is the unrest of July 2021 in South Africa. The youth thought that now because the government is in the hands of Blacks, the basic needs would be met, but it wasn't the case. Most of them ended up resorting to violence, crime and looting of shops. Although this action shocked the government and the realisation that the country could come to a standstill when people are angry, unfortunately those who suffered the consequences were small businesses, and most of them had nothing to

do with the government. The historic looting spree was like the fight against apartheid. The violence that accompanied the looting risked the country becoming ungovernable.

Marx (1847/1935) as quoted by Smith et al. (2012:203) considered the direct complaint of related deprivation (RD) as a description of social behaviour. Stouffer et al. (1949) as stated in de la Sablonniere et al. (2013) state that there is a relative deprivation theory based on a group of two basic ideas. The first theory is that people judge the status of their group based on submission, in contrast to purpose and comparative goals. If the chosen target comparison does not favour them, they feel frustrated. The second hypothesis is that the purpose of the comparison indicates that the objectives of comparison in the context of major social change are different from those used in lesser cases (de la Sablonniere et al., 2010). There are two levels of comparison, which are temporary and social. Temporary comparisons are about group members comparing their current state of meeting with the conditions of their group to another period (Albert, 1977). Social comparisons are used when people compare the status of their group with that of another party (Runciman, 1966).

The people of South Africa have a lot to be angry about as the previous injustices continue to oppress them even in the new democracy. Problems with land redistribution and service delivery are widespread, and so are chronic levels of poverty. Housing shortages, unemployment, and poverty add to the challenges confronting previously marginalised populations. This often leads to conflict and violence. Experts agree that dissatisfaction and some form of frustration or a sense of injustice are major causes of social protests and violence (Crosby 1976, 1982 as stated in Dubé and Guimond, 1986: 201).

3.2.3 Masculinity Theory

Masculinity means qualities or roles that are masculine (boys or men). These include strength, courage, independence, violence, and determination (Morrell, 1998). The idea of masculinity is also in line with this study as the people who participated in this conflict were mostly men. The works of Morrell (1998), and Carrigan and Connell (1985) are used in this study as they have a lot to say about masculinity and it is thought that this fight was the result of paying homage by fighting with a stick (stick fighting was one of the most violent games young men learn at a very young age). Globally, a well-known masculine authority is Connell (2005), who explained that

masculinity does not refer to men but to sexual relations, in other words, the position of men in terms of gender. Masculinity is formed, so it is abundant and constantly changing.

The emergence of the framework for the "sexual role" and masculine research are major sources of the framework that governs the most recent masculine writing (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985). Sexual predators also say that men and women are accustomed to appropriate roles in human behaviour (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985). The political definition of masculinity relies heavily on its power therapy. An important understanding for women is that the relationship between men and women involves domination or oppression. Analysis of masculinity needs to be linked to other feminine currents. There are those that focus on gender segregation, political discrimination in the workplace, and that of gender relations and class power (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985).

In her widely quoted book, "The Feminized Male", Patricia Sexton (1969:562), defines masculinity by saying,

"What does it mean to be masculine? It means, obviously, holding male values and following male behaviour norms. Male values of suppression of values such as courage, internal discipline, and certain forms of abuse, independence, art, technical ability, team unity, entertainment, and great mental and physical stress" as some of the characteristics that define masculinity.

Lionel Tiger's (1971) argued that men's control of war, politics, production, and sport reflected a genetic pattern built into human beings at the time when the human ancestral stock took up cooperative hunting. Women were not seen as being active participants in these activities which was due to how they were biologically built. Men's strength and division of labour in the households are viewed as what makes them different from women.

Pleck (1977) as cited in Carrigan, Connell and Lee, (1985:571) suggested that there is a connection between the subjugation of women and succession of power among men. For Pleck (1977),

'This position of management is maintained by economics, physical strength, age, and sexuality, and the competition between men for self-determination in

these terms creates a lot of conflicts. Thus, the patriarchal rivalry with each other uses women as symbols of success, as mediators, as protectors and asunder. In each of these roles, women are dominated by men in ways that derive directly from men's struggle with each other."

At the simplest level, it is clear that the sex-role framework accepts that sexual differentiation is a social phenomenon: sex roles are learnt, acquired, or "internalized."

Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) point out that the new literature viewed traditional masculinity as bad for two main reasons. First, it leads men to do nasty things, like compete with each other, oppress women and destroy the environment. Second, men are uncomfortable with women who are guided by feminist values. Morell (2005) argued that crises facing masculinity is when men cannot live up to their images.

The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was between two factions that were led by men. This is not indifferent to other studies that conclude that most violence perpetrators are men (Seedat et al., 2009). The dominant ideals of masculinity are predicated on a striking gender hierarchy across racial groups, with demonstrations of toughness, bravery, and the defence of honour, which readily translate to risk-taking behaviours and the high status gained by fighting rather than to resolve differences peacefully. Manhood tends to be defined by power, because men are usually competing for power, respect, and status. This usually culminate in violence and deaths as men especially the youth strive to protect or defend their status and honour. The dominant notions of masculinity are predicated on the control of women and infused with ideas of male sexual entitlement.

According to Morrell (2005), the transition from boyhood to manhood involves the formation of masculine identity. Young men are expected to develop masculinity that includes self-respect and self-esteem. Morrell (2005) argued that to promote a culture of human rights in the country, consideration should be given to working with young people and fathers. Further, Morell(2005) avers that in the past, masculinity was affected by inequality and justice.

Morrell (2005) emphasizes that not all men cause chaos and disturb the peace and harmony of society, but the formation of certain masculinity that justifies the use of violence must be blamed. These masculine structures include the affirmation of democratic power and rights over women and children. He says working with men to

address masculinity issues will bring peace and harmony to the world. In promoting fatherhood, fathers needed to be present to raise their children, but the work of immigrants kept fathers from seeing their children regularly and this prevented them from developing a close relationship.

3.3 Research methodology

3.3.1 Introduction

The methodology section describes the research methods and design that were used to generate answers to the research questions raised in this study. This section covers the research paradigm, approach and design. Further, the section shows how participants were selected. Data collection instruments and processes are also covered in this section. The section also reflects on trustworthiness, dependability, confirmability, transferability of findings. To enhance trustworthiness, the researcher focuses on reflexivity and ethical considerations.

A qualitative research approach was adopted. This approach was preferred because the study focused on the way people interpreted and made sense of their experiences and the world in which they live.¹⁹ The study sought to construct reality through the personal experiences of participants. An understanding of complex psycho-social issues, which was most useful for answering humanistic questions such as “why” and “how” questions relevant to the subject matter being researched, was the motivation for the choice of a qualitative approach. Using this approach, the researcher was able to present a historical overview of the violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches is that in quantitative research, the researcher focuses on reliability, objectivity and validity that ensures the trustworthiness of the results. On the other side, qualitative research focuses on dependability, credibility, transferability, and confirmability to ensure trustworthiness (Guba 1981; Schwandt, Lincoln and Guba, 2007) as cited in Anney (2014).

The current study seeks to ascertain if there was some connection between violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and the broader political violence between the IFP and

¹⁹ It is primarily exploratory research that is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research.

the UDF as it was unfolding at that time. Additionally, the study seeks to identify the causes of violence and how this violence impacted the lives of survivors. The consequences of this violence are explored in-depth. Oral history is used because nothing has been recorded on the subject matter. Hence, those who were victims of violence will be in a better position to provide their accounts of events that led to the violence, their experiences and post violence perceptions. The work of Thompson (1963) is useful in this study as their primary concern is the social history of ordinary people especially the working class. Thompson's great classic *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963:155) focussed on consciousness, 'culture', and ways of life. Thompson's social history books or the many substantial essays have all paid attention to problems of political order and popular consent and resistance. One of Thompson's lasting contributions to historiography was to show how workers could be given voices as a collective agent in a historical narrative.

Social historians believe that they have been the facilitators to 'give voice' to the experience of the previously marginalised groups and to recover the agency of ordinary people. The documentation of these pasts, conceived as 'hidden history', sought to democratise the historical record.

3.3.2 Research design

A research design is an outline of a set of methodology and skills used by a researcher as a key instrument. A research design allows the researcher to focus on specific aspects of the research and the skills used to obtain information and data. The researcher's research design is important as it determines the success of the research and data analysis. The design explains the research in terms of what type of research is being conducted, and it helps break down the experimental design and research question (Bhat, 2018).

The interpretive paradigm is used in the study as it provides a framework within which data were collected and analysed. As alluded earlier, the study involves giving a voice to the voiceless and these are the people of eMakhuzeni whose history and suffering emanating from violence have not been heard or recorded. This paradigm intends to emancipate those voiceless and provide them with an opportunity to be heard. Babbie and Mouton (2001) discuss three design types namely, ethnographic studies, case study and life history methodology. I became an ethnographer before I undertook the

study. I observed the community's behaviour when I was attending weddings, funerals, and parties in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) which is now Jolivet. There were times when they talked about their history of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), and some of them would jokingly say "*Ayivuke*" meaning let's do it (fight) again. Given the fact that the researcher was a survivor of this violence and had some information on the study setting, made it possible for an ethnographic study. Ethnographic studies are derived from direct observation of behaviour in a particular social context. Ethnographic studies mainly use interviewing technique and participant observation as methods of data gathering. In ethnographic research, a researcher must have spent a long period with the group or community that he /she is studying. He/she should have engaged, observed and recorded their routine, rituals and ceremonies.

3.3.2.1 Research paradigm

Research paradigm refers to a model or approach used to conduct research examples of these models are qualitative or quantitative approaches. The interpretive research approach was chosen for this study because it uses a variety of techniques when data is collected especially when interviews are used. Another important technique is documentation, where documents such as newspaper articles and websites are used as part of the evidence to answer the research question. The strengths of using these approaches, some of them are highlighted below.

- a) They are well-suited for exploring hidden reasons behind the complex, interrelated, or multifaceted social processes.
- b) They are often helpful for theory construction in areas with no or insufficient prior theory.
- c) They are also appropriate for studying context-specific, unique, or idiosyncratic events or processes.
- d) Interpretive research can also help uncover interesting and relevant research questions and issues for follow-up research.

Another advantage of interpretive research is that data collection and analysis can proceed simultaneously. This means that the researcher may conduct an interview and code it before proceeding to the next interview. This simultaneous analysis helps

the researcher to correct potential flaws in the interview protocol or adjust it to capture the phenomenon of interest better. The researcher may even change her original research question if she realizes that her original research questions are unlikely to generate new or useful insights.

3.3.3 Research approach

This study adopted a qualitative research approach. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:278), qualitative research has the following features:

- a) A detailed engagement/ encounter with the object of the study,
- b) Selecting a small number of cases to be studied,
- c) An openness to multiple sources of data, and
- d) Flexible design features that allow the researcher to adapt and make changes to the study where and when necessary.

3.3.4 Selection of participants

There were 30 participants that participated in this study. They comprised 14 former members of *Ntshona*, and 14 former members of *Dukathole*, a councillor, and one Induna. In terms of gender, 13 females and 15 males from both *izigodi* (factions) (*Ntshona and Dukathole*) were selected. Ten of the participants had primary school education while ten of them had secondary school education without matric. Among the remaining nine, five of them had matriculated and four had a tertiary level qualification such as a degree or diploma. All the participants were purposively selected; they had a history of participating in the 1983 –1986 violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The interviewees included age range of 45 to 85 years.

Although men were directly engaged in the physical conflict that unfolded during the historical epoch in question and the study focuses on masculinity and its relationship to violence, women played a very important role in several ways that include the following:

- i) Protecting their male children during the violence, as one participant mentioned that there was a time when they had to dress their boys in girl's dresses to disguise and protect them.

- ii) As most households were female headed with their male counterparts working in the cities, returning home in the evenings or weekends made females an important resource to inform the study.
- iii) Most women who were widowed by the violence had children of their own, who were traced to participate in the study.

As the Ixopo Magistrate Court did not have any formal documents about the violence of eMakhuzeni, they referred the researcher to Highflats police station where they helped to locate a retired police officer who was a detective during the period in question. He was then added to the list of the interviewees as an additional informant. Most *Dukathole* participants are still living in eMakhuzeni while most of the *Ntshona* participants were found in Jolivet.

3.3.5 Data collection method

There are different sampling techniques that can be used in research (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000). This study used non-probability sampling method to identify prospective participants for the study. In this respect, the purposive sampling technique was used to identify participants through the help of Indunas (headmen), ward councillors and the people who were directly involved in the eMakhuzeni violent conflict. Using purposive sampling technique in conjunction with snowball sampling, participants were identified. This process was repeated until the desired sample size was recruited. This approach to sampling assisted in selecting the most suitable participants, knowledgeable about the phenomenon of interest.

3.3.6 Data collection instruments

In qualitative research, there are always more than one instrument because the researcher is the key instrument (Patton, 1990; Kvale, 1996). In this study, two instruments were used namely, researcher as key instrument and an interview guide. Both instruments are important, but as the key instrument the researcher must disseminate themselves with the workings of social analysis and scrutiny, the skills and formalities accompanying social research and its methodology, therefore since the researcher is the key instrument, the researcher is undividable from the research and all its parts. For example, the researcher would prepare interview questions to ask each interviewee and during the interviews, the researcher would record the interview,

then later the researcher would transcribe all the interviews and prepare this as primary sources.

During the research, the researcher would spend time in the area with the people and made observations on different parts of the day, weekends and during ceremonial events in the research locality. During the course of fieldwork, the researcher was guided by the Code of Ethics for Oral History Practitioners in South Africa in carrying out the interviews and observations. The researcher is also required to become proficient in the vital skills to carry out the interviews, transcribing the interviews, collecting, and analysing the primary sources and secondary sources to produce profuse and large volumes of qualitative information through a precise balance of the quality of the work and the measure of the data.

To provoke the quality and measure of the data precise questions must be asked and targeted to cover specific topics. The researcher achieved this through the interaction between the interviewees and the researcher/interviewer during interviews and the questions the researcher posed to everyone involved in the interviews during the interviews, each interviewee's perspective and point of view of the information in question. The interview guide as the other instrument was submitted together with the research proposal to ethics.

3.3.6.1 Researcher as key instrument

The researcher prepared herself for the data collection. She had to practise posing questions to participants. Further, since the study involves survivors of a traumatic experience of violence, the researcher had to consider any possible harm or bad feelings that might be caused by participating in the interviews. As a contingent measure, the researcher had to find contacts for the closest social worker offices in case they were needed. Further, the researcher had to familiarise herself with the culture of the community, which was not a difficult task, given that the researcher was born in the area. The cultural protocols were followed before each interview was conducted. During the interviews, the participants were informed about the focus and purpose of the study. A place where the interviews would take place was agreed upon as well as time. Being an insider in this study, the researcher benefitted a lot because she has an intimate knowledge and understanding of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Going to the people who know the parents and the grandparents of the

researcher made it easy for the interviewees to trust and speak freely with the interviewer.

3.3.6.2 Interview guide

As this study involves oral history, the researcher followed a code of ethics for oral history in South Africa that was adopted from OHASA 3rd Annual General Meeting in Polokwane, October 2007.²⁰ This code stipulates that during interviews, the researcher must respect the interviewee's style of personal interaction, which involves the language, posture, dress, and eye contact among other non-verbal cues. It is important to be gender sensitive and the researcher compelled to observe context-specific realities. For example, in eMakhuzeni the term 'baba' is commonly used to address male adults while the term 'mama' is used to address the female member of the household. It was also very important to verify that the interviewee remained comfortable with the interview process, and he / she was granted the right not to answer some questions when he / she was not feeling comfortable to do so. This provision was important in several ways. For example, apart from its implications for promoting ethical research, it helped to mitigate social desirability bias. Hence, it is envisaged that participants can volunteer information, leading to enhancing trustworthiness of findings.

3.3.7 Pilot study

Most areas in KwaZulu-Natal were affected by widespread violence in the 1980s. The present study reports from a controlled pilot specifically adapted for the survivors of the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Participants were drawn from eMakhuzeni where the actual violence occurred, and Jolivet where most survivors moved to after the violence. The researcher conducted five (n=5) interviews with participants that had similar characteristics to those who were to participate in the main study. The pilot study helped the researcher to improve her interview skills. This is important, especially given that the researcher is the key instrument in qualitative research.

²⁰ OHASA, Oral History Association of South Africa, this coordinate and document the stories that were silent during the apartheid times in South Africa.

3.3.8 Data collection process

What the interviewee reported was a narration of his / her own experience in the violence. Face-to-face interviews were conducted to gather data for this study. The researcher engaged in open discussions with the interviewees. The interviews were unstructured and unstandardised which allowed the interviewees a high degree of freedom to express themselves as they were not limited to one-word answers. The interviews were audio recorded through the permission of the interviewee. Field notes were maintained as some interviewees added information after the digital audio recorder was switched off. The qualitative data were subjected to thematic analysis. Each interviewee's transcript was analysed fully before moving on to the next interview so that gaps in the information derived from previous interviews were either verified, required expansion or needed clarity.

The interview process began by engaging with the informed consent and providing a brief but clear reflection on ethical considerations that need to be noted for this study. This was followed by asking the participant to share their personal experiences and knowledge of events related to their membership in the groups that were represented in this study. Unstructured follow-up questions were employed to explore the interviewee's experiences. The use of unstructured interviews and biographic narratives allowed the participants to chronologically outline their experiences. These interviews took an hour to conduct, but participants that were willing to continue beyond the interview time were allowed to do so. Most participants were interviewed in their households with a few opting to be interviewed at the researcher's place of residence in the community. Most interviewees in Jolivet²¹ were very comfortable with the interviewer as they knew the person who referred the interviewer to them very well.

Considering that the participants were largely illiterate (especially amongst the older generation), the use of unstructured interviews gave the participants an opportunity to narrate their accounts of the violence with ease and clarity. There were moments of silence as the participants attempted to recall events. Some moments of silence were characterised by emotional responses to traumatic experiences such as the loss of a loved one, loss of property, displacement and fear. In such moments, the researcher

²¹ The researcher conducted the interviews in two areas, eMakhuzeni (where the actual fight took place) and in Jolivet, an area near Highflats where most of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) refugees moved to.

empathised with the participants' emotional reactions. EMakhuzeni (Springvale) and Jolivet being far from where the researcher lives, this made it not possible to interview all of them on the same day and same week. As the interviewer is working as a teacher she had to wait for the schools to close before go to these places.

In March 2020, the researcher made appointments to visit the interviewees as the school were going to have intervals, the announcement was made that one person had tested positive for COVID-19 in South Africa so researcher had to go to interview the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) immediately because she was scared that the country might do as the other countries were doing whereby the country were put on level 5 lockdown. Under level 5 lockdown, people were not allowed any movement. As the researcher returned home, President Cyril Ramaphosa announced that South Africa was also under level 5 lockdown. The researcher had to defer data collection.

3.3.9 Data analysis

The data were qualitatively analysed, based on the various principles that are common to thematic analysis. Each transcript was analysed before moving on to the next interview. All transcripts were examined line by line noting anything of interest. What the participants reported was taken as their interpretation of their experience. Extracts from interview transcripts were used to illustrate the narrative account of different participants from their lived experience of violence in the locality. Given that the survivors of the violence experienced this at a particular stage in their lives, it provided varying forms of accounts which the researcher had to put together. Common themes that emerged were grouped together and the spurious ones were analysed separately. In some instances, the spurious data were used to fill in the gaps when mapping the sequence of events in the accounts of violence.

3.3.10 Trustworthiness

To enhance trustworthiness, the researcher had to find a reliable member of the community in question to validate the findings. This reliable informant did not form part of the interviewees. Preferably, the researcher wanted someone that was previously in a position of authority. South Africa Police Service (SAPS) officers at Highflat Police Station helped the researcher to locate a former detective that served during the time of eMakhuzeni violence. The former detective is now enjoying his retirement at his home in Umzinto. In the 1980s, he was among those who were dealing with cases of

violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The use of a key informant of this calibre helped validate the findings, since the study relies on oral history, which sometimes makes it impossible to differentiate between a lie and the truth without consistency in the evidence. The detective who was among those who were doing an investigation on the cases relating to the violence, confirmed certain aspects of the violence. The use of newspaper articles that recorded some details of the violence also assisted in validating what the interviewees had narrated.

3.3.10.1 Dependability

Dependability is about participants evaluating the findings of the study and the interpretation and recommendations to ensure that they are in line with the information provided by the interviewees (Cohen et al., 2011; Tobin and Begley, 2004). Bitsch (2005) as cited in Anney (2014:278), defines dependability as “the stability of findings over time”. In this study, the researcher enhanced dependability through conducting member checks where interview transcripts were given to participants to authenticate what was captured and attributed to their names.

3.3.10.2 Confirmability

Confirmability is about the confirmation of the results of information/ data received, this needs to be confirmed by others. According to Tobin and Begley (2004:392) as cited in Anney (2014:279), confirmability is “concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer’s imagination but are clearly derived from the data”. Confirmability in the study is often used to test the researchers’ bias, the information given needs to be confirmed by others especially the participants. In every extract the interviewees seemed to be agreeing about the cause of the violence, the time of the violence and the estimation of the number of the people who lost lives during this fight. Based on this, the findings can be viewed as confirmable.

3.3.10.3 Credibility

Credibility in research can be defined as the assurance that the findings of the research are true (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002; Macnee and McCabe, 2008). The researcher was born in the area, and left the research locality during the violence. However, connection to the area was maintained through social visits to relatives since

being displaced by the violence. Through this contact, the researcher was able to engage herself in the participants' sphere of life (Bitsch, 2005). Anney (2014) points out that the researcher needs to spend longer time in the field as this helps to gain trust from the participants. Further, immersing oneself in the participants' culture improves the researcher's understanding of the participants' ways of life.

3.3.10.4 Transferability

According to Anney (2014:277), transferability refers to "the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts with other respondents – it is the interpretive equivalent of generalizability". As alluded earlier the researcher here used purposive sampling and interviewed people who were affected by violence in eMakhuzeni. Most of them were close relatives to the people who died, took part in the fight and those who had to find refuge in other places.

Credibility, dependability and transferability are co-dependent on one another. To assess the accuracy of the study findings, the researcher allowed some participants of the study to check the interpretation of data. The interviews were conducted in isiZulu and then translated into English, the researcher being a language speaker and a teacher of the language to the non-mother tongue speakers relied on her skills when it came to translation, but also for double-checking.

3.3.11 Reflexivity

When translating a participant's contribution, the researcher must bear in mind that the interviewee comes with his/ her own background and has his/ her own way of putting things together in words and this might present a challenge to the transcriber and editor, that is why the researcher probed the interviewee by asking questions such as "do you mean or is this what you are saying?" The researcher also ensured that the narrative extracts were taken as they were said to avoid influencing the data. As reflexivity is another way of testing the biasness of the author or researcher, as alluded earlier it was important to make sure that the participants confirm the findings of the study. Although the researcher belongs to the Zondi clan, which was seen as the *Ntshona* faction, the researcher confined her role as a researcher not as part of the community.

3.3.12 Ethical considerations

The study was approved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) (Protocol number: HSS/1624/018M). A gatekeeper letter from the *Induna* (headman) of eMakhuzeni in Ixopo where the violence took place was obtained. Another letter from the *Induna* (headman) of Jolivet where some people from eMakhuzeni moved to after the violence was also obtained. These gatekeeper letters permitted the researcher to undertake the research in these localities as the tribal authority structure is wary of allowing strangers and unbeknown persons to intrude their hegemonic domain. The researcher was equipped with gatekeeper's letters. The areas of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and Jolivet where the interviews were conducted are both under the leadership of *Amakhosi*. Therefore, the researcher obtained permission from *izinduna* (headmen) which were the gatekeepers of these areas before conducting the interviewees. Going to areas with gatekeepers came with benefits as it made it easy for the researcher to be well received by the community and participants.

Participants in the study were informed beforehand that they had the option to discontinue their participation in this study if they felt uncomfortable. The rationale behind this was to avert anxiety that the participants may feel due to recalling and or reliving the violence that may have traumatised them. In addition, written consent from participants were obtained before interviews were conducted. In adhering with the principle of informed consent, a form was supposed to be signed by every participant that inform him/ her that he/she has the right to decline to participate in the study and withdraw from the research at any time should he/she wish to do so. The participants were also informed that they would not be identified by their real names to maintain confidentiality, thus pseudonyms were used. Privacy and confidentiality concerns were given due consideration (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

3.3.13 Primary source: Oral history and archival information

This study relies heavily on interview data obtained from the survivors of the rural violence in eMakhuzeni. The main themes that construct this study are violence, memory, narrative and experiences. The works of Alessandro Portelli (1991), Lynn Abrams (2010), and Sean Field (2008) were used, as they are the key writers in oral history and memory. Oral history refers to the collection and study of historical

information about individuals, families, important events, or everyday life using audiotapes, videotapes, or transcriptions of planned interviews. Abrams (2010) defines oral history as a method of research which is distinct from other historical endeavours, saying,

“What sets it apart is its collaborative approach; the researcher instigates and leads interviews and from these interactions, historical documents are created. The historian’s involvement in the production of historical data creates possibilities for new lines of historical inquiry, such as studying individuals or groups whose experiences have not been documented” (Abrams, 2010:138).

Portelli (1991) stated that the first thing that makes oral history different from written records is that it tells less about events than about their meaning. Interviews often reveal unknown events or unknown aspects of known events; they always cast new light on unexplored areas of the daily life of the people being interviewed. Oral sources tell us about what people did and what they wanted to do and what they believed they were doing and what they think they did now (Abrams, 2011). Oral history was used to provide a comprehensive, systematic, and accessible overview of rural violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). It is used in gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life. It is important to show that as interviewer, the interviewee’s style of interaction language and the pace he/she answers the questions especially for the violence survivors of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) as their history was not written down, they only relied on their memory. According to Field (2008: 184), oral history dialogue creates a platform to,

“compose our memories to make sense of our past and present lives. ‘Composure’ is an aptly ambiguous term to describe the process of memory making. In one sense we compose or construct memories using the public languages and meanings of our culture. In another sense, we compose memories that help us to feel relatively comfortable with our lives and identities and that gives us a feeling of composure.”

Memory refers to the historical memory, often expressed as collective memory, social memory, or for political scientists, the politics of memory, referring to the ways in which groups, collectives and nations construct and identify with narratives about historical periods or events. There are two different types of memory when telling oral history:

the public memory and collective memory (Abrams, 2011). On one hand the term public memory according Houdek and Phillips (2017:1), referred to “the circulation among members of a given community and these collections are far from being perfect records, they entail what people remember and the ways they frame it and what aspects they forget”. On the other hand, collective memory is a shared event or experience. In a shared memory individuals live through the same experience or discuss it among themselves. Field (2008) argued that oral history is constructed by dialogues about memory. He argues that oral history informants are the sites of knowledge. This study relies heavily on the memories of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to share their knowledge. Thus,

“Oral history is involved in creating, interpreting, publishing and broadcasting stories that are usually marginalized from public spaces and have the potential to affirm the individuals and potentially contribute to regenerating communities. Moreover, the oral history dialogue allows space to compose one's memories and to make sense of the past and present life” (Field, 2008:184).

This study relies heavily on the memory of the survivors. Memory is what is remembered, both collectively and individually, about an event in the past. How one person remembers something is radically different from how another person recalls it, meaning that it must be treated with care if one is to build up objective knowledge about an issue. The challenge with oral interviews is that people sometimes forget other details, but by interviewing all groups who took part in the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) some consensus on the historical evolution of violence was arrived at.

3.3.13.1 Secondary sources of data

The first challenge for this study was that there was a scant availability of written accounts on the violence in the 1980s by Africans themselves. What was available was documentation by few authors on the general context of political violence that gripped the province of KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s. Hence, this study relies on oral accounts of survivors of the violence which provides a first-hand and authentic context of the violence. A visit to the Ixopo Magistrate Court proved futile as it did not have any documents about the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence as they did not keep records as far back as thirty years when the violence occurred. The Ixopo Magistrate

Court stated that they kept no records of this violence and pointed the researcher to Highflat Police station. The police officers stated that although all documents about the violence were kept they are of no use as all was on paper and have since biodegraded. They directed me to the retired detective who shared with the researcher what he remembered about this violence.

Ilanga laseNatal, *The Natal Witness* and *UmAfrica* newspapers predominantly subscribed by Black Africans covered the violence as it was unfolding in the country but not specifically to those that occurred in the research locality. The *Daily Sun* newspaper covered the story of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) when they were coming together to sign a peace accord, which took place in November 2018.

3.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to outline and explore the theoretical-methodological frameworks upon which this study is based. The first section of this chapter demonstrated that the three theories chosen for the study (the Relative Deprivation, Frustration - Aggression theory and the Theory of masculinity) that are appropriate. The two theories (Relative Deprivation and Frustration and Aggression) seek to explain why people turn to aggression and violence and the Masculinity theory focusses on the attributes that are regarded as characteristics of boys or men. These include strength, courage, independence, violence and assertiveness. The remaining part of this chapter presents the methodology and methods used in this study. It explores the different source of information and it relies heavily on oral history, which is a method of conducting historical research through recorded interviews between a narrator with personal experience of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of adding to the historical record (Portelli, 2002).

During the oral history interviews, information of historical or sociological importance is obtained usually by audio-recorded interviews with persons whose experiences and memories are representative or whose lives have been of special significance. This process is important for the preservation of information. Preservation begins with making recordings safe, advances to make them useful and accessible, and culminates in sharing them in creative ways with others on one major theme.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF EMAKHUZENI (SPRINGVALE) AND EVENTS LEADING TO THE VIOLENCE IN THE 1980s

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher provides a historical background of the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), focusing on the years leading to the 1980s. The chapter includes a demographic profile, socio-economic background, details on displacement and trauma after violence and the leadership structure in the research setting. This chapter also examines how the three factions, which are *Ntshona*, *Dukathole* and *Dulela* were formed and their constituency. This chapter also examines the role of traditional leaders because eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is under the jurisdiction of tribal authorities. Theories of Relative Deprivation, Frustration Aggression and Masculinity will be explored, to understand how they contributed to violence through early socialisation in stick fighting and other violent games. It also presents a chronology of South African violent political events from 1983 to 1986.

4.2 Demographic profile

Demographic profile refers to the characteristics of the population. This study examines the characteristics of the population of Ixopo specifically eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The demographic information provides data about the participants engaged for the study. The demographic profile provides insight into the social structure of the communities engaged in the violence.

4.2.1 Urban and rural areas

eMakhuzeni (Springvale), as a political entity falls under Ward 9 of the UBuhlebezwe Municipality which is now called the Harry Gwala District Municipality. The closest town to eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is Ixopo and the distance between these two places is about 47 kilometres. Although the region was deprived of service delivery historically, there is some evidence of development in the post-apartheid era. Now the area has progressed to having a community hall, schools and government buses that

transport children to and from school. The African National Congress (ANC) is the dominant political party in the region. Councillors from different political parties work hand in hand with the traditional leadership structures in the area who display a commitment to development initiatives in the constituencies they represent.

At a provincial level eMakhuzeni (Springvale) falls under the south-west part of KwaZulu-Natal province. Harry Gwala District forms part of the border between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape Province. The District Municipality (DC43) comprises four local municipalities. These four local municipalities are Ubuhlebezwe (where eMakhuzeni (Springvale) falls under); Dr. Nkosazane Dlamini Zuma; Greater Kokstad and UMzimkhulu. Ubuhlebezwe is the hometown of the District Municipality. It is in the eastern parts of the district. Ixopo is the main town within the municipality. It consists of 14 wards that span approximately 1 604 km². This local municipality is on the western part of the district and is approximately 2 679 km². Ubuhlebezwe local municipality is an administrative area in the Harry Gwala District.

According to UBuhlebezwe Municipality IDP Review-2013/2014, Ubuhlebezwe Local Municipality has a total population of 101 690, which is 22% of the district total population. A large population comprises females - out of a total population of 101 690, 54 445 are females, which translates to 54% of the total population whilst the remaining are males (46%). This municipality's population is dominated by Black Africans with a total population of 99 188, which is 98% of the total population. The remaining 2% is for other races living in the area.

Agriculture is the dominant economic activity in Ubuhlebezwe Municipality. Farmers specialise in livestock production that entails cattle, goats, pigs and poultry. In the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) area, cattle are raised for cultural purposes (such as marriage, funeral, and rituals related to remembering the ancestors). Cattle also serves as a status symbol. Ubuhlebezwe Municipality has its own challenges just like any other rural municipality. It struggles with service delivery challenges due to ageing and inadequate infrastructure.

Agriculture and other economic activities in tribal areas are limited due to most land falling the under jurisdiction of traditional authority and is often marginal and very small in size. Another challenge is that some areas have limited water resources. Poor road conditions and lack of transport in some areas negatively affect the marketing of

products for emerging farmers. The spread of HIV/AIDS in the area hinders agricultural development in the municipality coupled with rural-urban migration amongst the younger population. Further, stock theft is a discouraging factor in livestock production. Although the area has many unemployed youths, they show no interest in agriculture (UBuhlebezwe Municipality IDP Review-2013/2014).

The municipality aims to empower rural communities by developing mobile service, post boxes, secondary and primary schools, weekly clinics, mobile service, pension pay-out point, taxi ranks and a court of justice.

According to de Haan (2010), the common family lineage names in the region are the Bhengu, Dlamini, Khuzwayo, Mhlongo, Mzizi, Phungula, Soni, and Sosibo. These groups arrived in the area south of the Mkhomazi River during the first half of the 19th century and are believed to have been part of a similar migration, which brought the eMbo to the northern banks of Mkhomazi. Some of the people from eMakhuzeni moved to the eMbo area while other eMbo people moved to the eMakhuzeni area. Reverend Callaway acquired the western part of eMakhuzeni as a 3000-hectare private farm. It was during this time of travel that families such as Mfeka, Mkhize, Ngcongco, Bhengu, Dladla, Dlamini, Gumbi, Gumede, Hlongwa, Kunene, Moloi, Ndlovu, Nxele, Nxumalo, Nzimande, Nzuza, Phungula, Shange, Shoba, Sithole, and Zondi increased in eMakhuzeni. Some of these families were labour tenants on farms in Springvale. During the 19th century, most of the people who lived in Natal, such as Springvale, were people who had fled to KwaZulu and headed south (de Haan, 2010). Reverend Callaway chose an area that was already inhabited by Africans and began to show them new ways to build their own houses. He also used them to build his own huts. According to de Haan (2010), Reverend Callaway was a skilled physician, able to help the people of Springvale when they were sick. Most of the men in eMakhuzeni had four or five wives, and some had as many as twenty-seven children.

Reverend Callaway's mission station worked as a subsistence unit with its horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens, producing corn, vegetables and fruit for their own use. The relationship between the residents of the mission station and the surrounding eMakhuzeni may be described as cordial. The reasons for entry into the mission station were different and not the same for all as some entered the mission intending to spread the word of God (de Haan, 2010). Some were seeking employment and

whilst others needed shelter as they were refugees from outside KwaZulu-Natal who were deported by the Land Act of 1913. Not all the community around them were *amakholwa* (believers) as some of them were *izangoma* (fortune-tellers) and *izinyanga* (traditional healers). Those who settled on the farm had to sign a contract with the mission. The contract stated that tenants were allowed four cows per family and three hectares of land and no goats or donkeys were allowed and this was not explained why it was so (de Haan, 2010).

In the 1970s, living conditions in eMakhuzeni became increasingly unbearable (de Haan, 2010). In 1979, the KwaZulu government withdrew its subsidy due to the closure of a mobile clinic in Springvale. As mentioned earlier, the people of eMakhuzeni moved to the cities. A common feeling in the eMakhuzeni area, according to de Haan (2010: 185) during the second half of the 20th century stated that “the lesson is that in no matter what disguise they come, white men are the same. The farmers and the Government pushed us into little ghettos, and the Church became the ghetto master, counting head of cattle, extracting rent.”

4.3 Socio-economic background of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

The four areas that make up the whole area of eMakhuzeni are koZondi, koShange, kaDeda and Springvale Mission. The area koZondi was named koZondi because most people there belonged to the Zondi surname. However, it does not mean that the area belongs to them alone because there were other people who had different surnames. The area of koShange was also dominated by the people whose surname was Shange. Similarly, kaShange did not mean that it was only the Shange people that lived here, but other people using different surnames were also resident in the area. *Ntshona* and *Dukathole* were found across eMakhuzeni area, and they were not confined to a specific area. There were very few people in Springvale mission who were part of the violence, but the mission was somehow part of the violence because of those who took refuge there. The area of kaDeda was also part of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Most people here were not part of the violence as they belonged to the *isigodi* (faction) called Deda. However, just like what happened in other areas, they got involved when people took refuge.

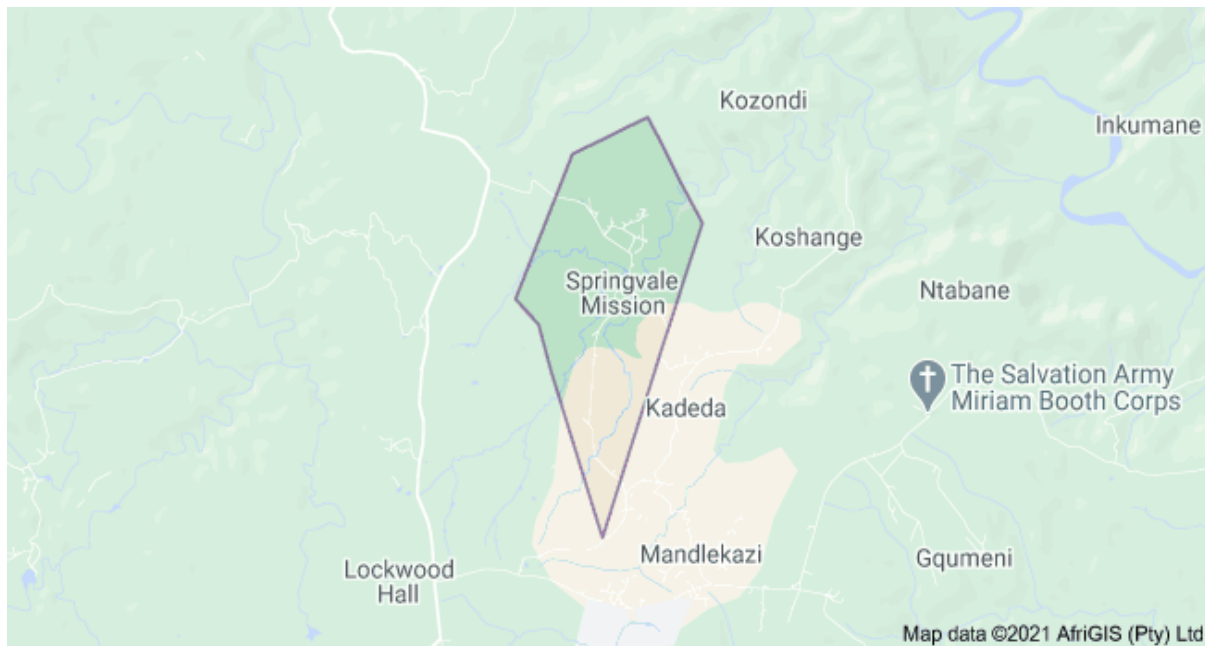
The four areas in the table below provides a demographic profile of the precincts in eMakhuzeni: The Census of 2011 was used in this study as it clearly represents all South Africans whereas the census of 1980 clearly shows that some people were not made part of the census as it is stated in Statistics South Africa (2006:8) that “the 1980 census excluded the (mainly black African) population of the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.” This statement suggests that the 1980 statistics were not accurate.

Table 4.1: Demographic profile of four precincts in eMakhuzeni

AREA	KOZONDI	KOSHANGE	KADEDA	SPRINGVALE MISSION
Total population	451	553	617	392
Young (0-14)	38.9%	35.4%	40.5%	33.2%
Working age (15-64)	54.9%	56%	53.6%	54.2%
Elderly (65+)	6.2%	8.7%	5.8%	12.5%
Dependency ratio	82.2	78.7	86.4	84.4
Sex ratio	92.7	79	68.1	96
Population density	83	44	118	31
	persons/ km ²	persons/km ²	persons/km ²	persons/ km ²
No schooling aged 20+	29.3%	39.9%	30%	9.8%
Higher education aged 20+	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%	2.7%
Matric aged 20+	10.8%	12.6%	15%	18.2%
Number of households	87	136	119	101
Average household size	5	4.1	5.1	3.9
Female headed households	78.2%	65.4%	63.9%	56.9%
Formal dwellings	5.7%	2.2%	64.4%	50.5%
Housing owned/paying off	100%	99.3%	67.2%	5%
Flush toilet connected to sewerage	0%	0%	0.8%	1%
Weekly refuse removal	0%	0%	3.4%	4%
Piped water inside dwelling	0%	0%	2.5%	1%
Electricity for lighting	0%	1.5%	79%	11.9%

Source: Department of Statistics South Africa 2011

Figure 4.1: Map of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)



Source: Google Maps

To understand this rural area under study, it is necessary to examine its socio-economic background in the 1980s. The area of Springvale was characterised by high levels of poverty (Part 3: Status Quo Report [2002]). Agriculture has always been their major economic activity; however, it had its fair share of challenges. For example, the area did not have enough water. People depended on small streams of rivers which dried up in winter. The main big rivers in the area are Insunguze and Umntungwane but they are both located away from homesteads. Their main crops were maize, sorghum, and pumpkins, which they only planted in summer when there were enough rains.

Further, the area lacks educational facilities. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale) there was only one school, which started from sub-A (Grade 1) to Standard 1(Grade 3). Prior to the 1980s, this school had no permanent structure as the community built it with mud. The school had no toilets. Learners had to use bush toilets. In view of the lack of potable water, learners had to fetch drinking water from the streams with buckets. When the children finished their Grade 3, they would move to the Springvale Mission School, which had better infrastructure compared to Ludliki. The school in Springvale offered primary education up to Grade 7. Thereafter, children would be moved to Sisisizwe High School, which was also in Springvale Mission. There have been some

developments made in this area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). For example, the mud school (Ludliki) has been rebuilt using bricks.

Below is a picture of the school.

Figure 4.2: The image of Ludliki School in 2021



Source: Photo supplied by Mr N.M Mdunge

Statistics show that there were very few people who attained secondary education in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). One of the reasons was that there were no secondary schools nearby. The only secondary school that was there was Sisisizwe, which also ended in standard 8 (Grade 10) at that time. There was no Standard 9 and 10 (Grade 11 and 12). It meant that those who managed to achieve their education to Standard 8 had to leave the area and find relatives in the neighbouring areas that had high schools. Some pupils went to Nokweja and others went to Richmond. Most males did not get to high school, and they had to seek employment in the cities due to poverty (Participants 1).

Ardington (1992:44) points out that rural schools lacked resources such as libraries and laboratories, he emphasises that “rural schools exist in communities in which there is no deeply rooted culture of learning and which are economically deprived, rural schools have greater need for all such resources than their urban counterparts”. This was so true in the 1980s. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), some people believed that once a girl was able to write her name, it was necessary for her to drop out of school and get married. There were parents who believed that there was no value in educating a

girl because she was not going to use her education anywhere as she was going to be another man's wife (Participant 1).

During the 1980s, education in KwaZulu-Natal was under two departments namely Department of Education and Training and KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture. The apartheid regime did not only divide people by putting them in separate areas but also education was used to divide and promote inequality for Black people. Apartheid was introduced in 1948, during the time Christian National Education (CNE) was also introduced. The aim of the National Party introducing the CNE policy was to promote an education system that encouraged more division as it was designed for different cultural, ethnic, tribal and linguistic groups. According to Ntshoe (2002) these separate schools were created to justify separate living areas and restrictions to employment for the Black people. Thus, "One of the principles advocated the creation of separate schools for the different races, specifically because each race had a distinct culture, ethnicity, language, history and religion" (Ntshoe, 2002: 63).

Further, the National Party reinforced the beliefs that God had allocated separate places to people of different races (Institute of Christian National Education, 1948). Consequently, people of African origin in South Africa were grouped together in particular geographical regions, which later became Bantustans, self-governing states, and independent homelands. The result of these groupings was a resurgence of ethnic-nationalism and identity (Cross, 1992). One of the reasons why there were so many riots during the 1970s to 1980s was that the student community was not happy with inequality resulting in many learners and students participating in anti-apartheid protests.

Another challenge that the school had was that teachers who were teaching in the school were from far areas and they experienced several challenges since the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had no basic services such as water, electricity and toilets. They had to rent rooms in the homes of the residents of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and since most of them were not used to cooking food over fire they used paraffin stoves. Since these teachers were also living in the homes of the residents of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), they were also affected by the violence, and they had to leave their jobs and return home.

The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) did not only affect education, but small businesses such as the transport sector. Taxi drivers were also blamed for taking sides when they transported people who belonged to a certain faction (*isigodi*). One taxi driver Dlamini took a load of people who belonged to one faction and those who belonged to another faction learnt about it and hatched a plan to block the road and hide in the bush. When he disembarked to remove the obstacles, the people that were in hiding ambushed him and his passengers. They died at the scene.

The unemployment rate was very high in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Men had to seek jobs in the cities (Participant 1). The only jobs that were available in the area were in neighbouring farms where women would work on potato and tomato fields. The Status Quo Report of 2002 indicates that in 1996 in Ixopo, 29.2% of people had no education, 39.5% had primary school education, 24.7% had secondary school education, 3.5% with diploma certificate, 1.5% with a degree, and 1.5% unspecified. A study conducted by Isibuko se Africa Development Planners in 2010 for Ubuhlebezwe Municipality indicates that, after 1994, generally, the area of Ixopo had high levels of poverty, a very young population, less economic opportunities, minimal educational facilities and the lack of employment opportunities.²² No youth development programmes and entertainment centres were available.

Despite the fact that the area was undeveloped and infrastructure development is only beginning to take form now, an observation during the fieldwork was that the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) presented a happy disposition of their lives, despite their material hardship. They appeared to love the area due to its good weather, plenty of livestock and vegetables for their households. They were not buying coal for their energy needs as they fetched free wood from the forests. Socially, they enjoyed high levels of social cohesion and the households were co-dependent. The community participated in various social functions such as weddings, *umemulo*, *imibondo*, *ukumiswa kweduku*.²³ In all these festivities, there was always an

²² Isibuko Development Planners is a company that is actively involved in developing and capacitating local government structures since the introduction of the current local government regime. It provides sustainable planning and development solutions to both public and private sector organizations in a range of development related fields.

²³ Umbondo (plural imibondo), is what a bride to be would do after all the ilobolo has been paid, she sends huge grocery to her groom to be's family as an appreciation for the ilobolo. A group of young boys and girls would accompany her to her groom to be home where they would be entertained with all sorts of good food and drinks and there would be some singing and dancing.

abundance of food, especially meat, alcohol, and non-alcoholic beverages for the community to enjoy. Usually, there would be a cow or two that would be slaughtered.

When a cow was slaughtered, meat would be distributed according to age and sex. There were certain meat portions meant for married and unmarried men. Similarly, there were certain meat portions that were reserved for married women and young girls, respectively. *lphaphu* (lungs) and *inhliziyu* (heart) were for boys. The fatty part of the heart is called subheads, this part would be hanged on a long stick and boys would compete for this meat (*ubhedu*) by doing stick fighting. The winner would claim the meat (*ubhedu*). When girls were sending *umbondo* to the groom's home, people from the groom's party would exchange money for this ritual. After *umbondo*, the girls would go to the shops to buy large quantities of white bread and sugar. They would take a large basin to add water and sugar and mix it. Every girl that was part of *umbondo* was expected to take the bread and dip it in this water and sugar mixture and eat (*ukukhuma ushukela*). Boys would engage in stick fighting as part of the entertainment, these girls would entertain themselves with this game of *ukukhuma ushukela*.

The gendered patterns of life are conveyed in eMakhuzeni's (Springvale) traditional lifestyle that is echoed by the physical structures of the buildings. People of eMakhuzeni just like most of the rural areas in the 1980s lived in nucleated settlement patterns that were free standing rondavels, and most of them were made of mud (Participant 28). Most of them had floors that were smeared with cow dung, which was used as floor polish. These traditional South African rondavels with thatched roofs and some with corrugated iron remain the architectural landscape of eMakhuzeni as a traditional rural community. These houses ranged from three to many depending on the family's socio-economic status, and on the type of marriage to which the head of the family subscribed. Men in polygamous marriages usually had large nuclear family shown by nucleated houses harbouring the kraal (de Haan, 2010). However, today some houses in eMakhuzeni are made of bricks.

Most chores were strictly gender specific in eMakhuzeni and this was reinforced through daily engagements. Boys' main chore was to look after livestock and spend

most of their time away from home in pursuit of good pastures for the livestock while women were expected to prepare meals, fetch water and firewood, and look after children (Participant 1). Usually, the only shared chore was the ploughing of fields for crops as this required the use of oxen as draught power.

Historically, women played an important role in the social organisation of the community and its sustenance. It was the women of the area who collected water from the river and mixed it with mud for their children to receive an education. Women participated in agricultural production. Although there were men, most households were headed by women as those men were working in the cities, and only came home at the end of the month. Women played a role in making sure that the children attended school, livestock was looked after, and there was food for the children (Participant 28). It was women who ploughed the fields and planted crops. Women even worked in the neighbouring farms to earn some income to sustain their households.

Many households in eMakhuzeni had cattle, so when the government issued an order that made weekly cattle dipping compulsory to protect cattle from tick-borne diseases, it became a women's job to fill up these dipping holes with water from nearby streams. The dipping system (a very deep hole designed to immerse livestock in water mixed with pesticide or other treatment used as a tick control method). There was a time when these dipping holes were blocked by these women in eMakhuzeni, which was a strategy to challenge the apartheid government.

The area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is different now, when compared to what it was in the 1980s. The government has improved the area, most people do not fetch water from the rivers anymore as they have potable water connected to their homesteads. Some homes are now connected to the national power grid. The school that was made of mud has been improved now, it has a permanent structure made of bricks. It also has toilets; the children do not use the bushes anymore. The area has a big community hall where meetings are held. This hall is also used for entertainment purposes.

4.4 Displacement Due to Violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) resulted in the displacement of many people (Participant 1). The Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, 1999) as quoted by Kirchhoff and Ibañez

(2001) describes a displaced person as anyone who has been forced to migrate within the national boundaries, leaving aside her residence or her habitual economic activities because either her life, her physical integrity or her freedom have been either violated or threatened by situations such as armed conflict, generalised violence, violations of human rights, and any other situation that may alter public order.

Several people from eMakhuzeni (Springvale) lived in this area for generations. This displacement from the area meant a huge loss especially the dispossession of their land. Most eMakhuzeni (Springvale) people were born and grew up in the area, thus, leaving friends and relatives behind was traumatic for them. As many men of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were working in the cities, decisions had to be taken by women (Participant 1). There is no doubt that political violence in the country had a huge devastating impact on the economy in South Africa and a rural area such as eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was not spared such violence. In the interviews with the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) people, it was clear that violence did have a negative impact on the household economies especially because they had to start their lives all over again in new places as their homes were burnt or destroyed during the violence and had to seek refuge outside the locality. Many households lost their household goods and livestock as theft and looting formed an integral part of the attacks in the 1980s (Participant 28). After the violence, large sections of the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) became deserted as residents who had fled as refugees did not return to their houses after the initial attacks. Several women in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) decided to ask a relative who was not living in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to accommodate their children because they did not want their children to miss out on education due to the violence. The children had to stay with a relative while their mother remained in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) with the hope that the situation would be normal again.

Unfortunately, violence in eMakhuzeni did not stop as early as was expected, some women had to follow their children who lived with relatives. Not all residents of the community left their households. Some remained behind in the hope the violence will come to an end so that they could start a new life. This observation is no different to that of Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001) who identified factors such as the decision on whether to stay behind or abandon their homestead as the harsh reality that victims of

violence had to embrace. Those that abandoned their household felt anxious that their re-integration into the community could discriminate against them as they would be labelled as “sellouts”. Those who lived with families, relatives and friends also become a source of anxiety since as long as the violence persisted, making their stay longer, which made them uncomfortable, a feeling that emanated from the fear of overburdening their hosts’ generosity.

The violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) left traumatic scars in the lives of victims. Several people did experience trauma, most of it coming from displacement. In his book, “Memory”, Walsh (2018) argues that there are things in life that are better forgotten than remembered especially if they are traumatic. In a world of violence and trauma, forgetting is as elemental to human action and human life as is remembering. There are many ways to think about the usefulness of forgetting. Trauma can produce memory suppression.

When the researcher visited the home of one of the survivors of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence (who is now 55 years old), she welcomed her to her home and when I asked her to participate in the interviews, she told the researcher that she would love to but she did not remember anything. She is one of the survivors who lost family members in the violence. She told the researcher that the only thing she remembered was the day she left the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and requested the researcher to ask her husband about the violence. One of the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is avoidance which includes the inability to remember key aspects of trauma (Walsh, 2018). Dodging is an elemental way to cope with something painful. In this instance, the woman I spoke to made it clear to me that it was not that she did not want to participate in the interviews, but she did not remember anything.

Many South Africans have survived many tragic events. According to Kaminer and Eagle (2010), trauma can occur over a long period of time and present that person with ongoing challenges in his or her efforts to recover and move on with his or her life. In an interview with a male (now 56 years old) who survived the violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), he made it known that he was experiencing several traumatic events. He pointed out that there were times when they had to find and collect the bodies of dead relatives in the fields where they were killed. Some of the

trauma he encounters comes from escaping memories of this ordeal. It was not easy to start over.

During the violence, the levels of intimidation were extremely high, and many had good reason not to speak freely or participate in the structures because they feared the consequences. The experience of loss and trauma was evident and shared by all survivors. It also appeared that the circumstances of death, the loss of homes, land, property, and family formation have contributed to the psychological and emotional well-being of the survivors. The negative effects of violence will remain, although they may seem invisible. The people of eMakhuzeni lost family members who were important members of the survivor's family and were a major source of support as breadwinners. Those who were children at the time expressed their anger and a sense of loss especially those whose education was affected.

People with trauma respond differently. Children often appear timid and angry and adults usually show anger. There was an incident at Sizisizwe School, a high school where most of the children in eMakhuzeni are studying after graduating from primary school, with some boys arguing over something unrelated to the 1983 violence, but eventually raising the issue. They said they lost their grandparents because of the violence and wanted to revenge. The authorities intervened and this was stopped. The incident happened a few years before the peace agreement was signed. The aftermath of violence is always seen affecting more children than adults.

Most children have traumatic experiences that affect them for a long time, and the effects even persist until they enter adulthood. The sad part is that in most countries, children's issues are either not dealt with or considered a priority (Kaminer and Eagle, 2010). It is often assumed that the children will be okay. The Goldstone Commission was appointed to investigate the causes of political violence in South Africa and to also make recommendations on the steps that need to be taken to prevent the violence from happening again. This commission was supported and encouraged to initiate research programmes that will bring about stability and peace in the country.

It is believed that children who have been exposed to violence do suffer from post-traumatic stress (Kaminer and Eagle, 2010). A person who has post-traumatic stress usually appear timid, anxious, full of fear, and having a feeling of

helplessness. Children usually appear agitated or full of anger (Kaminer and Eagle, 2010). Violence in South Africa brought about the destruction of family units as many people were left displaced and some parents were separated from their children. Research has shown that norms and values are transmitted to children by stable families where children learn how to conduct themselves, but this gets lost because of the violence (Kaminer and Eagle, 2010).

The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) left many people, including children angry and full of resentment especially because they lost their homes and family structures. During the interviews, it was revealed that some of the school children appeared to have been suffering from depression and it is believed that it was because they grew up in the area and experienced violence many times. When that point was mentioned, I asked for clarity and it was mentioned that some of the school children don't seem to care about the future as some of them don't care about school. Although children were not killed in eMakhuzeni, they were left traumatised by seeing their parents die. Rock (1997) points out studies have shown that children who have experienced public violence usually show symptoms of shock, helplessness, anxiety and anger.

In South Africa, the right of being a child was taken away by the violence, as most children were expected to do things that were beyond their age such as leading the revolution (Osofsky, 1999). Rock (1997) points out that the youth (including children) were starting to take the law into their hands in the 1980s as they felt that some people were not supporting them in the fight against apartheid. For example, "the youth was characterised by the staging of civic courts in which "appropriate" punishments were meted out to those, usually, older members of the community, who chose not to participate in economic boycotts and stay-aways. Such "transgressions" were frequently met with extreme violent punishments: lashings and "necklacings" a tyre being placed around the neck of the accused, doused with petrol and lit, burning the victim to death" (Rock, 1997:11). An illustration of the typical workings of these civic courts was given by Kane-Berman (1993).

4.5 Izigodi (factions): Ntshona, Dukathole and Dulela

The community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was made up of two different *izigodi* (factions). It comprised the *Ntshona and Dulela*. These faction names originated from

earlier times when entertainment took place or during community festivities. The eMakhuzeni (Springvale) community enjoyed *ingoma* (dance) to add more entertainment. These *izigodi* (factions) would compete with one another. Each *isigodi* had its own “*ikopoli* (men’s leader) whose duty was to lead and look after his *isigodi*. The third *isigodi* emerged as a break away from *Ntshona*. They named themselves *Dukathole* (Participant 1).

In an interview (Participant 1), it was learnt that the violence between *Ntshona* and *Dukathole* did not start in the 1980s but began in the 1960s. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), there was one *isigodi* (faction), the *Ntshona*, and some people decided to form another *isigodi* (faction), calling themselves *Dukathole*, and this action angered some *Ntshona* people as they did not see the need for a split. This *isigodi* (faction) became more powerful than the *Ntshona* when there were *Indlamu* / *ingoma*²⁴ competitions and also *isitiki* (stick fighting competitions). This act angered *Ntshona* even more. The surnames that made up *Ntshona* were Zondi, Phungula and Madondo (Participant1). There were other surnames as well but these three were the dominant ones. The surnames that made up *Dukathole* were Mhlongo, Mdunge, Nzuza and others. *Dulela* was dominated by Dlamini and Shoba. It was in 1963/1964 in one of the homesteads where there was *umemulo*, and people were gathered to enjoy the festivity when these two groups challenged each other. They fought using sticks, knobkerries, spears, axes, pangas and shields. Many people were injured during this fight but there were no deaths reported. This violence did not continue until it resurfaced during the 1980s. In the interview with (Participant 9), it was learnt that rumour spread that some people were recalling the violence that plagued the area in the 1960s. In passing, they would mention that they wished they were here to fight, and they would jokingly say they want to start it or seek revenge.

4.6 The history of *izigodi* (factions) in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

There were two main *izigodi* in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) before the violence of the 1980s. These were *Ntshona* and *Dulela*. There was also Deda in the neighbouring area, but Deda was not much involved in the activities of eMakhuzeni (Springvale).

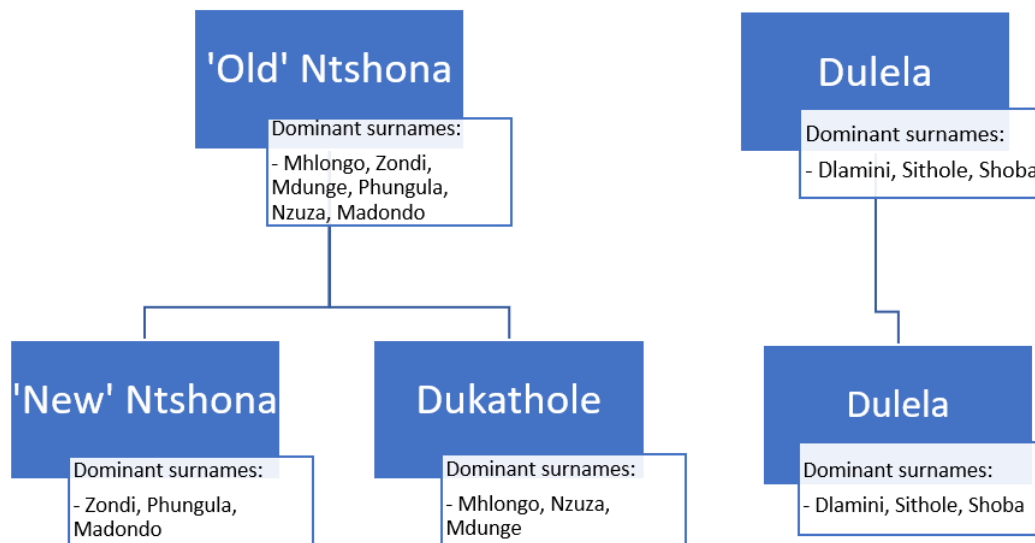
²⁴ *Indlamu* is a traditional Zulu dance from South Africa where the dancer lifts one foot over his/her head and brings it down hard, landing squarely on the downbeat. Typically, two dancers in warrior's pelts perform *indlamu* routines together, shadowing each other's moves perfectly.

These *izigodi* were formed by traditional leaders. They were formed so that it would be easy to manage the areas as these groups had their own *ikopoli* (men's leader) (a term used in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to refer to a male leader). These *izikopoli* (men's leaders) reported to the *induna* (the headman) and the *induna* reported to inkosi (the chief). In traditional eMakhuzeni (Springvale), the *izigodi* (factions) were an organised social unit within the broader community. They were not working as *amakhosi* (chiefs) or *izinduna* (headmen) but were taking orders from their *amakhosi* (chiefs) or *izinduna* (headmen). The *ikopoli*'s (men's leader) roles were to lead the *izigodi* and help in the settlement of disputes and conflicts. When the *ikopoli* (men's leader) failed to maintain peace in its *izigodi* then the traditional *amakhosi* (chiefs) or *izinduna* (headmen), would intervene and make sure that harmony and peace were sustained.

4.7 *Izigodi* (factions) of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

The following organogram depicts the structure of the *izigodi* and the clans in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). On the organogram there is the “old *Ntshona*” before they split into *Dukathole* and *Ntshona* factions. Those who remained with the *Ntshona* I refer them as the “new” *Ntshona* because they do not carry their surname when the split into the *Dukathole* faction.

Figure 4.3: Clans



Source: Author

4.8 The three main clans that made up *Ntshona* were Phungula, Zondi and Madondo

Although there were dominant clans in each *isigodi*, it was also apparent that people of the same clan could be in a different *isigodi*, depending on where their homestead was located. If most of one's neighbours were in a different *isigodi*, then one had to be part of that *isigodi*.

4.8.1 The historical background of the Zondi clan

Zondi clan was one of the dominant clans in terms of numbers in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) during the time of the violence. There is even an area that was named after this clan. It is called koZondi. According to Houston and Mbhele (2001), the Zondi clan are descendants of the Sotho tribe. The izithakazelo (clan name) of the Zondi people are Zondi, Nondaba, Luqa, Gagashi, Tetani, Lusubalikhulu, Nhlabishile kanoGininda kaNjapha kaNomaphindela KaNokhovu kaNdokoshe, kaSidukuduku! Gasa ngukugasel'izizwe, Jangeni kaBhambada kaMancinza, Bhambada kaguduzela, owaguduzela'izihosha nezihoshana. Mabonw'abulawe njengenyamazane! Mpunyumpunyu bemphethe. Ngimfung'uBhambad'eseNkandla. Dudul'amabhunu. Shibase! (Sithole, 1982)

The Zondi's dwelt along the banks of Thukela and Inadi streams in the area currently known as Umsinga district. In those days they were known as abaseNadi people. When they fled to the forest in fear of Shaka, he saw an opportunity to seize their cattle. When they emerged from hiding, they broke up as faction. Some of them joined Shaka and became part of the amaZulus and others joined other tribes and those who remained, remained with Dlaba (he was one of the forefathers of Bhamabatha) and fled to Pietermaritzburg to establish a new home in the Zwartkop region in 1838. It was the Zondi clan that openly rebelled during the Bhambatha rebellion in 1906 under the leadership of their chief Mbamabatha. It was Bhambatha Zondi who resisted the implementation of the poll tax in 1906.

4.8.2 The Madondo clan

King Shaka wanted to find out if the traditional healers were telling the truth when they were accusing someone of performing witchcraft. The King did not only want to expose the deceitfulness of diviners, but also to seek out anyone who would tell the truth. He tricked them by smearing goat blood on the beam of his house. He then called upon the diviners to come and point out who committed this witchcraft. When all the diviners were pointing to people whom they thought committed this criminal act, Nobhiyana Madondo stood up and mentioned that it was King Shaka who was responsible for the act in question. Madondo was a sangoma (a traditional healer or diviner) made history for pointing out that King Shaka was the culprit. Many of the divine healers were killed because they lied. Some people planned to kill Madondo. He learnt about the plot to kill him and fled with his family. They sought refuge in Mvoti, until his enemies discovered where they had settled and again began hunting for him. His enemies followed him as he fled to Mtshezi and then to Umgungundlovu (Pietermaritzburg) to a place that later became Ntembeni. Madondo then built two homesteads so that his enemies would not easily find him. One was built in Ntembeni, where he is buried, and the other was built in Nadi. Inkosi Buthelezi mentioned that Madondo should be celebrated for standing up for the truth (Buthelezi, 2018). The Izithakazelo of the Madondo people are Mnquhe, Wena waseQhudeni, Zikode kaNgaba, Mwelase, Mpukane kaMgedeza, Wena ongawudli umbele odliwa abalandakazi, Wena ongaweli ngezimpambosi, owela ngezibuko! (Madondo participant)

4.8.3 The Phungula clan

The Phungula clan is one of the dominant clans in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). They have a long history with the Zondi clan. According to Natalia and Thompson (2008:53), when one of the Zondi groups moved to Mkhabela, Phungula was left to be an Induna of Nadi/ Nathi which falls under Msunduzi in Pietermaritzburg, (the capital city of KwaZulu-Natal Province). The Phungula clan is primarily found in KwaZulu-Natal, some are found in Gauteng and very few in Eastern Cape. The izithakazelo of the Phungula people are Phungula Mdlovu Mbangmude, Mbandlwa, Qhweza, Hashaza ehlangeni, Mnandi ongemondi, Nomasikisiki, Nyoni esindwa isisila Sayo, Nkomo edla yodwa! Uma idla nezinye ziyayiphangela (Phungula participant).

4.8.4 The three main clans that made up *Dukathole* -Mhlongo, Mdunge and Nzuzi

4.8.4.1 The historical background of the Mhlongo clan

According to Khumalo (2005), the Mhlongo people were very important to King Shaka. They originated from the Swazi people. They were known as the eLangeni people. One of their ancestors was called Mhlongo which is reason as why they use the surname Mhlongo. The people of eLangeni were important to King Shaka because his mother, Queen Nandi was a daughter of eLangeni. The izithakazelo (clan names) of the Mhlongo people are Makhedam, Soyengwase, Nina bakaBhebhe kaMthendeka Nina bakaSoqubele onjengegundane, nina baseSiweni KwaMpuku yakwaMselemusi, kwaNogwence webaya, Zingwazi zempi yakwaNdunu Njoman'eyaduk'iminyakanyaka, yatholakal'onnyakeni wesine, yabuye yatholakala ngowesikhombisa, Langeni! Owavel'elangeneni (Sithole, 1982).

4.8.4.2 The Mdunge clan

The Mdunge clan is one of the dominant clans in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). In a letter written by Inkosi T. Chiliza, one of the chiefs of the Mdunge clan explained that the Mdunge clan originated from Umvoti area, which now falls under Umvoti Municipality which is in Umzinyathi District near Greytown in KwaZulu-Natal. Due to King Shaka's wars, they were forced to move to Congella where they did not stay for long. From Congella they moved to Umzinto. When they heard that the war was going to start, they then moved to Msikazi near Umzumbe which now falls under the Ugu District in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The Mdunge clan are now be found in

KwaZulu-Natal and other provinces (Chiliza, 1938). The izithakazelo of the Mdunge people are Chiliza, Mkhathini, Gasela, Gogobala, Ndwalane, Bombo-shazi, Zwezwe, Mvemve, Mbambo. Abase koloni bathi: Ndonga, Dledle, Nsizwana, Gqadushe, Mqokolweni, Ndlambini, Ngqithi, Sodladla, Shwaku, Zibulale (Mdunge participant).

8.4.3 The Nzuza clan

According to Khumalo (2005), the Nzuza clan is not originally from the amaZulu tribe, but they live peacefully among the amaZulu people. The Zulu *amakhosi* needed people who knew how to make traditional medicine (muthi) that the warriors would use at war. A man by the name of Mgidi arrived to join amaZulu. He had knowledge of traditional medicine and he was looking for land where he would build his homestead. He had a son by the name of Nondumo who also knew the art of traditional medicine. During this time, King Shaka was going to fight the Zwide clan and needed some traditional medicine. King Shaka gave Nondumo some land because Nondumo was going to give them traditional medicine (Khumalo, 2005). That is how they got land and lived with the Amazulu people. The izithakazelo (clan names) of the Nzuza people are: Nzuza, Mahlobo, Mshazi, Mazilisa, Debelimdaka, Bomvula. Wena owahlaba iso lesilo ngomuso wahlaba elengonyama. Nzuza mshazi nozishada kamaqhoboza owaqhoboza izinkomo zamadoda, uNozigawula kabili kathathu konakale, uMajiya kaDinizulu kamsuthu, mudli umziqomela onjengesilwane, oqomisa abantu amaqambi, ugebhuza izulu, uMali wendima kanti uyazalela, uMahlungula ngodweni, usiphuma ngendawana yakhe yedwana, uNyawo lungangendlu yakwabo kwamasizazana, uMgwazi weziqananazana. Umanqe adlani ngale kwezintaba adla abantu banozishada kaMaqhoboza. Untamo kayidinwa yiziqu kwaze kwabuza uNdlela umntaka Sompisi the "uzokubamba yiphi ke mfoka Maqhoboza" wathi "ngiyeya ngibona engathi inkosi isilethele abafana bodwa angiyiboni ezakungilingana ngibona abafana bodwa". Gebhuza izulu Nozishada kaMaqhoboza.

4.9 Traditional leaders in eMakhuzeni

The *ubukhosi* (chieftainship) of eMakhuzeni has always been under the leadership of the Dlamini clan. The following amakhosi have led the Amakhuze/ eMakhuzeni community: Mandinda Dlamini, Miso Dlamini, Khukhulela Dlamini, Maskofini, Mehlokazulu (Zulu) Dlamini, Leshmane, Dlamini, and Zenzo Dlamini. As alluded

earlier, Inkosi Maskofini was one of the *amakhosi* that a lot of people talked about. He was inkosi during the time of the Bhambatha rebellion (1902) and it is believed that he was a friend of inkosi Bhambatha Zondi. He was one of the amakhosi that helped Mbambatha in the planning of the rebellion. Inkosi Maskofini also worked with Bayempini Mdunge, they were active members of “Ukhongolose” (ANC) as it was called in isiZulu (Participant 3). It is believed that leaders of the ANC visited Maskofini’s home on many occasions and he helped them to hide from the apartheid government.

When the apartheid regime police heard that Inkosi Maskofini’s home was used as a hiding place for the ANC , they then took him to prison together with his *induna* (headman), Memela. The police convinced the induna to be the state witness and promised him that they would give him land and chieftainship. He agreed and told the state that Maskofini’s home is used as a hiding place for “ukhongolose” (ANC). Memela was then released from prison and Inkosi Maskofini was kept for a longer period. The state did as it had promised Inkosi Memela, gave him some of Inkosi Maskofini’s land while Maskofini was still in prison, and he made him the inkosi in Pholela (Bulwer). After some time Inkosi Maskofini got out of jail. He found out that some of his land had been given to Memela and he was now an Inkosi of the Memela clan. This act angered Inkosi Maskofini and he planned to revenge. Inkosi Memela got sick, and messengers were sent to Inkosi Maskofini to let him know that Inkosi Memela was now ill. Inkosi Maskofini planned to poison him. He sent some of his messengers with the poison but convincing Inkosi Memela to use it as something that was going to help him. These messengers made sure that he took it and they left. Memela got worse and died.

The police took Inkosi Memela’s body for a post-mortem, which revealed that he was poisoned and when the investigation was done, it led the police to Inkosi Maskofini’s messengers who admitted giving Inkosi Memela some muti from Inkosi Maskofini. Inkosi Maskofini was then taken to jail. He admitted to poisoning the late Inkosi Memela. At that time “the death penalty” was still prevalent in South Africa. Since Inkosi Maskofini had committed murder he had to be given the death penalty. He was given two options, which were either a death penalty or a shorter sentence in jail on condition that he agreed to give away his land. He chose the death penalty. He was then hanged, and at that time people who had been hanged became state paupers (they were buried by the state, and not by their families) but because Inkosi Maskofini

was royalty, the police brought his coffin home. They instructed the family not to open the coffin. His body was buried without being viewed. Up to this day, the Dlamini clan are convinced that what was inside the coffin might not have been Inkosi Maskofini's body.

Other amakhosi that followed were not as active in politics as Inkosi Maskofini. The name of Inkosi Mehlokazulu (Zulu) came up a lot during the interviews - that he played a very important role in maintaining peace in his area especially during the first violence in the 1960s. He was the one who made sure that those who were responsible for fueling instability in eMakhuzeni were punished and that was why most of them spent some time in jail.

The current leadership in eMakhuzeni is still in the hands of the Dlamini clan, but the current leader is serving in an acting capacity because the person who is meant to lead is still young. Phungula is the current induna in eMakhuzeni. When it comes to *izinduna* (headmen), office bearers are elected, and not hereditary based on blood line like the amakhosi. The current induna (headman) of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), has no information of this violence as he mentioned that he was not an *induna* (headman) at that time and was not even staying in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) at that time. He is new in this *induna* position. The current councillor of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) who was one of the participants in this study, was that he himself was very young when the violence took place. He was only five years old.

4.10 Stick fighting and the use of other weapons in eMakhuzeni

Stick fighting was the main game played by boys and young men in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). It constituted their main form of entertainment. According to Carton and Morrell (2012), stick fighting has long been a popular form of peer-based male socialisation and initiation in South Africa. Zulu boys in the countryside were among the keen exponents of this martial recreation, which moved with migrant labourers into urban areas by the twentieth century (Carton and Morrell, 2012). In KwaZulu-Natal, stick fighting is popular because it represents a life-affirming practice for generations of rural-born boys. This rural game is still enjoyed in many rural parts of KwaZulu-Natal as it usually comes with a prize after defeating the opponent.

The latest history of fighting is followed by the legacy of the Zulu King Shaka. King Shaka lived from 1787 to 1828, and during his reign. He founded the Zulu Kingdom and became the most famous warrior of South Africa (Cobbing, 1988). It is generally agreed that during King Shaka's reign, battling was used as a means of training young men to defend themselves in battles. King Shaka himself, in Ritter's (1957) version of the story, was already a very talented wrestler at the age of eleven.

During King Shaka's time, stick fights were used as military training. However, in the years that followed, Zulu people began to use stick fighting *to* represent the settlement of conflicts at the symbolic rather than the military level. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), as a rural village, the boys did what was called “*ukuqhathwa*” (strength testing) when they went out to herd cattle. In this way, the boys would challenge each other to fight with sticks. There will be spectators or referees who intervene if they see that the other person is tired or injured. They would also carry their baton if they were invited to an event. When a cow was slaughtered, other parts of the cow (such as the lungs and other parts) belonged to the boys. They would challenge themselves before eating the meat (Schoeman, 1982).

Participation in the *iphaphu* festival is the sole privilege of herd boys (Schoeman, 1982). Herd boys are unmarried men and boys ranging from 7-25 years. Coetzee (2000) agrees that stick fighting has not been well documented as most scholars relied more on oral history. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), stick fighting was one of the games boys played especially when tending cattle and during cultural festivities such as *umemulo* and weddings. The violence of eMakhuzeni started the same way as any other rural faction fight would start, which according to Redding (2010:129) was neighbouring affairs where factions that fought would form a network of boys or young men banding together to meet a challenge issued by rivals.

The eMakhuzeni violence started in the 1960s but escalated in the 1980s as different and stronger weapons were used (Participant 25). In the 1960s violence, fighters fought with spears and shields and in the 1983 violence, they fought with guns, resulting in many deaths. The 1983 violence in eMakhuzeni started like any other factional fights in a rural environment where it takes over disputes, but this one happened at a time when political violence was brewing in the townships and urban areas where the men of eMakhuzeni were working. The *Ntshona* faction got divided

after some arguments and quarrels within the faction that lead to the formation of the *Dukathole* faction.

The violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) became vicious, fought with a wide range of weapons ranging from sticks, spears, and knives, homemade guns to ordinary guns that were introduced by people from the cities. Many families become refugees, and the people who suffered the most were the children as services such as education and health were interrupted in the area. What made the violence of eMakhuzeni more vicious compared to the violence of the 1960s was the fact that the weapons reached South Africa especially KwaZulu-Natal from Mozambique. These weapons that were mostly distributed to liberation fighters reached eMakhuzeni through men working in the cities and these weapons played a role in the conflict. The most popular rifle during the political violence in the 1980s/1990 was the AK-47 (Minnaar, 1994). Further, the AK-47 has become a badge of status and power in Black townships, where youths and comrades from self defence units (SDUs) flaunt it as a mark of authority, power and control.

According to Minnaar (1994:3), in the 1980s/1990s, wounds caused by gun shots in KwaZulu-Natal alone went up.

“Post-mortem statistics gathered in the region by Dr Reggie Perumal of the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Natal, Durban, showed that in 1989 doctors performed autopsies on 521 people who died of stab wounds and 354 who died from gunshot wounds”.

The number of wounds caused by knife stabbing went down and this indicated that a number of people possessed guns. Minnaar (1994) points out that in the 1990s in KwaZulu-Natal Province, weapons especially the AK47 were sold at a very low price, which made it easy for people to own guns. This is one of the reasons why violence that resulted in deaths escalated in the country because guns were easily accessible.

As alluded earlier, easy access to weapons in the country especially in KwaZulu-Natal Province encouraged more violence. According to Krelekrele (2018), several organisations were implicated in the supply of weapons. For example, some guns were supplied by Eskom, and this came up during the Goldstone Commission testimony in 1994. A senior member of Eskom had agreed to sell 1000 LM4 rifles to a

middleman acting on behalf of the KwaZulu-Natal government. Another testimony made by Eugen de Kock was that guns came from the police who helped the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in attacking ANC supporters. He testified that he was given an instruction to supply 100 home-made shotguns to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). According to Krelekrele (2018:1), De Kock continued to claim that “he personally supplied truckloads of hand grenades, light machine guns, mines, ammunition, and AK47s to senior Inkatha officials”. Because it was so cheap to buy illegal guns, those who were not going to use to fight other people bought them for self-protection. Minnaar (1994) points out that in some other areas those who owned guns would come out at night and shoot in the air just to alert others to know that they were armed, and none should dare to attack them as they were ready to defend themselves.

The role of the third force in the violence in South Africa especially in KwaZulu-Natal Province became more evident during the testimonies made before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Goldstone Commission. Minnaar (1994:4) reveals that,

“in the late 1980s certain members of police riot units (which became the Internal Stability Units (IS) based in KwaZulu-Natal were accused of supplying both sides in certain areas in order to sustain violence as part of a de stabilisation campaign, and to justify imposition of measures such as the state of emergency.”

There were also some accusations that KwaZulu Police (KZP) sold their guns to the *amakhosi* (chiefs) and *izinduna* (headman) in the province. Krelekrele (2018:1) points out that a large number of weapons came from Vlakplaas²⁵ and

“even today, an estimated 64 out of 70 tons of weapons which were transported by KwaZulu-Natal government trucks have not been accounted for and these weapons include RPG rockets and rocket launchers, 500kg of explosive, 1 000 hand grenades, 200 shrapnel mines, almost three thousand rifle grenades, and thousands of AK47s”.

According to Krelekrele (2018:1), some guns were supplied by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) as they worked closely with Inkatha in KwaZulu-Natal in

²⁵ Vlakplaas is a farm in Pretoria that operated as a paramilitary hit squad that helped the apartheid government fight those who were its opponents.

providing training and weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party. A member of the AWB, Gerrit Phillipus Anderson was granted amnesty after testifying in the TRC about working with the Inkatha Freedom Party in the acquisition and hiding of weapons. According to Mr T Chadwick who was also a member of the AWB who testified at the TRC, another source of guns that reached the hands of Inkatha Freedom Party was the weapon heists at Flagstaff police station in the Eastern Cape. The weapons were obtained during other heists, and they were going to be used by the Inkatha Freedom Party's self-protection units in their fight against the African National Congress (ANC). It was not only the Inkatha Freedom Party that got access to these dangerous weapons. The ANC itself received weapons from their exile structures and many of these weapons found their way to the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Easy access to weapons was one of the main reasons KwaZulu-Natal Province continued to have high political violence and lawlessness.

Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK), which is the military wing of the ANC and the South African Defence Force (SADF) fostered aggressiveness and violence in the 1980s/1990s. During this time in South Africa, violence was seen as a way of obtaining and maintaining power. One of the slogans of the anti-apartheid movements was "One settler one bullet" as they were angry with the apartheid government as it wanted to divide and rule and also to eliminate those who were standing on its way to achieving that, so the SADF was there to use violence to protect apartheid policies and the government (Sishi, 1998). Russia, China, and Cuba assisted liberation movements with military equipment. Most weapons were smuggled into the country by the ANC structures, and some weapons were made in the country.

Some Bantustans played a role in making access to weapons available, "General Bantu Holomisa opened up what was then a small Bantustan, Transkei, to liberation movements as a base for launching operations and large amounts of weaponry entered Transkei" (Sishi, 1998:3). The ANC was not solely facing opposition from the National Party government. Instead, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party government ended-up training and equipping the paramilitary force of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Thus, the National Party government relied on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to help it to oppose the ANC / UDF. The conflict escalated to violent outbursts, ambushes, and attacks between the IFP and UDF, culminating in the formation of IFP-aligned Self Protection Units and ANC -aligned Self Defence

Units. Violence escalated in KwaZulu-Natal Province in the 1980s as the IFP at this time had its own Self Protection Unit that was well equipped with weapons.

Although none of the interviewees mentioned the violence of Richmond, which is about 43 kilometres away from eMakhuzeni (Springvale), suggests that what was happening in Richmond might have had an influence on eMakhuzeni. Richmond is one of the communities that once experienced violence. A lot of weapons were discovered in Richmond after the decade spanning 1980-1990 and some of these weapons may have reached the people of eMakhuzeni. It was also one of the areas that experienced factional fights long before the ANC-IFP conflicts. Some of the conflicts in Richmond were caused by scarce resources and land disputes like many other factional fights, but this was overshadowed by political violence, which was between the ANC and IFP.

Although violence continued in KwaZulu-Natal for a long period of time, it started subsiding after the 1994 election. However, the IFP was sceptical about the transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994 as it felt that it was losing power to the ANC . The scepticism resulted in the IFP seeking help from the police, AWB, former Vlakplaas operatives to ensure that the Zulu nationalist party had a military force capable of resisting the incorporation of KwaZulu-Natal into an ANC ruled country (Sishi, 1998). There was hope that weapons that were used during the African National Congress (ANC), IFP rivalry and the fight against apartheid would now be taken back (Sishi, 1998). However, disarmament strategies were unsuccessful (Sishi, 1998).

In October 1994, the Rollerball disarmament operation was started with the aim of collecting all weapons in the country. However, this operation was also not a success given that only 70 AK47s, 93 hand grenades, 53 pistols, and 316 limpet mines were collected (Sishi, 1998). This figure is very minimal compared to the weapons given to the IFP and the national government and the number of weapons that were in the possession of the ANC . It was not just the IFP and the ANC that possessed weapons. During the 1980s “the white population armed themselves alarmingly with legal firearms, they were well armed, but this acquisition of legal firearms continues, and theft is still a major problem; there are still 2700 reports of stolen firearms every month” (Sishi, 1998:4).

The issue of easy access to dangerous weapons in South Africa needs to be resolved as soon as possible. The country needs more stringent gun control policies, and far better implementation of existing policies, to curb the proliferation of unlicensed guns (Sishi, 1998). The aftermath of the easy access to weapons in South Africa is still felt even today as there is a lot of crime and killings that is perpetrated using illegal guns (Mlamla and Shumba, 2021). Hennop (2000) argued that these illegal weapons posed a threat to the country's democracy, given that to date, the number of illegal firearms in the country is still unknown. There is always an estimation based on the firearms lost or stolen from legal owners. Hennop (2000:13) argued there is a need to "take into account the cross-border smuggling of firearms and the remains of arms caches built-up by both liberation movements and covert government operations during the liberation struggle".

According to Hennop (2000:14), "the Department for Safety and Security, on the basis of available evidence, feels that the pool of illegal firearms is not greater than 500 000." The challenge facing this department is that some of these stolen firearms are not reported, which makes it difficult to know the exact number of illegal firearms. This is caused by those legal firearms owners who fear that if they report that their firearms have been stolen, they would be seen as unfit to possess a firearm (Hennop, 2000). Several criminals committed crime using illegal firearms because they knew that it would be difficult for the police to trace them.

The main source of firearms in South Africa prior to 1994 was cross-border smuggling activities. Firearms were obtained from across the border as they were mainly used by political movements.

"Many of these arms caches created by the liberation movements are still unaccounted for and are finding their way into the pool of illegal firearms in South Africa and most of these firearms were smuggled from Mozambique into KwaZulu-Natal by warlords in their struggle to gain political power in the province" (Hennop, 2000:17).

Many firearms found their way into Gauteng Province from Mozambique through two provinces, which are Mpumalanga and Limpopo. Many of these firearms were used in many factional fights that took place in different provinces. Hennop (2000:22) points out that, "a new route for and source of firearms into South Africa was created after

the intervention of South African Development Community (SADC) forces in Lesotho". The availability of illegal firearms led to the increase in car hijacking and other forms of crime such as cash-in-transit heist, bank robberies and farm killings, mostly targeting White farmers. Many people have learnt how to manufacture their own weaponry (Hennop 2000). There is a very low recovery rate when it comes to these home-made weapons because it is not easy to identify them.

4.11 Traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal province

Long before colonialism, traditional forms of governance served an important socio-political and economic role for sustaining tribal communities. These traditional structures were usurped to meet the economic needs of colonialists (Beall et al., 2005). South Africa is no different as the patriarchal system through traditional rules was manipulated to promote White hegemony during colonialism and apartheid. The patriarchal nature of the traditional leadership is reflected in the promotion of male dominance through a system of succession through the male lineage (Beall et al., 2005). Females were excluded from assuming leadership roles in traditional structures, which promoted male dominance within the tribal community. In instances where an *Inkosi* died and if the son was still young, then the wife of the *inkosi* would act on his behalf until the son was old enough to reign (Participant 29). The son of an *inkosi* was only allowed to be the *inkosi* once he was married.

In KwaZulu-Natal, traditional leadership plays an important role especially on the land issue as most people who live in rural areas are still under the leadership of traditional leaders. Land in these areas is still in the hands of the *amakhosi* (chiefs). Beall et al. (2005:756) stated that, "traditional authorities in southern Africa have always engaged assertively with other sites of authority and forms of government". Although traditional leadership still plays a role in providing continuity in rural governance, some opponents question the position of traditional leadership as the country is now living in democracy. Beall et al. (2005:756) mention that "opponents see the political embracing of tradition as a regressive step that undermines progress towards democratic consolidation in South Africa. In many respects these concerns, and perspectives are not new and reflect a long-standing historiography in South Africa, focused on chieftaincy and governance that is particularly relevant in informing and understanding the contemporary era.

After the elections of 1999, in seeking to maintain peace, the ANC had to make some compromise. After a long fight that took place between the ANC and IFP, the ANC won the election, but wanted to maintain a good relationship with IFP. They worked together in what was called the Government of National Unity (GNU). Chief Buthelezi, the leader of IFP was appointed the minister of Home Affairs (Beall et al., 2005). There were many compromises made, as a large portion of KwaZulu-Natal province is managed by *amakhosi* (chiefs), hence a decision to accommodate traditional leaders in the governance of the country was made.

The politics of compromise were entered into not least with the volatile politics of KwaZulu-Natal in mind. During the negotiation phase, "Chief Buthelezi supported the demands of the former ruling Nationalist Party for a federalist system of government and although they lost on this score, he tried to ensure greater power for the province of KZN through preserving the powers of traditional authorities, a critical element of his IFP support base" (Beall et al., 2005:4/5). Mongosuthu Buthelezi himself being a traditional leader had to protect his chieftainship even after the country transitioned into democracy.

During the first democratic elections in 1994, the IFP won the elections in KwaZulu-Natal province. However, in 1999, neither the ANC nor IFP had a clear majority, resulting in the two parties forming a coalition provincial government. In the 2004 elections, the ANC won with 46% vis-à-vis the IFP's 36% of the votes. The IFP had a strong support in the rural areas whilst ANC has been stronger in urban areas, but at the same time was making gradual inroads into the rural political constituencies of KwaZulu-Natal (Beall et al., 2005:758). However, its progress has been consistently blocked by the *amakhosi*. It is for this reason, therefore, that *ubukhosi*, the institution of chieftainship in KwaZulu-Natal, has become a political fault line along which democratic governance and peaceful co-existence was constantly tested in the province.

In rural KwaZulu-Natal, *amakhosi* (chiefs) continue to play a role in the allocation of land to their subordinates. When there are conflicts in their community the *amakhosi* intervene to resolve the conflict. The constitution of South Africa recognises the role of traditional authorities for socio-political stability. To this effect, a National House of Traditional Leaders was formed (Beall et al., 2005). The traditional leaders were

discouraged to participate in party politics but encouraged to be more involved in the consultative process on matters related to local development in their constituencies. This is applicable to the entire South Africa. In all nine provinces of South Africa, there is a Provincial House of Traditional Leadership (Beall et al., 2005).

On issues such as development, a co-operative relationship was formed breaking away from the image of traditional leaders being benign overseers of local disputes, adjudicators of traditions and customs, and facilitators on matters of development (Beall et al., 2005). Prior to the 1995 local government elections, the congress of traditional leaders, called Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA), threatened that it would discourage people under their leadership not to take part in the elections. To calm the situation, before the general elections of 1999, salaries of traditional leaders were increased. Further, their status was given more recognition (Beall et al., 2005). This was seen as some form of bribe, which is reflected in the quote of a veteran journalist, Alistair Sparks when said,

“It is a sweetener to the traditional chiefs and headmen - either in the hope of winning them over in the African National Congress (ANC) bid to gain control of KwaZulu-Natal or, on a more charitable analysis, to prevent them instigating bloodshed during the election campaign”.

There was belief and fear that if traditional leaders are not involved, violence might erupt again. This is found in the statement made during a media briefing by Dirk Du Toit who was the Minister of Land Affairs, saying, “If we want to get security we must work with the traditional groups” (Beall et al., 2005:15).

Inadequate police presence especially in rural areas led to low levels of policing. This resulted in violent crimes being under reported and the perpetrators evading justice (Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (CSV) 2007). During times of conflicts in traditional communities the police took sides either due to their allegiance to a certain tribal or political group. An obvious example is David Ntombela, a powerful IFP man in Vulindlela, who, according to Smith (1992:58) killed several people and was arrested for only a few hours before being released. The police were not trusted by the community because most of the time when cases were reported, they did not follow-up on them. Further, the justice system took time to bring perpetrators of violence and other crimes to justice.

In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), which constitutes the research setting has historically been under traditional rule. Meyili Dladla was the *Induna* (headman) of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) during the time of the violence in the 1980s. He was the custodian of tribal law and dealt with a variety of social issues such as disputes over land, cattle and women. The tribal leader encouraged the cultural and traditional festivities occasioned by youth engaging in stick fighting. Sticking fighting was institutionalised as part of the Zulu tradition to depict the valour of tribal communities (Participant 29).

“It would happen that one clan would steal a daughter or an ox from their neighbour and the neighbour would round up some friends and fetch the girl or the cattle back - often taking a few more women or cows to make up for their trouble” (News 24, 15 Apr 2001).

This would then result in yet another counterattack. When the *inkosi* (chief) had judged that things would get out of hand, he would call an *imbizo* (meeting) of all the clans and settle the matter. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), *amakhosi* (chiefs) worked together with the police in seeking to stop the violence but they failed. *Izinduna*, *izikopoli* (men’s leaders), and the police would meet in safe places to discuss issues related to the violence and they then called the community to meet with them to forge a peace agreement with the *izigodi* that were at loggerheads. The efforts were not fruitful. According to the police informant, “these two *izigodi* would agree in the presence of Induna and police that they all want peace, later that day we would discover dead bodies”. This did not happen once, it happened after every meeting.²⁶

4.12 Conclusion

Chapter Four has provided the historical background of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in the context of violence among various factions. This violence took place in the rural area of eMakhuzeni, but because the people who fought in this violence were living in both areas (rural and urban), it was important to highlight both areas. Therefore, this chapter has provided the demographic profile of urban and rural areas. It focused on the socio-economic background of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The study also reflects on the trauma that was experienced by the people of eMakhuzeni because of displacement due to this violence. In this chapter, the leadership structure of

²⁶ Interview with a retired detective on 21 April 2019

eMakhuzeni (Springvale), the history of *izigodi* (factions), and the role of *amakhosi* (chiefs) in the rural areas were presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of data. The narratives on the causes of violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) between the *Ntshona* and *Dukathole* clans in the 1980s are analysed. The interviews were transcribed and translated from isiZulu into English and then analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was chosen for this study because it provides a way of finding patterns in the data. It also helps to connect these patterns into meaningful themes and common concepts. However, using this analysis requires one to reread the data many times.

The aim of this study was to explore the causes of violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). An internecine warfare between the *Ntshonas* and the *Dukatholes* in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) took place from 1983 to 1986. Many people who took part in this internecine warfare have died and those who are still alive are now old and their memory is fading. The reminiscences of the survivors of the violence of eMakhuzeni generate an alternative view on tough and often indescribable situations of violence. These reminiscences were self-edited and based on personal experiences.

The study relies on oral history as a primary source of information. There is a dearth of literature pertaining to internecine warfare between the *Ntshonas* and the *Dukatholes* in eMakhuzeni because it took place during the time of broader violence between the African National Congress (ANC) aligned United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Thus, little attention was paid to this faction. It is therefore the aim of this study to fill this gap.

The study examines how long-standing hostile relations between the two clans degenerated into an open conflict from 1983 to 1986. This chapter presented an in-depth analysis of the experiences of individuals who were involved in this warfare. In addition, the chapter also presented the narratives of the survivors of this conflict. It further explored the different festival celebrations around eMakhuzeni (Springvale), which illustrates the cohesiveness of the different tribes, regardless of the internecine warfare that erupted from 1983 to 1986.

5.2 The narratives of the survivors of the internecine warfare in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

There were numerous factions in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), some of which were named according to the area of development. For an example, *KaDeda* is a faction that was formed in a small village within eMakhuzeni (Springvale). There was also *Dulela*, although it was not involved in the internecine warfare of 1983-1986. The largest faction in eMakhuzeni was called *Ntshona*. Some people within *Ntshona* attacked those from other clans and, in many instances, their attacks resulted in deaths. A man who belonged to the Mdunge clan was killed during the early 1960s and this grudge was continued over three decades. They remained calm for a long period of time until they formed a faction called *Dukathole* in the late 1960s. A battle between the two *factions* broke out in the 1960s, resulting in many fatalities. Those who were involved were arrested and incarcerated in prison. When the men served prison terms, there was peace in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) up until the 1980s. A huge internecine warfare then occurred between the *Dukatholes* and the *Ntshonas*. The findings from in-depth interviews have revealed that the two men (one from *Ntshona* and the other from *Dukathole*) who started this violence were fighting over a woman, although the faction of the woman was not mentioned. Thus, long-standing grudges/tensions, that rifted apart the *Ntshona* faction in the 1960s, were now the source of the violence in the 1980s.

5.3 The findings from key informant interview (MM)

The following is an interview excerpt from the key informant, a responsible elderly person in his early 80s with vivid knowledge of the violence. He captured the fundamental features of the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence. Hence, the first altercation of the 1960s laid the foundation for the subsequent violence that took place in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) from 1983-1986. The 1960s tensions sowed the seeds of animosity between the two factions, leading to fatal consequences. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

The Zondis and the Mhlongos had disagreements, which resulted in a fight between the two factions. At a community gathering in one of the homesteads (the Mazibuko homestead), a man called Ndlovu was killed. He belonged to the Ntshona faction. The people of Mdunges were very close to the Zondis. When

this incident happened, the people of Mdunges were particularly angered. They decided to withdraw from the Ntshona' faction, Hence, 'since the disagreements lead to fighting and deaths, we are no longer going to be part of Ntshona'. They made it clear that if the people of the Zondis invite them to any of their parties or functions they would go in their individual capacity, not as part of Ntshona faction. They also made it clear that if the members of the Mhlongos or Ntshonas invited them they would again go in their individual capacity. They were no longer associated with the faction. This happened at a time when Mr OD was the acting induna (headman) of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that the violence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) usually took place when there was a traditional function. The narrative of the key informant dated the tensions back to the 1960s. Hence, the tensions were observed during cultural and festive occasions when members of the two clans met in communal gatherings. For instance, at a traditional function called *umemulo* (literally, the coming of age), there were protocols that needed to be followed. The in-laws were guided by a person called *ikopoli* (men's leader), who was a leader of young men. He was the one responsible for telling people what to do and what to expect. He was responsible for welcoming guests and showing them where to go or wait. It was on such gatherings that the violence erupted. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

In 1963, the members of the Zondis were going to have umemulo, for one of their daughters who was married to the Mhlongo faction. The members of the Zondis invited everyone including the members of the Mdunges. The members of Mdunges joined those of the Mhlongos and went to the Zondi's homestead. Traditionally, the host of umemulo is expected to send ikopoli (the men's leader or the men's dance group leader) to welcome and show hospitality to the guests. The members of Zondis came out with their daughter to isigcawu (the dance area) to reveal her dancing skills. When they had finished dancing the members of the Zondis went back inside, now the ikopoli (men's leader) was expected to show hospitality to the guests by showing them where to go, he did not do that. He just went inside without welcoming the guests. The members of the Mhlongos then sent one of the Zondi nephews to ask the ikopoli to come back to them. When the ikopoli (men's leader) arrived, he told them that he was not going to let them sit with the Zondis. When the members of the Mhlongos asked him why, he told them that he overheard one of them saying that was going to hit the ikopoli. They explained to him that what he had overheard was not true. After these arguments they were now invited inside. This showed that the relationship was no longer good between the two factions (Participant 25).

In 1964 there was another umemulo, in another Zondi homestead. Mr Zondi went to the members of the Mdunges and informed them that because of the clashes that happened in the past, he would just bring food and alcohol to the members of the Mdunges instead of them going to the Zondi homestead, in order to avoid any trouble. This decision was welcomed by the members of the Mdunges. As promised, enough food, meat and drinks were brought to the members of the Mdunges (Participant 25).

The research findings have further revealed that the members of the Mdunges decided to step aside and not to be part of the *Ntshona*, but they did not make it official that they wanted to form their own *isigodi* (faction). This led to the formation of *Dukathole*, the new *isigodi* (faction). It was in 1965 that they decided to form their own faction. The research findings have revealed that:

This time the members of the Mdunges had already decided to form a new faction. They referred to themselves as the Dukatholes. In April 1965 there was going to be Umemulo in one of the Mdunge homesteads. The people arrived for the umemulo and celebrated. When the people were leaving, some had already made a plan to attack them. There were men from Dlamini and Mhlongo clan that were targeted that day. They had arrived with their sons. When they were about to leave, a member of the Mdunge clan asked if he could walk with them because it was getting dark. As these three men walked past the Zondi homestead the men in ambush attacked them. They stabbed Dlamini who ran away into the bush badly injured. Mhlongo ran until he got into one of the Mdunge homesteads. In the morning, they discovered that one of the Mdunge men did not arrive home. They went out to look for him and found him dead, lying in a pool of blood. That was the beginning of the first war in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). When the members of the Mdunges saw that one of them had been attacked and injured, they formally announced that they now had a new faction called the Dukatholes. The next day, people heard a woman's scream, announcing that the war had started. She mentioned that the Dukatholes and the Ntshonas were now at war. Thus, the Dukathole faction was formed in 1965 when the members of the Zondis and Madondos got together at the ikopoli's house. The members of the Mdunges and the Mhlongos had teamed together and met at Mdunge's family home. The members of the Zondis and the Madondos came and stood behind the shop. The Mdunges sent out some girls

out to spy on the Ntshonas. The girls came back with the report that there were a lot of people there. The Dukatholes went up to meet them and the fight took place near the shop. They hit one of the Madondo men with a knobkerrie and he fell down and died. One other man died on that day (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that this internecine warfare occurred when Mr Dlamini was the *inkosi* (chief) of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). This violent episode angered him and a case against all those who took part in the fight was opened at the local police station. In a village such as eMakhuzeni (Springvale) minor cases got solved by the *induna* (headman), and they only refer matters to the *inkosi* (chief) if the *induna* (headman) cannot solve them. Cases involving murders were referred to the magistrate court. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

The Inkosi (chief) Mr Dlamini opened a case in July 1965 and those who were involved in the fight were called to Ixopo Magistrate Court. The members of Ntshonas made a plan of refusing to go to the magistrate court but to attack them on their way back from the court. The Ntshonas met at the ikopoli's house. When the members of the Mdunges saw that the Ntshonas were waiting to attack those who were coming from Ixopo, they sent some women with some weapons to arm the Dukatholes. The members of the Ntshonas were led by the ikopoli. They went to meet the members of the Mdunges and a fight broke out. That is where the Ikopoli (men's leader) and another man were fatally stabbed, and just one man from the Dukatholes got injured. All those who were involved in this fight were arrested and spent 9 months in jail. The Inkosi (chief), Mr Dlamini announced that all those people who took part in the fight had to face imprisonment and that is how the first war ended. They learned to live in peace with one another after serving their jail sentence (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that the jail sentence taught them a lesson that peace was possible in the area. They invited one another to their cultural festivals and enjoyed together in peace and harmony. There was no more fighting until it started again in the 1980s. Narratives elicited from the research locality point to a Mr P and Mr N²⁷ as being the central perpetrators of this violence. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

²⁷ The two men that are placed at the centre of the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) are referred to as Mr P and Mr N in the study.

The second fight started because Mr N went to jail while he had a fiancé. He went to jail because he had murdered a person in Durban. His fiancé waited for him for 5 years without dating anyone. Mr P then took this woman and engaged with her. Mr N later got out of jail and wanted her back. They dated again while she was engaged to Mr P. Mr P heard that they were dating again and a fight broke out. Other people did not want to get involved at first, but because of the grudges they had about their forefathers who were defeated during the 1960 fight, they got involved. The fight started when there was a traditional function at Mr P homestead. There was commotion, people moving up and down. We then realised that Mr P and his family were now attacking Mr N. At this function, the members of the Dukatholes were then asked to leave because they were at the homestead of the Ntshona person (Mr P). The other day there was another function at Bhengu homestead, near Sisisizwe School. The members of the Dukatholes were attacked again by members of the Zondis, the Madondos and Mr Ps. Every time and every where they met they attacked one another. In 1983, there were increasing deaths as the massacre was carried out. In another incident, an elderly man was walking with other men, when they reached the place called Isihlala-esifudumele. They came across their opponents and started fighting one another again. It was here where two men got killed, Ngubane and Sosibo. In 1984 they attacked one another again where two men again got killed and those were "Bhomu" and "Gizi". After that occurrence a number of people fled this area (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that many people left the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), leaving behind the *Ntshonas*. However, they interacted with each other as most of them were working in and around Durban. Some of them even worked in the same company. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

We were working together in Clover and we begged those who were leaving not to leave, but because this ended up involving criminal actions it was no longer just Ntshonas and Dukathole people who left. Criminals seized the opportunity. There was an incident where senior citizen was attacked by criminals at night. The criminals were now breaking into people's homes at night. This act made people more determined to leave the area. People got killed here in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), some even died in Durban, and it was really bad. In another incident 5 Dukathole men were killed inside the car in Umlazi. 20 people died from this violence one side and another 30+ died on the other side (Participant 25).

5.4 Women's role in the internecine warfare

The significance of women's role in the conflict emerged as an important theme. The findings from in-depth interviews have revealed both positive and negative roles of women in the internecine warfare. Women were portrayed negatively as the main cause of the warfare. Participants intimated that the cause of the war in the 1980s were the two men fighting over a woman. Given the patriarchal nature of African communities in the country and elsewhere in the continent, it is not surprising that an incidence such as this would infuriate men and reinforce negative perceptions of women in African society. The participants expressed their disbelief on how a dispute over a woman could lead to such a bloody war. Hence, males in the community could not reconcile their differences in matters that involved women. The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point:

It started because of a girl. They were fighting over a woman (Participant 6).

Two young men were fighting over a woman ...one was Mr P and the other one Mr N (Participant 7).

In my knowledge, it started because of a woman that was in love with someone and then started dating another man (Mr P) resulting in the outbreak of mass chaos. People started fighting and stabbing one another in the hills. They ended up attacking one another at night. They would go at night when no one was suspecting anything. They ended up attacking everyone, men and women, and even children. We were no longer sleeping in our homes at night. Some people had babies so they had to make a plan of where they were going to sleep, like asking to sleep in other people's homes, among those who were not involved. We had freedom and peace after moving to this area of Jolivet (Participant 26).

The violence of Makhuze started because of two people who were fighting over a woman. It was Mr N and Mr P who were fighting over a woman. The whole community ended up joining in. It ended up as a war between the two izigodi (social groups), the Ntshona and Dukathole. People fought and we ended up sleeping in the forests or mountains. It was during my umbondo (traditional ceremony, whereby a bride takes gifts to the groom's home), when the Dukathole came to fight Madondo who had hit a Zondi man. The violence started and my brother went out to plead with them to stop so that the ceremony could proceed (Participant 4).

The cause of this violence, as far as I remember was that, two men from two different izigodi (factions) were at loggerheads. One was from Dukathole and the other one from Ntshona. These two men were Mr P and Mr N. They were quarrelling over a woman. This ended up as a war involving the whole community. It was just those two men who are no longer alive (Participant 27).

Two people quarrelled and then fought over a woman. The members of the Dukatholes wanted to form their own faction, because some people said the Dukatholes were scared of the Phungulas. They once belonged to one faction, which was called Ntshona. It was the members of the Mdunges that decided to form their own faction. The members of the Phungulas and the Zondi remained as Ntshona. Mr N and Mr P fought over a woman and the community got involved in the fight. A lot of people died (Participant 8).

He was on Dukathole side, and they stabbed him. It was about a few meters away from where the traditional function was. He was a strong man who would not give up without defending himself. Some men from his side had given up fighting but he fought until he died. He came to this function not aware that there was going to be a fight. That was where the Ntshona and Dukathole violence started. After some time a man from Dukathole side started dating a woman that was dating an Ntshona man, but this was not the main cause of the violence. People ended up using this as the cause of the violence but this did contribute in worsening the level of violence. The ring leaders of this violence were Ntshona people, mainly the Phungulas and the Madondos who were leading this violence (Participant 9).

You see they quarrelled at a time when their izigodi were already divided (or had tension). They were fighting over a woman. One started pursuing Mr N's girlfriend while Mr N was in jail (Participant 25).

I remember this incident well because I was a grown up at that time. I was already working. There was this Mr P man who took another man's wife, while the husband was in jail. When this he got out of jail, they argued and fought whenever they saw each other in community gatherings. They ended up chasing each other with guns (Participant 30).

It happened because a man who was working in Pinetown who was called Mr N had a girlfriend here in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). He got arrested and when he got out of jail, he found out that his girlfriend was now a fiancé of another man. He decided to carry on dating this woman until this woman's fiancé heard about this. (Participant 13).

As alluded to earlier, the Frustration Aggression Theory states that frustration occurs when there is a feeling of irritation if things are not going one's way or when one cannot attain his / her goal. This is what happened to Mr N and Mr P. When Mr N got out of jail, he wanted his woman back as he was engaged to the woman but there was Mr P on his way. When Mr N managed to convince the woman to come back to him, Mr P was now frustrated, and this led to violence.

Although women were portrayed in a negative way, the findings from in-depth interviews have revealed that women played a positive role in protecting their loved ones, both children and men in this warfare. As Campbell (1992) argued, in times of

violence women play an important role in ensuring the cohesion of both family and community life, but patriarchal family ideologies appeared to undermine women in their fight to hold the family and the community together. It was always the responsibility of the father to support his wife and the children financially and now the majority of women became heads of households as their husbands had died in the war. The only job available in the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was working on the farm (planting or harvesting crops). All these changes were brought by the violence, worsening the plight of women in those factions.

The participants intimated that that during the violence there was a time where men were not prepared to engage in battle. When they were attacked unexpectedly without weapons and women came to their aid by delivering weapons to them. As Sultana (2010) argued, no nation can progress without the help of women. If it was not for the presence of women who supplied weapons to the *Dukatholes men*, most of them would have been killed or injured. The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point:

“They were coming from the Magistrate court. The members of the Mhlongos had joined the Mdunges to be part of the Dukatholes by this time. When the members of the Ntshonas were waiting for the Dukatholes, they had their weapons with them, but the Dukatholes were not armed, so women from the Dukathole side decided to meet their husbands with weapons. When the Dukatholes got out of the bus they were warned that the Ntshonas were fully armed and ready for them. They grabbed their weapons and also got ready” (Participant 16).

“They had come back because of the function. All of a sudden my granny started screaming saying ‘here they are killing my children’ and we saw heads appearing on the fields. The members of the Zondis and the Madondos were standing behind the shop. We then sent the girls out (to spy on the attackers)” (Participant 15).

The research findings have revealed that the majority of women played a role in protecting their children. They would hide with them in the forests. The participants have revealed that this was a men’s war and women were not killed during this war. The men and young boys were attacked and killed. However, women were included because they played a very important role in protecting their families and taking care of the households, including livestock while the men were away. The findings from related literature have revealed that women are often under-represented in the

decision-making process and, as a result, they are marginalised in transitional justice efforts (De Yeaza and Fox, 2013). The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point:

“Before we left our houses to hide, we had to make the boys wear girls’ clothes (pointing at her son)” (Participant 7).

“I would take my children with me and hide in the forest. After the death of many people, we migrated to Durban” (Participant 8).

“Because the houses were being burnt.....We ended up sleeping in the forests” (Participant 1).

5.5 Ilongwe loyisemkhulu (old grudges / unresolved tensions between the groups from the past)

Unresolved tensions emerged as another important theme. The formation of the *Dukathole* faction was unwelcomed to the majority of people. The majority of the older generation among the research participants traced this violence back to the 1960s (Sithole, 2009). The cause of the violence in the 1980s was mainly because of the old grudges from the war of the 1960s. The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point.

“In the 1980s....., I won’t say much about the 1980s but the main causes of this war were the old grudges or tensions between the two factions.... people died in the first war. There were people who quarrelled and started the fight” (Participant 1).

“People were planting crops, and this was before the thieves existed. This area was so rich in crops and the shop did not open on weekends because people had enough food and did not depend on the shop so much. This violence created a lot of hardships. People who started this violence did this because of the grudges they had from the violence of 1965” (Participant 24).

The cause of this war was the thing called stick fighting. They played stick fighting and then there were people who stood out because they were very skilful when it came to stick fighting. There were people who would not accept that there were people who were better than them in the stick fighting. This ended up leading to violence. It was so bad how the person caused this violence. There was stick fighting and when the person on the other faction was being defeated his peers helped him and hit the person with whom he was fighting. It ended up being a revenge game, in a way that some people ended up attacking the skilful ones behind their backs.

We were all working for Clover Company and one day this man who belonged to Ntshona (who had been attacking the skilful ones behind their backs) mentioned that he did not see this grandparent's first violence (of the 1960s). He did not see his grandparents getting defeated, so his wish is to see this fight starting again. When we heard him saying this we thought that he was just joking. We did not believe that he still had old grudges. One day he decided to leave his place of work and went home to eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and announced that he was there to start the war. There was a traditional function in Shange homestead, when he said to us 'I am going to start it, my in laws' (addressing us as 'his in laws'). The first person to die there was my uncle from my mother's side (Participant 9).

Therefore, the research findings have revealed a general consensus amongst the older generation that something as small as two men fighting for a woman was not the cause of such an internecine warfare. The real cause is traced back to long-standing tensions between these factions in the 1960s (Participant 9). However, the love triangle created by the woman precipitated the warfare. The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point.

"She had waited for 5 years without dating anyone. He then got out of jail and wanted her back. They dated again while she was engaged to Mr P and Mr P heard that they were dating again. They started fighting each other. Other people did not want to get involved at first, but because of long-standing grudges about their forefathers who were beaten and defeated, they got involved. The fight started when there was a function in one of the Phungula homestead, and that day I also had some form of a small 'tea party'. We saw a commotion, people moving up and down, and we realised that the Phungulas were now attacking this other Mr N man" (Participant 15).

You know, when there is a competition there is always one group that wins and the other one that loses. It happened that when one group won, either Dukathole or Ntshona, there would be some dissatisfaction. Then all of a sudden it became faction matter and not the individuals who had been competing. Now the factions started to fight. Before the second fight began, there were some talks. You would hear people mentioning that they were not there during the first warfare. Hence, 'it's was our fathers that you beat and defeated, not us'. This thing went on and on until they started killing one another. The biggest incident happened when the Dukatholes went to a traditional function, near KaDeda area, and on that day there were two traditional functions in the area. This time the people from my side had accepted that the relationship between them and the Ntshonas was no longer good. The members of the Ntshonas went to a different function, and there they made a plan that they would attack the Dukatholes on their way back from the function. When the function was over the Dukatholes came back, and on their way back someone warned them not to use a certain direction/route because the

Ntshonas were ready to attack them there. He told them that the members of the Ntshonas were fully armed, and they had spears and guns, although the guns were few. So the Dukatholes listened and decided to take a different route. When the Ntshonas saw them taking a different direction/route they quickly went that way so that they would reach there before them. The members of the Dukatholes were now angry and said to themselves we should be ready to fight this time because we had tried to avoid the confrontation but the Ntshonas keep on pursuing us. When they got near Sisizwe School they decided to stop and wait. They fought until two men died on the scene (Participant 11).

The above narratives reveal that resentment, hatred and retribution contributed to the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Although not everyone finds pleasure in violence, some people enjoyed revenge.

As McClelland (2010) explains, revenge is personal, retributive, and can be fuelled by rage that can be very intense, morally dubious, irrational, and arises from very deep psychological currents. Thus, the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was precipitated by two men fighting over a woman but the root cause was the longing to avenge the violence that was meted to their forefathers in the 1960s. Avenging for a relative is not something new in the history of violence. As Souleimanov and Aliyev (2015) observe, the practice of seeking blood retribution for a grave offence committed against an individual or his or her relatives, has been practised since the dawn of humankind.

Revenge has been used in eMakhuzeni as a way of achieving a goal which is socially justifiable. The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was more of a blood feud rather than an act of blood revenge. As Souleimanov and Aliyev (2015) argue, blood revenge is an individual act of revenge against the perpetrator of an offence or a member of a group associated with the offender through blood kinship, whereas a blood feud may endure for generations, with one act of blood revenge followed by a retaliatory act of revenge in an endless cycle of retaliatory violence.

The fact that this violence took place in the 1960s and again in the 1980s is proof that it was some kind of endless cycle of retaliation. People who involve themselves in faction fight always do it to defend or restore their honour and pride in their group. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale) women used to ululate when there was a group that has been seen as victorious (Participant 9). However, since no one won the fight between

the members of the *Dukatholes* and the *Ntshonas* in 1960, the agitator was prepared to fight in this one until one group wins. Unfortunately, history repeated itself as no one won.

5.6 Competition and masculinity

The theme of competition emerged as a positive experience for the community as it added glamour during traditional functions and activities. The expression of masculinity emerged as part of this competition during stick fighting entertainment. The majority of research participants have intimated that the conflict of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was senseless and wondered why it happened. As Ndabandaba (1987:56, cited in Van Zyl and Theron, 1995:71) clearly explains, “participation of Black males in faction fighting has become a prerequisite for South African Black societies, for every able-bodied man is expected to participate in faction fighting. If he does not participate, he runs the risk of losing his life. Furthermore, this strong ethnic identity is used by political groups to achieve their own aims and this again leads to conflict between ethnic groups.” The following responses help illustrate this point:

Dulela was separate, I can't explain there would be the Ikopoli (men's leader or dance leader) if there was a traditional function. These social groups would compete in traditional dance. There would be the Dulela with its own ikopoli, and also the Ntshona with its own ikopoli. The Ntshona would gather its young men together, and the Dulela would do the same and they would compete in traditional dance. These dances had a lot of fun. However, things started to change when Dukathole was formed (Participant 1).

For an example, when people have just gained new in-laws, there would be a traditional dance. The Dulelas and Ntshonas would compete with their dancing styles (Participant 3).

When they were still belonging to one isigodi (faction), they would compete with stick fighting (Participant 11).

I heard that it all started with stick fighting. Some people from different factions kept on competing with stick fighting skills. This then ended in real fighting where a number of people lost their lives (Participant 12).

This narrative reveals that the dominant *isigodi* was the *Ntshona* before *Dukathole* was formed. They became two factions after some members of the *Ntshona* started bullying people in the group. The Mdunges decided to break away from *Ntshona* to form their faction called *Dukathole*, and their friends and relatives joined them. The

first group that joined the Mdunges were the Mhlongos as it was revealed that some of those who were bullied were from the Mhlongo clan. The dominant clans that constituted the *Ntshona* were the Zondis, the Phungulas, and the Madondos. The dominant clans that also constituted the *Dukathole* group were the Mdunges, the Mhlongos and the Nzuzas. The following response helps illustrate this point:

This violence was caused by men who were testing their masculinity. Certain people developed enmity but before this they were all on good terms. They would meet in community gatherings and there would be no problems. They quarrelled over the members of the Mhlongos who had been bullied by the Ntshonas. That's where the division took place. The Zondis and the Madondos made it clear that they were ready to fight the Mhlongos. When they heard this, the Mdunges decided not to be part of the faction called Ntshona. It became clear that the relationship and trust had been broken. This is how the violence started (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that although there were some dominant clans, some people would choose to be in any group they wanted, irrespective of the clan name they belonged to. It was also dependent on the location of the clan. If the majority of neighbours belonged to a different faction, it was compulsory for one to join the faction of the majority. The following response illustrate this point:

It happened that if your surname was Zondi and your house was where the Dukathole's were, then you were considered Dukathole (Participant 25).

The research findings have revealed that there were key differences in the 1980s that separated one group from the other with the potential for violence to emerge. For instance, the *Dukathole* was a physically strong group, with good fighting skills, including stick fighting. In most competitions, they would be victorious. This drew negative attention against the *Dukathole*. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

I will say what I still remember. It all started in a traditional function where there was a stick fighting game. It was stick fighting that precipitated the violence. It started as some people played badly and were violent. That's it all started as far as I remember (Participant 10).

Yes, they were no longer in the same faction. They now belonged to either Ntshona or Dukathole. Our area has a tradition that requires men to carry shields (traditional weapons) when they go to community gatherings or functions. It happened that in a community gathering the Ntshonas would dance for its faction and the Dukatholes would do the same. Even when they went out

to play stick fighting, the Ntshona person would challenge the Dukathole person to play stick fighting with him (Participant 11).

The participants also revealed that some people were not active participants in this violence, but supplied the fighters with resources, money to buy weapons, *intelezi* (muti used in the war) and cover transport costs. The research findings have also revealed that there was much anger from the *Ntshonas*, because the *Dukatholes* had split from them to form their own *faction*. The *Dukathole* became more powerful than *Ntshona* and that made the *Ntshonas* angrier. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

When I learned about our history, everyone was Ntshona, but some people were interested in causing trouble during community gatherings. Some of these trouble makers would target and bully the people whose surname was Mhlongo. Then the Mdunges said 'since you don't show respect to other people who are in the same faction as you, as the Mdunges we decide to step aside until you fix your issues'. Those troublemakers said to them 'You will not do that, we will not allow you to step aside if you don't come back to faction we are going to hit you' I don't want to mention the surnames of those trouble makers. This resulted in a fight, but before the fight the Mdunges had already given themselves the name Dukathole (Participant 11).

5.7 Umhlambi kawuzalusile: A Flock without a shepherd (community without a leader)

This study identified one of the factors that were crucially important, yet under explored, in causes of violence. This factor is the constant change of leadership which can bring about instability in the community. People need a safe place they can go to when problems arise and also if they have issues that need to be resolved. The role of *izinduna* (headmen) is to report to the *inkosi* (chief) of what is happening in his area. The study has revealed that there is a history of changing headmen in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The research findings have revealed that the headman, Mr Dlamini, was not holding this position permanently as he was acting when the first violence happened. Also, the research findings have revealed that the current headman could not answer any questions about the violence since he was new.

The findings reveal that the *inkosi* (chief) was not always available during this violence as his home is situated in Amakhuze in Bulwer, which is far away from eMakhuzeni (Springvale). In a rural context, people tend to feel safe and comfortable if their *inkosi*

(chief) is visible most of the time, in order to stamp his authority among his subjects. As a consequence, they perceived their community as leaderless, without an *inkosi* (chief). They believed that if he was active and enjoyed the loyalty of his community he could have intervened and stopped the violence. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

It's just that another cause of this fight was that inkosi (chief) of that place was not living among his people. He was living in Bulwer which was far away. Maybe if the Inkosi (chief) was living among his people, he would have seen when the disputes began and stopped it before it got worse. Now since the inkosi (chief) was far away, it became difficult for him to come during the fight, because his surname was Dlamini and would be seen as a Dukathole. They would end up killing him (Participant 9).

In tribal communities, family matters are discussed in the family first and if the family cannot resolve the matter, it is then referred to the people called *isiqoqo*²⁸. If the *isiqoqo* cannot resolve the issue, they then take it to the *Induna* (headman), who would forward the matter to the *inkosi* (chief) for a verdict. The following response illustrates this point:

There are many stages involved in solving community cases. There are big cases that involve a family of people with the same surname, and these cases are given to the family first for them to find solutions. If this failed there are people in the community that are called "isiqoqo" who would handle these cases. If isiqoqo is involved, it also invites the neighbours. If isiqoqo can't solve the problem, it then takes it to Induna (headman). Induna (headman) would then involve the community of that area. If it is too much for Induna (headman), he would take that case to inkosi (chief). This is the final stage. The Inkosi (chief) would have the wisdom to see if there has been any injustice and try to find solutions (Participant 29).

5.8 The role of the state

The eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence took place during the 1980s at a time when the apartheid government was in power. The Black-on-Black violence was not a government concern, unless it was posing a threat to its political hegemony. It was a period in which the apartheid state was made to be ungovernable by the

²⁸ *Isiqoqo*, this is a group of people that get appointed to help the community resolve their family issues. They report to the *Induna* (headman) of the area.

disenfranchised Blacks. In response, the apartheid government provided little attention to other forms of violence and committed all its resources to protect itself.

In a small rural village such as eMakhuzeni (Springvale), the apartheid government did not intervene against the violence and neither sent law enforcement agents to stop the violence. Also, other people who died in this violence were killed by the police through incarceration or arrest. The following response helps illustrate this point:

Between 1983 and 1986, there were unpleasant incidents. In 1985 I ended up fleeing the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). That year they gathered for a fight in the area called Mpofini. That's where the police came to stop the fight and they shot my uncle Bhomu Phungula who died on the way to hospital and another man named Gizi Madondo also died there. In summary, the unpleasant events were those in which two people were killed by the police (Participant 25).

I came back to my people to be safe. This was very painful. It still hurts till this day. Many people died during the 1980s some were even killed by the soldiers (Participant 5).

During this time there was no Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID). There were allegations of state involvement through its security structures to fan the flames of violence. To date the involvement of the police and the military soldiers in killing people during the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) has not been investigated or dealt with by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), as this violence was not considered political in nature but considered as rural faction fight. The survivors of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) lost faith in the police as they failed to protect them during the war. The police were authorised to carry weapons, but they have always been blamed for not using those weapons to protect law abiding citizens. They have always been used by the government to make the divide and rule policies to continue entrenching itself. As Sishi (1998) points out, some members of the police had been involved in the killing of people. In the years leading to the first democratic elections, the apartheid regime tried by all means to paralyse the power of the liberation movements.

According to Melkote (1993:1148), there was a revelation by the government-appointed investigative panel “that the South African Defence Forces (SADF) had hired a convicted murderer to lead a covert operation aimed at compromising members of the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) by using

prostitutes, drug dealers and homosexuals”. The apartheid government perpetuated this Black-on-Black violence for a long time, as reflected in Bisho and Boipatong massacres. During the Bisho massacre, ²⁸ African National Congress members were shot and killed by the Ciskei Defence force in 1992 during the protest march, and in the same year, 47 residents were killed during the Boipatong massacre. Those who were in power prior to 1994 were afraid of the majority rule. Their response to the demands of the majority was to tighten their apartheid policies.

As mentioned earlier, in 1985 the state of emergency was introduced in trying to restrict any movements. The survivors suffered in silence for a long time as they did not have any platform to voice their suffering during the violence. Until today the survivors still remind the country not to forget the violence they were subjected to. They want their memories to be kept alive. Most women fled their homes as their lives were in danger. A vast majority of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence victims suffered trauma in silence due to lack of counselling or mental health support. They had to cope with the trauma of the violence itself, loss of loved ones, loss of shelter, and being displaced to new places.

5.9 Poverty in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

The theme of loss income, loss of shelter, family or livestock emerged through these interviews as a negative experience arising from the eMakhuzeni violence. The participants revealed that some had to drop out of schools, because of this violence. Some people's homes were burnt down. Those who fled migrated to areas with barest resources. Men who left their jobs to participate in the violence lost their employment until now. The area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) experienced high levels of poverty during and after this faction fight. The area depended on cash crops but during the faction fight they had to clear their fields and were told not to plant any crops especially mealies, because it was believed that the attacker would hide in those fields. The following response from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

In the 1980s a number of people fled the area. The majority of people starved because they were told not to plant their crops because the attackers would hide in their maize fields..... People planted crops before the thieves existed (Participant 24).

I was working in Durban during the faction fight, but because people were getting attacked even in their place of work I had to resign from my job (Participant 13).

I was working in town, so I did not come into contact with them. I even had to leave my job because of this violence. When they knew where you worked they would come and attack you. I was working for Cream-line at the time. I remember that one person I was working with got attacked and killed at 06:00 hours in the morning due to these targeted attacks (Participant 13).

Most men who were working in town during this violence had to resign from their jobs for their safety, as they were working together with the people with whom they were fighting.

"I left my job because of this violence..... They were attacking people in the cities and my job made me vulnerable as I was delivering goods to the tea rooms.... I thought it was better to come and die where my family was" (Participant 14).

Peoples' houses were burned down which means not only loss of shelter but also everything inside their houses. The following responses help illustrate this point:

My home was the first one to be burnt down. Many houses in the area were being burnt down due to these violent attacks (Participant 23).

Many houses were burnt down. My family home was also one of them (Participant 17).

This violence robbed the participants of their right to education. He was young during this fight, and he had to drop out of school for his safety. Some participants also lost their father who was the primary bread winner at home. The following response point:

He (my father) was Ikopoli (men's leader) for the Dukatholes. He led them after they had broken away from the Ntshonas. I think he was not the Ikopoli (men's leader) when they were still together with the Ntshonas. The Ntshonas had their own ikopoli. The violence started and carried on for a long time until we had to drop out of schools. My father got killed there (Participant 25).

My father died. They killed him in Umlazi (Participant 11).

I lost many relatives including many of my uncles and cousins (Participant 14).

The theme of male dominance and patriarchy in this violence emerges as men engaged in the violence, solely. The majority of the participants revealed that women were not killed during this fight. This was a men's fight. It was revealed that it was only men who died during the fight and male children were also killed during the fight - not women or girls.

5.10 The relationship between the conflict of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and broader political conflict (UDF and IFP)

According to Injobo Nebandla (2005:11), between 1987 and 1990 over two thousand people died as a result of fighting in the Natal Midlands. The conflict, however, had deep political implications and was referred to as an 'unofficial war' by some commentators, a struggle for territorial authority between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (Kentridge, 1990). Pietermaritzburg and its surrounding townships, semi-rural and rural areas become the centre of this conflict. It was only in 1990 that the violence took on more overt political overtones, when people from Nkobheni attacked a home in Magoda belonging to the uncle of Sifiso Nkabinde, who had been one of the key people involved in actively opposing the role played by traditional structures in the area. The majority of men from eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were working in towns and cities in the 1980s, at a time when violence between the United Democratic Front (UDF), the political arm of the African National Congress (ANC) in the country and Inkatha, a political constituency comprising primarily the Zulus, began to escalate.

What connects the fighters of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) with the violence of the cities is that they were hostel dwellers as they did not own houses in the cities or townships. According to Elder (2003), South African hostels, especially in the 1980's, were seen as a major problem within the context of the long-running political violence in South Africa. Hostel violence is said to be fuelling the hostility of hostel residents in the apparent fragmentation of the power structures of families within hostels and scattered rural homes. He says, most of the conflict has been centred on Black communities and the most important factor has been the conflict between hostel residents and members of the surrounding communities. This has often led to some of the most violent incidents South Africa has ever witnessed. The findings of the Goldstone Commission (1991) have indicated that violence between hostel residents and township residents may be a cause for fear of a decline in ancestral authority, not in the hostel, but in connection with rural ancestors.

One of the hostels in KwaZulu-Natal that accommodated migrant workers was Glebelands hostel. These hostels were built during the colonial era. These single-sex hostels

“were built to house many hundreds of thousands of workers in what was defined as ‘white’ areas, especially in cities and on mines and these workers were barred from settling in urban areas with their families through increasingly repressive influx control legislation” (De Haas, 2016:47).

According to Segal (1992), there is a continuation of the rural network that has taken place in hostels and as such immigrants are not left behind in the countryside on their journey to the city. Their knowledge of the countryside was incorporated internally, and their responses to what was happening in the city were firmly determined by fixed values and expectations. Why the rural home is always in the middle of an immigrant’s past? Segal (1992) expressed the importance of attachment to rural areas, which continues for the whole of the urban migrant’s life. Hence, hostel residents expressed their concern about city life. One of the frustrations was the lack of freedom in the city, as they were unable to bring their families to hostels. Also, life was expensive in the city. They also realised that they were not urbanites, as they had feelings of segregation from unions in view of their sense of separation from urban politics. Although the conflict in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had been seen as a faction fight between *Ntshona* and *Dukathole*, any act of violence by the Black communities in the 1980s/1990s was done to make the country ungovernable as a way of fighting the apartheid government. The conflict of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) took place at the time when political parties, especially the African National Congress (ANC, had opposition towards traditional authorities as the chiefs were paid by the KwaZulu homeland. Lack of freedom in all its forms, lack of sense of membership and feeling isolated in the city could be some of the reasons why the eMakhuzeni hostel residents participated in the violence. Hence, identifying with rural issues became part of their pre-occupation with the violence that was unfolding in the eMakhuzeni (Springvale).

On whether there was any connection between the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and those unfolding in the country, most of the participants did know about the political events in the urban areas. Although some were members of these organisations, they believed that there was no connection to the violence in the locality. Some participants intimated that they did not even know anything about politics in those years. They only knew about politics after they had left the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The following responses help illustrate this point:

There were Inkatha and UDF members among us whom we knew as members of “uKhongolose”, but they were not fighting about that (Participant 19).

“Some people were in support of African National Congress (ANC) and some supported Inkatha, but they did not bring those ideas here” (Participant 16).

Therefore, it seems that there was no connection between the political violence (between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and eMakhuzeni violence. The following responses alludes to this:

The first time I heard about politics was when we moved to this area of Jolivet (Participant 20).

There was no politics in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), I only heard about politics here in Jolivet, but in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) we didn't know anything about Inkatha and ANC (Participant 21).

Political violence.... no we were not even aware of it... (Participant 3).

No, political violence had no influence in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). In eMakhuzeni (Springvale) it was just the rural faction fight (Participant 2).

No, political violence of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma started after this eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence (Participant 10).

No, there was no connection. People here didn't know anything about political violence, it was only those who were working in the cities that knew about it (Participant 30).

On the contrary, the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) used traditional weapons in their fights in the past. They used spears, sticks, knobkerries, but during the 1980's violence many had died from gunshot wounds. It was alleged that those men who worked in the cities were exposed to the political conflicts unfolding therein had access to firearms to protect themselves and some anticipated participating in the armed struggle against the apartheid government during this time. The following response illustrate this point:

No, there was no influence. Political violence only played a role in making it easy to access guns (Participant 9).

Therefore, research findings from in-depth interviews have highlighted that the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had no connection to political violence that was taking place all over the country, but particularly between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal. Most studies (Sithole, 1992,

1998, 2009; Clegg, 1979) concluded that the reasons for the faction fights were scarce resources such as land. However, the findings interviews have indicated that this faction fight of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was not because of the shortage of land or other scarce resources, since the land that was abandoned by most of the people has until this day not been occupied.

Although the participants did not remember the number of houses that were burnt down during this violence, they do remember that many houses were indeed burnt. Some of the participants and their relative's homes were burnt as well. The following illustrates this point:

It's a lot, my home was the first one to be burnt. All over the area houses were burning (Participant 23).

A lot of houses were burnt down. My family home was also one of them (Participant 17).

When I got home, the area was full of smoke as they were burning the houses. I started crying because I didn't know where to find my family (Participant 22).

During the violence, it appeared that there were some criminal actions involved as some people lost their livestock through theft.

We had to leave the area, so they came to steal our livestock (Participant 10).

A lot of livestock got stolen (Participant 25).

It was just crime, there was also hunger, and some stole it (livestock) for food (Participant 18).

5.11 Fear of the past recurring

The violence was a traumatic experience for many survivors who wished not to share in the study. It was observed that they tried to block their feelings, as it was painful to share. Some of the survivors were scared that the past might repeat itself. They were reluctant to provide information about this violence, especially when they were asked about the role that they played in the conflict even after being assured that their real names would not be disclosed. Family life during and after the violence changed dramatically for the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), especially those who fled the area and ended up being displaced. Displacement resulted in the breakdown of family and community structures. It resulted in the loss of friendship and an increase in female-headed households. There was also an increase in malnutrition due to poverty

as their breadwinners had died or lost their jobs. Those who remained or stayed in the area also faced depressing moments as some of them witnessed their houses being destroyed or burnt and seen family members being killed. Education of children was disrupted especially boys who had to hide as they risked being killed.

The community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) always lived in fear that they might experience another scourge of violence sometime in the future. What made them live in total peace was the signing of the peace accord by the two *izigodi* (*Ntshona* and *Dukathole*). It was important for the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to sign the peace accord, since both parties involved in the conflict lived with a sense of insecurity. The peace accord provided them with comfort to continue with their lives. In signing the accord, it was acknowledged by the two factions that the violence was senseless and the factions that were involved in the fight needed to live in harmony.

In the interviews a topic of festivals kept on recurring. Most of the violence took place during traditional functions. Traditional functions that occurred in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were *umemulo* (the coming of age), *umshado* (wedding), and *umebuso* (celebration). It was these functions that brought men together. They would leave cities and come to these functions to enjoy the food, socialising, competitions and some would even meet their future wives in these festivals. Christmas time was also another festivity that would bring men from all over the country together. Nowadays the men in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) just spent their time with their families and do not mix with other men.

5.12 Emsindweni (traditional festivities) in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)

Men and women of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) would gather together to celebrate these types of festivities and that was where conflicts and violence usually erupted. Every interviewee mentioned the word *emsindweni* (traditional function). There were so many different cultural functions that such as *umemulo* (the coming of age of a young woman), *umshado* (wedding), and *umebuso* (celebration). Some of these would be discussed briefly.

5.12.1 Umshado (the wedding)

When young men decide to get married, they then send their uncles to his wife to see the parents. They would pay the *lobolo* (bride wealth). Usually, the first stage is the

determination of the *lobolo* price, which varies from family to family. Usually *umbondo* (the sending of gifts) follows after the *lobolo* negotiations. This is a ceremony that takes place before the wedding. After the groom has paid all the *lobolo*, the bride shows her thanks to the groom's family. The bride would invite other young women in the area to accompany her to take gifts to her groom's family. These gifts are carried on their heads, comprising mostly grocery items. Some young men would also accompany these young women. On their arrival they would sing outside the gate and not enter the groom's home until they are welcomed with refreshments. After getting their refreshment they then go into the house they are shown. When the gifts have been received, they are then offered food and drinks. They would not go home until the next day. They would then undertake the ritual of *Umgudlo*, where the young men and women would sing and dance and make jokes the whole night under the supervision of a trusted adult.

Many of these violent occurrences took place when there was some form of community gathering. Some participants remembered that it was during the *umbondo* (the sending of gifts to the groom's house) where violence erupted. When men gather together and there is alcohol consumed there has always been a violent episode. The following response illustrate this point:

The whole community ended up joining in. It ended up being a war between two factions, Ntshona and Dukathole. People fought and we ended up sleeping in the forests. It was during my umbondo (the sending of gifts to the groom's home) that the Dukatholes came to attack one man who had hit another man at this ceremony. Violence started and my brother went out to plead with them to stop so that the ceremony could proceed (Participant 4).

Some participants have intimated that the violent incidents had happened just before the sending of *umbondo* to the Mhlongos. Hence, the bride was from the *Ntshona* faction and was going to be married to a *Dukathole* man. The young women that were invited to accompany the bride to take *umbondo* to the Mhlongos did not show up as they were scared that they might be some violence. The young men who usually accompany young women to *umbondo* could not go to avoid being attacked. The following response illustrates this point:

Angithwalelwanga muntu umbondo wami' there was no one to help me carry the gifts (to my groom's place) (Participant 1).

5.12.4 Ukuthelalana amanzi (making peace with one another)

It is a tradition in African communities, that after conflict people come together to make peace with each other. To show that people have forgiven each other they usually shake hands. The theme of making peace with one another emerged from in-depth interviews as a positive experience. Most of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) agreed that the violence had ended on its own, not because of any negotiations. They believed that the fighters came to the point of realising that this was a senseless fight and that there was no one-sided victory. They acknowledged, however, that there were many failed negotiations in the past.

Some participants felt that some previous discussions may have failed because of the way they were conducted. They pointed out that the key factors that contributed to the issue in the locality were not properly addressed. It was not the signing of a peace agreement that brought peace to eMakhuzeni (Springvale) as it was signed after the violence had passed. This was simply an acknowledgement that the residents of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) now live comfortably in a peaceful environment. The signing of peace agreements was aimed at restoring peace in the area. This happened at a time when the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had a strong desire for peace.

Participants have revealed that they suffered and lost more than they gained from this form of conflict. The signing of the peace accord allowed the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to open a new chapter in life. Bringing back balance, harmony, and social stability amongst the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was what the community long desired. Doing a cleansing ceremony was one of the signs that the village of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was ready to move on with their lives. EMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence involved many deaths. It is believed that if there has been bloodshed, their land needs to be cleansed because of the belief that the spirit of those who died is not at peace. As Mchunu (2013) stated, in Zulu culture, there are ways of understanding war-trauma and people believe that war-related psychological trauma is directly linked with the anger of the spirits of those killed during the violence. Thus, the *Inkosi (chief)* invited people who belonged to the *Ntshonas* and those who belonged to *Dukathole*, during the 1980s to come together. The following illustrates this point:

What I noticed is that in an area where violence, deaths and bloodshed had taken place, it takes a while to have complete peace. From time to time the clashes do take place. I am saying this because after bloodshed some rituals need to be performed. I am saying this because after the Ntshona and Dukathole faction fought, there was another fight that followed, which involved the Shoba clan and the Zuma clan. There were some killings involved (Participant 28).

Hence a form of cleansing ceremony needed to be performed and people wanted to make peace and reconcile with one another. The people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) believed that in their area, there was ill-health that was caused by the effects of the angry spirits of people who were wrongfully killed. If the peace was not made, the community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was at high risk for emotional distress, even among individuals not directly involved in the violent confrontation. Participant 21, grew up in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and now a journalist, helped facilitate the process of the peace negotiations, shared the following:

There was concern that after this senseless fighting, let's now make peace. We needed to heal each other's wounds. We needed to make peace officially, then there were men on both sides from Dukathole and Ntshona that I will mention, from the Ntshona side it was Mr Zondi and the other Mr Zondi who were leading the Ntshonas, and from the Dukathole side Mr Mdunge and some other men from the Mhlongos that agreed that peace must be made. They then asked me to lead the process. I had to communicate with Inkosi. At that time there was no Inkosi in eMakhuzeni (Springvale), and our challenge was that who was going to call imbizo (official meeting) when there was no Inkosi. Fortunately, the Inkosi was appointed. We then all went to Inkosi at that time, and we explained to him that we needed to do an Imbizo. We had many meetings and the date for the official cleansing ceremony was announced. It took place in November 2018, where we agreed that the fight was now formally and officially over. We signed a peace accord that I had drafted. We agreed that there will be no fighting again. Both Ntshona and Dukathole signed. Those who signed were the representatives of both Ntshona and Dukathole. They agreed on the following: that they will make sure that peace is always maintained; that if anyone causes any disturbances, the committee members will meet and deal with it; that this was not going to be a short-term committee, so was called Amakhuze Peace Committee and if any problems arise, the committee will meet to sort things out. We then signed. The committee still exists to this day. It was in November 2018 when we signed this peace accord, you will get a copy (Participant 21).

On the day of the cleansing ceremony, the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had to go to the river. Water has an important role to play in the indigenous religious practices

as in many other religions (Govender, 2001). In Christianity, water is used for baptism and in the African culture water is used for cleansing. The following responses helps illustrate this point:

By the way, when we met, we went to wash in the river. We asked the Nazareth Baptist Church to perform this ritual. We did not want to involve any traditional healers. We were all told to go to the river, and we were given the water by the church leader, we poured water on one another's heads. We washed at Mntungwane River, where we performed this ritual. There were two goats that were slaughtered. We were told to slaughter two goats, one from each of the two factions. Five cows were slaughtered in the hall, one from each faction. Three cows were brought by Inkosi (chief) to make them five. It was a big ceremony. We washed one another and ate together which was a sign that we had made peace. Since then (it's been 2 years now), we haven't heard that there has been any clashes in the village (Participant 21).

Figure 5.1: An image of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) preparing to cleanse themselves in the river



Source: Daily Sun 06 November 2018

The Peace Accord that was signed reads:

"Peace agreement between the Dukathole and Ntshona. We as Dukathole and Ntshona factions hereby under oath, in the presence of Inkosi (chief) A.B. Dlamini of Amakhuze Traditional Council, Highflats Police Station LT. Col. Nguse and everyone present at this cleansing ceremony today undertake to sign this peace agreement as a way of committing our factions to forever strive for peace in our village. We pledge and commit ourselves to maintain and

protect this peace accord. As signatories representing our factions, we pledge to report to law enforcement agencies anyone who may directly or indirectly violate this peace agreement. (We would like to state that the content of the agreement has been explained to us in the language we understand, and we were under no duress when we sign)

Signed at eMakhuzeni (Springvale) on 04 November 2018”

The Peace Accord was signed as a sign of reconciliation so that even the young generation would know that there are no grudges are held by any group that was once at loggerheads in the past. The cleansing ceremony represented a symbol of community reconciliation and the land that was contaminated by bloodshed was cleansed. In other communities the cleansing ritual is conducted by a traditional healer (who usually uses *muti* to cleanse the people). The people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) decided to involve the church and cleanse with water only instead of *muti*. The ritual was conducted by an evangelist from Ebuhleni Nazareth Baptist Church, who bathed them with water (Daily Sun, 06 November 2018). In the Bible washing in the river means that water can get rid of the diseases, and it purifies you. The Bible in 2 Kings 5:10, tells us about Naaman who a commander of the Army of the King of Aram had leprosy. He was instructed by the prophet to go to the river to wash himself saying: “Go wash yourself seven times in the Jordan and your flesh will be restored and you will be cleansed”. Similar practices are also observed amongst the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) clans who follow in part the African Traditional Religion and Christianity together.



Figure 5.2 Image of amabutho being addressed by the evangelist of Ebuhleni Baptist Church

Source: Photo taken by N. Dlamini (supplied by W. Phungula)



Figure 5.3 Image of amabutho shaking hands during the cleansing ceremony.

Source: Photo taken by N. Dlamini (supplied by W. Phungula)

Although the majority of people who fled the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) did not attend the Cleansing Ceremony they were made aware of it and were happy that it did take place. The following responses help illustrate this point:

People came together to make a peace accord with one another, because now even the young generation was starting to cause trouble asking about how their fathers died and wanting to start the violence again (Participant 9).

Those who stayed in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were very brave. But it had ended now, there is peace now. Reconciliation has taken place; reconciliation ritual has been performed and we believe that violence will never take place again (Participant 26).

As far as I know... I heard that the amakhosi came and asked the people to make peace with one another (Participant 3).

When I say to you let bygones be bygones, I really mean it. Now we had even made a peace treaty. We met and shook hands with those whom we were fighting. The fighting is really over. If there can be any other violence again, be sure that it would not be connected to the one we were talking about (Participant 11).

It ended on its own. Towards the end they were attacking people when the victims were not aware they would be attacked (in other words, when they didn't have their defending weapons). It only lasted a year, after which the Inkosi (chief) came to perform some cleansing ritual, where an animal was slaughtered as a symbol that people have made peace (Participant 5).

The majority of the people who left eMakhuzeni (Springvale) during and after the violence have moved on with their lives. They are no longer interested in what is happening in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) anymore. This explains why the reconciliation meeting was poorly attended. The following response attests to this point:

The meeting for reconciliation was called recently but we did not go. A young man, from the Phungulas did call a meeting asking people to reconcile formally. Inkosi (chief) was also there, but it was not well-attended (Participant 20).

5.13 The impact of violence

A community that has experienced violence always finds it hard to start all over again. Violence has a negative impact in the lives of everyone. Schooling is interrupted, the economy suffers, and health care disturbed and basic service delivery fails. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale), there were so many losses suffered by the survivors including loss of friends, family break up, loss of shelter and more. Displacement due

to violence brings about many hardships. It breaks down social networks, loss of resources to sustain a living and social disorganisation. Those who remain would have to start their livelihood all over again. A few of the impact of the violence is presented in subsequent sub-sections.

5.13.1 Lack of resources and service delivery

Lack of resources and service delivery emerged as another important theme in the interviews. The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) happened during the apartheid period when there was no service delivery in places where Africans lived, especially in the rural areas. People should have equal access and division of resources and social services but unfortunately in South Africa that is not the case, particularly in rural areas and disadvantaged areas. Due to South Africa's history with the unequal distribution of resources, the government has struggled to give access to quality services such as education and health care particularly in rural areas and disadvantaged areas in comparison to cities and suburbs (Giese, 2007). Resources include access to basic human needs including clean water, shelter, and other daily needs whereas social services refer to services delivered mainly by the government but can also come from non-profit organisations and volunteers as a measure of intervention such as healthcare and education (Giese, 2007). The following responses illustrate the point that eMakhuzeni (Springvale) lacked basic needs: The following responses from in-depth interviews help illustrate this point:

There was no development, we were fetching water from the river, collected wood from the forest, and there was some development just before the second fight started because there was enough transport (taxis)..... (Participant 19).

It was the area that was behind in terms of development, water was not enough (Participant 20).

The lifestyle... Life was nice, but not enough schools, one was built out of mud, but life was good before the violence started. We were gardening and wood was free, we were fetching it from the forests. Life was good before violence (Participant 7).

No... it was not a rich area, there was no service delivery. Areas owned by farmers were even better than the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). It was dry even if you planted crops you wouldn't get good harvest (Participant 4).

When you compare the previous eMakhuzeni (Springvale) to what it is now, it was a poor area, but our parents were farming. There was no service delivery. Water would be fetched from small rivers (Participant 2).

There was no service delivery, there was one school called Ludliki, which was poorly built because it was made of mud. Another school was Springvale where I also went to. This one was well built. There was also Sisisizwe High School. But there was no development in the area because we didn't even have shops until a man came up with an idea of building a shop to try and help people not to walk the long distance to a single shop called KwaVeni (Participant 27).

EMakhuzeni (Springvale) was a good area, but there was no service delivery. It was a rural area where people managed to live without any service delivery. They (people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)) survived on farming and the violence brought this to an end (Participant 9).

5.13.2 Gender role

The community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) has always been characterised by gender division. Research findings from in-depth interviews have revealed that there were roles for women only and roles for men only. Life was not easy during and after the violence. As alluded to earlier, most of them had to leave/ resign from their jobs as they were scared of their lives. Since rural areas have no jobs, most men were unemployed and unable to support their families. They also continued to face challenges on lack of resources, such as water. Living standards were very low and families faced hunger and starvation after the violence. The following response from helps illustrate this point:

Kwakunzima sasibheka ucadolo emasimini sigoqoze naleyo mpushana zidle izingane. 'Life was tough, I would go to the field to get some blackjack (wild spinach) and mix it with some mealie meal and feed my children (Participant 7).

The majority of the people who fled eMakhuzeni (Springvale) during the violence went to Jolivet and some to Hlokozi and other places in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Those who finally received land to build their new houses were faced with a challenge, as they were allocated small pieces of land which were not adequate for farming. The findings from in-depth interviews revealed that, although they were sad that they left their area of origin, they were happy especially women as the areas they fled to during the violence were better developed than eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in respect to service

delivery. The majority of men who fled from eMakhuzeni (Springvale) still miss the area as it was their area of birth.

The majority of people who were displaced by the violence were mostly of the *Ntshona* faction. The families of those men who resigned from their jobs had become considerably poorer and they had to find a new place to live, find money to build a new home and feed themselves. In eMakhuzeni (Springvale) most people owned fields for farming before the violence, but in the newly found community they did not have this asset to work on to sustain a living.

The majority of people in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were not educated during the violence. They only finished their primary school education and sought employment. The only jobs available in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were to be farm workers in the nearby white-owned farms. Low pays and the seasonal nature of agriculture had a negative impact on their livelihood. They had to leave eMakhuzeni (Springvale) for the urban areas in search of better employment prospect. Given the expertise acquired in cattle farming and the commercial agricultural sector, especially the expertise acquired on dairy farms, it was not surprising that most of them looked for employment in dairy factories in the urban centres. In the urban centres they maintained their solidarity and identity, because of their common work environment. This contact with their kith and kin in the urban centres helped them mobilise themselves during the internecine violence in the 1980s. The majority of men in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) received no formal education. A few who did go to school dropped out at primary level and did not progress to the secondary level.

As most people migrated to the cities, there were many 'faction fights' that were caused by scarcity of resources. As Christensen (1988) suggests, they were exacerbated by the poor economic climate prevailing in the early 1980s and that some of them resulted from longstanding feuds, theft and tribal disputes. It was not only the *Ntshonas* but other people who did not belong to any of the *isigodi* (faction), who experienced the instability of the area, also fled. This means that, those who had small businesses lost many customers. Those who were in the taxi industry lost passengers and those who had shops lost customers.

Therefore, like any rural area during the apartheid years, eMakhuzeni (Springvale) lacked resources. When the democratic government took over, it proposed plans for developing poor areas. Although the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) is only starting to receive basic services, it is still behind compared to the neighbouring areas that have not experienced violence. The following response helps illustrate this point:

This area had so many people, when it comes to service delivery. The government look at the number of people. You see, the Zondis, the Phungulas, the Madondos, the Khathis and others were the people who fled eMukhuzeni because of violence. If these people hadn't left this area I am sure it would have been well-developed. It is the population that determines the amount of budget from the government. You see that our area is underdeveloped because our population is small. When people left the area we were left with the small number of people, even though we try to develop it. We are behind compared to other areas that have bigger population. You see it took us a long time to have electricity in the area. It was introduced to our area only last year (Participant 28).

This violence seriously affected education and the workforce as a whole. Those who were working in towns resigned from their jobs, as they felt that their lives were in danger. This resulted in considerable loss of potential earnings, which affected both the workers and their families. After the violence some of them migrated to other parts of the province instead of returning to Durban. The violence together with the loss of earnings and the responsibility towards family, undoubtedly placed severe strain on the men of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), considering the patriarchal structure of African communities. The following response attestst to this point:

The situation was tense. My husband also left and resigned from his job. His brother inlaw, who was from another isigodi (faction), said to him; 'I know that you are not part of the fighting, but I overheard that my isigodi (faction) is coming to KK (hostel in Clermont) to kill the Zondis. They are coming to kill everyone who is associated with the Ntshona whether that person is part of the fight or not as long is associated with Ntshona (Participant 7).

After most of the people had left the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), those who remained did not experience social stability. Women who stayed continued to fetch water from far away streams and collected firewood from far away forests. The only clinic they now have was only built in the 1990s. They are still using the police stations

that are in Ixopo or Highflat if they needed to report crime or open cases. Those who fled from eMakhuzeni (Springvale) also did not have an easy life, as they had to start their lives over again. Some of the people who fled from eMakhuzeni (Springvale), lived with relatives for a short time, while they were looking for a place to build a home.

As up to this day, the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) has no shopping mall or shopping centre, post offices and banks. The elderly is forced to travel in taxis at the end of each month to collect their government grants from the banks that are either in Ixopo or Richmond. Although there are development plans for the area, the progress is slow, because of the low population density. The following response illustrates this point:

We do have a road. We have water, although the scheme has some challenges, but people don't fetch water from Qobela like before. There is no one who has to queue for water at 2 in the morning. There is a water scheme, and the water trucks deliver water. We also have sanitation. We have toilets and community halls. I'm sure you saw the halls on your way here. But I want to emphasise that if the number of people was satisfactory there was going to be a demand for what is called "Boxer Punch" where you find mini-Boxer shops. These are not malls, but shopping centres like in Jolivet. Jolivet benefitted because most people who are there were from this area. In meetings with other ward councilors, I always mention that one day I will bring back the people to my (their) area. We are trying our best. We have plans of collaborating with other wards so that we can have some sort of a shopping centre. We do want to have ATMs and other things close by (Participant 28).

Figure 5.4: The image below is one of the halls that has been built in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)



Source: Photo supplied by Mr N. M. Mdunge

5.15 Conclusion

This chapter presented the analysis and interpretation of data. The chapter has further illuminated central themes upon which the causes of the violence have been analysed. The chapter begins with the introduction that is followed by the narratives of both men and men of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The role of the inkosi in his community was examined and illustrates that the community was leaderless for many years lacking in any form of social organisation that kept the different tribes and clans separate. In this chapter, the role of the state during the violence is also covered. Poverty came up as one of the themes that are very important in understanding the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) community. This chapter also covers the role of women in the violence and the long history of tensions in the community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) that led to the violence. Survivors of the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) voiced in this chapter that they fear that history might repeat itself. Whether the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was connected to the broader political conflict between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and UDF has been examined. This chapter also covers the cultural activities that brought people together and inadvertently lead to violent conflicts during these encounters. Signing of a peace accord between the *Ntshona* and *Dukathole* to restore peace in the study locality has been examined. The aftermath of the violence and its effects on the lives of people who lived in the area and those displaced is discussed. The current state of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in terms of service delivery is also included in this chapter in order to ascertain as to whether there has been improvements in the quality of life of those victims of either returned to the locality or remained during the period of the violence. Competition and masculinity amongst men and the impact this had on the fanning the flames of violence has also been examined.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter which marks the end of the study. This chapter contains a summary of the study, the argument, and the contributions of the study, the limitation of the study and an outline of implications for further research.

The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) took place in 1983 and during this time all attention was focussed on political violence that was taking place all over the country, especially in the townships. There was no attention paid to the rural area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). This study serves as a voice of the voiceless as it presents the narratives of the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) about the violence of 1983. One man who is now in his late seventies was so happy to hear that my study was about this violence. He even said to me “*Woza, ndodakazi ngikutshela ngomlando wethu*” (Come my daughter; let me tell you all about our history). The study has revealed that although the violence occurred at a time when there was internecine political violence for liberation, to some extent this had influenced the nature of the violence, but there is no concrete evidence to suggest that it was politically motivated. This chapter presents a summary of the main findings, limitations of the study and a conclusion.

6.2 Summary of the main research findings

All participants claim that the cause of the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) was over a woman. Some participants pointed out that the fight over a woman was just a scapegoat as the *izigodi* (factions) that were involved in the fight had old grudges that developed during the first fight of the 1960s that brought about the division of the *Ntshona* faction. The two men (Mr P and Mr N) were just fighting over a woman without realising that the centre of all violence lies in the existing tensions between groups or individuals and the consequence of violence may be that the intended target is missed and therefore violence imposed can almost backfire and make matters worse. That is exactly what happened in eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Two men’s fight led to the death

of so many people, destruction of buildings and property and the loss of jobs. People tend to act on their emotions and therefore violence tends to be fuelled and driven by irrational anger and dissatisfaction, acting out without the thought of the repercussions (Collins, 2009).

The main aim of the study was to find out if there was any connection between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), despite the findings that people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were surrounded by political violence from neighbouring areas such as Richmond. Men who were working in the cities were exposed to violence. Although the participants denied the involvement of political violence that was taking place in the whole country during this time, those who were working in towns and cities mentioned that they belonged to different political parties but did not disclose their affiliation to anyone. It seems surprising that most participants mentioned that they knew nothing about political organizations while the demography of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) shows that it is just 43 kilometres away from Richmond where political violence of the 1980s/1990s claimed many lives.

The narratives have indicated that this violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) caused untold harm to families and the different tribal communities. As indicated earlier violence is the physical act of imposing harm against an individual or group of people either directly imposing harm to them or indirect violence and damage to property. Violence can be caused by many reasons, and it can exist in different forms (Collins, 2009). Different issues motivate violence, and these motives include a protest sparked by inequalities, an effort by civilians to demand the government's attention on a specific matter, like the division of resources such as land or wealth. The violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) had its roots in community resentments or grudges rooted in past conflicts that spiralled into violence. The narratives revealed that the formation of the *Dukathole* clan which broke away from the *Ntshona* created these tensions. Although all participants point to Mr P and Mr N as the cause of the fight, those who witnessed both violence of the 1960s and the 1980s agreed that Mr N and Mr P were like scapegoats as these fighters were avenging the past.

Hence, it can be said that the causes of violence can be grouped into socio-demographic causes, political causes, socio-economical causes, and social causes (Collins, 2009), and all these can be regarded as factors of violence alongside other

factors that aid violence and determine the extent to which the violence will present itself such as alliances, existing dictatorships, the number of people involved, or the size of the group involved or supporting the violence. Therefore, it's a power battle and in many violent situations it is believed that there is power in numbers as it displays physical strength.

The use of different tactics is usually implemented during times of violence such as instilling fear in people, modes of propaganda and exploitation or rallying together to increase opposing power through the number of individuals involved. The participants indicated that those who could not participate in the actual fighting had to make some contributions such as money that was used to buy weapons, pay transport costs for those who were involved in the actual fight and to buy intelezi²⁹.

Participants highlighted that this senseless fight caused untold damage to their lives, despite the reconciliation that had taken place. The psychological effects of this violence continue to fester amongst the survivors of the violence. Moreover, the physical damage and loss sustained to personal property and effects made many unable to recover despite the violence unfolding three decades ago. Given that the locality has been under-developed due to apartheid policies, those that remained in the locality experience persistent levels of poverty continuing into the post-apartheid era. Those that were displaced were in a state of destitution with their homes lost, physical assets destroyed, loss of employment, disturbance in education. At a social level, family and kin relationships were severed and an aura of fear presented itself as they were anxious of being tracked and murdered.

All conflicts, violence or unrest come to an end due to people being tired of the constant state of unrest or the people's needs being met. Therefore, at the end of the conflict, there must be efforts for reconciliation and healing. Participants indicated that they have reconciled with one another. At a broader level, South Africa still struggles with the repercussions of violent historical events and it will take a long time for the country to get over these underlying causes such as existing inequalities and unfair divisions of resources such as land, wealth, access to good health care and education.

²⁹ Intelezi is traditional muti that is used by the fighters to give them strength

The study suggests that festivities and important cultural events were used as an occasion for avenging grudges of the past. Participants revealed that in every gathering some form of fighting took place. The findings also suggest that survivors of this violence had limited knowledge and comprehension of politics as many of them revealed that they only heard about politics in the areas where they moved to after moving away from eMakhuzeni (Springvale).

Participants expressed that they enjoyed competitions during festivities especially when they were watching men competing in the dance. Narratives from most of the participants indicate that the cultural display of masculinity was not exercised in keeping with tradition as these gatherings often concluded with some form of violence. Although the victims enjoyed gatherings such as *umshado* (weddings), *umemulo* (girls coming of age) and other forms of festivities, these gatherings were super spreaders of violence as it marred the spirit of these festivities.

Some participants expressed their concerns about the lack of constant visibility of their *amakhosi* and *izinduna* during the violence. The institution of traditional leaders has been manipulated and doctored to serve the needs of colonial and apartheid capitalist needs. The legitimacy of traditional leaders continues to be a political debate in the post-apartheid South Africa. Notwithstanding the manipulation of this institution most indigenous Africans perceive traditional leaders as part of their social fabric and organisation. They are trusted by their tribes and their tribes believe that traditional leaders provide a link between their ancestors and their tribal community. Traditional leaders provide leadership, social control and preside over tribal concerns for social stability (Teffo-Menziwa, Mullick, and Dlamini, 2010: 1). The findings reveal that the survivors of the violence had high expectations from their traditional leaders and believed that they could have prevented or stopped the violence. *Amakhosi* (chiefs) and *izinduna* (headmen) are influential agents of their tribes, hence their stand as they protect cultural values, serve as a symbol of unity and protectors of their tribes' welfare. Working closely with their community to bring order during the violence was what the people yearned for in the study. In the absence of adequate law enforcement in the locality, the communities experienced double blow as they felt unprotected both by their traditional leader and the apartheid states security apparatus.

The narratives suggest that the violence started in 1983 and was at its peak in 1985 and started to subside in 1986. Many people had already fled the area by this time and those who stayed, a vast majority were left without any source of income. Many people who were at the forefront of leading this violence died leaving behind single women and children (mostly females) resulting in the emergence of single parent households. The gender dimension of participation in the violence by women through various forms of support accorded to their male counterparts engaged in the conflict suggests the important role women play in times of conflict. Women, just like their male counterparts in the violence participated in different forms to protect themselves, their family and their property. In the absence of the male breadwinner, the economic hardship that befell these communities were enormous, with women and children facing the full negative impact of the violence.

Participants displaced by the violence revealed that the areas they moved to have been more developed than the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and therefore did not contemplate resettling in the locality. The findings show that, although there is some form of service delivery in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) it is slow. Findings indicated that some survivors of the violence managed to rebuild their house, but they were the sole providers for their families and since some of them did not return to their place of work, their families faced severe economic hardships.

The study highlights that within tribal groups, it is characterised by a high sense of solidarity and social cohesion. Those that participated in the violence believed their tribal position to engage in the conflict was a just cause even if they had to sacrifice their lives. This solidarity, even though atrocious, suggests that traditional systems of social organisation although at times in conflict with modern cultures, is endemic in African cultures. Even those belonging to the conflicting tribes did not wish to participate in the fight, were impressed upon to engage to express their allegiance to the tribe or risk ostracism.

The patriarchal structure of the warring tribal groups suggests that male socialisation revolves around masculinity issues which is entrenched in aggressive recreational activities. Stick fighting becomes a marker of masculinity and time immemorial this sport has become entrenched in African culture. The early exposure to stick fighting legitimates aggressive behaviour which denotes manhood in the African culture.

Considering that this violence occurred at a time when South Africa was gripped by intense political conflict, youth were the vanguard of the liberation struggle. To some extent, the study highlights that migrant youth from the locality were exposed to political conscientisation in the urban centres. Although the study is not conclusive on the level of political conscientisation, it to some extent fuelled militancy amongst the youth in the violence. This assertion is made in the context that political conscientisation was virtually non-existent in the locality and it was young males who went to the urban centres in search of employment were exposed to liberation politics. Considering, that many young migrants to urban centres lived in ethnically defined hostels, which is notorious for its deviant sub-cultures, may have been a covert factor that precipitated youth aggressiveness in the violence.

The violence was capitalised by criminal elements who looted the property and belongings of the victims. Apart from looting, homesteads were razed to the ground and violent atrocities such as necklacing (placing a tyre on the victim's body and setting it alight) was perpetrated.

The community settled to peace and harmony only in 2018 through the signing of the Peace Accord more than thirty years after the event. This suggests that although the violence ended in 1986 the deep scars left by the violence was long drawn before the victims could find closure. This may have been partly delayed due to the lack of leadership structures in the community which if present, could have facilitated peaceful settlements between the warring factions much earlier.

The lack of intervention from the apartheid government's security apparatus is indicative of indifference to violence when manifested between and amongst Black on Blacks. Pre-occupation with political violence in the urban centres led to the neglect of rural violence which was most notable in KwaZulu-Natal between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

6.3 Limitations of the current research

Like any other studies that rely on oral account or interviews, it has its own limitation. There are some limitations to collecting oral history because people may forget details, especially if they are elderly. This violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) happened 37 years ago and some people may have not vividly remembered the important details of

the violence. Although the limitations of the study may weaken the conclusions derived, the study offers important insights that may be useful in guiding future policymaking and research.

The challenge in oral history is that although the participants respond verbally, there are often expressions that involve the unspoken words. As Fujii (2010) argued, the value of oral testimonies that researchers collect in places that have recently suffered violence does not lie solely in the truthfulness of their content, it also lies in the meta-data that accompany the testimonies. These are the spoken and unspoken expressions of participants in a study whose thoughts and feelings, do not always articulate in their stories. These meta-data may include rumours, silences, and made-up stories. Usually, traumatic experiences make people filter and interpret their memories, and construct their narratives. As Buyer (2008) argued, traumatic events are a combination of the actual occurrence and the subjective interpretation by the victim. They are frequently narrated in a different way from the rest of the narrative.

The snowballing method was used to access participants for the study. In a snowballing sampling procedure an individual participant is identified, and additional participants are then obtained from information provided by the initial respondent (Struwig and Stead, 2001; Kagee, 2004). Although potential respondents were approached, when asked as to whether they knew anything about the violence they responded positively. However, later they were told that their stories will be tape-recorded, and they refused to participate. Although this may appear as a limitation, it states something important about the refusal to be recorded for the study. They perhaps may have felt fear and intimidation if they were readily identified through the interviews. Although they were made aware that the information provided was only going to be used for the study, some of them felt that one day this might be used in a police investigation into the deaths of their family members and this information would be used against them. In addition, the fact that one of the causes of the violence was that old grudges or tensions that took place during their forefather's time made the people fear ("the what if's") that this may become a grotesque reminder for the present generation who may want to go back in history. These anxieties were respected and where possible, other issues in the research locality were discussed.

6.4 Conclusions

There were various factors that led to the internecine violence, which include competition, power, women related issues and revenge. These factors led to the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). The narratives have revealed the following major findings:

Most of the interviewees placed Mr P and Mr N on the centre of the violence. Based on evidence from the people who experienced both conflicts of the 1960s and the 1980s, it may be concluded that the long-standing tensions of the past (of the 1960s) led to the violence of the 1980s. The breakaway of a group of men from *Ntshona* to form their isigodi (*Dukathole*) did not go down well with the *Ntshona*. The narratives revealed that although the formation of izigodi depended largely on certain surnames and where one homestead was situated, cross interaction through marriages made it difficult to choose the association with the group. Although this was seen as a “men’s war” women played a huge role in shaping the development of their households and their communities. They were there to protect their children, livestock and homes. The narratives revealed that although women and children were not killed, due to the unavailability of men, young boys were recruited to participate in the violence.

The traditional festivities such as umemulo, ukubuyisa, umshado were created to serve the entertainment and cultural purpose of the tribal community but only ended up serving the patriarchal interests of tribes, as this is where men tested their masculinity in the form of stick fighting and dancing competitions.

The main aim of this study was to find out if there was any relationship in the political violence that gripped the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s between the African National Congress (ANC) aligned United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The narratives rejected the idea that there was any connection between the two and saw it as a coincidence. The interviewees distance themselves from any association with political organisations. Most women mentioned that they did not know anything about political organisations and claimed that they only heard about political organisations in the 1990s.

Notwithstanding the claimed political naivety in the study locality, there are indications that Inkatha political ideology permeated school syllabuses. This study points out that

Ubuntu-Botho (the non-examinable subject) that promoted Inkatha's ideology was compulsory in schools under the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) introduced in 1979. The schools in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) were under the DEC. This reveals that there was political conscientisation based on ethnic ideology of the Inkatha. Also, the weapons such as guns that reached eMakhuzeni (Springvale) in the 1980s were coming from the people who were fighting in the political violence in the townships and cities. Men mentioned that they knew about the political violence that was taking place in the cities but they deny any connection between the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and the political violence of the 1980s in the townships.

Although the narratives of the participants see no connection between the political violence and this violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), after studying the period of the 1980s when violence was internecine, one may conclude this may have spread to the research locality. The 1980s was a time where Black South Africans were making sure that the country is ungovernable in the hands of the apartheid government. The fact is that even though the political parties themselves were fighting the apartheid government policies, they did not directly fight with the White minority but witnessed a scourge of Black-on-Black violence. In most rural areas such as eMakhuzeni (Springvale) there were no government structures near them and even the schools they had were schools that the community had built by their own hands.

The *Ntshona* group was the first one to leave the area to start their lives all over again in neighbouring communities. It was not only the people who were involved in the fight who left the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) area, but there were those who were not part of the fight who left because they feared for their lives as they saw this social disorganisation in the community because of the violence. The consequences of the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) violence were devastating, having a negative impact on the entire community. The people in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) fled from the area, resulting in low population densities. Those who remained behind comprised a small population making public investment in service delivery unviable as the tax base was low.

This study has responded to rural violence from a historical perspective and its contributory factors. It contributes to the spectrum of rural violence in the ongoing democracy in South Africa, from a historical perspective for future research. It adds to regional histories and contributes to the historiography of rural conflicts and political

violence. It also assists in understanding the link between memory and liberation narratives as an alternate methodological tool in South African historiography. The study attempted to examine the relationships between rural violence and the apartheid political conflict of the 1980s. Relative Deprivation (RD) theory by Ted Gurr was used in this study. Gurr's relative deprivation expresses the incongruity between the "ought and is" and this gap induced frustration which disposes mankind to violence. Therefore, the occurrence of hostile behaviours due to deprivation (political, social and economic) presupposes the presence of frustration among the men in eMakhuzeni (Springvale).

6.5 Recommendations

Violent conflict in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) has taken place twice, in the 1960s and again in the 1980s. To avoid another occurrence in the future, it is recommended that the following strategies be adopted: there must be an establishment of forums where men especially young boys could be guided on how to achieve their goals without using aggression. The involvement of young men in forums must receive attention. This should involve constructive programmes that enable young people to envision a bright future for themselves without violence. As the country is currently in lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic, one hears about a high rate of violence, especially domestic violence against women and children. Men's forums are important in shaping and teaching young men to be good citizens. There is a need for forums that would allow for specific needs, fears and aspirations to be addressed.

There are several projects in KwaZulu-Natal that focus on providing trauma counselling in communities seriously affected by political violence. Unfortunately, the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) residents would not benefit from such a programme as their violent experience is not viewed as political violence. Another challenge is that these initiatives tend to work with small groups of people and are unable to reach a wider audience. This is a significant drawback in situations where so many people are affected. Usually, when there is violence many victims and perpetrators are likely to be affected by the lingering psychological effects of that violence, including post-traumatic stress disorder.

Violence had a negative impact by further impoverishing the community of eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Given the underdevelopment of the area, there is a need for encouraging investment in the area. These should be complemented with the introduction of long-term income-generating and job creation projects that aim to develop eMakhuzeni (Springvale). Development initiatives need to be undertaken sensitively to avoid re-igniting historical hostilities. Violence has had a deep impact on the people of eMakhuzeni (Springvale), leaving a legacy of serious trauma in the community. Trauma does not only hinder initiatives to build trust among the different factions in the community but can also disrupt projects and development processes planned for the area. This research on the violence of eMakhuzeni (Springvale) has highlighted that local factors need to be understood and addressed to ensure the successful maintenance of peace in the community.

There is also a need to ensure that economic reconstruction and development happens and the involvement of other sectoral interests such as church, business, women and youth groupings and civics are included. The Peace Committee that was established during the peace accord time needs to stay active and visible to the people to make it easy for the people to report any minor conflicts among themselves before they escalate to major violence.

Recreation centres need to be built in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) for the youth so that they would participate in positive youth development programmes that would advance their lives through sport which promote healthy development to adulthood. There is a need to speed up service delivery as research suggests that violence in a community that is faced with poverty is most susceptible. Traditional leadership need to work hand in hand with the councillors in the area. Leaders of the community need to be always visible in their community by engaging with them about their well-being.

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Interviews:

The interviews were conducted in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and Jolivet where the majority of interviews lived. Ninety nine percent of the interviewees were interviewed in the comfort of their home as requested except for Induna who had to rush to town on the day of the interview and requested that he interviewed in town. The initials of participants are not written to honour the promise that was made to the participants that their names will not appear on this research. Since the majority of them have the same surname numbers have been written after their surname so show that it is a different participant.

Interview with Mrs Mhlongo 1 (Ntshona): A mid 70-year woman who was a Ntshona member before she got married to the Dukathole family. She had completed primary school education. (She was interviewed on 5 April 2019)

Interview with Mrs Zondi 1 and her daughter (Ms Zondi) (Ntshona): Mrs Zondi is a women who is in her early 80s, she requested the presence of her daughter who is in her 50s. Mrs Zondi was now experiencing memory challenges especially at remembering the names and the daughter was there to help. Both Mrs Zondi and her daughter had completed primary school education. (The interview was conducted on 5 April 2019).

Interview with Mrs Zondi 2 (Ntshona): A woman in her late 60s. She completed her primary school education. (She was interviewed on 5 April 2019)

Interview with Mrs Mdunge 1 (Dukathole): A woman in her late 50s. She completed her primary school education. (She was interviewed on 5 April 2019).

Interview with Mrs Zondi 3 (Ntshona): A woman in her early 60s. She completed her primary school education. (She was interviewed on 5 April 2019).

Interview with Mr Zondi 1 (Ntshona): A man in his early 70s. He completed his primary school education. (He was interviewed on 4 April 2019).

Interview with Mrs Sithole 1 (Ntshona member before she got married interview): A woman in her late 50s. She completed her secondary school education) (She was interviewed on 6 April 2019).

Interview with Mrs Zondi 4 (Ntshona): A woman in her late 60s with primary school education. (She was interviewed on 6 April 2019).

Interview with Mr Ngubo 1 (Ntshona) (his close family belongs to both factions): A man in his late 50s, has completed his primary school education. (He was interviewed on 6 April 2019).

Interview with Mr Madondo 1 (Ntshona): A man in his mid-50s. He completed his primary school education) (He was interviewed on 6 April 2019).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 1 (Dukathole): A man in his 80s. He completed his primary school education) (he was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mrs Shoba (Ntshona before got married): She completed her primary school education. (She was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 2 (Dukathole): A man in his 60s. He completed his primary school education. (He was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mhlongo 1 (Dukathole): A man his 70s. He completed his primary school education. (He was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mhlongo 2 (Dukathole): A young man in his 40s. Although he was very young when this violence took place, but he was willing to participate as he suffered a lot because his father was killed during this violence. He has a university degree. (He was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 3 (Dukathole): A man in his 70s. He completed his primary education. (He was interviewed on 22 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mazibuko (Dukathole) although he was a Mazibuko, he lived in the area dominated by the Dukatholes and he stayed with the Dukatholes where they worked he was viewed as a Dukathole that's why he was also targeted during the violence. He is in his late 60s. He received primary school education. (He was interviewed on 23 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 4 (Dukathole): A man in his late 50s. (He was interviewed on 22 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Madondo 2 (Dukathole): A man in his 60s. He completed his Primary school education. (He was interviewed on 22 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 5 (Dukathole): A man in his late his 50, he was young during the violence but suffered a lot as his father was killed during this violence. He completed his Secondary School education. (He was interviewed on 28 June 2020).

Interview with Mrs Mhlongo 2 (Dukathole): A woman in her 60s. She received her secondary school education. (She was interviewed on 28 June 2020).

Interview with Mr Mhlongo 3 (Dukathole): A man in his 60s. He received his secondary school education. (He was interviewed on 28 June 2020).

Interview with Mr Phungula 2 (Ntshona): A man in his late 50s. He received his secondary school education) (He was interviewed on 22 March 2020).

Interview with Ms Mhlongo (Dukathole): A woman in her late 40s who was chosen for the study because her family house got destroyed. She has a degree. (She was interviewed on 6 July 2020).

Interview with Mrs Dlamini (Ntshona) A woman in her late 50 who was chosen because the fighters accused her late husband of being involved in the helping the fighters with transport) She has received her secondary school education (She was interviewed on 5 July 2020).

Interview with Mrs Zondi 5 (Ntshona): A woman in her late 50s. (He was interviewed on 28 June 2020).

Interview with Mr Phungula 3 (Ntshona): A man in his 50s. Has received tertiary institution education. (He was interviewed on 28 July 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge 6 (Dukathole): A man in his late 50s. He received his secondary school education. (He was interviewed on 22 March 2020).

Interview with Mr Mdunge (Ward councillor) (He was interviewed on 7 July 2020).

Interview with Mr Phungula - *Induna* (headman) (He was interviewed on 3 July 2020).

Interview with a retired detective from Highflats Police Station, (He was interviewed on 21 April 2019)

Newspapers

Daily Sun, 06 November 2018

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance Certificate



18 January 2019

Ms Nomathemba Zondi 9409346
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Zondi

Protocol reference number: HSS/1624/018M

Project title: An oral history of rural violence: Narratives of violence in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal, 1984-1986

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 11 September 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.



Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Prpfessor Sultan Khan
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
cc School Administrator: Ms N Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Document- English Version

Dear Participant,

My name is Nomathemba Zondi (9409346). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College / Pietermaritzburg Campus. The title of my research is: An Oral History of Rural Violence: Conflicting Narratives of violence in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal, 1983-1986.

The aim of the study is to explore the memories of the survivors of this violent rural conflict I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.
- Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.
- The interview will take about 30 minutes to an hour.
- The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.
- If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted on this email address: nz@hps.co.za or <mailto:213571311@stu.ukzn.ac.za> Cell No.: [REDACTED]

My supervisor is Professor Sultan Khan who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email: Khans@ukzn.ac.za, Phone No. 031 2607240

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I..... (*full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

Appendix 3: Idokhumente yemvume-IsiZulu Version

Sawubona!

Igama lami nginguNomathemba Zondi (9409346). Ngingumfundi owenza iziqu zePhD eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal eHoward College. Isihloko socwaningo lwami sithi: “Umlando oxoxwayo ngodlame lwasemakhaya. Imibono ehlukenene ngodlame lwaseXobho ngo1984 kuya ku1986” (An Oral History of Rural Violence: Conflicting Narratives of violence in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal, 1984-1986.)

Inhlonso noma injongo yalolucwaningo ukuthola ukuthi bakhumbulani abantu ngalempi. Ngizokwenza inkulumonhlolo ukuze ngizwe okwaziyo noma owakubona ngalempi.

Ngicela uqaphele lokhu:

- Imininingwane onginika yona izosetshenziselwa ucwaningo kuphela.
- Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo akuphoqeletwe. Ungakhetha ukubamba iqhaza noma uyeke. Angeke ulahlekelwe yilutho ngesinqumo sakho osithathayo.
- Imibono yakho ngeke ivezwe ukuthi iphuma kubani. Igama lakho noma ukuthi ungubani ngeke kuvezwe.
- Inkulumonhlolo izothatha imizuzu engamashumi amathathu kuya ehoreni.
- Okuqoshwe ngesikhathi senkulumohlolo kuzogcinwa lapho kungeke kubonwe muntu ngaphandle kwami nabaphathi. Emva kweminyaka emihlanu, ngokwemithetho yeNyuvesi, kuyodatshulwa futhi kushiswe.
- Uma uvuma ukubamba iqhaza ngicela usayine. (kunephepha elenzelwe ukuthi usayine)

Ugangithinta nge email: nz@hps.co.za <mailto:213571311@stu.ukzn.ac.za> Cell No.: [REDACTED] Umphathi wami uProfessor Sultan Khan otholakala kwisikole seSocial Science eHoward College eThekwini kuyo iNyuvesi yakwaZulu-Natal. Utholakala lapha: email Khans@ukzn.ac.za. Phone number: 031 2607240

Ikolishi lezesintu neSocial Sciences Research Ethics Committee ingathintwa kulemininingwane elandelayo: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number +27312603587.

Ngiyabonga ngeqhaza olibambile kulolucwaningo.

ISIQINISEKO

Mina..... (*igama eliphelele lozobamba iqhaza*) ngiyavuma ukuthi ngikuqonda konke okuqukethwe kulencwadi nokumayelana nalolucwaningo, futhi ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Nginyaqonda ukuthi nginelungelo lokushiya noma inini uma ngifisa. Nginyaqonda izinhloso zalolucwaningo. Ngakho ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza.

Ngiyavuma / angivumi ukuthi iqoshwe kwalenkulumonhlolo.

ISIGNESHA YOBAMBA IQHAZA

USUKU

.....

Appendix 4: Gatekeepers Letter

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Nomathemba Zondi (9409346). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. The title of my research is: An Oral History of Rural Violence: Conflicting Narratives of violence in Ixopo, KwaZulu-Natal, 1983-1986.

The aim of the study is to explore the memories of the survivors of this violent rural conflict. I would like to request a permission to conduct my research in your area. I can be contacted on this email address: nz@hps.co.za or Cell No.: [REDACTED].

My supervisor is Professor Sultan Khan who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email: Khans@ukzn.ac.za, Phone No. 031 2607240

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Appendix 5: Interview questions

1. What were the causes of the violence in the area of eMakhuzeni (Springvale)?
2. What were the political factions that existed in eMakhuzeni (Springvale) and what impact did it have on the political stability of the region?
3. What was the socio-economic and demographic profile of the eMakhuzeni (Springvale) region and how did it compare to adjoining areas?
4. Who were the members of the various groupings / associations that emerged in eMakhuzeni (Springvale)? What constituted membership and what were the key differences that separated one group from another, and may have held the potential for violence to emerge in the 1980s?
5. How did the negotiated settlement in South Africa impact on this area?
6. Did the conflict end and how did “healing” take place?

Appendix 6: Turnitin Report

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