



**The intricacies of local governance in local economic development:
A case study of uThukela's traditional Authority**

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Declaration

I.....Declare that:

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“For with God nothing shall be impossible” Luke 1v37

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Abstract

The study investigated the role of traditional leadership in local economic development in contemporary South Africa. Utilizing the purposive sampling methodology, interviews were administered to the relevant participants in the uThukela District. LED Managers representing the six municipalities under the uThukela District were sampled alongside traditional leaders and respective mayors. The data collected was analysed by means of grounded theory analysis, which entails finding new meanings in the texts and linking the context into substantive formal literature.

The research was motivated by the need for more literature on South Africa's traditional leadership institution and its impact on development. Specific emphasis was placed on KwaZulu-Natal, which is a province crippled with a significant density of rural areas that have high indicators of unemployment and poverty and is therefore a good example to explore. The study further narrowed the scope, focusing on uThukela District; a region with a constituency in which three out of its five local municipalities are rural based, have an estimated unemployment rate of 68.5%, and also a ratio of 75% of the population residing in rural areas.

The findings of this research therefore confirmed how relationships between traditional leaders and councillors affect progressive economic development in rural areas. The extensive need for the two to coexist in local government has been echoed by many; therefore the findings of this study will serve to inform whether developmental growth in rural areas requires active intervention from government in order to resolve the issues. Furthermore, the findings will hopefully contribute towards a better understanding of how the relationships between the two stakeholders impact economic development in rural areas.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|---|
| AMAKHOSI | Traditional Leaders |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| CONTRELSA | Congress of Traditional Leadership South Africa |
| CODESA | Convention for a Democratic South Africa |
| CSP | Cross sectorial partnerships |
| EXCO | Executive Committee |
| HSRC | Human Sciences Research Council |
| IDP | Integrated Development Plan |
| IFP | Inkatha Freedom Party |
| ITB | Ingonyama Trust Board |
| LED | Local Economic Development |
| MEC | Member of Executive Council |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organisations |
| NP | National Party |
| NPOs | Non-Profit Organisations |
| RDP | Reconstructive Development Plan |
| SALGA | South African Local Government Association |
| SMMEs | Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises |
| TA | Traditional Authority |
| TC | Traditional Council |
| UDF | United Democratic Front |

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- a) Interview Schedule
- b) Ethical Clearance
- c) Gatekeeper Letter
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- e) Turnitin Report

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

“While we can walk faster alone, we can walk further together” – African proverb

1.1 Introduction

The shaping of South Africa took a dramatic turn after the democratic elections in 1994 with the coming into power of the African National Congress (ANC). The government instituted a multifaceted strategy to combat past inequalities through initiatives aimed at uplifting rural communities. At the local scale this strategy was outlined in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which aimed to alleviate poverty, improve service delivery growth and also to regulate free markets to promote economic growth through entrepreneurship and small to medium business enterprises (SMME's). The shift in power from an apartheid era to a democratically led dispensation saw the rise of collaborative structures in working together to offer efficient development and service delivery (Reconstruction Development Program, 1996). It is therefore the role of the study to examine the interface between two particular organs of local government, namely: democratically elected councillors and traditional leaders, in investigating how these two stakeholders contribute to local economic development in rural areas.

The study seeks to answer four broad questions, firstly whether traditional leaders are adequately represented in economic development activities within contemporary South Africa. Secondly, the study also seeks to explore the extent to which traditional leadership, as an old structure of local government has been successfully integrated with newer forms of democratic governance at local governance. Thirdly, the thesis will explore how relationships at local government between councillors and traditional authorities affect Local Economic Development and service delivery in rural areas. Lastly, the study aims to explore whether the institution of traditional authority is still relevant in contemporary South Africa in relation to LED, in light of the fact that South Africa is bound by a constitution which emphasizes principles of freedom and democracy (The Constitution

of South Africa, 1996). In highlighting the dynamics of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa it is imperative to scrutinize the extent of power traditional leaders have in facilitate economic development in their respective areas.

The following section introduces the background of the discourse of traditional leadership in LED.

1.2 Background to Traditional Leadership and LED

This section will introduce the background of the institution of traditional leadership, its origins and evolution.

Traditional leaders have been an integral part of African culture in relation to the socio-cultural and socio-economic needs of the African people. For the African people the position of authority and power maintained by traditional leadership at local government yielded a legitimacy that was rooted in culture and tradition (Oomen 2005). Tribal leaders were considered representatives of each tribe or cultural formation, meaning that a tremendous amount of power and trust was vested in them by the people. In essence, traditional leaders had a great amount of influence when it came to law-making and the people of these tribes saw them as *gods* or leaders having divine power from above (Sithole, 2006).

Furthermore, Sithole and Mbele (2008) suggest that traditional leaders have social and moral obligations towards people under their jurisdiction, in a cultural context that bears shared responsibility for the land in a way that could potentially be vulgarized as nepotism in Western contexts. There was some level of accountability as the god-like traditional leaders functioned also as father figures, which meant the people could easily bring problems to them through gatherings and other formal approaches and could get responses from their leaders. Where needed, they could also have their say in local decisions (Ribot, 2002).

The initiation of colonialism in Africa proved to be a significant turning point for African governance and particularly traditional leadership. What may have made colonialism stick significantly in Africa was that after colonizing certain territories the traditional leaders were retained and given the authority to rule, however in a way that was advantageous to the colonial project (VonTrotha 1996; Cooper 1996; Hammond-Tooke 1974). According to Mamdani (1996),

the African was categorized, not as a native or indigenous African, but as a 'tribespersion'. Colonialists justified indirect rule on the basis that tradition and custom were indigenous forms of social organization. However, colonialists themselves perpetuated these identities and used them to divide and manage 'rural' Africans.

After the colonial era, a new type of neo-colonialism had surfaced specifically in South Africa; the introduction of the apartheid era which was designed to segregate the different races in South Africa took effect in 1948 (Ntsebeza, 2002). This type of system created strategic divisions between Europeans and Africans, essentially meaning that each race had its own little area which it occupied (Sithole, 2006). The most efficient way to separate the white minority from the Africans was to create strategic homelands which would contain the movement of Africans from area to area. In doing this, the Afrikaaner led apartheid government deployed traditional leaders into each of the homelands to facilitate the daily day to day needs of the African people, thus giving traditional leaders a sense of power and legitimacy in these areas (Sithole, 2006).

However, this power could only be exercised in Bantustans, which were homelands where black 'natives' were made to stay after the introduction of The Black Homeland Citizenship Act 26 of 1970. This Act was implemented by the government ruling at the time and which was an initiative by the government to sustain their rule over the African people by giving their leaders authority in these areas and incentivising traditional leaders for containing the people (Ntsebeza, 2002). Some traditional leaders, however, disagreed with the oppressive style of governance that had been introduced by the government of the day. Those who objected to this style of governance were stripped of their powers and had them given to other chiefs chosen by the government who were willing to take up the roles of being leaders (Ntsebeza, 2002).

After the reign of the respective regimes of colonialism and apartheid, South Africa shifted to a democratic dispensation where the transfer of power shifted to the new government that used democratic principles of governance. Ntsebeza (2002) asserts that many traditional leaders felt that the policies put in place had limited the extent of power to which traditional leadership's had to govern post 1994. In addition to this, some traditional leaders felt as if the post 1994 government were sabotaging their power and roles in an attempt to eradicate the institution indefinitely (Levy and Tapscott, 2001). The new dispensation put in place 'democratic' structures which allowed the introduction of councillors in rural areas, thus officially restricting the influence traditional leaders

had in governing their people. Sithole (2006) argues that after the 1994 transition to a democratic system of governance traditional leaders felt deprived of their power and suggests that they felt side-lined from executive decision making, even in their own areas. The following section describes the background of the area in which the study will take place, an area in where more than 75% of the population reside on communal land under traditional authorities.

1.3 Background of uThukela District Municipality

The study looks particularly at the case of KwaZulu-Natal where traditional leaders control more than 39% of the land. The study area further consists of the inner western parts of the province, a fragment of the province which faces one of the most severe cases of under-development. uThukela forms part of the eleven districts of the KwaZulu-Natal province situated in South Africa, see *figure 2 (included is the map of uThukela district)*. The seat of uThukela is the city of Ladysmith (uThukela District Municipality, 2014). The size of the municipality is approximately 11500km². The majority of its 668 848 people speak IsiZulu and constitute 95.15% of the population followed by approximately 16 023 Indians, 11 437 whites and about 3923 coloureds (Statistics SA: 2011 Census).

This district is predominantly rural, with three out of the five local municipalities being rural. The municipality is characterized by negative socio economic indicators such as low revenue, lack of education and resources, poor infrastructure, high poverty rates, underdeveloped land, skills shortages and high unemployment (uThukela District Municipality, 2014). The district code of uThukela District is DC23 and is formed by five local municipalities based in various towns across the western region, uThukela District forming the sixth Municipality. These local municipalities include Ladysmith/Mnambithi, uKhahlamba, iMbambazane, Indaka, Umtshezi and Giants Castle Game Reserve. Below is the detailed map of uThukela District, see *Figure 1 and 2*.

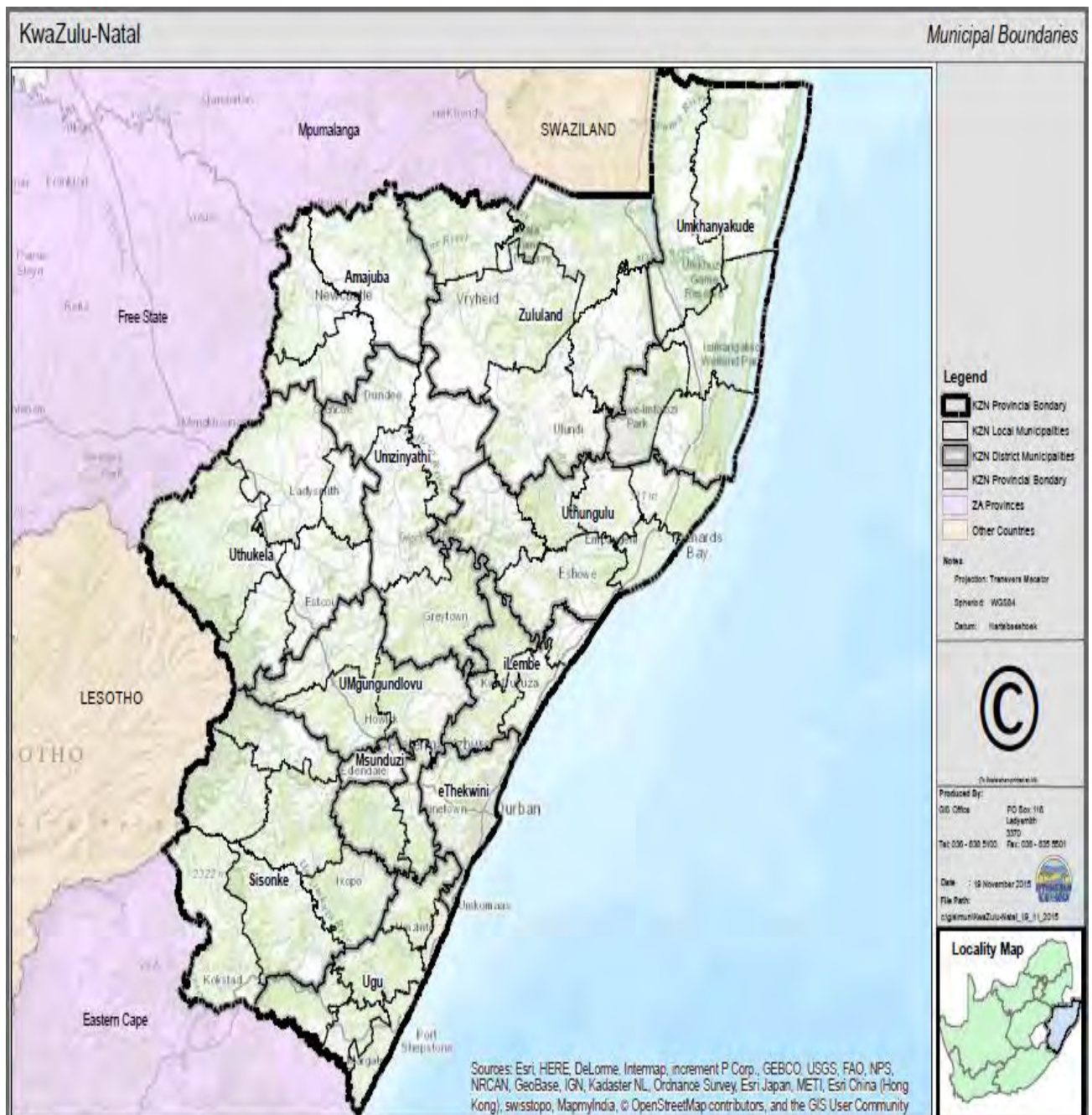


Figure 2. Map of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Source: *COGTA IDP (2011)*

1.4 Problem statement

South Africa is a country burdened by past injustices, a number of which persisted even after the 1994 elections saw the coming into power of the ANC. The new government initiated programmes that would redistribute resources fairly to redress the disparity that was evident amongst South Africans before the inception of a democratic South Africa. The Integrated Development Plan highlighted in the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) dedicated features which would promote economic growth and alleviate poverty, unemployment as well as promote and sustain democratic values (White paper on Local Government, 1998).

With a vision of a new South Africa, local economic development was one of the goals emphasized in the Integrated Development Plan. The Constitution of South Africa, 1996, section 152 states that the purpose of local government is to promote local economic development and to alleviate the poverty in rural communities across South Africa that was a consequence of the former power inequality between whites and blacks.

One of the main objectives of LED is to fight poverty and empower communities through self-reliance which, in a lot of cases, is critical in rural areas. This needs the intervention of representatives from the community who know what living in a rural area is like (Rogerson, 2003). The current role of traditional leaders raises the question of whether traditional leaders are puppets of the post-apartheid government; this is highlighted in how recent legislation has been arranged to accommodate them. Furthermore, the relevance of these leaders in LED seems obscure, considering the debate around whether the formulation of policies encompassing LED structures is based on the involvement of traditional leaders, and whether they have an integral voice in policy formulation (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009). Since a majority of the land in rural areas is ruled by a traditional leader, this makes it difficult for government to facilitate economic development programmes where land is privately owned (National Framework for LED, 2006). These concerns have led to the formulation of this research as it is presented below.

1.5 Aims and objectives

The aim of this study is to explore the interface between modern democratic structures for local economic development and traditional authorities at the local government level.

The study will attempt to fulfil the following objectives:

1. To explore whether traditional leadership institutions are adequately represented in economic development activities within contemporary South Africa.
2. To explore the extent to which traditional authority, as an old structure of local government, has been successfully integrated with newer forms of democratic governance at local level.
3. To explore how relationships between traditional institutions and government affect local economic development.
4. To critique the institution of traditional leadership and investigate whether it is still relevant in a democratic dispensation.

1.6 Rationale

Due to the large margins of inequality amongst the people of South Africa, the post-apartheid government formulated policies that would address past inequalities through various mechanisms which include the Integrated Development Policy that is highlighted in the White Paper on Local Government of 1998.

What this research is attempting to understand is whether local economic development is achievable in rural communities that are ruled by a traditional authority. The study is also motivated by the need to examine the ambiguity around the role of traditional leaders in influencing social matters in local, provincial and national spheres. In looking at this, it is imperative to distinguish the terms local government from local governance in the context of the study. Section 151(2) of the Constitution of 1996 introduced the formation of local government into service delivery and local development scene; these effects would see the implementation of municipalities in all centres of the republic (Constitution, 1996).

Government is therefore deployed to facilitate service delivery and development in all territories of the Republic, namely the State, Provincial government, municipalities, traditional leadership and electoral based representatives at local level. However, the term governance in this study's context refers to an emergent, participatory and inclusive style of leadership and authority which includes the role players mentioned above. In addition to this, local governance includes a type of shared responsibility amongst various stakeholders namely; the state,

traditional authority, the community, private sector, NGO's and so on. Essentially, for the purpose of this study, it is only appropriate to distinguish local government as the electoral based representatives of the state from the institution of Traditional Leadership, which is equally an organ of state. The responsibilities of the institution of Traditional Leadership however, include ensuring that there is full compliance with the core constitutional values namely, human dignity, non-sexism, human rights and freedom (Khunou, 2009).

However, with regards to the administrative roles of traditional leaders, Khunou (2009) asserts that the Constitution makes no mention of traditional leaders. In accordance to principle V III the "institution, status and role of the traditional leadership according to indigenous law was recognised and protected. However, the roles and functions of traditional leaders were not clearly defined in this principle" (Khunou, 2009, p85). According to Khunou (2009), even in the negotiations prior to the 1994 elections, traditional leaders had been ignored and were only brought into the discussions after they had expressed their dissatisfaction. This suggests that dialogue between these two role players at local government still faces the challenge of vagueness and constant competing for roles in the facilitation of economic development.

Economic development is not achieved by a single universal instrument, but can be achieved through a variety of actors cooperatively working together to achieve the specific goal of complete service delivery. Some argue that the not-so-smooth relationships between traditional leaders and councillors may adversely affect the bearers of delivery and, much to the dismay of many rural people, some still believe in monarchical power, while others believe in a democratic alliance, thus making the shift of trust to either very difficult and hindering the process of development.

It appears to many that there are still challenges facing the present system of government; whether this is because of resource difficulties, inefficiencies or uncertainties regarding the roles of officials is not clear. Many, like Tullock (2001) argue that this is because people residing in rural areas still rely greatly on traditional leaders and feel that traditional leaders know how to address their grievances as the rural community and consider their tribal leaders as bearers of power by virtue of hereditary power. On the other hand, many are very sceptical of the modernized government which they feel was the idea of whites to repossess their land and forcefully exploit them. Strategies by these new governments, even with black intervention, are not fully trusted by, what some call 'stagnant traditionalists', who choose not to move from their homesteads (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009).

Africa, being a continent predominantly accustomed to monarchical rule relies greatly on the existence of mutual trust in their rulers, even after the intervention of colonizers or different systems that have revolutionized political structures over the years. A number of countries in Europe and Asia still recognise traditional monarchical leadership as a type of legitimate authority; such countries include Denmark, the United Kingdom, Japan and Canada. In the United Kingdom the queen is now only there by virtue of ceremonial reference and administrative roles which express the status of monarchism (Cloete, 1993). In addition, equally to South Africa, a number of African countries also recognise a significant role of traditional leaders even after liberation from colonialism. These include Botswana, Namibia, Ghana, Uganda and Zimbabwe who recognise and still embrace traditional leadership as a form of authority.

The study is also motivated by the desire to evaluate the government's strategies and policies that regulate the role of traditional leaders and councillors, and to examine whether these policies are appropriate for the different municipalities, considering that each municipality has its own needs that are unique to its demographics and history. The study is further motivated by the need to interrogate the deteriorating state of local communities even with the intervention of municipal structures (The State of Local Government Report, COGTA, 2009).

In a broader context, the transformation of South Africa into a prosperous country more similar to those in the north relies greatly on the effective execution of its world class policies. However, the excellence of its policies is often in contrast to a vagueness and ambiguity around the roles of governance; this incongruity crucially compromises the vision of the development of South Africa. Thus the study also seeks to answer question of whether municipal structures are able to achieve local economic development in isolation or whether traditional institutions as another organ of local government plays an equal role in development initiatives. Furthermore, it seeks to examine the possible challenges between government and traditional leadership and how these if evident might adversely compromise the practicality of implementing efficient economic development strategies.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This section gives an overview of the sequential steps of the study, from the first chapter, which include the study and background to the role of traditional leaders in rural localities from an

LED perspective, on a case study of the area of uThukela District, right down to the literature chapters, methodology, data presentation and analysis, and lastly the conclusion chapter.

The theoretical analysis is divided into two chapters. The first, Chapter Two, outlines the theoretical framework of the study and examines the perspectives of various authors on the discourse of local governance and also the complexities surrounding local economic development as a catalytic tool in addressing poverty and wealth inequality. There is a need to divide the theory sections into two chapters as one chapter would have proved too lengthy for the latter. In addition, these two theory sections will act as the basis to which the researcher will refer to when analysing the data in chapter five.

The literature chapter in Chapter Two debates the discourse of traditional leadership, both from an international context and again from a local context. The researcher has found that, while there is literature on traditional leadership, only a handful of studies have been conducted with regards to LED. Much of the literature on South African traditional leadership focuses more on areas like the Eastern Cape; ie. The work of Ntsebeza (2004), however, recent writers have included case studies on traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal. Examples are Nxumalo (2012) who focuses on the UMgungundlovu district and Beal & Ngonyama (2009) who focus their study on EThekweni Municipality. Amongst other sets of writers who conducted their studies on tradition and development are Bank & Southhall (1996) whose focus is traditional leaders in South Africa's democracy, who strove to address the position of the traditional kingdom in a democratic society which is guided by democratic principles of freedom and equality.

While attempting to fill in the knowledge gap around the discourse of traditional leadership and its dynamics in local governance, the researcher also reflected on work by other authors such as Mamdani's (1996) *Citizen and the Subject*, which examines the role of traditional leadership in Africa and how its relevance has changed over time but invests little time in looking at the institutions contribution to stakeholder dynamics and local economic development. Many theorists suggest that, as the institution has been resilient throughout different political and social epochs, this rich history can still assist the institution into transforming into a relevant stakeholder in local governance.

In referring back to the structure of the study, it is for this reason that the researcher includes theory on traditional leadership, as it forms a fundamental part of local governance, mainly in rural areas, making it an important subject in the study. The theoretical analysis is continued in

Chapter Three with the focus being the dynamics of local economic development in South Africa.

The discussion in Chapter Three focuses theory on LED theory and highlights the fact that there is no single definition around the concept of local economic development. This discourse is defined differently according to each region's distinct characteristics and essentially needs to be addressed within the respective individual contexts of each area's needs. The researcher will refer to work done by authors who have contributed substantially to the discourse of LED, Particularly in South Africa, authors such as Rogerson (2009) Bodhanya (2014) Bond (2005) and Nel (2005).

The LED theory chapter will also focus on South Africa's fiscal history and will examine policies that have been effective in the attempt to address inequality and economic instability, such as the IDP and the National Frameworks for LED. The chapter will also touch on Bond's (2005) *pro poor* approach which focuses on the development and sustainability of communities, rather than the *pro-growth* approach which focuses on economic competition.

Furthermore, Bodhanya (2014) postulates a way forward and an expansion of LED, in his Nexus Model, which includes different constellations that represent the different mechanisms required for LED. Since a portion of the theoretical framework focuses on the link between traditional leaders and LED, authors like Hunter (2011) are cited on the subject of social capital, participation and mutual trust as a catalyst to sustainable LED.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology. This includes the methods used to obtain data, how the data has been analysed, the limitations of the study and the ethical considerations that have been taken into account. Because this is a qualitative study, the researcher uses interview schedules to interview the various stakeholders, who included AmaKhosi (traditional leaders), mayors and LED managers from the respective municipalities that constitute the uThukela district.

Chapter Five presents the data analysis and linked the objectives of the study and the themes relating to the literature reviewed in chapters Two and Three, with the data that was collected. In this chapter, critical findings include how the interpretation of policy differs according to different constituencies, and also the extent to which stakeholder relations positively or negatively affect the LED discourse.

The last chapter, Chapter Six presents the conclusion of the study and related recommendations. This chapter returns to the overall purpose of the study, and highlights how the aim of the study is adequately realized.

1.8 Conclusion

To reflect, the present chapter focuses on the problem of the study which is to assess the role of traditional leadership in local economic development. This chapter also includes the aim of the study, the research questions as well the rationale needed for the continuation of the study. This chapter also includes in it the background of the study and the rationale behind the basis of its location. Herein is also a brief sequential map of the structure of the thesis.

The theoretical framework presented in chapters Two and Three will be used by the researcher to inform the data analysis. The discourse of local governance in rural South Africa is a very sensitive subject matter when attempting to critique the role players involved, and is equally complex when attempting to provide adequate service for the people who have little faith in their leaders. Some argue that traditional leadership has no part to play in contemporary South Africa since a new government was elected which uses democratic principles to address service delivery.

It is therefore the purpose of this research to explore these allegations and, where possible, recommend alternatives to improve relationships between the state and traditional institutions. The following chapter focuses on the conceptualisation of traditional leadership in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

2.1 Introduction to Literature

A theoretical framework is an essential instrument when attempting to conduct a successful study as it gives the researcher direction as to what other theorists have written about cases relating to the researcher's area of study. In this study the theory has been divided into two chapters. Firstly, the current chapter discusses literature on traditional authorities; the literature debates around how the kinship system has acted as a legitimate medium of service delivery throughout different eras and how its roles have evolved over the years because of industrialization and modernization. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the discourse of traditional leadership, both from an international and again from a local context, focusing on how the roles of traditional leadership have evolved throughout the different epochs of South African history.

The subsequent chapter concentrates on local economic development (LED), focusing on South Africa's fiscal history and how poverty and inequality alleviation strategies like the IDP and other frameworks for LED have varied in their attempt to address the social ills in the rural parts of South Africa. Lastly, towards the end of Chapter Three, discussions on traditional leadership and LED will be merged into a concentrated theoretical piece which will further inform the data presented in the data analysis chapter.

The focus in this chapter is the institution of traditional leadership and, more precisely, the case study of South Africa, in doing so, also drawing reference from other case studies in other parts of the world.

2.2 Debates regarding the role of traditional leadership in contemporary society

Some 20 years into South Africa's democracy, the position of traditional leadership is still debated extensively, with substantial focus on the legitimacy of the institution in a contemporary South Africa (Kompi & Twala, 2014). Underpinned in the liberal tradition; freedom and human rights are embedded as part of the core pillars of democracy. In essence, the role of traditional leadership in a democratic dispensation has been under scrutiny from

proponents of the school of democracy, who insist that traditional leadership's style of governance infringes on the principles of an ideal system of democratic governance (Nxumalo, 2012). In this context, this chapter examines how the institution of traditional leadership has evolved over time and interrogates the role it plays in local governance and local economic development.

2.2.1 Traditionalism vs. Modernism in relation to traditional leadership

The following section looks at two opposing theories that inform the evolution of traditionalism to modernism, looking at how society functioned and evolved through the traditional period to the epoch of industrialization and beyond. The review of these concepts will address the basis of traditional leadership's legitimacy from the pre-colonial era to the contemporary period.

Lutz & Linder (2004) define tradition in its original form as bearing historic meaning and being rooted in the past. They add that the term *traditional* stems from modernity theory which implies a distinction between what is historic and what is modern. Based on their study of Nigerian villages, Nigerian researchers Olowu & Erero (1996) suggest that there is a differentiation between formal and informal structures in society, adding that traditionalist structures in society are informal structures that do not use the formal constitution of a state but “determine[s] the people's everyday lives and the social, economic and political interaction between them” (Lutz & Linder, 2004, p5). Furthermore, they conclude that, while formal structures derive their legitimacy from the modern state, traditional structures, however informal, established their legitimacy from a long history of tradition and culture (Lutz & Linder, 2004).

Durkheim (1984), identified a key characteristic of modernism:

“The modern system creates a new pattern of morality and a system of norms. These social rules are much less rigid than those of a traditional society since they have to act as guides for much more complex and diverse social activities. This means that a modern person has a much greater freedom of action within a general set of moral constraints” (Durkheim, 1984, p 86).

However, even though modernization is less rigid and allows flexibility of expression and freedom, Durkheim (1984) insists that if the individual desires to step out of the general code, it could lead to a break down in the social cohesion of the community. Even though there has

been a substantial evolution from traditionalism to modernism, Linder (2004) maintains that it is still possible to distinguish the two on a theoretical platform. The following two sections divide the societal functions of the respective institutions (the traditional kinship-based system and the modern state system), thus giving the reader a clear description of how traditional law varied to that of modern society.

2.2.2 Traditionalism

Historically, the main institution responsible for the societal functions that included production, distribution, collective security law and order was the kinship system. This suggests that the whole community were involved in both productivity activities and also maintaining a peaceful and civilised environment. The subsequent section therefore depicts the role of the kinship system in the traditional period, while also describing the institution's effect on the respective societal functions.

Production

Any means of production that were to commence were the responsibility of the family or community. Linder (2002) suggests that in the pre-industrial era the mass production of goods was an activity that involved the whole community, and when the production was completed the king divided the goods equally amongst his people and provided for all his subjects, in essence this suggests that everyone played a role in the production of goods, not for individual profit but for the benefit of all who share the land.

Distribution

Linder (2002) suggests that, in the pre-industrial era, the primary distribution of goods was regulated by the heads of tribes and, wherever necessary, certain families distributed goods amongst themselves. In essence, Linder (2002) further suggests that in the traditional era, the king or traditional leader acted as the prime facilitator for economic activity and development for his community. In addition to this, the assessment made by Linder (2002) suggests that the roles and functions of the king in the traditional era were seen as a legitimate force of authority by his people.

Collective security, law and order

When looking at the third societal function; the *collective security, law and order*, we see how society was regulated by traditional law and governed by kinship systems which gave the traditional leader the power to make laws beneficial to the tribes, and to act as a judge when disputes arose (Linder, 2002). In essence, what was portrayed by kinship in the pre-industrial era highlights a certain form of authority and governance held by the king, making him the sovereign protector of his people, a law maker and also a peace keeper amongst his people.

2.2.3 Modernism

The era of modernism marked a shift from traditionalism to the practices associated with industrial modes of production. The list of the societal roles mentioned below demonstrates a shift in how society evolved over the different periods and how power transferred from kinship authority to that of the state.

Production

Contrary to the traditional society, the modern society relies greatly on the liberal approach, an individualistic approach that involved capitalism and private enterprise, meaning that every individual is the means of his own production and could produce as much as he needs so that he can make a profit, people start to outsource services, rent out items and can make a lot of profit just from their own niche area of expertise. However, public commodities like water and electricity are all regulated by the state (Linder, 2002).

Distribution

The distribution of goods in the modern state relies greatly on the individual's work ethic, individuals are expected to work independently through the systems of competitive advantage and competitive bargaining. This highlights the ineffectiveness of the state to function as a primary distributor of goods while highlighting the power of market in dictating how much an individual receives (Linder, 2002). In essence, this suggests that the state can only afford to offer the people minimal goods or services because of the power of day to day commerce.

Collective Security, Law and Order

The way in which law and order is facilitated in the industrial society is similar to traditional society, however, in the modern era the state, instead of the kinship or extended family introduces laws that govern the whole nation. Formal law is introduced, which include a formal judiciary and courts who address conflicts amongst the people. The military becomes an effective tool in dealing with peace keeping missions and wars amongst territories. Even the deployment of the police as representatives of the community improves the agenda of customary law and order (Linder, 2002).

The contrasts between traditionalism and modernism are seen in a table constructed by Linder (2002, p3), which demonstrates how the various societal functions of production, distribution, security and reproduction differ from the pre-industrial to the industrial era. The table below (Table 1) demonstrates how societal functions have changed with the transition from traditionalism, where functions were determined by the family needs, to modernism where they are determined by the state and individual autonomy.

Following the examination of the societal functions in both traditional and modern societies, it is evident that there has been a shift in responsibilities and societal functions, with the state replacing the kinship system and also relying more on market forces than traditional law. To this end, it is necessary to emphasise that traditional leadership regulating a kinship-based system has been evident as a legitimate form of authority in the pre-industrial era, but have however, over the years and following the establishment of the state, suffered setbacks (Linder, 2002).

Table 1. Basic Societal functions in traditional and modern society

| Societal Function | <i>Traditional, pre-industrial society</i> | <i>Modern, industrial society</i> |
|--|--|--|
| <i>Production</i> | Family unit of subsistence economy | Private enterprise in market economy State for public goods |
| <i>Distribution</i> | Primary distribution: Rules of extended family-lineage structures and tribes Secondary distribution: Limited commerce | Primary distribution : market Secondary distribution: Social state |
| <i>Collective security, law and order</i> | Extended family or kinship systems and tribes: traditional law and powers | State monopoly: Formal law, military, police |
| <i>Reproduction</i> <i>(health and education)</i> | Family and tribe | Family, education and health as public goods from state |

Source: (Linder, 2002. p3)

The following section explores the question of whether the institution of traditional leadership is able to survive in contemporary South Africa - a country which governs itself according to a democratic dispensation. A recent review of the literature on traditional leadership indicates that there are two schools of thought on its relevance in the period 1994–2009. These two schools of thought include *democratic pragmatism*, and *organic democracy*.

2.2.4 Democratic pragmatism vs. Organic democracy

Democratic pragmatism and organic democracy are essential in highlighting the discourse of democracy as a bearer of contrasting meanings. This outlook presents the basis of the rationale around the legitimacy of traditional leadership and how this type of governance has managed to be resilient throughout different epochs. Hence, the discourse around democracy and its implications with regards to traditional leadership is scrutinized in the following section.

2.2.4.1 Democratic Pragmatism

Pragmatic democracy begins with the basic assumption that there is a sphere of life in which citizens should be treated as equals and in which collective decisions and actions should be taken chiefly to advance their interests (Fung, 2004). This sphere of life sphere includes the domain of law and public policy, but may also encompass other arenas, such as work and family. Particular procedures and institutions: elections, meetings and referendums are democratically justified because they are the ones that best treat individuals as equals and secure their interests fairly and effectively.

Proponents of democratic pragmatism maintain that traditional leadership is incompatible with democracy because it is a system that allows for inheritance of leadership. They further argue that the government is mistakenly supporting this institution, even though it contradicts democracy (Jackson et al., 2009). Jackson et al., (2009) suggest that the global discourse around the undemocratic style of governance by traditional leadership will slowly be addressed through the pattern of globalisation, the latter further insists that this phenomenon will eventually lead to the phasing out of undemocratic authorities like traditional leadership in many communities and will allow people to vote in and again vote out who they want to represent them.

Many scholars in this school of thought view the inclusion of traditional leadership as a type of consolation to the traditional leaders by the government, for having played a part in the 1994 elections (Jackson et al., 2009). However, proponents of organic democracy, which is embodied in the following section, maintain that the inclusion of traditional leadership is based on the motion that government cannot be absolute in its governance and therefore requires another form of authority to fill in the governance gap. The following approach therefore explains organic democracy and further defends the notion of traditional leadership in governance.

2.2.4.2 Organic democracy

Counter to the arguments focused on democratic pragmatism, Jackson et al., (2009, p44) state that:

‘The proponents of this school of thought do not see traditional leadership as an ‘anomaly’, a ‘compromise of democracy’ or a ‘contradiction.’ A compromise of understanding of this thinking sees traditional leadership as an institution that fulfils a governance gap where conventional democracy has not fully extended itself. Of course, this version of the thinking attempts to minimize the endorsement for what is seen as a less democratic system by posing traditional leadership merely as a ‘manifestation of destitution for proper governance’.

In essence, proponents of the school of organic democracy view the role of other governing structures of governance apart from the government led by the state as a type of authority that is capable of dealing with matters outside the government’s control. Putting this into a rural context, this suggests that traditional leaders lead legitimately because of the dynamics of the lifestyle of rural areas in contrast to urban areas. ie. In rural areas, traditional leaders are required to allocate the land that is registered under the Ingonyama Trust board (this is land owned by the traditional leadership institution, which is divided amongst people of a particular territory), and also act as a judge in legal matters involving the beneficiaries of this land Matloa (2008). In addition, proponents of the school of organic democracy believe that any type of governance or authority that has been endorsed by the people who subscribe to it should be considered as a legitimate authority and should be respected as each leadership style is relative according to each region (Jackson et al., 2009).

In addition, Mbele & Sithole (2008) make use of the cultural relativist approach which suggests that all beliefs, customs, and ethics are relative to the individual within his own social context. In other words, what is considered right in a specific culture may be considered immoral in another, which suggests that forms of democracy which are implemented in a particular context depend on the respective societal values (Mbele & Sithole, 2008).

In reflecting on the above debates, Bentley (2005) suggests that in many aspects traditional leadership may be deemed democratic, according to the cultures and societies that subscribe to it, even though traditional leadership does not envisage an opportunity for everyone to be elected. He further suggests that the whole notion of traditional leadership legitimacy lies with those who subscribe to it, particularly those who reside in rural areas. Focusing on the

legislation in South Africa, particularly regarding that on traditional leadership, the notion of organic democracy stands quite strongly in allowing a unique opportunity of creating a model that allows both individual (equal) rights, and the claims of cultural communities to equal recognition (Bentley, 2005). In addition, what this suggests is that traditional leadership may still be eligible to function meaningfully in a democratic dispensation (Bentley, 2005; Sithole & Mbele, 2008). However, the burning question still lingers- how can such a supposedly undemocratic institution operate within a context dominated by democratic laws when the entirety of its structure uses much more traditional principles of leadership, power and resource sharing?

The following section therefore focuses on the chronological timeline of traditional leadership in South Africa, and how the institution's roles varied across each of the country's political and socio-cultural regimes.

2.3 Traditional Leadership in South Africa

This section examines the position of traditional authority throughout South African history, and how it has stayed resilient through the periods of pre-colonialism to the present context of democracy in South Africa. The researcher makes reference to three eras, namely the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid period. This discussion informs the importance of the study in highlighting how the roles of traditional leaders were shaped by each regime to where the point they are now.

Spiegel & Boonzaier (1988) assert that there is much evidence that in pre-colonial times a significant proportion of the Southern African population was organised into political groupings with centralised authority being vested in hereditary leaders known as 'chiefs' who were arranged according to ethnic disposition (Khunou, 2007), however, the colonisers modified that setting into one that suited their governance style. Before the inception of apartheid, traditional leaders had been acting as 'puppets' of indirect rule, the British colonisers being the architects of the regime (Ntsebeza, 2002), in addition, this created a type of hostility between local traditional leaders and their people.

2.3.1 Traditional Authorities under colonialism

The colonization of Africa has a long history, the most important phase being the European Scramble for Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Colonial conquest and land dispossession significantly altered African political, economic and social life (Matloa, 2008). Furthermore, with the introduction of colonialism in South Africa, chiefs were stripped of the power to govern. The dispossession of land meant that the chiefs were deprived of the power to allocate land to their people appropriately, a role they had been exercising for years (Matloa, 2008). Europeans brought traditions to implement and justify their presence in Africa which shifted power, access to resources and cultural traditions (Ntsebeza, 2002). This section therefore examines how the roles of South Africa's traditional leadership institution evolved through the regimes of colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid and also how colonialism affected this group in particular.

Van Aswegen (1993) describes the term *colonialism* as 'an inclusive model that defines the process of colonization as the occupation and control of colonies' (Van Aswegen, 1993, p 74). This process included the mobilization of different African territories by the Europeans; measures taken by the Europeans included political, economic, social and cultural policy that was followed in the respective colonies. The effects of this policy meant that the colonialists could control the inhabitants of the different colonies accordingly through this type of customary law (Van Aswegen, 1993). This system was often characterized by the colonial power's use of force to establish its authority and apply its policy, and by the resistance of the colonial subjects against the authorities (Van Aswegen, 1993).

Scholars differ in their characterization of the nature of traditional leaders during the colonial period. Ntsebeza (2002) suggests that these differences can be grouped into two broad schools. On the one hand, scholars such as Mgadla (1998), Lambert (1995) and Peires (1981) argue that traditional authorities were autocratic. On the other hand, some scholars like Ntsebeza (2002) argue that the system was such that it was difficult for traditional authorities to apply absolute power arguing that there were various devices and measures to deal with unpopular autocratic leaders. Tapscott & Ashton (1997) add that before colonialism, traditional authorities were legitimized by dominant support, however, the intrusion of imperialists into Africa signified a change in the institution, presenting an adjustment in the authoritative roles of traditional leaders. The adjustments in the roles came in the form of traditional leaders shifting from being the supreme authority of the people into being an authoritative body which represented the

colonial government. Traditional leaders started assuming the roles of regulating people in territories that were prescribed by the colonialists and also played the role of administrators rather than the role of government (Tapscott & Ashton, 1997).

The advent of colonialism in Africa disrupted the socio-political and economic systems of traditional leadership (Ntsebeza, 2002). Prior to the introduction of colonialist governance, these systems revolved around the authority of independent chiefs of various ranks, referred to in this study as traditional authorities (Ntsebeza, 2002). With the advent of colonialism, the power of traditional authorities was gradually eroded. Over time, traditional authorities were incorporated into the colonial system as administrators for local administrative areas in a system widely known in the British world as ‘indirect rule’, and in the French world as ‘association’ (Ntsebeza, 2002).

Before the Union of South Africa in 1910 was established, the country was divided into two British colonies (the Cape and Natal), and two Boer Republics (the South African Republic/Transvaal and the Orange Free State). The policies and practices of the British and the Boers towards African traditional leadership during this period differed significantly. The English snubbed the Boers for having primitive and undisciplined policies which loosened the hold on Africans (Matloa, 2008).

In the ‘Republics’, there was little interference by Afrikaners in the traditional authority structures. According to Mbeki (1984) chiefs were left on their own to conduct their affairs for as long as they were submissive. On the other hand, there was massive land dispossession. In the Boer republics black people could not own land, and many were forced to become share-croppers on white-owned land. No land was set aside for Africans in the Boer republics.

In the Transvaal republic, while black people could not own land, they could acquire it in one of two ways, namely Africans could only buy land in the name of a missionary or through a 99-year lease from any white person (this was recognised in the Cape Colony’s Glen Grey Act 25 of 1894, which was extended to the Transvaal after British annexation in 1897). In the missionary focused option for ownership, the land was bought by the Africans but was registered in a missionary’s name in trust for them. The second way was that the Africans paid for a 99-year lease and Whites then promised to transfer the land to the Africans concerned as soon as the laws of the country permitted Natives to hold land in their own names Matloa (2008). This was a huge disadvantage for many who lost their properties through the deceit of white land holders who reneged on the agreements. When the British annexed the Transvaal in

1877, the regulations governing African land ownership changed. Land bought by Africans was registered in trust in the name of the Secretary of Native Affairs for the people concerned. This phased out the missionaries' trust and strengthened the power of traditional authorities, because it meant that traditional leaders would govern land as representatives or the custodians. From July 1918, the Minister of Native Affairs held the land in trust for Africans (Mbenga, 1998).

Unlike the Boers, the British liked to have control over the Africans and they did so by setting aside land in 'native reserves'. In the event of conquering a group of Africans, the British set aside land that would be occupied by natives (Costa, 2000). Their tried and tested experience in India of indirect rule became the most accepted British system in Africa too (Costa, 2000). This system was employed in the two British colonies, the Cape and Natal. At different times, the British adopted 'assimilationist' and 'segregationist' policies which would assist them to govern the Africans effectively through the division of race and also through tactics reminiscent to that used in India (Costa 2000).

In the British colony of Natal, the architect of indirect rule in was Sir Theophilus Shepstone (*Somtsewu*, as he was popularly known). Shepstone was the Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, where reserves were established for African occupation (Costa, 2000). These reserves were placed under the trusteeship of the colonial government and were indirectly ruled by compliant chiefs, in areas where no chiefs existed, they were assigned by the British (Costa, 2000).

In critiquing the assignment of chieftaincy by the British, Mbeki (1984) accused Shepstone of attempting to revive a former Zulu regime led by Amazulu king, Shaka, which was highly centralized and autocratic. This would work to disturb the prevailing political and social style of the Africans which had shifted away from centralization (Costa, 2000). However, this revival of older style leadership would enable the British secretary to have full control over the region. The role of traditional leaders was further altered to suit the intentions of Shepstone's administration which sought to maintain patriarchal and centralized power.

Shepstone illustrates the position of traditional leaders in the principles and policies of land governance within the native areas:

"I believe myself that the principle underlying all land-tenure among the native tribes is that the land belongs to the tribe, that the chief has the right of giving occupation to it as between

the members of the tribe. ...Land is, however, always spoken of as the property of the chief” (cited Davenport & Hunt 1974, pgs 34-5).

As noted above, the supreme authority of the chief was subordinated to colonial control, as Davenport (1974) states:

“Headmen and chiefs worked alongside white magistrates, who were required if possible to be self-effacing. The chiefs reported to Shepstone himself as the mouthpiece of the Supreme Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor ... in a fictitious adaptation of tribal custom. Shepstone won his campaign to keep tribal Africans outside the reach of the Roman civil law of the Colony, and subject to their own customs” (Davenport, 1974:113).

Costa (2000) suggests that the idea behind the slow transformation of traditional leadership was the fear that civilization would make Africans unite and become rebellious over time. Welsh (1973, p 207) says:

“By shoring up the traditional system, Shepstone hoped that Africans would be kept in a traditionalist cocoon, which would impede the growth among them of political consciousness incorporating a desire for racial equality”.

Furthermore, (Thompson, 1973, p 209) argues that:

“If Africans were firmly rooted in chiefdoms that perpetuated their disunity, they would be less amenable and less ‘available’ to any political movement that might seek their support in demanding racial equality. Traditionalism, in other words, was a stabilizing device, not only for ordinary bureaucratic purposes but also in relation to the ‘new politics’ which were emerging (and of which Shepstone was aware) the new politics was the harbinger of African nationalism”

According to MacMillan (1949), a further rationale behind the acts of Shepstone in relation to traditional authority was to preserve indirect rule. Where policemen in charge of rural areas could only visit rural areas on an occasional basis, traditional leaders would be there to maintain peace and stability (MacMillan, 1949, p. 213).

In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the roles of traditional leaders were minimally interfered with by the Boers power, unlike in Shepstone’s Natal, where it was assumed that the power of traditional leaders was bolstered to keep them in control of African reserve lands (Hendricks & Ntsebeza, 1999; Davenport, 1986). While many armed confrontations between

Africans and Boers, tensions between the Africans and the British led to wars that lasted 'hundreds of years' Mbeki (1984). For example, in the Cape Colony there were so called 'frontier wars'. Some of these involved retaliations by traditional leaders who felt their power and resources were being eroded. The Africans at the Cape had a number of distinct groups, including *amaThembu*, *amaMfengu* and *amaMpondowere*. It was through these divisions of the different groups that the British were able to exploit traditional authorities and further divide and rule Africans.

The act of making chiefs government officials and giving them a government stipend highlighted a dynamic shift in the roles of traditional leaders; traditional leadership had been transformed from being accountable to the people into being subjects of the British government (Ntsebeza, 2002). Furthermore, the activation of Glen Grey Act 25 of 1894 ensured that African people did not own land or any type of property; however, they could use the farms as they pleased. To this end, traditional leaders were made custodians of the colonizers' land. This Act stated that African people were expected to pay taxes for leasing the land. In addition, this infuriated African people against their traditional leaders as they were considered catalysts of the movement (Matloa, 2008).

This era highlighted a significant change in the role dynamics of traditional leadership, the era of colonialism shifted the responsibilities of the traditional leadership institution in favour of the colonial government and functioned in accordance with the laws each of the colonies had prescribed (Matloa, 2008). This type of affiliation to the colonisers had changed the institution's credibility and made the institution very unpopular amongst the Africans that were divided in the two territories, the Cape and the Natal Colony.

2.3.2 Assimilation versus Segregation

Glen Grey is the former name for the area around Lady Frere, east of Queenstown, in what is now the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The Glen Grey Act, Act 25 of 1894 was probably the best known measure passed by the parliament of the Cape Colony as it contained one of the earliest uses of the concept of 'territorial segregation' by the Cape government. Only functional in the Cape Colony, The Glen Grey Act was introduced into the Cape Parliament by then Prime Minister, Cecil John Rhodes, on 12 July, 1894, and was a system of provisions legislating individual, rather than communal, land tenure. It included a labour tax to force

Xhosa men into employment on commercial farms or in industry. In addition, this legislation was particularly a move to assimilation, a mechanism that would work to remove chiefs. (Matloa, 2008).

Hammond-Tooke (1974) argues that the enforcing of this Act further eroded the power of traditional leaders. By the time the last frontier war of 1879 was over, the widely held view was that traditional authorities had been defeated. The British, however, maintained their ambiguous position of simultaneously undermining traditional authorities, whilst preserving a role for them. Shepstone of Natal advocated this regime insisted that “the chief held land in trust on behalf of the tribe, and that people used the land in subordination to the chief on communistic principles” (Channock, 1985, p 25).

The Glen Grey Act had three purposes - a land tenure arrangement, labour tax and a system of local government, apart from relieving the Cape Government of the costs of administering the Transkei (Chege, 1997). Rhodes also saw this as a gentle stimulant to remove them (the natives) from “a life of sloth and laziness” thus teaching them “the dignity of labour” (Tabata, 1950, pgs106-7). Much opposition surfaced from this notion, which was to eradicate traditional leaders as a form of leadership in the Cape, this notion was consequently dropped in 1905. In contrast to Shepstone, who believed that traditional authorities were an integral part of racial segregation, Rhodes insisted that traditional authority was not significant to his strategy Chege (1997). Chege (1997) further points out that the use of local rulers in his territory created a strong support system in sustaining direct colonial rule. Although traditional leaders and their headmen; who were responsible for the small day to day administrative tasks on behalf of the traditional leaders were a legal arm of government and were responsible for administering Africans in the African districts. Rural people could appeal against sentences imposed by traditional authorities and headmen, but it was the magistrate, to whom the appeals were lodged, who had the final say.

In light of the debates around the position of traditional leadership in colonial South Africa it is therefore imperative to conclude the section by pointing out the following facts. The discretionary appointment of traditional leaders was thus an indication of how the roles of African authority rule was altered to suit the colonialists. In addition, the receiving of salaries by these chiefs meant that they not only neglected their duty to report to the people, but also diverted accountability to the colonial government. In addition, an effective way of gaining majority support for the colonial government was to stabilize the transition between the two

parallel regimes, by preserving the traditional gatherings of councillors, chiefs and married men, who dealt with minor disputes. Although they had lost the right to own land or divide it, they were a channel for rural people to access land. Apartheid, however, would again modify the status quo of traditional leadership through the rule of the Afrikaners.

2.4 Traditional authorities under Apartheid

Colonization would not be the end of White domination in South Africa; a harsher form of segregation and suppression was to follow for Black Africans. The 1948 advent of apartheid is deemed to be a further erosion of the institution leadership system in Southern Africa. The Union of 1910 ushered in a number of laws that administered Africans in each of the colonial territories, these laws would later lay the foundation for the regime that followed, which was coined by the Afrikaners as apartheid. In essence, this section focuses on the shift in role of the traditional authority from the colonial times right up to the era of apartheid.

In reflecting back to the 1910 of Union, this era laid the basis for one of the key pieces of legislation, the Natives Land Act of 1913, which provided for territorial segregation and, later, apartheid. This Act constrained Africans to reserves where they would occupy, but not necessarily own, land, especially in rural areas (Ntsebeza, 1999). Africans in the Cape colony were not largely affected by the new law as they had already been divided into reserves; however, the law paid much attention to Africans in Boer republics that had enjoyed more flexibility under their rule (Davenport & Hunt, 1974).

The British policy of indirect rule had been a concept of maintaining Africans in administrative rule in the colonial era; however, the advent of the apartheid regime in 1948 by the Afrikaners picked up from where the British had left off, but with a sterner obligation to manage Africans and maintain the master-servant relationship Ntsebeza (2002). Ntsebeza (2002) notes that the structure of the traditional authorities' monopoly on power in native reserves changed when the apartheid government introduced its own authorities in the areas that were previously demarcated according to ethnic categories by the British.

Strategic homelands were introduced by the Afrikaner government in the late 1950's. Four homelands were created by the apartheid regime in South Africa; these were: Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana. These areas only made up approximately 13% of the whole

land (Ntsebeza, 2005). The then prime minister of South Africa, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, introduced a significant piece of legislation called The Promotion of Black Self-Government Act, whose main objective was to create self-governing black units (Constitution of South Africa, Act 46 of 1959). The Black population was arranged and categorised into national units based on language and culture. According to the Act, the homelands were to be administered according to nation, considering the fact that all the units had their own culture. Each nation had to develop according to its own culture and own tribal government; no unit was to interfere with the other's governance (Worden, 2000). In a speech made by Verwoerd, he defended his viewpoint of the homelands system by suggesting that if all these races were not separated, in time Western supremacy would gradually deteriorate Khunou (2007). The path to be taken by the Nationalist government would be to separate each of the different races accordingly. This would also be enforced in laws that regulated the division, particularly of Blacks who constituted a bigger population and needed to be divided according to ethnicity (Ntsebeza, 1999). Khunou (2007) suggests that the communities in these Bantustans were to be guided and led by the traditional leaders, who were randomly deployed to guard against any uprisings conducted by Blacks. Traditional leaders enjoyed the benefit of ruling their respective subjects, but fell into the trap of a regime that used them to suppress Blacks while sustaining White domination (Khunou, 2007).

According to Khunou (2007) the South African prime minister following Verwoerd, John Vorster, differed slightly from his predecessors. Vorster saw segregation as an effective way for each nation to determine its own future but, above everything, it was a way to keep the White population safe. Voster (cited in Khunou, 2007) believed that there would be a promotion of race and self-determination to be exercised by each of the races. However, given the shifts in governance and increased segregation, the eminence of traditional leaders surged up at this stage. Traditional leaders were given the right to be administrators of their respective lands; however, their roles had been modified by government (Ntsebeza, 2005). The main purpose of traditional authorities had changed to one of curbing revolutionary activity against the apartheid state and the Bantustan system, and to extend control of the Bantustan. This reduced the legitimacy of traditional leaders in the eyes of their people, who suggested that the traditional leaders had stopped serving the communities but were now serving the government (Ntsebeza, 2005).

During the periods of 1950 to the 1980's, the time of South Africa's resistance movement against the apartheid regime, political parties like the United Democratic Front insisted that the

traditional institutions should be disbanded and that the people should elect democratic representatives and be governed by a representative legislature (Ntsebeza, 2005). The African National Congress, which was formed in 1912 by many traditional leaders, amongst others, condemned the traditional leadership structures of the Bantustans which were administered by the former youth president of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party president and Zulu chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Maloka & Gordon, 1996). The ANC condemned Buthelezi for being the enemy of the people and for relying greatly on apartheid structures. To consolidate their power, in September 1987, 38 progressive chiefs formed the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, which would not be involved in party politics but would be solely focused on the rights of traditional leaders as contestants of government (Maloka & Gordon, 1996).

With the growing pressure from civil society and banned political parties, the apartheid government weakened; the 1990's brought on a significant turn in power when, in February 1990 ANC President Nelson Mandela was released from prison after being imprisoned for 27 years for plotting to overthrow the government and for treason (Mandela, 1996). The unbanning of the various political parties that opposed the apartheid regime and the move towards establishing new united South African state spelt the end of Bantustans and the power possessed by traditional leaders. Seeing the daunting threat to their job security and traditional authority, the progressive thinkers among the chiefs joined the Congress of Traditional Leadership of South Africa which was aligned with the United Democratic Front. This organization represented chiefs but, unlike the IFP, fought against the model of Bantustans (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009). This grouping created a big support base for the ANC, William (2010) further asserts that traditional leadership may have been recognised by the ANC considering that chiefs had contributed greatly to the formation of the organisation, hence most of the ANC's leaders were former chiefs.

During the transition to democracy, in rural parts of KwaZulu-Natal, chiefs had to calm the violence among the youth who were critical of the two opposing African parties that had dominated the fight against White oppression (William, 2010). Meetings between the IFP, which supported traditional leadership, the ANC, who had lost faith in the institution, and other liberated political parties who were to form a resolution with the Nationalist party, commenced with the ANC taking the forefront with modest help from traditional leaders. Tension grew between clusters who maintained that traditional leadership was incompatible with the ideal of democracy. Govan Mbeki, a rooted member of the ANC, amongst others, was not at all confident in the future of traditional leadership in a new South Africa (Harries, 2005).

In certain areas dominated by the IFP there were some who prevented the ANC from recruiting. During The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), these minor hostile wars were prolonged to the bitter end. While chiefs like Mangope, who had been suggested to be patriots of the apartheid regime, defended apartheid. This highlighted a division in the institution of traditional leadership, and consequently causing the institution of traditional leadership to fall into disrepute (Harries, 2005). After chief Buthelezi had witnessed that most of the former Bantustans, like Venda and Ciskei, had fallen to the ANC, the leader of the IFP refused to give in (Harries, 2005). Even with this party politics division, others though stayed confident that traditional leadership promised a return to the perceived stability of traditional way of life.

Ciskei and Venda had decided to form a new independent state and the Kwa-Ndebele royal family endorsed the decision to support the ANC in their fight against apartheid (Cobbet & Cohen, 1988). However, traditional leaders did not settle for becoming puppets of the ANC when they supported it; their only intention was to form part of the government and keep their land, regardless of who they joined (Harries, 2005). Negotiations for the transfer of power became more formal, with the traditional authorities bargaining unsuccessfully to be part of the first negotiations in 1993, at Kempton Park, with leaders bargaining for a place in the new democracy as well as a framework for participation in the new constitution. The vote of traditional leaders was acknowledged and was thus given a substantial position in the interim constitution, otherwise known as section 181 Interim Constitution Act 200 of 1993 (Harries, 2005).

The Interim Constitution stipulated that traditional authorities would continue to exercise the duties they already had and have their statutory powers preserved (Ntsebeza, 2005). Although they lost the battle not to have women in leadership, they had to have female representation in some parts of their structures, but this was a small defeat compared to what they had been spared (Ntsebeza, 2005). What was more of a controversial issue was the restriction of the traditional leaders' right to vote, which limited them to an ex-officio status in the assembly (Ntsebeza, 2005).

The decision to preserve the powers of traditional leaders and to usher the institution into a democratic dispensation proved to be a lifeline for traditional leadership, however, the extent to which their powers would reach was unclear. The period of colonialism accorded closely with that of the apartheid area, with traditional leadership playing the role of administrators in

the African territories. However, between the transitions from apartheid to democracy, traditional leaders were divided by party politics, some supported the way of governance of the apartheid government because it offered them power. While others became the centre of political party feuds between the ANC and the IFP. These contrasts in the arrangements of traditional authorities highlighted the eagerness of traditional leaders to form part of governance. To this end, the following section examines the traditional leadership in a democratic dispensation and the extent to which roles of the institution transformed from apartheid to democracy.

2.5 Democracy and Traditional Leadership in South Africa

With the coming into power of the first democratically elected government, the 1994 ANC government composed a constitution that was embedded with the principles of democratic laws which promoted both equality and democracy (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Even after the final constitution had been finalized, the future of traditional leadership was still uncertain because of its ambiguous state in contrast with South Africa's democratic system. However, the ANC promised their representation in developmental local government. What would follow, though, would be the White Paper on Local Government, 1998, which paved the way for co-operative governance. The period from 1994 to 2003 brought forward many debates around the role of traditional leadership. In 2001, the number of traditional leaders stood at 800 and their headsmen at 1000, which left the new government with little choice but to incorporate the institution into law (Khan & Lootvoet, 2001). In the following section the discussion focuses on the position of traditional leadership after 1994.

With regards to local governance, the dawn of a new South Africa meant that democratic representation became the order of the day (White Paper on Local Government, 1998). Local government held the most power with regards to the day-to-day competencies. Municipalities therefore became the new medium for service delivery; and essentially this meant that the day-to-day administrative duties of local government were to be taken up by the respective democratically elected officials. The newly elected government, the ANC, placed particular emphasis on classlessness and preferred leadership through democracy (Freedom Charter; June 1955). With this on the agenda, it was also envisaged that the roles of traditional leaders, whose function it was to oversee the basic services in the respective rural areas which they occupied,

would continue thus creating a balance of power between democratically elected councillors and traditional leaders. However, the roles of traditional leaders in this era would contrast those that had been assumed during the colonial and apartheid eras (Khan, 2001). The inclusion of traditional leadership into a democratic dispensation meant that the nature of institution would have to evolve, therefore including women into governance and introducing other democratic ways of governance than those that functioned in the past (Ntsebeza, 2005) .

At local level, in rural areas in particular, the administrative functions of traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors had gradually become similar over time (Ntsebeza, 2005). Both institutions represented the voice of their respective local contexts, both institutions dealt with the day to day grievances of the people and essentially both institutions were considered as a substantial form of authority in their respective locals (Bentley, 2005). In some municipalities, rural ones in particular, this type of administration led to conflicts between the two institutions who were now co-governing the same areas. The much anticipated White Paper on Local Government of 1998 was thus meant to be an instrument that gave effect to the responsibilities of local municipalities and traditional leaders after 1994. However, the paper failed to revise the precise roles of traditional leadership. If anything, the paper did little more than outline the roles of traditional leaders in the previous regime (Khan & Lootvoet, 2001).

Ismail (1992) asserts that, at best, the functions of traditional leaders at local governance were broadly spelt out and encompassed responsibilities regarding the distribution of land, resolving disputes, urging the government to extend development in their areas, and lending contributions where needed. Ismail (1992) further argues that these types of roles were not adequate enough for an authority bearer in the new democratic era. Furthermore, to the dismay of traditional leaders, Khan & Lootvoet (2001) suggest that they were further confronted with the issue of the amendment of the Municipal Structures Act 1998, which further restricted the responsibilities of traditional leaders in customary law and community issues (Khan & Lootvoet, 2001). In addition, Ismail (1992) accuses the democratic government of being imprecise with the functions of traditional leaders and of merely making platitudinous statements regarding the role of the chiefs and not giving any proper direction on the clarity of their functions. Ismail (1992) goes on to add that indigenous governance would have a rather strong hold in consolidating efforts towards democracy among the African people, knowing that they are still acknowledged as vital power structures due to their continuing control over land.

To make things even more complicated for traditional authorities, in 2000, they were faced with even greater hardship, when metropolitan areas were introduced, incorporating the former tribal lands into the jurisdiction of the democratically elected metropolitan municipality. The example of the Durban Metropolitan region, which increased its jurisdiction by 65% in 2000, incorporated surrounding rural areas which were ruled by chiefs into their boundaries. The Municipal councils were constituted to accommodate traditional leadership, but with a representation of merely 20%. This included a portion of the sixteen traditional leaders around the Durban area who had been annexed into the municipal boundaries of the Durban metropolitan region (Khan & Lootvoet, 2001). Khan & Lootvoet (2001) argue that angry chiefs drew comparisons between the responsibilities they had in the apartheid era and those spelt out by the 1994 government. Furthermore, The Municipal Structures Act of 1998 excluded traditional leaders from making decisions regarding their areas. The Act successfully excluded traditional leaders from having any say with regards to matters of local governance, they were left without the right to vote at municipal council meetings, therefore leaving making them ex-officio members who could only sit in meetings but could not partake in voting processes that regarded local governance (Khan & Lootvoet, 2001). This understanding further frustrated traditional leaders and created a general consensus amongst them, that the government would soon establish a new form of authority that would soon replace and exclude them from any government participation.

Khan (2001) maintains that these traditional leaders had concerns over allegations from their communities, who perceived them as puppets of the new government instead of an independent institution that is a driver of sustainable development and change (Khan, 2001). Through the early 2000's, traditional authorities continued to argue that municipal officials took up legislative and judicial responsibilities of service delivery in areas that had been administered by them, and that this was an attempt to diminish the institution (Tshela, 2005). According to Khan & Lootvoet (2004), the demarcation of the Durban Metropolitan area, which served as a good example of the processes taking place, comprised eighteen wards and an additional sixteen tribal wards. Traditional leaders were compelled to individually bargain with local councillors for cooperative relationships in an attempt to show their hegemonic powers, and also to protect themselves from any exclusions, since the government had not properly laid out their responsibilities in these areas (Khan & Lootvoet, 2004). One can extrapolate that this was taking place in a similar way in many areas.

One may argue that the reason traditional leaders do not see eye-to-eye with elected leaders on most instances is because of the impression that councillors administer the same activities that were used to be taken up by traditional leaders in local communities before the advent of democracy (Ntsebeza, 2005). However, the confusion seems to lie in territorialism, where councillors perhaps assume that underdeveloped rural communities need change in order to compete with bigger municipalities or localities, with an emphasis more on the growth of communities. It is possible that traditional leadership looks at preserving the traditional way of life, focusing on the basic needs of the people and relying on an indigenous way of life by the community (Khan & Lootvoet, 2004), although this cannot be simply assumed.

We have thus far looked at the position of traditional leadership after 1994, particularly at how their responsibilities shifted from them being the prime facilitators of service delivery in their respective locals, to the sharing power of local governance along with democratically elected councillors and right up to losing the power to making decisions at local level. With this in mind, it is essential to critique whether the institution is still relevant in contemporary South Africa. Therefore, the following section scrutinizes contrasting debates between proponents of the institution's relevance and those who oppose it. To add, the interest in the relevance of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa is particularly focused on how it affects the discourse of local economic development.

2.6 Traditional leadership in a democratic South Africa

With contemporary South Africa embracing a liberal constitution which is based on the values of fairness and equality, some still argue that it is a contradiction that the institution of traditional leadership lies within the confines of a democratic constituency. To this end, the following section explores competing ideas over traditional leadership's relevance in a democratic dispensation. These ideas include how the institution has been integrated or sidelined as a form of governance in the democratic era, and also towards the end of the section, the relevance of a traditional institution in a democratic dispensation.

2.6.1 The dynamics of traditional leadership governance in a democratic society

Traditional leadership as a form of authority has been recognised in many of South Africa's regimes (Ntsebeza, 2005). It appears unclear as to whether the roles and powers of traditional leaders in South Africa have been infringed or clearly integrated into the modern society. This

is because the roles and responsibilities of institution of traditional leadership has been altered throughout the years to accommodate the different regimes South Africa has experienced. Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that the constant modification of Africa's traditional leadership was a devious and manipulative instrument used by the colonialists to manipulate Africans and manifest separate development. It therefore infringes on and contradicts the ideal of democracy and its principles. This statement by Ntsebeza (2005) identifies the institution of traditional leadership as a susceptible and gullible structure that is manipulated into assuming roles that benefit the government of the day. It is imperative to note that the idea of traditional leadership as a form of authority in South Africa, even after 1994 has been realized and endorsed by the government. The following legislative policies were introduced after 1994 in an attempt to integrate traditional leadership in the overall governance of South Africa.

The Final Constitution Act 108 of 1996

The final drafting of the 1996 Constitution specifically acknowledged the institution of traditional leaders and their place in the new South Africa, and expected leaders to continue participating in decision-making at local government level. However, it was insisted that the 1993 interim constitution was more favourable to traditional leaders, due to the great impact CONTRALESA had had on pre-election negotiations (Ntsebeza, 2005).

Council of Traditional Leaders Act 13 of 1997¹

After the coming into power of the ANC led government in 1994, the Council of Traditional Leaders Act was passed in 1997 to explain the composition and powers of the house. This council was introduced to represent the traditional leaders that represent each of the wall to wall municipalities in South Africa. Much confusion still exists regarding the power traditional leaders have, in their influence in decision-making and their role in the democratic South Africa. The council of traditional leaders still exists and still lobbies for the rights of traditional authorities in South African parliament.

Legislation endorsing power to govern

After numerous adjournments, in 2003, parliament finally passed two pieces of legislation that aimed to explicate clearly the role of traditional authority and their power in the new South

¹ (This was repealed and is now known as the National House of Traditional Leaders Act, no. 22 of 2009)

Africa. The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003 and The Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004. These two policies regulated the inclusion of traditional leaders into governance, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003 identified traditional authority as a legitimate form of local government, which would work hand in hand with democratically elected councillors. In addition, the government endorsed the formulation of The Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 that would give traditional leaders allocative and administrative powers of land in rural areas.

On 8 October 2003, an amendment of the Communal Land Rights Bill was passed into an Act- Act 11 of 2004. Campbell (2007) stated that the amendment seemed to be a step in the right direction in addressing the grievances of traditional leaders. It states that councils established in terms of the framework will have land allocation and administering powers and functions in communal areas, despite sceptics like Ntsebeza (2005) who suggested that this would bring out a greedier form of traditional dictatorship as leaders would be bitter because of their compromised role, and this would contribute to a greater chance of power abuse and mismanagement. It should be noted that The Communal Land Rights Act was repealed after it was challenged in the constitutional court and found to be unconstitutional. Furthermore, in 2009, parliament passed the amendment of The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003, which would be- Amendment Act (23 of 2009). The excitement following the amendment of the latter act was short lived following the failure of the amendment of the act to critically address the crucial matter around the position of traditional leadership in local governance.

2.6.2 Critiquing the integration of traditional leadership in contemporary society

Traditional leaders in Africa have always been seen to be leaders of their people, however, some argue that because many traditional leaders are not appropriately educated, this made them powerless against the unjust regimes during the colonial and apartheid era's (Crais, 2002). Crais (2002) suggests that traditional leaders are considered as easily manipulated leaders who adapt to any regime, and often through propaganda. However, literature shows that traditional leadership has evolved and been modified over the years through the different regimes and has managed to sustain itself throughout the different epochs.

Some people blame these leaders for falling prey to various regimes through their greed by accepting the 'huge' incentives given by the colonizers of that era. Gordon (1997) further hints

that the inability of traditional leaders to be transparent and accountable might in addition, be the reason why traditional leaders have such a low impact in modern governance.

The fact that South African legislation is premised along democratic principles makes it all the more difficult to adequately integrate traditional leadership in governing structures. The fact that a democratic dispensation requires democratic representation of governance makes it an even bigger challenge for traditional leadership to be compatible with the prerequisites of local governance (White Paper on Local Government, 1998). To this end, this suggests that traditional authority may still find it difficult to cut through the social expectations of contemporary society, this is because traditional authority is only relevant to certain groups, particularly black Africans who reside in rural areas.

In assessing how traditional leadership has been integrated into democracy, Ntsebeza (2005) asserts that it is imperative to realize its dynamics as a form of authority, particularly its efficiency or inefficiency to represent the whole constituency of South Africa, hence the realization of the roles given to traditional leaders are only active in rural areas and not across all parts of the municipality. This notion highlights a disconnection in consistency and efficiency. When looking at whether traditional leadership has been integrated or side-lined in democratic South Africa, it is also important to critique the extent to which government has gone to include traditional leadership in society. The policies government has laid out have been ineffective partly because the power of traditional leadership has always been selectively exercised over only certain parts of society (Ntsebeza, 2005). It is for this reason that the following section investigates the extent to which traditional leadership is relevant in contemporary South Africa.

2.6.2 Critiquing the relevance of South African traditional leadership in a democratic dispensation

Authors like Koelble (2005) suggest that the principles of democracy, underpinned in South Africa's constitution, are incompatible with those of traditional leadership. Koelble (2005) adds that, because of the infiltration of democratic ideals into society, autonomous and economic models will soon be likely to replace traditional leadership. Koelble (2005) further suggests that the nature of the institution is dictatorial rather than one that embraces choice and freedom.

Mbele & Sithole (2008) reference Mamdani (1996) who suggests that rural citizens under traditional authorities are not true citizens, adding that they are subjects of an undemocratic authority that does not have systems of accountability to the people. In essence, Mbele & Sithole (2008) suggest that traditional leadership does not allow everyone to have the same chance of being elected, with biased attention given to male adults and marginal attention to women and children. In addition, Bentley (2005) suggests that women are deprived of their constitutional right to own property and have a voice in society in rural areas. This makes traditional leadership incompatible with South Africa's Bill of Rights and Constitution, thus proving to be irrelevant in a democratic dispensation.

However, supporters of traditional leadership expect the institution to resurge into the political context. Oomen (2006) highlights how traditional leadership has been taken through a number of eras throughout South African history. She suggests that the resurgence of traditional leadership relies on the powerful minority, the elites, particularly those in government who have the authority to bring it back. However, Oomen (2006) further suggests that it is unclear why the institution of traditional leadership is given so much attention by the government, even though it oppresses the fundamental ideals of democratic governance.

In addition, Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that the resurgence of traditional leadership in the democratic context has been influenced by national and local elections which partly count on people residing in rural areas who make up a substantial percentage of the population of South Africa. Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that the ANC government supports traditional leadership for its influence on the rural people when it comes to influencing them to go to the polls. He further criticizes certain traditional leaders for inappropriately utilizing the resources of the traditional leadership institution for satisfying a political agenda, mentioning individuals like chief Holomisa, who was a member of the ANC and leader of the Congress of Traditional leaders of south Africa (CONTRELSA) and also chief Nonkanyana, who was a member of the ANC member and also the general secretary of CONTRELSA. Ntsebeza (2005) argues that these two chiefs ensured that they use their positions as Members of Parliament to advance the interests of their own constituencies.

The assertion by Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that the reason traditional leaders are still in power may be because of the favour of the elected government, further suggesting that there may be a type of lip-service between the current elected government and the traditional leadership institution. This is seen in the government's inability to formulate appropriate roles for

traditional leaders in South Africa (Ntsebeza, 2005; Oomen, 2006). In light of the competing arguments around the relevance of traditional leadership in a democratic dispensation it is imperative to add that because of the cultural dynamics of traditional authority, it is difficult to project the life span of traditional leadership in South Africa. The reason for this is largely because this institution is mainly relevant particularly to those who reside in rural areas, which is only a significant portion of South Africa's constituency.

In light of the various contestations around the position of traditional leadership in governance, it was therefore imperative for the study to scrutinize the basis of traditional authority in South Africa in this section and also the dynamics behind the institutions involvement in a democratic dispensation.

2.7 Conclusion

As evidenced in the discussion presented here, traditional leadership has played a vital role in rural and economic development in rural areas throughout different epochs of South Africa's history. The purpose of this chapter was thus to examine the institution of traditional leadership, reflecting at how the institution has evolved over the years and how it currently stands in contemporary South Africa. The purpose of this was to inform the aim of the study, which is to scrutinize the roles of traditional leaders in local economic development in the uThukela district.

So far, the recognition of traditional authority is still embraced in South Africa, even though it is partly marginalized because of its so called incompatibility with the country's democratic structures. Essentially, because of South Africa's complex history, it is not easy to cast aside the different norms to which society has been exposed. Additionally, with the discourse of development being a prime objective for local governance, the current government faces many complexities in dealing with development in rural areas. One reason for these complexities lies in the difficult relationships between democratically elected councillors and traditional leaders at local level. Lutz (2004) suggests that one of the most important goals of LED is alleviating poverty, particularly in rural areas, a portion of contemporary South Africa that bears the greatest underdevelopment. In essence, when scrutinizing local governance dynamics, it is imperative to note that, unlike in urban areas, rural areas require a careful and dynamic approach when addressing developmental dialogue. Even with their differences, the sharing of

power in certain rural areas demonstrates how influential the two stakeholders are in South Africa's social discourse .

The theoretical framework continues in Chapter Three. This chapter will examine the discourse of local economic development in South Africa and address how the dynamics of stakeholder relations affect LED in rural areas.

CHAPTER 3

LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction to LED

The present chapter marks the continuation of the study's theoretical framework. This chapter provides a theoretical overview of local economic development from an international perspective before narrowing the focus to South Africa. Furthermore, the chapter includes an examination of the role of different stakeholders involved in LED specifically focusing on traditional leaders. This chapter further examines the dynamics of the Pro Poor/Pro Growth approach in South Africa, an approach that has marked many debates about how LED can be defined in rural contexts. Finally, the nature of this study requires that the researcher critically examine the conceptual roots of LED before conclusions can be drawn on how traditional leadership can play an effective role in facilitating LED in rural areas across South Africa. Therefore, the chapter will define the concept of LED and its approaches through various concepts and will then link the thinking on rural Local Economic Development with traditional leadership.

3.2 Understanding Local Economic Development

The section below defines LED through examination of the theoretical literature available, focusing on definitions of LED in South Africa, while also comparing these meanings with those of the developed world, where this approach was first practised.

Abrahams, (2003, p.18) defines LED as: “a process of creating wealth through the organized mobilization of human, physical, capital and natural resources in a locality. The aim of LED is to produce higher standards of life, alleviate poverty; create more and better jobs, advance skills and build capacity for sustained development in the future”. Abrahams's (2003) definition suggests that LED is an output which yields benefits from stakeholder engagement and inputs. The World Bank (2001) further adds that LED stems from the context of globalization, a concept where trade was allowed to expand across the world, allowing producers to face competition for goods and services, with each individual or nation competing to provide goods and services at cheaper and sometimes better quality. Fray (2004) suggests that globalisation

needed adequate technology for each country to meet the minimum production and competency standards. South Africa, having a fairly conservative economy, owing to its challenging past, needed to prepare itself for the bigger global economy. The first step in doing so included a focus on its primary resources (agriculture & minerals).

Fray (2004) suggests that one stumbling block in South Africa's production was that many people were deprived of the skills and opportunities to start multi-profit businesses. Because of this, LED, as a strategy by the democratic government, encouraged people to participate in the economy, even in the smallest possible way, thus giving rise to the concept of local economic development. Essentially, the concept of LED allows economic participation through entrepreneurship and creativity at all levels of society, given the challenges South Africa faces in job creation and poverty eradication (Fray, 2004).

In essence, the concept of LED can be further described as the process by which public, business and non-governmental sectors work collectively to create conducive conditions for employment and economic growth and improve the quality of life for every individual (World Bank, 2001). In addition, LED may be defined as a process whereby development does not only start and end at the local level, but also spreads into broader regional economic development.

The concept of LED has gained widespread recognition across the world, being demonstrated as a reactive mechanism to the deteriorating state of localities owing to globalization and devolution. Countries have moved from the concept of mass industrialization to accommodate more sustainable and passive markets and develop economic sustainability in less developed areas (Nel, 2005). The concept of sustainability is one that is often over-emphasized by poor countries but is still overlooked by the more developed countries. This idea is realized through the creation of robust economic growth models that have little focus on the alleviation of unemployment and poverty by the developed countries (Glasmeier, 2000). However, the idea of economic development initiatives is endorsed by many countries, with LED now being a key prospect whenever there is conversation by any state about development (World Bank, 2002). LED finds expression through a number of initiatives spelled out for the different governments of the world, community-based interventions, entrepreneurial exposure, these include special zonal promotions and also endogenous and urban development; all of which have become avenues of locally based economic strategies all around the world (Nel, 2005).

The developing world has been the subject of substantial commentary on local economic development, with a significant emphasis on the South, with post-apartheid South Africa notably being used as an experimental field for economic development (see Ferguson, 1992; Rogerson, 1995; Meyer-Stamer, 1999; Helmsing, 2002; Rodriguez Pose, 2001; Van Der Loop & Abraham, 2003). The former nature of South Africa's oppressive, despotic past has made the country a good candidate for an experimental LED initiative and the current government has been mandated to promote economic growth and address the inequalities formed in the past.

In many countries, including South Africa, LED is demonstrated by means of a pro-poor 'vehicle' which highlights developing rural areas while preserving the state of the environment (Bond, 2003). In essence, in rural areas, LED is based on the welfare and sustainability of the community and its participation in the market, rather than the neo-liberalist approach of manifesting conducive environments for competitiveness and disregarding sustainability (Bond, 2003). To this end, Hambleton, et al (2002) argue that locally based support and development has been proven to be effective in uplifting poor communities' substantiality. Looking at the pro-poor approach as a model of reference for South Africa, the concept of local initiatives has formed a link between the potentially dichotomous concepts of localism and globalism, merging the two models as drivers of society, economies and politics (Hambleton, et al, 2002). With this in mind, the core approaches to LED in South Africa mainly partnerships, participation, social capital, local leadership and local champions emerge as the critical cores of that which distinguishes the term *local*, which may be perceived as an arena for development action, leadership and intervention (Nel, 2005).

To conclude, the above section briefly looked at the basis on which the notion of LED is premised and how particular regions, mainly the Global North and Global South, define LED, based on the economic structure of these countries. With South Africa considered as a developing country, it is difficult for the country to adopt the robust economic activities of the Global North while dealing with the parallel issues of its emerging economic status. The following section will look at the various approaches of LED in South Africa with the intention of linking them to the issue of traditional leadership.

3.3 Local Economic Development in South Africa

This section assesses regional dynamics as a gauge for appropriate LED interventions, comparing developed cities to the less developed cities in South Africa. The section further presents the discourse of South African LED from a sustainability perspective while exploring how economic sustainability and economic growth can be simultaneously achieved in areas controlled by both traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors.

The post-1994 period has been one of intense transition in South Africa. After moving from a discriminatory government where rural communities experience the most underdevelopment, the government was tasked with the role of exercising uniform policies that needed to address the different regions appropriately and fairly, while simultaneously dealing with the challenges of neo-liberalism and globalization. The current government has recognized the local government sphere as key agents of change and has assigned them a duty to facilitate local economic development (RSA, 1998). In this regard, bearing in mind the position of the poorest members of the community and how they can improve their lives, the government had to promote entrepreneurial economic activity by the private sector and certain government departments by creating small to medium sized businesses and supporting economic development initiatives (Nel, 2005).

In Rogerson's (2003a) scrutiny of local economic development, he sees LED as a dualistic approach in the sense that it attempts to reduce poverty, while simultaneously promoting economic growth. However, Rogerson (2003a) suggests that it is a dynamic approach that bears both strength and weakness, regarding it as a strength that stresses that both sustainable development and competitive development should occur in harmony. However, Rogerson (2003a) further adds that LED is also a weakness because of the parallel nature of its strategies across South Africa, owing to the needs of the different localities. Nel (2005) like Rogerson (2003a) suggests that national policy put substantial emphasis on facilitating pro-poor initiatives of development in its action plan. However, in reality this does not always happen as cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town, which are considered developed cities in the context of South Africa, tend to marginalize the focus on sustainability and focus on robust growth alternatives instead (Nel, 2005). On the other hand, developing cities like Durban and Richards Bay find it difficult to adapt to a robust economic model because of their crippled past which saw segregation policies that left a large portion of the province's population

poverty-stricken and incapable of contributing to the economy because of their shortage of skills and their unfavourable environments for economic involvement (Nel, 2005).

Because of South Africa's economic and cultural dynamism, following a short 20 years into its new democratic orientation, it is still difficult to determine the most appropriate medium of service provision across the national spectrum. Bond (2003) and Nel (2004) maintain that development should not focus on the competitive aspect but rather on sustainable growth. The latter further maintain that the pro-poor approach is crucial to a developing country which still relies greatly on the government to boost economic growth, and is sceptical of a liberal approach which is an ideological belief in organizing the economy on individualistic lines, meaning that the greatest possible number of economic decisions are made by individuals and not by collective institutions or organizations, and based on strong support for a market economy and private property in the means of production (Bond, 2003 & Nel, 2004). However, even though the pro-growth approach may be instrumental in encouraging economic growth, South Africa still suffers from high inequality and unemployment, two challenges that require government intervention to lessen the gap between the haves and have-nots (Bond, 2003).

Essentially, Houghton (2011) attempts to merge the two dynamics discussed above into a holistic approach where she argues that the two are often envisaged by practitioners as being accomplished harmoniously by simultaneously alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth (Houghton, 2011). She further adds that polarizing the two approaches limits their appropriate definition because combating both poverty and unemployment simultaneously opens avenues for promised progressive and sustainable economic growth. In essence, the two approaches of pro-growth and pro-poor should not be mentioned in isolation but should be considered as intertwined. This implies that, if government focuses on creating better conditions for people, there will be a subsequent improvement in domestic growth because sometimes the only obstacle impeding growth is the lack of enabling environments (Houghton, 2011). Furthermore, in marrying the two approaches, Houghton (2011) suggests that government should focus on providing basic service provision and create better environments for economic opportunities. If this is done more effectively it will reap the desired results. Regarding the role of traditional leaders in such development, a key focus of this study, Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that, if there is coherence between traditional leaders and councillors in rural areas, there promises to be better facilitation of development growth and a subsequent increase in economic growth. Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that, one of the main factors precluding

economic activity in rural areas may be the lack of provision of basic services by the authority in charge (Ntsebeza, 2005).

The following section explores the different characteristics of South African LED, with a detailed rationale of how South Africa's LED can best be defined and approached.

3.4 Characteristics of LED in South Africa

Bearing in mind that LED is unique to each country, region and locality, it is imperative to scrutinize the aspects required to achieve progressive local economic development in each case. The following subsections give attention to three characteristics that are vital for comprehensive LED:

1. *Social Capital*
2. *Partnership*
3. *Participation*

The three mentioned characteristics are very crucial mechanisms in dealing with stakeholder relations at the level of local governance, and are significant catalysts for the latter. It is for this reason that the study includes these characteristics, as they will add value when scrutinizing stakeholder engagement in LED.

3.4.1 Social Capital: Developing Trust

The following section explores the phenomenon of social capital from a stakeholder perspective, and also scrutinizes the dynamics of this discourse in South African local governance.

The concept of social capital is described as a means of merging isolated paradigms into one, using the same core values to which both subscribe. To this end, Hunter (2011) suggests that social capital is defined by the networks amongst individuals, groups and communities that exist in society. He adds that these community networks should also be considered as human capital and social capital for LED, as they comprise competencies to be developed and used in shaping LED. This suggests that relationships of mutual trust and social cohesion shape the sustainability of LED projects amongst stakeholders. However, if these relationships are

strained from the onset, through improper relationship dynamics, there is little chance of their progressing in the future, thus leaving little opportunity for sustainability of these networks or those of LED ventures (Hunter, 2011).

In order to further understand social capital in an LED context, it is fitting to consider social capital's definition in terms of social relations and networking rather than culture and custom (Evans & Syrett, 2006). For the sake of the study, it is imperative to look at the relationship dynamics of the different stakeholders, such as the private sector, government and other institutions in LED; and particularly those between traditional leaders and councillors. In Herreror & Garcia's (2004) analysis of social capital, it is suggested that government should be the leading facilitator in creating social capital, this is because institutions such as the private sector are profit driven, which suggests that their reason for business is always to gain. While on the other hand, in terms of LED, government has a responsibility to its people to create an enabling environment that is conducive for economic activity.

Additionally, in realizing the ideal of effective social capital in LED partnerships it is also essential to understand the dynamics of the different stakeholders, in particular the overall expectations of each stakeholder (Evans & Syrett, 2006). For instance, in some rural areas some traditional leaders do not have good working relations with democratically elected councillors in their respective areas because of the stigmas attached to working with councillors (Lutz, 2004). Some traditional leaders believe that democratically elected councillors always attempt to benefit from developmental initiatives implemented by the certain funders, instead of focusing on promoting the livelihoods of their constituency (Lutz, 2004). Essentially, it should be highlighted that the discourse of social capital amongst stakeholders in contemporary South Africa still needs to be scrutinized extensively. The rationale for this lies in the inadequacy of certain collaborative efforts to work effectively towards a common goal because of the pursuit of certain personal interests by certain stakeholders (Herreror & Garcia, 2004).

3.4.2 Partnerships

Partnerships have become an integral part of developmental conversation in the 21st Century. Essentially, it is for this reason that the concept of cohesive engagement has been generally accepted as a leading catalyst for development. To this end, the present section explores the nature of partnerships in contemporary South Africa and also their contribution to LED.

Mitchell-Weaver & Manning (1992) define partnerships as a set of institutional relationships between the government and various actors in the private sector and civil society. Craythorne (2003) states that there are two basic classes of partnerships, namely, public-public partnerships between organs of the state and the community-based organisations or non-governmental organisations; and public-private partnerships, between organs of the state (such as a municipality) and a company in the private sector. Additionally, according to Hamdi and Majale (2004) partnerships offer various advantages to stakeholders (as well as risks). Ideally, advantages of partnerships may include the reinforcement of capital (both human and resource orientated), they also offer a mechanism to enable each partner to share its own specific competencies and capacities to achieve common and complementary goals more effectively (Stibbe, 2008). Stibbe (2008) further adds, the creation of partnerships offer an avenue for greater long term, sustainable economic development. However, equally so, partnerships also have the power to yield many disadvantages, mainly; bearing unlimited liability by a single stakeholder. But furthermore, the distortion of stakeholder relations may often confirm the discontinuity of such partnerships (Hamdi & Majale, 2004).

In reference to partnership failure, Rogerson (2009) makes an example of the Gijima project, which was established and funded by the European Union to facilitate LED projects across KwaZulu-Natal. The reason for the failure of the Gijima initiative was that the input requirements of the mandate were not followed. One important requirement by the Gijima projects was for the public and private sector to establish partnerships based on each project individually. Furthermore, the Gijima projects encountered what may be termed 'lip service', where the public sector beneficiaries mainly created partnerships with organized business, specifically local chambers of commerce and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), which showed little evidence that these partnerships were formed on a project-by-project basis (Marais, 2008).

However, in reference to partnership success, the case of the Midlands Meander, which was an initiative for the development of a tourism route in KwaZulu-Natal, is a classic example of positive partnerships, where the private sector took the initiative of conceptualizing and developing tourism from a previously marginalized sector into a leading catalyst for LED (Lourens, 2007a, 2007b). The Midlands Meander Association successfully mobilized the services of the different stakeholders in the areas, including the private sector local government, who spearheaded the local tourism economy by creating linkages with the different spheres of

government for assistance. In essence, shared governance in local economic development through initiatives such as partnerships gives local authorities more depth and scope for strategic developmental planning.

Essentially, these risks and advantages provide a first basis for deciding the appropriateness and subsequently the form a partnership might take. For example, where the local government lacks capacity for service delivery because they do not have access to current technologies that are needed, or they do not have enough human and financial resources and access to a particular community, partnerships should be considered to make it possible to find a solution (Marais, 2008).

In rural areas particularly, partnership relationships such as these are required to be exercised by traditional leaders, political office bearers and the private sector. In this case, models like Cross-sectorial partnerships (CSPs) are gradually becoming the preferred means of addressing societies' difficult challenges (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; Kickert, Klijn, & Koppenjan, 1997; Mandell, 2001; Rethemeyer, 2005). To this end, Stibbe (2008, p.8) defines CSP in the following terms:

“CSP's involve government, business, and civil society working together in areas of mutual interest in order to achieve common or at least complementary goals. Unlike regulated PPPs, CSPs do not result in private sector enterprises profiting directly by providing public services; rather, they tend to be 'organic' and often arise haphazardly where there is a need, with partners who share a common interest (often including civil society partners) and with a structure shaped by the history and context out of which they've formed”.

Rogerson (2009) sees cross-sectorial partnerships in LED as a gradual shift in paradigm to the effective inclusion of government as a co-facilitator of local development. Arguments raised by different authors suggest that the notion of partnerships has always existed, but that its effectiveness varies according to each context (Stibbe, 2008). However, the acute outcomes that emerge from certain cases suggest that government and the private sector often do not see eye to eye with regards to outcomes; with the private sector tending to be more liberal and seeking profit in every engagement, while the public sector tends to push for sustainability measures that may not yield much profit Marais (2008). Marais (2008) further argues that since partnerships are still a fresh concept in the LED context, they have not been central to LED planning in the past and have only recently risen to the limelight. He adds that prior to this; the private sector has had more involvement in economic development initiatives than the public sector. This may even suggest that the common driver for the private sector to be involved in

local development, whether in partnership or not is market-, resource-, or innovation-seeking motivation (Froy, 2009). Essentially, partnerships are increasingly being considered as a purposeful vehicle for expanding the involvement of different stakeholders, specifically the role of public and private sector collaborations in LED. In addition, Marais (2008, p. 2) adds that, “partnerships promise benefits arising from economies of scale, and the sharing of resources, commitment and enthusiasm”.

The aim of the above section was to outline the role and impact of partnerships in LED as a tool in facilitating this complex approach. Alongside the development of strong partnerships, participation is one of the most vital catalysts in stakeholder relations. In looking at this issue below, the researcher will present the participatory approach and explore how the different stakeholders contribute to LED. To this end, the study focuses on the participatory approach as an avenue for creating a conceptual framework that will improve the understanding of traditional leaders’ roles in LED.

3.4.3 The Participatory approach

Among the various approaches known to LED, the participatory approach resonates well with the study, mainly because local economic development requires engagement and dialogue for it to work effectively at local level, and for this reason requires adequate actor participation to achieve this. The following section therefore examines the role and the benefits of participation by traditional leadership in LED.

Torkildsen (2007) defines a participatory approach as a process that involves the inclusion of different stakeholders who meet for the sole purpose of voicing their ideas, views and concerns in a planning process and with the intention of having their concerns addressed adequately. Participation has become one of the core necessities for local economic development, acting as an incubator for many stakeholders’ inputs in the attempt to include everyone in the planning of LED Torkildsen (2007). In defining stakeholders, Torkildsen (2007) adds that stakeholders are defined by their stake in the issues and the type of contribution they are going to make; and therefore are presented as members of a group that have an operative impact in an organisation’s processes.

Torkildsen (2007) suggests that the participation of different actors plays a significant role in the outcomes of LED projects and the short or long term relationships between stakeholders.

One of the main objectives of the study is to examine whether, in the uThukela District, traditional leadership participates as a stakeholder in policy making, planning and programme implementation of LED initiatives. In looking at this topic, writers like (Lutz & Linder, 2004), who have focused substantially on the field of traditional leadership and local government, examine the current situation of traditional leadership and the nature of local governance in South Africa. They claim that the inclusion of traditional leadership in local government should be based on mechanisms that guarantee responsiveness and accountability. If these mechanisms and structures are not in place, the risk of corruption and abuse of power could ruin the ladder of development. They further suggest that the responsibilities that should be assumed by traditional leaders in local government can be categorized in a number of ways; namely, regulative, distributive/redistributive and administrative policies (Lutz & Linder, 2004). The table (Table 2) below represents possible roles of traditional leadership in a modern South Africa. With regards to the regulative policies, the roles of traditional leaders would be to prevent possible conflicts of interests regarding local development and resource management. In the allocation of communal land, infrastructure and other national policies, like tax and revenue collection, the role of traditional leaders would be a complex one, demanding special skills and an educated background.

With the Community-Driven Development Approach, Chopra & Hohe, (2004) assume that development involves partnerships between state-elected members, non-elected members, community-based organizations and NGO's, whose job is to strengthen local partnerships and facilitate links between the community and stake holders and create a conducive environment for sustainable development. Therefore, Chopra & Hohe (2004) state that traditional leadership has no single avenue for inclusion in modern structures. As such, any attempts in this regard need careful examination of the socio-political structure at the local level.

Table 2. Functions of Traditional Leaders

| Policy area | Policies | Roles of Traditional leaders |
|---|--|---|
| Regulative Policies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Regulation of the social, economic and often religious structures and norms – Conflict and dispute settlement and planning – Natural resources management | Traditional functions of traditional authorities. Possible conflict of interests regarding local development and resource management. |
| Allocative, distributive and re-distributive policies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Allocation of communal land – Infrastructure (such as roads and bridges, electricity, water etc.) – Basic services (health, education etc.) – Implementation of other national policies – Tax and revenue collection | Role of traditional structures depends on complexity and special skills needed. |
| Administrative policies | Administration of citizens, voter registration, issuance of birth and death certificates, land registration, etc. | “Modern” specialized governmental skills needed. Not traditional domain of traditional authorities. |

Source: Lutz & Linder (2004)

The above sections have examined the three pivotal approaches to stakeholder engagement, which are social trust, partnerships and participation. The following section therefore looks at how these approaches can be systematized into a model that facilitates the incorporation of all three aspects of LED for sustainable LED.

3.5 Complexity thinking and Local economic development in South Africa

In recent studies, the relationship between complexity and LED has been highlighted; this provides some useful insight in assessing LED and stakeholder dynamics. Bodhanya (2008) refers to the concepts of complexity theory and the notion of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) and their properties in critiquing the discourse of LED. He defines a Complex Adaptive System as a “system comprised of many heterogeneous agents that interact locally with each other based on local schema, such that the behaviour of the system arises as a result of feedback

relationships between the agents, and the system evolves as the schemata of the agents adapt based on the feedback” (Bodhanya, 2008, p12).

Essentially, the rationale behind the complex adaptive systems theory suggests that because of the dynamic network of interactions between stakeholders, stakeholders are adaptive in that their individual and collective behaviour changes and self-organizes according to the change-initiating individual-event or collection of events. Additionally, the function of Complex Adaptive Systems helps regulate a dynamic and intricate pool of stakeholders from a single network who face a discourse of certain similar and comparable needs. Furthermore, these systems are rich in that like dominos, what happens in a certain group simultaneously affects the whole network.

Additionally, in critiquing LED in these systems, Bodhanya (2014) further attempts to compare the framework for LED in South Africa with a cyclical model that transforms LED into different constellations and therefore different meanings while adding different stakeholder settings, in an attempt to add value to each institution. Thereafter, the cycle shifts back to LED, creating various settings for stakeholder engagement and application. He refers to this model as a nexus, which he describes as “an effective model that spans a variety of domains and geography for working with complexity at multiple scales and levels” (Bodhanya, 2008 p.3). Bodhanya (2008) further contextualizes LED by linking it with the CAS, suggesting that since the different stakeholders involved in LED are agents, but with different interests, goals and values, each agent approaches matters with different inputs and expected outcomes, so all these differences should be noted; if they are not, the concept of progress may be marginalized. By linking LED with CAS, Bodhanya (2008) seeks to answer the parallel questions of whether LED is a deliberate process or an outcome. In essence, Bodhanya (2008) resolves that LED, because of the processes and engagements involved amongst various stakeholders and these stakeholder’s different inputs, LED becomes an emergent outcome. Lastly, LED requires partnerships and collaborative efforts in order to progress and not a uniform top-down or bottom-up approach.

Below is an illustration of the Nexus Model (figure 3), which is formed by different constellations (a group with associated or similar characteristics) that are expected to exist within LED. The diagram illustrates the roles of local government (Municipalities) which are to engage in planning for LED, using tools like the IDP (Bodhanya, 2014). The brokering institution is responsible for creating and producing the value constellation, while the resource

constellation is responsible for fulfilling LED requirements. The business constellation forges partnerships among business associations and brings them together in the chambers of commerce and industry (Bodhanya, 2014).

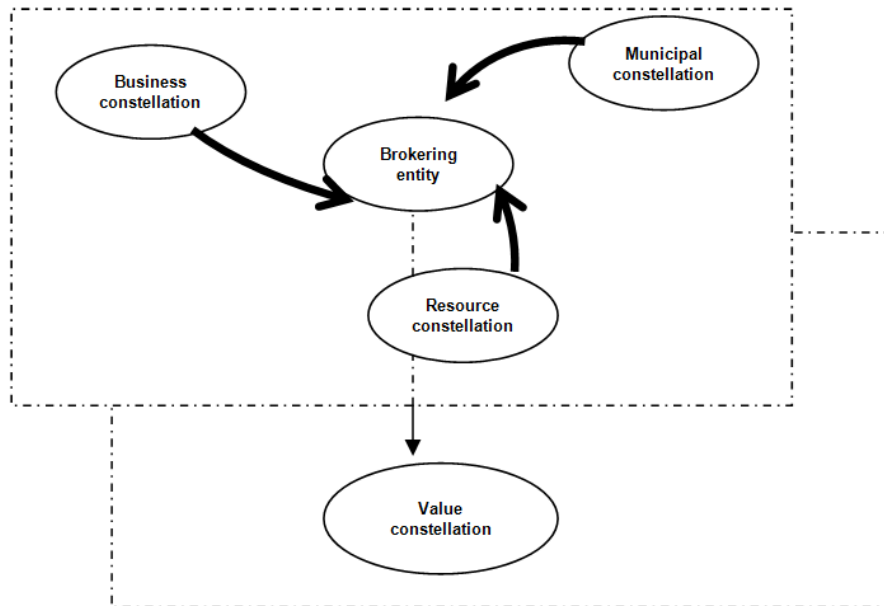


Figure 3. Nexus Model

Source: (Bodhanya, 2014)

Additionally, it is vital to understand that for LED to perform adequately in South Africa there needs to be social cohesion amongst all stakeholders, because each stakeholder arrives with different skills and resources which can contribute substantially to economic development. Therefore, the need for decentralization of power is an equally significant tool in the attempt to involve every stakeholder in local economic development, as it shifts the focus to the concept of decentralization of power in governance as an innovation of LED.

Lutz & Linder (2004) state that the shift of focus from the national to local level approach proves effective in addressing economic growth, but fails to efficiently address poverty reduction. They suggest that centralization of power is often vague and focuses on only one aspect of development, namely economic growth, instead of bettering the lives of the poor; all of which does little to describe local economic development. “The devising of large macro-economic or infrastructure programs might have led to an increase in overall economic performance, but it did not necessarily reduce poverty because the benefits of these programs did not reach the poorest parts of the population” (Lutz & Linder, 2004, p 46). A promising

alternative to the macro development approach seems to be the bottom-up approach, based on decentralization of structures (Manor, 1999). This type of system stresses participatory self-government in a communitarian way amongst all the stake holders. (Lutz & Linder, 2004) see decentralization of power as a lucrative alternative to centralized systems. This is because, contrary to the centralization approach, which stresses less on the individual needs but focuses on standardizing services, decentralization of power addresses each social context according to its own needs, and policy regulating the respective societies is often based on the particular societal needs.

Linder & Lutz constructed a list of outcomes which decentralization would holistically produce in terms of local economic development;

- i. Improved accountability: decentralization enables the people to oversee the performance of local government
- ii. Better management of local resources and revenue collection: the willingness of local government to be responsive to people's demands can lead to the willingness of households to contribute to local services. The people may also be willing to pay tax revenues if they know what they are going to be used for.
- iii. Increased responsiveness to the needs of people: the national government may not always be cognizant of specific local needs because each locality has its own distinct needs which need to be addressed differently from others.

Linder & Lutz (2004, p47) add that “decentralization in theory is supposed to bring state service providers and service users (such as basic local services, e.g. land planning, basic infrastructure, local development, health, education, etc.) in closer cooperation”, suggesting that this type of co-operative would be able to address the needs of local areas more efficiently and effectively than central government would.

Some studies have shown how decentralization has emerged as an effective tool of governance in different countries. Shah (2000) found that most decentralized countries have better participation, better judicial and bureaucratic efficiency rates, higher income equalities and less corruption. Even though decentralization is deemed most appropriate by some, others criticize the approach for shifting resources and giving local government too much power and responsibility, with the optimistic expectations of poverty alleviation left unmet (Azfar, 2001).

To this end, it is essential to assess the dynamics of LED and noting its complex characteristics before devising a singular generic tool on how to address the discourse.

The above section has examined the complexities of stakeholder relations with regards to LED in South Africa, as well as the various approaches that have to be explored when attempting to plan for LED efficiently in South Africa. The following section will therefore consolidate discussions of both theory chapters (Chapter Two and Three) to give a better conceptual direction of the study's road map from here on.

3.6 Conclusion

In examining the possible roles of traditional leaders in LED, the difficulties of shared local governance should be taken into account. Traditional authority has existed throughout South African society for centuries; hence it is imperative for the institution not to be completely overlooked. However, the way things currently stand, relying solely on traditional authority in rural areas is unlikely to be an attractive option to consider when looking at improving rural economic development. It is therefore logical to include all stakeholders in matters of local governance if there is ever a dream of improving the current practice of LED in rural areas. The involvement of traditional authorities, the private sector and civil society in a decentralized system could very well be an effective tool in bridging the gap between the expected outcomes of LED and the current reality of these outcomes.

In concluding the presentation of the theoretical framework of the study, it is fitting to recap on both section's structural orientations. In the first chapter of the theoretical framework, the researcher focused on traditional leadership in South Africa, which examined the position of traditional leadership in South African governance, as well as the complexities that affect the institution's position in LED. This was followed by the current chapter on LED. Here, the researcher defined local economic development from both a global and local context; and further looked at the approaches of the multi-disciplinary phenomenon of LED, highlighting that the comparisons of local economic development are relative according to each area's needs, and should therefore be addressed respectively. Finally, systems and the concern for decentralization of power were considered in relation to LED, it emerged that one of the most attractive ways to include all the stakeholders in LED would require a proactive and conclusive

approach, which typically includes each of the stakeholders into governance and also allows each the privilege to know their respective role and position in LED.

The following chapter looks at the methodology that was used by the researcher to collect and analyse the data for this study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on data collection procedures and the instruments used in undertaking the study. Methods are selected to give the researcher many alternatives when attempting to complete a precise piece of research (Bell, 2010). This section therefore offers a description of the order of the steps and methods utilized within this study and the rationale for their use. Analysis processes undertaken will also be presented.

4.2 Research design

According to Creswell (2014) a research design is utilized to structure the research, to indicate that all the major elements of the research have been designed to work together. The research design outlines the direction the research will follow, taking into account different tools used when designing data collection instruments (Cooper & Scheindler, 2003).

Research methods are categorized as either qualitative or quantitative. Edmonds & Kennedy (2013) assert that qualitative data collection and analysis put more emphasis on making sense of how people define, describe and metaphorically make sense of experiences. This allows the researcher to get a detailed perspective through interviewing and observation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The researcher used a qualitative design which, according to McMillan & Schumacher (2006) involves relatively small-scale studies for in-depth investigations with the aim of understanding social phenomena from the participants' perspectives, using interactive strategies in real-life situations. The core of qualitative data analysis consists of the description and classification of the data, and seeing how concepts interconnected. The quantitative method, on the other hand, is a rigid type of data collection that provides quantitative or numerical descriptions of trends, opinions or attitudes of the population; it generalizes and makes claims about the population

(McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Furthermore, the idea of mixing both methods is becoming more acceptable in the field of research owing to the intricate perspectives on problems that it provides. The design of this research is however centred on the use of qualitative methods. The reason for this is that this study is looking for synergy or the lack thereof between state elected leaders and traditional leaders in encouraging economic development in rural localities.

4.3 Secondary data

Secondary data is data that has been collected by other researchers, sometimes for reasons other than research, such as office statistics, books, administrative records or other accounts kept routinely by organizations (Saunders et al, 2009). As a way to increase reliability, the researcher made further use of literature extracted from previous dissertations and journals in the fields of traditional leadership and economic development. Other relevant data acquired by the researcher came from policy documents and economic indicators. Important sources of data were found in the Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004, The 2006 National LED framework, KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, 2005 (Act No. 5 of 2005), Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 2003, National House of Traditional Leaders Act, no. 22 of 2009 and The Final Constitution Act 108 of 1996. These documents gave the researcher a theoretical framework with regards to making interpretations of the findings. To this end, the use of these documents and interviews gave the researcher a holistic view when attempting to identify the gap between the prescribed roles of traditional leaders in LED and the practicality of these roles when executed.

4.4 Primary Data

Primary data are collected to address the specific problem at hand, and use techniques that are fit for the particular research (Berg 2009). Primary data included interviews with the selected individuals from the six Municipalities within the uThukela District.

4.5 Data collection instruments

Semi-structured interviews were used by the researcher to allow the participants the chance to express their views adequately and not be limited by answers that require standardized

alternatives (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). In such interviews, a set of prepared questions act as a guide for the researcher (Berg, 2009). While the researcher works to ensure that certain key questions are asked of every person interviewed, the semi-structured format also allowed and encouraged the researcher to interject with additional questions if appropriate. Berg (2009) suggests that these questions are well suited for the exploration of the perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues and enable the researcher to probe for more information and clarification of answers. The researcher therefore made use of an interview schedule.

The researcher made use of an interview schedule (see Appendix A), during which he asked all the participants twenty five questions which were divided into four categories and represented the four objectives of the study. These interviews were conducted both in English and isiZulu in order to accommodate each of the respondents needs; this was due to the fact that most traditional leaders felt comfortable in answering questions in their mother tongue. The researcher therefore, arranged two separate interview schedules that were presented in both English and isiZulu.

4.6 Target population

A sample consists of the selected participants from a population that possess common qualities that link to the aim of the study (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). A population, as defined by Richards (2009), is a group that has similarities with respect to one or more characteristics as defined by the researcher in the research. The characteristic in this case in respect of which the group is similar is that all members are individuals who hold some degree of power in local governance hence the decision of the researcher to include (amaKhosi, Municipal Mayors, and LED Managers) who are all office bearers of municipal local government and the local house of traditional leaders. Creswell (2009) sees a population as a segment of the world that a researcher tries to understand on the basis of observing a smaller segment of that population. The target population in this case were all the traditional leaders and ward councillors (Mayors) across KwaZulu-Natal but, because of the size of the province, it would have been impossible to interview each individual. For this reason, the researcher decided to explore one district only, the uThukela District, where the researcher conducted interviews with sixteen participants across all six of the municipalities based there. This district was chosen because a large portion

of the areas situated within the district are predominantly rural areas and are governed by traditional authorities.

4.7 Sampling and sample size

The researcher chose purposive sampling as a sampling methodology since this technique allowed him to choose participants who illustrate the features in which he is interested and that are relevant to the study (Richards, 2009). In this case being stakeholders in power, the sampled participants were traditional leaders, LED managers and mayors of the respective municipalities within the uThukela District. The different heads of these portfolios and municipalities carry the greatest authority and have the most significant insight when it comes to addressing LED issues. Probability sampling, on the other hand, is about selecting a random or statistically representative sample for generalization to a larger population; however, this study was too small for such a method (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). To this end, the researcher only required representatives who have a broader understanding about what is happening within the spectrum of local economic development, thus necessitating the purposive sampling method.

Furthermore, the study comprised sixteen participants within the sample; a total of six traditional leaders (amaKhosi) from the uThukela Traditional House took part in the interviews, each representing the different localities falling within the uThukela district. Because of the complexity of the study and limitation of time, the researcher randomly selected one chief from each of the various local municipalities to represent their municipality. The reason for this was that the different municipalities have many different chiefs who fall within the structures of a single local municipality each of equal ranking but each representing their own tribe. The sixth member of the traditional institution to be interviewed was the chairperson of the UThukela Traditional House, who also represents his traditional house in his respective local municipality and is elected by the local traditional leaders who form the uThukela Traditional House at a district level.

There were also a total of four local government councillors who participated in the study. These were mayors from the respective local municipalities who are the political office bearers of the respective local governments. The last set of participants were the LED managers who are the executors of local economic development and service delivery in their local

municipalities. This approach was to give the researcher a clear insight into the state of local economic development from a government official's perspective in rural areas. To this end, the interviews provided a rich source of information on a range of aspects with regards to the involvement of traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors in developmental activities. The interviews were a critical tool in responding to the research problem and addressing the aims and objectives of the research by careful analysis and interpretation of the data sourced.

Table three presents a list of participants who took part in the study.

Table 3.Participant List

| Participant | Date |
|--|------------------|
| Inkosi 1 (AmamboTraditonal House) | 28 August 2014 |
| Inkosi 2 (Amaswazi Traditional house) | 27 August 2014 |
| Inkosi 3 (Nkwanyane Traditional House) | 28 August 2014 |
| Inkosi 4 (Sithole Traditional House) | 29 August 2014 |
| Inkosi 5 (Abatungwakholo Traditional House) | 29 August 2014 |
| Inkosi 6 (Chairman: uThukela Traditonal House) | 27 August 2014 |
| Mayor 1 (uThukela District Municipality) | 1 September 2014 |
| Mayor 2 (Mbabazane Local Municipality) | 3 September 2014 |
| Mayor 3 (Mnambithi Local Municipality) | 6 September 2014 |
| Mayor 4 (uMtshezi Local Municipality) | 6 September 2014 |
| LED Manager 1 (uThukela District Municipality) | 25 August 2014 |
| LED Manager 2 (Mbabazane Local Municipality) | 3 September 2014 |
| LED Manager 3 (Mnambithi Local Municipality) | 26 August 2014 |
| LED Manager 4 (Okhahlamba Local Municipality) | 1 September 2014 |
| LED Manager 5 (Indaka Local Municipality) | 3 September 2014 |
| LED Manager 6 (uMtshezi Local Municipality) | 4 September 2014 |

Source: Authors Own

4.8 Data collection procedure

The procedure when interviewing the various participants was by means of acquiring a gatekeeper's letter (see Appendix C). A gatekeeper's letter is a contract that stipulates that the researcher and the participant have been bound by a legitimate agreement to assist each another, this document further asks for permission for the researcher to collect data from the municipality or department related to the study's focus. After receiving the permission from all six Municipalities, the researcher set up interview appointments with the respective participants. The interviews took place over a period of approximately two weeks because each local municipality had a representative of each of the three different participants residing in that locality. The interviews lasted for not more than forty five minutes per session; however, because of certain unforeseen circumstances, two of the eighteen participants could not be interviewed.

4.9 Data analysis

Data analysis is defined as a process of scrutinizing the data that has been received and transforming it into an important piece of new knowledge (Berg, 2009). According to Anderson (2007) thematic analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. Qualitative researchers usually transcribe data that the researcher has gathered in interviews, observational notes, voice recorders and memos using Microsoft Word. With this function, the researcher coded keywords into thematic codes which will be used when creating sub-topics to discuss in the analysis chapter. The researcher consulted more than one source which assisted in the triangulation of data when attempting to enhance the confidence of the findings.

Therefore, the researcher made use of grounded theory analysis. Bernard's (2000) grounded theory approach entails finding new meanings in the texts and linking the context into substantive formal literature. The steps the researcher took in doing this included the translation and transcription of voice recordings into one language, this owing to the dynamics of the different mediums of instructions used across the various participants. Following this, the researcher categorised the different group's responses according to the different objectives of the study. He further highlighted the main themes that developed from the different perspectives of his participants. Lastly, the researcher created headings that represented the

repetitive themes that occurred and grouped the ideas of these groups to make headings for further discussions. Together with the traditional leadership and LED literature, these themes were further used to derive substantial answers to the overall research aim and objectives of the study.

4.11 Limitations

Because of time limitations, unfortunately there was little opportunity for critical engagement and reflection on the interviews and the personalities of interviewees, however with the little time spent with each participant the researcher maintained to receive adequate responses from his interviewees. Other limitations encountered were around getting hold of all the participants as targeted, as many of these were prominent figures in their respective societies, thus making it very difficult to set accurate interviewee appointments. Sixteen of the eighteen intended participants were successfully interviewed; the remaining two mayors were omitted from the study due to time constraints and an inability to secure an interview within the time frame available. In the case of mayor six, the researcher was made aware of the mayor's unavailability as the mayor had been involved in political matters that needed to be addressed with his municipality.

However, the researcher managed to successfully email (the interview schedules) to the missing two participants and received answers via email replies. Another challenge faced by the researcher was getting appropriate answers from some participants because of their limited knowledge of certain Acts and legislation. Many traditional leaders and a few LED managers were not aware of certain Acts, e.g. Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 and the Interim Constitution Act 200 of 1993). However, in the event where a participant knew little or needed clarification on a piece of legislation the researcher familiarized participant with the required information.

4.12 Ethics

Before conducting the interviews, the researcher familiarised himself with the University's policy and procedures on research ethics and managing and preventing acts of plagiarism and understood their content. An ethical clearance letter from the University's head of research division was attached as well (see Appendix B).

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the crucial instruments for data collection and the way the researcher went about administering the data collection and analysis in this study. The interviews made it possible for the researcher to observe verbal and non-verbal reactions of the participants in concluding their responses to the questions. Also, the interview schedule assisted the researcher to stick to the objective questions and not be led astray by immaterial discussions. The interviews made it possible for the researcher to obtain information about the interface between local government's modern structure for local economic development and traditional leadership in rural development. This chapter focused on how the researcher went about collecting data relevant for the study, the methods used and the rationale for using them. This chapter further included the analysis process that was used to analyse the collected data.

To this end, the following chapter presents the analysis of the data collected by the researcher and links these findings to current research and theory.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF POWER SHARING AT LOCAL LEVEL: AN ANALYSIS OF THE OPINIONS OF UTHUKELA'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT

5.1 Introduction

The idea that democratically elected councillors maintain the largest amount of power in the arena of service delivery may be partially correct, with this notion being influenced by the amount of resources they have at their disposal. However, in rural areas the amaKhosi are influential and are greatly respected by their subjects, which should give them the upper hand with regards to service provision; but what the amaKhosi do not seem to have is the capacity to LED activities. The concept of power sharing between the two stakeholders in local governance is an attractive one if one looks at the dynamics of rural areas, for progressive development to take place in rural areas, the two role players at local level require a strategic method of power sharing that will not only hasten rural development but also not marginalise either of the stakeholders. Looking at South Africa now, the idea of stakeholder participation is an essential one, particularly in rural areas where most the land falls under the traditional authority but the resources to develop the same land typically lie within the powers of the state.

This chapter presents the findings emerging from the analysis of the primary data generated from the interviews conducted at uThukela District. The chapter is structured in order to address the study's aim and objectives outlined in chapter one.

To recap, the overall aim of the study is to explore the interface between modern democratic structures for local economic development and traditional authorities at the local government level. Therefore, the study focuses on the implications of these relationships for economic development. Furthermore, the main objectives of the research are to explore how the differences between traditional leaders and councillors affect local economic development in rural areas; the attempts made by government to include traditional leadership in its structures; and how these affect local economic development within South Africa's democratic paradigm. The chapter is divided into two sections, the roles and legislation regulating traditional leadership in uThukela District and the impact of these two variables on LED in uThukela

District. The findings presented in this chapter will scrutinize the perceptions the different stakeholders have towards traditional leadership, the roles assumed by traditional leadership at local level, as well as legislation that guides the institution. Towards the end, the section focuses on how the nature of the roles of traditional leadership and the legislation regulating it implicates on local economic development in rural uThukela.

5.2 Roles

This section focuses on the current involvement of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa, while looking at the intricacies the institution faces in its quest to become relevant in the current structures of governance. Furthermore, this section examines the effectiveness as well as the possible evolution of traditional leadership in the coming years, both from a local and national context. Lastly, in analyzing the data in this section, the findings, in this section will in addition attempt to find themes that will assist in addressing the overall objectives of the study.

5.2.1 Involvement of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa

The institution of traditional leadership has been confronted by many challenges throughout its existence in the international discourse, with the case of South Africa not being an exception (Oomen, 2006). The discussions in this section attempts to critique the institution of traditional leadership and further investigate whether it is still relevant in a democratic dispensation.

Traditional leadership is seen to have played a pivotal role throughout the different epochs of South Africa's development, hence the continuous integration of traditional leaders as a form of power in different areas of society. However, many arguments that still surface with regards to the inclusion of traditional leadership are based on whether or not the government is doing enough to incorporate traditional leaders in contemporary society with regards to playing the role of a development facilitator alongside democratically elected councillors, as there is still a general belief that traditional leaders have been side-lined with regards to developmental planning in urban and rural South Africa.

In addressing this assumption, LED Manager 3 (1 September, 2014) firmly added that the legislation of South Africa still recognizes traditional leadership as a legitimate authority, as

per the Traditional Leadership and Governance Act (2003). Mayor 2 (September 2014) seconded this, however, arguing that, in a democratic dispensation, traditional leadership would not have the same amount of power it possessed before democracy as their style of rulership was to some extent autocratic, discriminative and at times favoured those who were close to the king, be it his relatives or even close friends. LED Manager 3 (1 September 2014) also stated that “a seat for traditional leadership (or representation) in council will assist and I don’t think wards are delineated along traditional boundaries. This may result in wards cutting across a traditional authority (TA) or more than one TA in one ward (this will need to be verified)”. LED Manager 3 (1 September 2014) further argues that more still needs to be done to incorporate traditional leadership, as AmaKhosi may serve as influential stakeholders in matters pertaining to rural communities, who form part of government wards. This is in line with the argument put forward by Oomen (2005), that government had made a good effort to incorporate traditional leadership into the new democratic South Africa. One interviewee felt that the government had executed initiatives that the previous governments had not dared to provide, i.e. the addition of traditional leadership parliamentary seats in government, infrastructure, government departments representing amaKhosi and formal salaries (LED Manager 4, 1 September 2014; Mayor 2, 3 September 2014).

In essence, Tshela (2005) adds that the relevance of traditional leaders should be judged from the scrutiny of their legislative involvement in local governance, if there are plans of preserving traditional leadership in the present democratic society, government should in fact consider even redefining policy that will assist address the overlap in responsibilities, and further encourage participation from both stakeholders at local level. Maloka (2008) argues that the institution’s lifespan as a form of authority is only kept alight by a minority of elites who have a political agenda around traditional leadership and who know the latent power this institution has in influencing the masses. Perhaps not surprisingly, Inkosi 2 (27 August 2014), Inkosi 4 (29 August 2014), and Inkosi 5 (29 August 2014) all maintained that the government had unfairly pushed traditional leaders aside and introduced councilors into the positions that they as chiefs had formerly held throughout the different periods of South Africa’s development.

This discrepancy in views suggests that there are a variety of opinions as to the relevance of traditional leadership, depending on the position of the respondent. There are indications that the government does in fact have plans to integrate traditional leadership in local governance. However, the biggest problem for government in going forward from hereon may be acquiring

the appropriate legislative route for this and also setting up the appropriate time frame for a change in legislation.

5.2.2 Presence of democratically elected councillors in rural areas

In this section, the functions of democratically elected councilors in areas occupied by chiefs and headmen are analytically examined. This is done with the intention of getting more insight around what councilors do contrarily from amaKhosi in rural areas, and particularly with regards to local economic development and developmental planning. To this end, The section below aims to address objective two and there of the study.

Because legislation gives local government the means for service provision, the functions of councilors, after having heard the needs of the people from traditional leaders, are expected to execute the socio-economic and developmental needs of the people through state funds and resources (LED Manager 4; 1 September 2014). Also in their job description, councilors collaborate with amaKhosi around developmental issues and invite, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Non Profit Organizations (NPOs) to join forces with them and amaKhosi in development projects. This plan of action is dubbed by some as a ‘separate but cooperative’ one, which in fact appropriate looking at the dynamics of local governance which has different stakeholders who work at different capacities to achieve a common goal (Ribot, 2001). Furthermore, councilors have to ensure that their objectives are in line with the current Integrated Development Plan (IDP). They also arrange quarterly meetings with the community where they report to the people about what they have done and what can still be done. These suggestions make up the portfolio agenda which is submitted at the Executive Committee (EXCO) meetings along with provincial reports (Mayor 2; 3 September 2014). Bodhanya (2014) suggests that there is a coexistence between the two stakeholders but that it has been somewhat exploited owing to the minimal collaboration levels between the different stakeholders.

Local government, being the third and last sphere of governance, faces many complex challenges as it strives to achieve sufficient development throughout all the respective parts of the country. The inclusion of traditional leaders into local government as government officials could have positive or negative implications. According to LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) in a democratic dispensation where transparency and accountability is at the core of good

governance, traditional leadership, by its very nature, lacks the accountability and adequate education which are the minimum requirements to form part of government's service provisioning efforts.

However, as mentioned in the previous section, some of the traditional leaders interviewed did say that they would prefer being given the same status as that given to councilors as they work fulltime for their people but have minimal incentive or reward for doing it (Inkosi 1 et al; August 2014). According to LED Manager 3 (1 September 2014) "traditional leaders could be integrated as part of government but not as officials, rather as members of council. It would also assist if particular traditional areas were viewed as individual wards, as this would allow traditional leadership to participate in democratic systems, such as the ward committee system and would give them some form of accountability and responsibility".

To end, the findings in this section essentially addressed two objectives of the study, objective Two, which covered the integration of traditional leadership into local governance and objective Three, which focused on the extent to which the relationships between traditional leaders and democratically elected councilors affect local economic development. It appears that many officials representing the government do see a complexities in the local governance discourse, however, the findings also suggests that there is a general consensus amongst the government to include the traditional leadership institution into government, but at times there seems to be hasty competition around who should have the right to the full custody of local governance in rural areas. Addition, the constant competition around rural areas is one factor that seems to affect to relationships of both these stakeholders and as a result of this power tug, local economic development endures a stand still. However, it also appears that the constant competition if possibly fueled, more make can be in addressing LED in rural areas.

5.2.3 The presence of a traditional council in the uThukela District

While the assumption that the ideal of an inclusive governance depends on the participation of every stakeholder is correct, findings presented in this section suggest that, although a traditional council is in existence, there is great uncertainty when it comes to its operations. This begs the question of whether the lack of clarity regarding the role of the traditional council is a case of individual ignorance or whether this reflects a form of political sabotage by particular role players at local and district level. This section therefore examines the presence

of traditional leadership in the uThukela District on the basis of the importance of stakeholder engagement.

Ntsebeza's (2005) claim, that the representation of traditional leadership seems to be evident only on particular platforms (i.e. at district level, provincial level and national level) was a dominant finding that emerged amongst certain traditional leaders. Many traditional leaders felt as if their inputs in local matters were marginalized and only considered at district level instead of both local and district spheres (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014; Inkosi 3, 28 August 2014; Inkosi 4, 29 August 2014). However, there was further consensus amongst many of the traditional leaders who took part in the study, who generally suggested that the problem of representation did not only lie on being sidelined by municipal officials but also around the fact that many traditional leaders only wanted to represent the needs of their respective clans, making it hard to elect a representative that will address each wards need effectively (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014; Inkosi 3, 28 August 2014; Inkosi 4, 29 August 2014).

Inkosi 1 (28 August 2014) further added that, "because of the numbers of traditional leaders in each locality and the dynamics of the demarcation borders, it was not easy to form efficient local councils, especially since there was no legislation permitting traditional councils at local level in their areas". In addition, other traditional leaders affirmed that they had not been part of a district council yet, adding that the reason for this was because it had only just been initiated and were expecting an update from the provincial house of traditional leadership soon (Inkosi 5; 29 August 2014 & Inkosi 6; 27 August 2014).

Essentially, the question about whether there was a traditional council in uThukela was answered relatively the same way by most of the representatives of the state. LED Manager 1 (25 August 2014), noted that: "In the uThukela region there are many traditional councils or tribal authorities, but there is no unit within the municipality (administration) that deals specifically with traditional leaders". He further explained that the traditional house existed in more senior levels but was not fully effective at local levels in the eyes of the LED Managers. LED Manager 3 (26 August 2014) added that, there were local councils for traditional leaders in the respective municipalities, however, adding that, these were only officially represented at a district level.

This implies that the traditional house only meets at uThukela District, bringing together all the different amaXhosi residing in the respective localities, and does not contribute at a municipal level. The mayors of the different local municipalities were also aware of a

traditional council with Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) adding that he had heard of the council, but only knew that it was still in its formulation stages. This uncertainty suggests that the district council had been formed but that the matter of its functionality was still in question. Furthermore, the few who knew about the council voiced uncertainty with regards to when the council would be formally active (Mayor 3; 6 September 2014 & LED Manager 4, 1 September 2014).

To end, the growing trend of policy disregarding the presence of local traditional leadership councils in some parts of South Africa suggests that traditional leadership may continue to exist, however, may gradually lose its potency in the coming years if policy affirming their presence in LED is not enforced. The findings with regards to this section highlight that traditional councils are not fully understood and are not fully supported in terms of legislation. Furthermore, there is still a void with regards to policy and its execution, the provincial house of traditional leadership, which is supposed to be spearheading the initiative of creating effective local councils has not been vocal enough in addressing the matters of local and district traditional councils. Lastly, in answering objective one, which explores whether traditional leadership institutions are adequately represented in economic development activities within contemporary South Africa, the answer may not be clear cut as one would assume. The very fact that there is a form of a traditional council in uThukela, highlights that there has been a considerable step taken by government to represent them. However, part of the debate still seems to be around addressing the underlying gap between observing the institution's existence and making it effective with regards to economic development in many rural areas.

5.2.4 The nature of interactions in uThukela district

Partnerships among the vital pillars that define LED depend greatly on collaborations between different stakeholders in the community (Bodhanya, 2014). If there is no congruence between stakeholders, development will always be compromised. Since the research focused on the uThukela district, the interviewees were asked to comment about the status of the relationships between the different amaKhosi and councilors across uThukela District. Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) mentioned that relationships are satisfactory, even though there is still competition for authority between parties, with some members thinking that they are superior

to the others. Furthermore, LED Manager 3 (1 September 2014) added that relationships between parties sometimes depend on each member's political inclination. If both stakeholders are inclined to one political party, it makes relationships easier, but if they differ in political ideology and party preference, there are bound to be apprehensive encounters. "Using the available advantage of common political understanding, makes it more easy for councilors to relate to traditional leaders, some traditional leaders have political allies which is what determines most encounters" (LED Manager 5; 3 September 2014). LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) further added that: "Although there is a bit of conflict as three parties are 'governing' the same area, in principle traditional areas have a traditional leadership, local municipal leadership and district municipal leadership". He thus proposed that a distinction in functionality be made as in the case between local and district municipalities, therefore he, like Ntsebeza (2005) maintains that the role of traditional leadership needs to be clarified in order for them to cooperate and coordinate activities and development.

The above section explored the nature of interactions between individuals from the different institutions. The data suggests that even though there are collaborations between amaKhosian councillors, traditional leaders still feel undermined by having to compete with councillors for power when it comes to making decisions. What the findings also highlight is that a factor that strains relationships between amaKhosian councillors is political affiliation, an element which shifts the agenda from a professional one to a personal one. Ntsebeza (2006) further suggests that, when stakeholders are affiliated to divergent political parties it makes finding consensus very difficult and proceeding with economic development in areas which require it most.

5.2.5 Capacitating for dynamic co-operative local governance

This section reflects on the views of the participants with regards to the hypothesis of an official and distinct policy regulating co-operative governance in certain rural based municipalities. The section further scrutinizes the barricading factors that linger around the ideal of a unique, co-operative local governance in contemporary South Africa.

The discourse of development has been over emphasized throughout the last couple of years, needless to say that the pace of this has been evident throughout the different LED strategies drafted by the different municipalities across KwaZulu-Natal (Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, 2011). However, in talking about the development, particularly in rural

areas, one cannot isolate one stakeholder from the other. For rural areas to develop, it should be highlighted that democratically elected councillors cannot function without the institution of traditional leadership present. Firstly as the main custodian of the land and secondly, as the leaders of their respective reserves, traditional leadership still maintains the right to be treated as a form of authority that has different functions but is of similar ranking alongside democratically elected councillors (Ntsebeza, 2005).

Traditional leadership is different from democratic local government, Maloka (1995) therefore, suggests that, traditional leaders should also be treated differently. Traditional leadership in South Africa has always represented the socio-cultural elements of the community, while local government essentially focuses on the socio-economic elements of the respective locality, rule of law and maintenance of service provision. The autonomy of the traditional house was therefore questioned as it was still unclear whether the traditional house fitted into local government structures or not, with substantial evidence suggesting that the functionality of the traditional house is only evident at district level. To this end, Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) Inkosi 1 (28 August 2014) Inkosi 5 (29 August 2014) LED Manager 1 (1 September 2014) LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) and LED Manager 6 (4 September 2014) asserted that the uThukela traditional house, because of legislation in the Municipal Systems Framework 2009, is now “part and parcel” of local government, having ex officio status representation in local government. However, for LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) LED Manager 5 (3 September 2014) Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) and Mayor 4 (6 September 2014), traditional leadership did not form part of the municipal structures, their presence was only a formality. They argued that “many traditional leaders don’t attend to meetings organized by the municipality, DEDT or even COGTA” (LED Manager 4; 1 September 2014). Essentially, this discussion raised the question as to whether traditional leadership roles do exist within democratic government policy.

The traditional leaders interviewed indicated a strong understanding of some legislation regarding LED, like the IDP and 2006 National Framework for LED, and highlighted the mandates of these policies, including the responsibility for both institutions to work hand-in-hand in planning for local economic development. However, even with this policy mandate in place, the traditional leaders further complained that their voice in local government is marginalized by their exclusion from voting thus minimizing their need to attend meetings organized by the different stakeholders.

Many traditional leaders argue that the reason for the institution's stagnancy is because their jobs and functions were taken away by councilors. Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) brushed away the statement, arguing that "traditional leaders have not lost their roles to councilors, but have just been redirected to strategically focus on serving the people and not a former apartheid government". LED Manager 5 (3 September 2014) added that "traditional leaders have been playing a dual and crucial role in service delivery and socio-customary roles prior 1994, however, the election of democratically elected leaders has been instrumental and is fundamental for a country that has conformed to democratic principles which look to represent each individually effectively". Sithole (2006) further criticizes the position of traditional leadership in contemporary governance, suggesting that the structure of the legislation dealing with traditional leaders was formed to include traditional leaders, not on merit but as a form of compensation for the institution as a former authority of power. In addition, the ongoing competing of roles at local level is something that has created many conflicts between traditional leaders and councilors and may still continue to be a stumbling block in rural areas if proper legislation is not put in place (Inkosi 2; 28 August 2014; Inkosi 4; 29 August 2014 & Inkosi 6; 27 August 2014). Furthermore, "government requires a framework that will not only instruct the pair to work collectively but also look at possible solutions for more precise and distinctive policy in areas of common interest" Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014).

The issue of collaborative governance is still a sensitive one amongst some role players in the local governance discourse, particularly those in the deep rural areas. The findings suggest that, from a political context, traditional leadership may still be regulated to govern in some parts of South Africa's rural outskirts due to the influence the institution has. However, from a legislative context, it may be a challenge to adequately include the institution of traditional leadership into the leadership structures, considering the growing pattern of globalization and urbanistic influences the world has on South Africa. As it stands, it seems as if the right to rule by traditional leaders may only be felt in this generation, since much of its support has mostly been politically fueled over the years and seemed to be used as a catalyst in terms of maintaining political power of certain areas.

Therefore, in addressing objective Four, it is very tricky to judge the relevance of traditional leadership and its integration into governance, as it always in the middle of political contention in South Africa.

5.2.6 Effects of urbanization on traditional leadership

This section explores the way urbanization affects traditional leadership. According to Linder (2002) the inevitability of urbanization has drawn much debate over the past few years over the lifespan of traditional leadership in rural areas. Many argue that another factor that could determine the lifespan of traditional authority is the shift away from rural areas into urban areas by many people under traditional rule, which leaves these individuals with little option but to go back to rural areas that are less developed and which offer little opportunity for employment. However, others like Jackson (2009), believe that traditional leadership contradicts the core values of democracy; therefore, urbanization will gradually erase it (Jackson et al., 2009, p42).

According to Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) societal change will detract from maintaining some of the traditional leadership prescripts, because of the urbanization of areas. But tradition is viewed as a culture “which one individually chooses”. Mayor 1 emphasizes that, because of the evolution of new dispensations, some cultural norms change according to the changing social and economic environments. LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) emphasized that people urbanize for different reasons; the question is whether people residing in rural areas would stay if traditional leaders had a clearly defined role and function that allowed real economic development in their areas. He further suggested that, if traditional areas focus on their domestic products and exploit their comparative advantage, LED could be achieved. However, this requires state intervention in the form of creating infrastructure that will contribute to the effectiveness of economic activity (Nel, 2009). LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) further added that, “most young people leave to find work and only return to visit family. If traditional areas were more economically active and developed, would that still happen or will we have vibrant rural communities where people see opportunities? People may perceive traditional areas as poverty traps rather than offering rural opportunities. In order for them to succeed, management and development is required”. The point made by the respondent suggests that the current state of rural communities is not one that is attractive to today’s youth, and essentially, with the advent of urban and peri-urban settlements slowly replacing rural areas, traditional leaders will not be getting much support even from their subjects.

Additionally, in contrast to this however, Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014) suggested that, because of the trifling and slowly fading power that is now assigned to traditional leadership, it seems as if traditional leadership will soon diminish; Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014) further adds that, the

current situation is not a true reflection of how traditional leadership was originally intended to operate. In addition, Ntsebeza (2005) defends the traditional institution arguing that, traditional leaders are in their current positions for the socio-cultural and economic support of the people and should not be sidelined in government as they represent many individuals who make up the majority of people living in South Africa. Furthermore, Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) echoed some of these sentiments, adding that it is not easy for everyone to move to urban areas but that government should try to create more conducive environments for development in areas ruled by amaKhosi making specific reference to his town as an example, where aloe had been planted in the sand in the rural areas around Ladysmith. Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) added that the aloe is chopped and transported to factories around rural areas, thus creating jobs for the people in rural areas. For this reason, government should focus more on developing rural areas and creating conducive environments for economic growth and development instead of eradicating them. This suggests that traditional leadership may have a role in encouraging development in rural areas, but a lot still needs to be done; amaKhosi and local government need to find ways to work together, particularly in rural areas where poverty and unemployment is still predominant (Nxumalo, 2013).

In concluding, it is important to learn the dynamics of having different forms of authority in governance. The case of uThukela gives one a chance to understanding the dynamics around traditional leadership and how its discourse has changed along the years to make it part of the local governance puzzle. Essentially, the findings suggests that the effectiveness of traditional leadership will be affected by factors such as urbanization along the way however, it is not yet possible to predict its effective lifespan in contemporary South Africa due to the ever-changing policies in the country.

5.3 Legislation

This section focuses on policy that has been formulated to regulate traditional leadership in South Africa. This section further examines how the different laws and policies have affected local governance and the position of traditional leadership in economic development. This section will therefore highlight the dynamics behind certain policy and highlight the implications these policies have on local governance and the overall development of rural areas. Lastly, reminiscent of the first section, in analyzing the data in this section, the findings,

in this section will in addition attempt to find themes that will contribute to the addressing of the overall objectives of the study.

5.3.1 Lack of proper guiding legislation for Local Governance

Legislation, as the director of policy, drives the responsibilities of every government structure. When policy is not interpreted correctly, there is bound to be confusion of roles. This is a similar case in the respect of certain municipalities like in the uThukela, where democratically elected councilors and traditional leaders are made to compete for roles because of poor legislative frameworks. This section therefore scrutinizes the findings relating to how legislation has influenced certain roles in uThukela district and how these findings contribute to answering the object of how traditional leadership, as an old structure has been integrated in governance.

Ismael (1992) suggests that the government is somewhat inconclusive with regards to policy regulating the role of traditional leaders; LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) backs this opinion by arguing that “the roles stipulated in legislation are unclear, especially as there are wall-to-wall municipalities and elected councillors from ward level upwards”. Furthermore, it is the general consensus amongst traditional leaders that “little effort seems to have been made to distinctly state the job of the *Inkosi* in each municipality, aside from handing him an advisory role”, this is a situation that seems to frustrate many traditional leaders (amaKhosi 1-6, August 2014). However, what was established from the findings of the various participants was that there was a general consensus around the assumption that the roles of traditional leaders had seen considerable change over the different eras. Furthermore, many traditional leaders feel that after the 1994 elections their roles were strategically minimised (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014), while many LED managers and Mayors who participated in the study added that the roles of traditional leaders have only been altered as a means to fit the institution to the new dispensation (Mayor 2; 3 September 2014). (Mayor 2; 3 September 2014; LED Manager 2; 29 August 2014; LED Manager 3; 1 September 2014; LED Manager 5, 3 September 2014) specifically stated that, even though the roles of traditional leaders seemed vague, they were actually an improvement on those that had existed before the 1996 constitution. In addition, (Mayor 1, 1 September 2014 and Mayor 3, 6 September 2014) further argued that, before the 1996 constitution, traditional leaders were only given roles that would suppress African people living within native boundaries as they followed the discriminatory protocols of the apartheid

regime. Some traditional leaders however, added that they were content about how government had formally recognised traditional leadership in the constitution and admitted that, previously, they were made to do what was expected of them by the previous government without proper legislation or protocol (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014).

What surfaces from these debates, however, is that amongst the various roles given to traditional leaders before 1994, the most significant ones were that which attempted to stabilize their communities and prevent any uprising from the people against the government of the day Mamdani (1996). Furthermore, Sithole (2005) adds that these roles were also accompanied by the need to address socio-cultural needs of the various communities rather than developmental ones. Essentially, this implies that government, in any time frame, has always been responsible for development and amaKhosi have always been subordinates of the state.

To end, it appears that legislation passed may not be attractive and convenient to the traditional leaders, as particular policy seems to rely greatly on a political agenda from the national government. To this end, the findings presented demonstrate that the vagueness of policy may not just be a case of imprecise wording but rather a regime by the state to control and limit the regulation of traditional leadership in public governance.

5.3.2 Strategic Political Policy: a mechanism that has directed the roles South African traditional leadership

This section explores how strategic concerns on the part of the national government have influenced the position of traditional leadership in post-apartheid South Africa. This section seeks to further examine the second objective of the study, which is to explore the extent to which traditional leadership has been integrated in local level.

Constitutional shifts have impacted the roles of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa. The final constitution of 1996, when compared with the interim constitution of 1993, was said to have minimized the roles of traditional leaders (Oomen, 1996). The reason traditional leaders were so involved in the interim constitution was because the traditional leadership institution was an integral part of the pre-1994 election negotiations as they represented a huge portion of the black population and so needed to be incentivized into the constitution as a legitimate authority (Oomen, 1996).

In understanding the competing arguments around the position of traditional leadership throughout the interim and the final constitutions, it is essential to make note of how the changing of roles of traditional leaders throughout this period was mainly based on a difference in political ideology and how the change was mostly determined by who has the power. Furthermore, (Inkosi 3, 28 August 2014; Inkosi 4, 29 August 2014; Inkosi 6, 27 August 2014) like many other traditional leaders argue that the reason behind the altering of their roles was more political and was more of a strategy to diminish the authority of traditional leadership in South Africa. In addition to this, Khunou adds that, even prior to 1994, the roles of traditional leaders have always been dictated by the presiding government (Khunou, 2011). However, LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) and Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) also suggests that the reason for the involvement of traditional leaders in the 1993 constitution was because the only way traditional leadership was going to involve itself in the voting process was if, and only if, it was also represented, even though these leaders' principles differed significantly from the principle of democracy. This further reflects that the government had always used the institution for its own reasons, for example to serve the interests of apartheid.

Furthermore, Ntsebeza (2006) maintains that in the current South Africa, the ANC-led government has put policy in place that will keep the traditional leadership institution happy as a mechanism to gain their support with regards to political affiliation. Essentially, the advent of democracy and the new constitution meant that the 1993 constitution had to change in order to promote the universal ethos of democracy that South Africa had adopted although some can argue that this was type of political chess. However, this ethos of democratic change varied a great deal from the principles of traditional leadership, this meant that policy regulating traditional leadership would definitely be altered in the succeeding constitution in order to make it somewhat compatible with the current societal reforms. Lastly, looking at the democratic dynamics of modern South Africa, the eradication of traditional leadership would have been an attractive route to take by the government when drafting the final constitution, however, it would have but only at the cost of inflicting more racial, political and ethnic conflicts in the new South Africa. To this end, it is fitting to assume that, to answer objective four (which seeks to critique the institution of traditional leadership and investigate whether it is still relevant in a democratic dispensation) one would consider how things stand currently, with regards to current legislation regulating traditional leadership in South Africa. Considering the acquired data, it is appropriate to suggest that traditional leadership in South

Africa is still relevant in a democratic dispensation, however, the scope of its relevance is still a vague one.

5.3.3 What The traditional Leadership and Government Framework Act 41 of 2003 meant for Traditional Leadership

This section reflects on the impressions of the different participants with regards to *the Traditional Leadership and Government Framework Act 41 of 2003* and how this piece of legislation intertwines the functions of traditional leaders with those of councilors in rural areas. The findings in this section will therefore attempt to address the third objective which explores the dynamics of relationships of both stakeholders at local level. Additionally, this section further uses this particular piece of legislation on traditional leadership as a basis for the analysis.

Proponents of the Act, like Oomen (2005) suggest that the Act gave more recognition to the roles of traditional leaders traditional leadership received prior to 1994. Mayor 4 (6 September 2014) added that, after 1994, there was a great need for a legislative framework that would regulate the institution of traditional leadership in the democratic dispensation, as there was no particular legislation protecting them against political exploitation in previous regimes. What made the implementation complex however, was the application of the legislation and its dynamics, which had to make sure that each policy was applied appropriately within the respective local contexts in South Africa (Mayor 4, 6 September 2014).

With South Africa's constitution considered as being one of the best in the world and one which fully endorses democratic governance, it was imperative to formulate a strategic legislative framework that was going to gradually reduce the discriminative and unjust actions of some chiefs, who before, could lawlessly allocate resources like land to whoever they fancied, regardless of merit and neediness (Ntsebeza, 2005). However, adversaries of the Act, particularly traditional leaders interviewed, showed great uncertainty and distrust in the Act, adding that even with the current restrictions on traditional leadership, the legislative frameworks seemed unrealistic and ineffective with regards to their execution by traditional leaders (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014; Inkosi 5, 29 August 2014; Inkosi 6, 27 August 2014). Inkosi 2, (27 August 2014) further added that, before 1994 traditional leaders had more of a holistic and leading role in the spearheading of service delivery in rural areas, an activity which had

now been taken away by councilors in their areas. Inkosi 1 (28 August 2104) suggests that “councilors often seem to portray as if they have more power above us in our areas and make us feel as if we are their subjects, which is really a sign of disregard to our positions”. . Essentially, respondents like Inkosi 1 (28 August 2014) Inkosi 5 (29 August 2014) and Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014) further added that traditional leadership was only recognized in legislation but not in practice. Inkosi 1 (28 August 2014) Inkosi 5 (29 August 2014) and Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014) also added that they are made competitors of the state in the eyes of their people, with comparisons made by the community regarding what the councilors provide for them that the chiefs fail to provide. Ntsebeza (2005) suggests that the dynamics of rural local governance portrays a type of competition between the two stakeholders decreasing the confidence and respect the people have towards chiefs, owing to the legislation’s inability to be precise about their roles in local governance.

However, LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) suggested that the Act was not very clear about the precise roles of traditional leadership in local governance and service delivery. LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) went on to say that if the Act was amended and made a clearer justification of the aforementioned roles, there would be better collaboration between traditional leaders and government officials. In addition, Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) argued that in his municipality, they recognized traditional leadership as a legitimate authority that forms part and parcel of local government.

Parallel thinking with regards to what is expected and what seems may be a result of the vague gap in legislation. LED Manager 3 (6 September 2014) and LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) however, added that, “in recent years traditional leaders played a huge role in solving socio-cultural problems rather than the current socio-economic and developmental problems that need rule of law and accountability in order to be solved”. However, LED Manager 3 (6 September 2014) further added that the current style of traditional leadership cannot be effectively incorporated into modern rule of law, considering how the decisions making processes of chiefs lack proper guiding legislation, educational skill and appropriate legislative mechanisms regulating their accountability. In addition, Lootvoet (2004) suggests that, the persistent lack of appropriate legislation regulating accountability and transparency for traditional leaders has resulted in a paradigm shift. The shift puts democratically elected councilors at the fore front when speaking service delivery and local economic development. (Mayor 1, 1 September 2014) and (Lootvoet, 2004).

From the findings of this section, it is clear that policy like the Traditional leadership and governance framework Act 41 of 2003 has not been very influential and effective with regards to clearly articulating the functions of traditional leadership and their role in local governance. As a result, this vagueness of responsibilities has spiraled more tension between traditional leaders and democratically elected councilors. In addition, it is imperative to note that the consistent lack of healthy co-existence between these two actors at local level may consequently result in the indefinite stagnation of the development discourse in rural areas. In any organogram there needs to be healthy stakeholder relations for goals to be achieved, if there is a lack of such, complacency and stagnation become inevitable. In essence, the clarity of each stakeholder's role is vital for any kind setting, it is therefore essential for government to be precise and clear about the position of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa.

5.3.4 Implications of the Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 to economic development

This section focuses on further legislation that has affected the position of traditional leadership in modern governance and LED. The communal land rights Act has been labelled by some as the biggest setback in the development of rural areas. The assumption is that, the lack of expertise and skill is the main reason for the consistent underdevelopment of areas under traditional leadership. To this end, this section interrogates objective two which explores the extent to which traditional leadership can be integrated as an official form of authority at local level. .

The Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004, *which was repealed May 2010*, was aimed to redress the inequality carried out by the previous dispensation, gave right to certain institutions to own land by means of trusts. This processes inflicted debates over land claims and land redistribution after 1999, with skeptics accusing government of failing to retain state owned land. In addition, The Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 has been the agenda of many grim debates regarding the way the Act restricts development. Opponents of the Act maintain that, the Act gives rights to incompetent individuals, who make it difficult for government to facilitate development in these areas (Claassens & Cousins 2008). LED Manager 6 (4 September 2014) suggested that government has most, if not all the resources needed to develop land, adding that land ownership, like that which falls under the Ingonyama Trust Board (ITB) compromises service delivery.

Other proponents of this thinking, like Claassens & Cousins (2008) maintain that the process of land repossession was one of the main reasons behind the underdevelopment in rural areas because government reallocates chunks of land to different custodians who may not have knowledge of how to develop it, thus suggesting that reallocating land to the custodianship of traditional leaders is a step backward rather than forward. However, scholars like Ntsebeza (2005) also argue that traditional leaders are very influential when it comes to rural communities, which would make it difficult for government to reclaim land occupied by traditional leaders. Traditional leaders would have to advise councilors about what the communities need instead of introducing developmental projects that are not relevant to a particular community Mayor 1 (1 September 2014).

In addition, a member of local government, LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) agreed that it was difficult for government to promote adequate economic development in rural areas and areas that fall within the Ingonyama trust because of disputes between councilors and traditional leaders, with each party wanting to dictate what the land would be used for. He added that the integration of traditional leadership into governance structures if there is going to be development in rural areas. However, LED Manager 2 (29 August 2014) added that education was an imperative for traditional leadership, before any arrangements could be made to include them. In defense of traditional leadership, Inkosi 2 (27 August 2014) argued that they had no trouble with distributing land for economic development opportunities, but they insist that they should be involved in whichever decision making municipality's make, particularly those regarding local economic development and traditional land Inkosi 2.

Lastly, it is evident that the issue of land is a very critical issue when thinking about local economic development in rural areas and is just one of the main issues that ignite the many heated debates across the local governance discourse. As things stand, it seems like traditional leadership is reluctant to give back 'the land of its people' to the government. This therefore indicates that, for now traditional is still a custodian and legitimate government in its land. Therefore, the best way for the democratic government to address the development agenda of land is to include traditional leadership as an official stakeholder in the sphere of local government. To end, there appears to be a general consensus about the communal land rights Act being a good initiative by the government in redressing the issue of land repossession and allocation. However, for land under tribal authority to be developed effectively, there is still a great need for education and training in respect of traditional leadership, as developmental planning is a process that requires both knowledge and expertise.

5.4 Traditional leadership and LED

This section consolidates findings from the section of the roles of traditional leadership in uThukela District with the findings from the section of legislation regulating the traditional council in uThukela District. The section further explores the effects that these two variables have on LED in the uThukela district. Lastly, in reminiscence of the first and second sections, the data in this section will in addition further attempt to address the overall objectives of the study.

5.4.1 Perceptions of traditional leaders towards LED initiatives

Collaborations have been the stem of many successful developments across the world; it is no wonder that people from different backgrounds are able to achieve so many goals if equal energies are put into them (Bond, 2005). This section sought to establish whether traditional leaders were welcoming to the economic development opportunities proposed by councilors in the land they occupied. According to Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) “At times yes, but sometimes they can be hard headed, wanting more money and not letting go of the land that needs to be developed”.

The following respondents LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) Inkosi 3 (28 August 2014) and Inkosi 4 (29 August 2014) said that traditional leaders did not have many problems with the councilors bringing development into their areas; what frustrated the traditional leaders was the idea of having councilors launching developments in their areas about which they had not been consulted. This in itself suggests that both parties have concerns about each other but never really deliberate on their differences; the problem may simply be the lack of communication between the two.

The respondents suggested that greed may also contribute to the strained relationships between both parties. Ntsebeza (2004) identifies greed as a possible factor in underdevelopment in many rural areas, which suggests that some individuals focus less on the betterment of their communities and more on their personal gains. However, the reluctance of traditional leaders to invest themselves in projects proposed by councilors also relies greatly on the willingness of officials to give them a share of the ‘cut’. If there is no incentive for these traditional leaders, consensus is hard to reach LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014).

5.4.2 The need for Capacitating LED in rural areas

One of the core applications of the White Paper on LED is to strengthen partnerships amongst the various stakeholders in governance as well as other sectors. South Africa, as a developing country, that is vigorously preparing itself to be a proactive competitor in the global market should recognize that there is a great need for well capacitated and competent representatives at local level. In addition, this also applies to municipal departments and traditional leadership, who both act similarly as a form of government in certain surroundings, particularly rural areas. To this end, the present section evaluates the overall competence and capacity of traditional leadership in spearheading local economic development in the uThukela district.

Respondents were asked to reflect their views on whether or not they felt that these parties were working together in their respective rural areas. According to Mayor 4 (6 September 2014) to a substantial degree traditional leaders, along with the community, were working together with councilors, but he hinted that there still needed to be workshops on partnerships because, at times, there are still communication barriers between the government and the amaKhosi, he insists that this is because of the different political ideologies between the two. LED Manager 1 (28 August 2014) however, argued that in his area traditional leaders and councilors worked collaboratively, this owing to the fact that both stakeholders were inclined to the same political party. This emphasized that a leading factor in how relationships play out between the two is the political party affiliation of both members. According to some traditional leaders, there is some synergy with regards to decision-making between the two, even though the inputs of traditional leaders are sometimes marginalized Inkosi 1 (28 August 2014). To this end, Bodhanya's (2014) model of constellations would be a way of bringing forward both these parties to collaborate in developmental activities. Even though each party may be involved for different reasons, the coming together of these stakeholders would create mutual relationships for even further engagements.

The dialogue around local economic development is still a fairly new phenomenon in contemporary South Africa Rogerson (2009). Additionally, further dialogue is still required to deal with the discourse around rural and local economic development, particularly in rural areas where the focus is still around sustainable development rather than robust economic growth. In order for development to be nurtured in rural areas, substantial education and skills are required by the core facilitators of developmental initiatives. Questions posed to the

respondents included whether traditional leaders in their respective areas had in fact some form of education or training with regards to LED. According to Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) there have been state moves where the government has introduced LED workshops for different stakeholders, however, which many traditional leaders fail to attend. Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) echoed the same sentiments as those of Mayor 1, adding that even before the advent of colonialism and apartheid, some traditional leaders have shown a substantial level of competence with regard to service provisioning and development in their respective rural areas, adding that in certain rural areas they were able to govern their own land adequately. However, Mayor 3's (6 September 2013) also added that, there are council workshops and programmes initiated by government which they attend with traditional leaders, but added that at times traditional leaders are not always fully committed when these workshops are provided. Mayor 3's (6 September 2013) remarks suggest that, if relationships between traditional leaders and government could strengthen and both parties worked together more regularly, there could be improved and quicker development as a result. However, as things stand, traditional leaders do not have the educational and skill capacity to adequately facilitate economic development in rural areas on their own and require added support from the government (Lutz & Linder, 2004).

An LED Manager in one of the local municipalities suggested that traditional leaders are not formally trained for LED, or with the function of administering local economic development as this role is performed by municipal representatives and, in some instances, provincial government (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs) LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014). Furthermore, many amaXhosi interviewed in the uThukela district argued that there was not much training given to them about LED, adding that, in most cases, councilors merely inform them whenever there is a local economic development project in their areas, but never really involve them in the execution of the projects (Inkosi 4, 29 August 2014; Inkosi 5, 29 August 2014; Inkosi 6, 27 August 2014). One traditional leader argued that provincial government funded bursaries for certain chiefs to study governance and development at university and he was grateful for this. This indicates that with proper education and leadership skills, traditional leaders could still compete for developmental roles in the new dispensation. These comments suggest that traditional leadership is still in need of additional capacity building initiatives before it can adequately facilitate economic development (Beal, 2006).

5.4.3 Rating the effectiveness of attempts by traditional leaders to facilitate LED initiatives in the uThukela district

For an institution whose role in governance is still vague and inconclusive, the question as to whether traditional leadership is still relevant in a democratic dispensation still lingers in the minds of many South Africans. Furthermore, the institution's inability to facilitate for developmental initiatives adequately has brought some doubt around its role in society Ntsebeza (2006). It is therefore the main objective of this section to scrutinize the extent to which the institution of traditional leadership is effective in providing for local economic development in the different sections of the uThukela district.

LED Manager 6 (4 September 2014) reported that traditional leaders in his area were quite effective in steering the community in the right direction in terms of handling the socio-cultural and customary issues, which councilors could not. Contrary to that however, Mayor 2 (3 September 2014) argued that the role of traditional leaders had been limited in his area, adding that although they had the right to participation, they did not have power to vote, which restricted their effectiveness.

In addition, according to Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) in his area, "traditional leaders take part in decision-making at local level, account to their communities and voice the communities' concerns and proposals to us, the representatives of local government". He further adds that, at times, "they often don't see eye to eye with councilors (because of party politics) but consensus is always reached between the two parties if there are any cross cutting issues that require further dialogue". This indicates that some decisions are based on personal capacity rather than logical reasoning. One traditional leader added that in some areas, traditional leaders are not effective at all, even questioning if they have a voice in council meetings. Inkosi 2 (27 August 2014) suggested that "in a lot of rural areas, the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) does much more in working with traditional leadership than both South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and municipal officials combined". This thinking suggests that municipal officials and the traditional house lack the ability to effectively form partnerships and involve one another in matters of rural and economic development, unfortunately, this inefficiency is a particular measurement of the ineffectiveness of traditional leadership in the uThukela district. In looking at the complexities of local governance, Bodhanya (2014) suggests that if there is not enough collaboration

between different stakeholders, development may either be stagnant or addressed the wrong way in localities and not in the best interest of the community.

5.4.4 Spearheading economic development through autonomous leadership

The facilitation of development is a role of crucial importance in South Africa's government. Twenty years after the country's democratic birth, the government still faces struggles in its quest for adequate service provisioning, especially in rural areas, which face the highest rates of unemployment and poverty (Rogerson, 2009). The findings in this section therefore sought to address two main objectives of the study simultaneously; the extent to which traditional leadership has been integrated in local governance and to further explore how the dynamics of relationships between traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors affect LED in rural areas.

The introduction of democratically elected councillors was an experiment by the government in tackling development throughout South Africa's many municipalities. However, in areas where traditional leaders still have jurisdiction, the question of who is best positioned to administer service delivery still sparks many debates, as both parties' contribute different but useful attributes in socio-cultural and socio-economic platforms (Linder, 2004). Advocates for councillor leadership like Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) suggest that: "Councilors are democratically elected, they have their hands on the state resources, traditional leadership is not one of the spheres where the stream runs through, they can play an advisory role but not one that is legislative. Councilors however have the upper hand, with traditional leader's accountability always in question, having minimal skill or education for that matter." Mayor 3 (September 2014) further suggests that traditional leadership is a legitimate authority, as affirmed by the constitution; however, their jurisdiction does not encompass development. Because of the current constitution, this suggests that local government is the sole custodian of basic service delivery and according to this, traditional leaders can only and should act as advisors to the government and not as competitors of local government officials because the government needs to be impartial to any group of people and its function is to develop every area falling under South African jurisdiction (Mathibela, 2005).

Respondents who shied away from taking any side suggested that both parties should work collaboratively if there were any chances of rural development, with others also voicing

sentiments of reasonable faith in councilors. LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) added: “They should collaborate, the two institutions have got different elements to them, councilors spear head the developmental agenda while traditional leaders represent the socio-cultural elements of the people. But there must be parameters with regards to leadership responsibility; government is better positioned for development while traditional leaders should influence decision development from councilors”.

On this point, Jackson (2009) illustrates the roles of amaKhosi through organizational cybernetics and the viable systems model (VSM) which seeks to help managers to design complex organizations according to cybernetic prescriptions so that they remain viable in rapidly changing environments. This suggests that if traditional leadership is still to remain as a form of authority in South Africa, it needs such a model modify its roles and functions to resemble those of a democratic government (Jackson, 2009). In that way, traditional leadership can still operate as a legitimate form of authority in a democratic dispensation. On the contrary, there were individuals who differed from this approach, suggesting that many councilors and government officials exclude amaKhosi because of these stakeholders’ corrupt involvements in the embezzlement of state monies and state resources, thus hardly ever involving them in development activities (Inkosi 4, 29 September 2014; Inkosi 6, 27 August 2014). A number of the traditional leadership representatives suggested that these leaders should also be incorporated into local government so that they can also be eligible to provide services for the people. They added that that could result in less corruption and resource embezzlement by government officials (Inkosi 2, 27 August 2014; Inkosi 3, 28 August 2014; Inkosi 4, 29 August 2014).

Findings in this section suggest that there is no sense of mutual trust amongst local government officials and traditional leaders, which one of the many reasons why these two stakeholders seldom see eye-to-eye. This indication suggests that the nature of relationships between traditional and democratically councilors are in fact a stumbling block in the development of rural areas, and if there are plans to fully develop these areas, government should start by addressing these differences.

5.4.5 Monetary drivers in LED

The monetary factor may be a fundamental reason for either the inclusion or exclusion of a particular stakeholder in any partnership, more so where big projects and funders are involved. Therefore, this section further scrutinizes the objective around the representation of traditional leaders in LED. In Addition, this section sheds further light around how the dynamics of incentivizing contributes to the relationships of the two stakeholders and its links to LED.

A major theme that arose in the interviews, was the lack of incentives; the few incentives that traditional leaders suggested they received were monthly stipends that they felt was too little for any a fulltime government employee. Inkosi 3 (28 August 2014), Inkosi 4 (29 August 2014), Inkosi 6 (27August 2014) suggested that, “apart from our low monthly stipends, even when an international funder or private sector approaches us to develop land, the municipality owns the project and all the monies are transferred via the municipality before coming to us”. Inkosi 6 (27August 2014) further suggested that, even if the community requires a certain project they cannot provide for them because government has not provided an LED budget for them. Some traditional leaders further argued that for their job and time, the incentives given to them did not match their inputs. They argued that government does not incentivize traditional leaders by means of resources or trusts which they can use for economic development projects Inkosi 3 (28 August 2014). The researcher asked the various stakeholders whether or not local government allocated a budget to traditional leaders for economic development initiatives. Many respondents from the public sector stated that there was no income allocated to traditional leaders, however, they indicate “that traditional leaders request funding through ad hoc forums, which is a way of receiving grants directly from the province or private sector, therefore government does in fact support requests made by traditional leaders, but only if these requests are feasible” Mayor 2 (3 September 2014). Another respondent added that incentives given to traditional leaders are in the form of monthly stipends for what they call ‘tools of trade’, which typically means petty cash for transport and communication avenues.

When asked about incentives, many traditional leaders reported that there was no budget allocated to them from local government but implied that there was strong suspicion of corruption between different stakeholders involved in developmental projects in their areas. This suggests that corruption and embezzlement of funds is one of the main factors contributing to insufficient development in rural areas, with one or two making reference to a municipality

within the district that is suspected of having been put under provincial administration because of such acts.

In this section, respondents were asked to comment on different questions relating to whether traditional leadership was capable of spearheading development autonomously. Different opinions were put forward, with many hoping for collaboration rather than sovereignty from both councillors and traditional leaders. From the collected data, it seems that traditional leadership is not adequately capacitated to facilitate economic development; in fact, the data suggests that areas under traditional custodianship are far less developed because of the level of incompetence of the traditional leaders in charge, which highlights the need for more capacity building for amaKhosi if they are still going to form part of government structures.

When looking at factors of the marginalisation of traditional leadership in developmental processes, education and accountability were significant subjects in the heated debates, with many officials suggesting that if traditional leadership still wanted to be part of government, they would have to evolve to suit the new dispensation. These views have also contributed to the obscurity of relationships between these stakeholders, making it hard for the development of certain rural areas.

It is clear that people still recognize and respect traditional leadership but, judging from the analysis, however, as things stand in certain areas, it appears that the institution of traditional leadership may gradually lead itself into its own demise as its autocratic style tends to contradict the democratic custom of South Africa's constitution (Ntsebeza, 2006). Furthermore, if traditional leadership is to maintain its place in South Africa's plans for robust economic development, substantial alteration to the institution is needed for it to be a relevant stakeholder in LED.

5.4.6 Involving traditional leaders in developmental processes

Successful development depends on the mutual trust and respect of all parties involved, something many stakeholders have not yet seemed to grasp. Relationships are very important to effective collaborations between parties and so need to be respected. This section therefore scrutinizes the nature of stakeholder engagements and levels of inclusivity between traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors with regards to LED planning and execution.

Interviewees were asked to comment on how easy it was for one stake holder to approach another with regards to a developmental proposal. Mayor 1 (1 September 2014) suggested that there was no hindrance in his municipality between traditional leaders and councilors, adding that traditional leaders in his area were forthcoming, so there were minimal deterrents to development because of relationships. Mayor 3 (6 September 2014) added that many are easy to talk to but that a number of traditional leaders were difficult to approach; they still have an autocratic style of rule. He added that another factor for uneasy relationships is that some amaXhosi voice their political backgrounds on irrelevant platforms, making it difficult to reason with them because of their political bias.

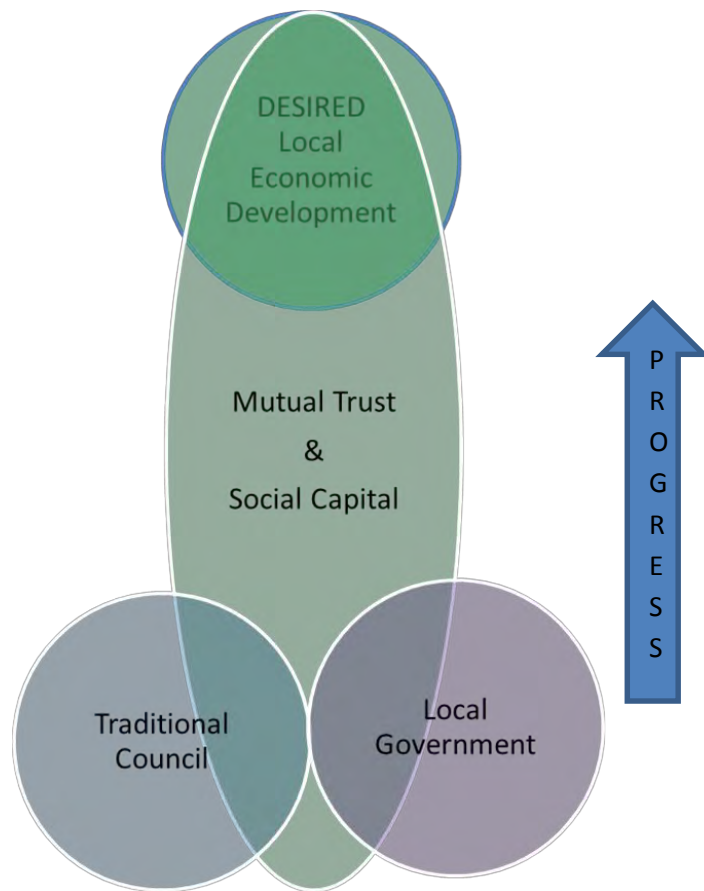
LED Manager 4 (1 September 2014) stated that councillors are the elected representatives and, as such, have a legal mandate to operate in any area of their jurisdiction. He added that there is mutual respect and adherence to protocol, and an understanding of the political situation between parties. However, according to Inkosi 6 (27 August 2014) “councillors don’t approach traditional leaders with regards to developmental proposals, for example, in many instances we wake up to many vehicles parked outside a certain space of land. Three days down the line a hall is being built without any consultation”. This signifies that there are communication barriers between the two stakeholders which often impedes development.

Below are two diagrams illustrated by the researcher that demonstrate how LED, through proper collaboration, mutual trust and social capital between traditional leaders and councillors can be achieved, but also how the current relationship between the two stakeholders stands. In depicting this, the study made use of Bodhanya’s (2014) concept of inclusive partnerships, which assumes the analogy that different stakeholders represent the different constellations in a Nexus model, and essentially depicts how the relationships of these stakeholders affect the overall discourse of local economic development.

The model below demonstrates a recommended approach to rural economic governance by authors like Ntsebeza (2005) and Sithole (2005) who concluded studies on traditional leadership and development in different parts of South Africa. This model depicts what is expected with regards to stakeholder engagement and collaboration, at the lower part of the model is illustrated two main actors at local level (Traditional council and Municipal council). Essentially, we see that the latter is bound by another constellation further up, which advocates for the ideal of social capital and mutual trust between the two, furthermore, at the tip of the

diagram is the desired local economic development goal which defines how comprehensive LED should look like.

Figure 4. The desired Social Capital Model



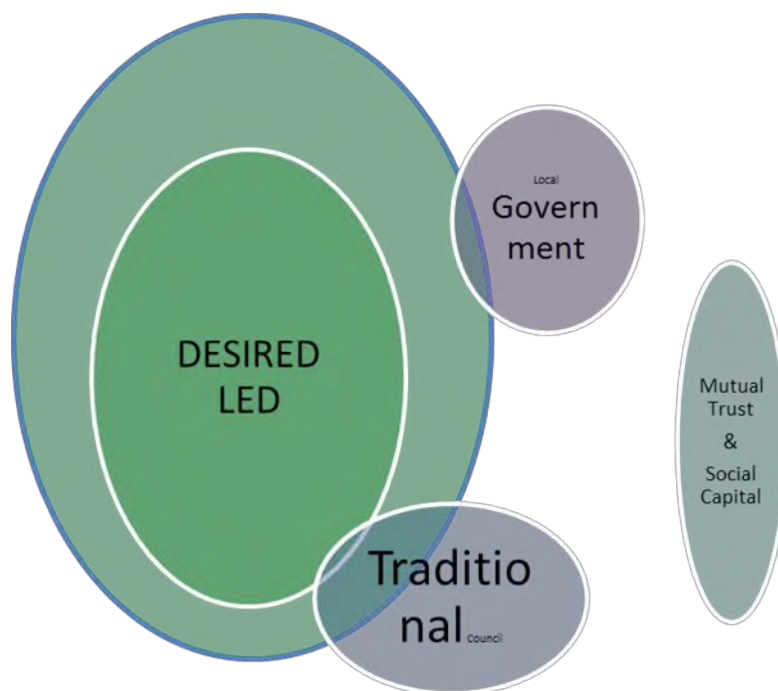
Source: *Authors Own*

However, contrasting this model is the model below which demonstrates the reality of local economic development in rural areas, as a result of strained relationships between the two stakeholders. The diagram below depicts a scenario of two oppositely positioned constellations bound by one bigger unit, this suggests that between the two stakeholders, there is a picture of how LED should be approached but these thoughts are exercised in isolation from one another. In addition, this model demonstrates how conflicts of interest can prevent the synergizing and attainment of certain goals. Instead of synergizing, the two constellations seem to compete for progress. Therefore, this picture suggests that the lack of synergy and mutual trust between the two stakeholders is in fact a hindrance to the desired goal, which is the attainment local economic development in rural areas.

Lastly, we find one of the most significant items when referring to LED, which is mutual trust, left in isolation. This diagram suggests that, as it stands, if the most catalytic tool for LED is not included into the nexus model, proficient local LED cannot be fully achieved.

Lastly, this suggests that there is a need for a more dynamic and conclusive approach with reference to the relationship barriers between municipal officials and traditional leadership, as it is, it is not yet clear enough as to where the latter stands in contemporary South Africa. Furthermore, there is a great deal of work that still has to be done to include both stakeholders to economic development. Figure 4 above depicts a model where, in progressing toward desired economic development, traditional leaders and government need to work within the context of mutual trust and social capital. In essence, both stakeholders have the same vision but are still working independently, which does not contribute to the required economic development in rural areas.

Figure 5. Current Social Capital model



Source: *Authors Own*

Figure 5 above depicts the current status of LED in rural areas. For development to continue in rural areas, it is in the interest of all involved to create linkages amongst each other as the participation of every stakeholder has the power to accelerate development more quickly than if fewer hands were involved. Traditional leaders and local government are both devoted to the development of rural areas however, this goal looks unreachable because the two look at achieving this goal independently, even though research has shown that participation and collaboration are more efficient than working in isolation (Bodhanya, 2014). To this end, government and traditional leaders should first create partnerships before engaging in developmental projects.

In addition to this, local government needs to strengthen its ties with the house of traditional leaders in uThukela. There is a great need for the establishment of a business chamber that is functional in the uThukela district as it was revealed that only a few of the local municipalities' business chambers in the uThukela district are functional.

5.4 Conclusion

The overall aim of the study was to explore the relevance of traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa by looking into the roles defined by policy, the reality of their implications and how these contribute to addressing LED in rural areas. In addressing this aim, the research showed how important it is to build ties between different stakeholders especially those from different backgrounds. However, the analysis identified that it was not an easy task to synergize the different stakeholders i.e. mayors and amaKhosi, since some subscribed to opposing political parties, a factor which affected deliberations and possible collaborations between them.

The first objective of the study was to explore whether traditional leaders were adequately represented in developmental activities in uThukela district. The research revealed that the roles of traditional leaders, as far as the respective frameworks were concerned, were catered for, e.g. in the Traditional Leadership and Governance Act of 2003, but that these roles were still proving to be vague. In addition, what many researchers have found and was maintained by certain participants was that these laws did not give priority to the roles of traditional leaders in local economic development. They found that these laws restricted traditional leaders to certain actions, like the right to vote, as they were not allowed to vote in matters pertaining

local governance in municipalities, which implied little contribution on their part. In addition, they believed that legislation needs to be restructured in order to give traditional leaders flexibility when dealing with LED strategies. The analysis also revealed that the amaKhosi in uThukela felt frustrated with how they were sidelined in LED meetings, and often felt that they knew very little about developments in their areas as they were only called in when the LED managers or mayors were about to present a development programme in their respective areas.

Regarding the objective of critiquing whether traditional leaders or government officials are able to achieve local economic development independently, there was much debate from opposing participants. A substantial number of LED managers maintained that, since they represented government and had been given the tools to be the vehicles of change, they had both the resources and skills to spearhead development. This appeared to be true, but a possible problem with this view is that much of the land in rural areas falls under the Ingonyama Trust Board (ITB), and it would be a challenge for government to try and develop land that does not belong to the state because, if the amaKhosi are reluctant to develop partnerships with government, the law maintains their right of refusal as they are sole custodians of the land.

However, the analysis did reveal that many amaKhosi considered democratically elected officials as competent facilitators of service delivery, thus giving these officials more flexibility to govern independently. Other amaKhosi suggested that it would be impossible to let democratically elected officials develop their land effectively as, they believed, many local government officials are selfish and corrupt and so establish corrupt development partnerships with people and government money that is intended for rural development. This sentiment emerged from many traditional leaders, who added adding that even though they may not have all the necessary skills, they should at least be catalysts in the development of rural areas and not be sidelined by being denied the right to vote with regards to developmental issues at local level. The analysis also revealed that many traditional leaders have little in local government officials and that the tension between the two was one of the many reasons why it was difficult for government to engage in developmental projects in rural areas.

In looking at approaches to LED in this study, the analysis revealed that the three critical approaches were noticeably absent in development projects in rural areas. Nel's (2005) analysis confirms that the crucial ingredients for smooth local development, such as social capital, mutual trust and participation, must be in place before any development project may commence to ensure that all stakeholders are in agreement and all participants know their inputs, processes

and outputs of the project. The research also revealed that where there were collaborations by means of independent LED forums between traditional leaders, government officials and NGO's, there was successful turnover of the project, but where relationships between traditional leaders and local government officials were bitter, the development projects either stalled or stopped indefinitely.

On the point of accountability, Mamdani (1996) suggested that eventually traditional leadership may lose its legitimacy through its ineffectiveness to be transparent and democratic. The analysis revealed that the reason traditional leaders cannot be granted the right to vote is because the way chiefs are elected is hereditary and not democratic, which nullifies the option of an underperforming traditional leader being fired. However, since there is no existing framework or policy regulating the election and dismissal of traditional leaders in South Africa, many participants believed that mechanisms should be put in place that would grant traditional leaders the opportunity to be part of LED policy strategizing and implementation, while at the same time their efforts will be monitored and evaluated by these same mechanisms.

Further analysis revealed that government was not creating enough enabling environments for building the capacity of traditional leaders, with many respondents complaining that the workshops were only functional if there was about to be a project in the area. The need for the education of traditional leaders from a tender age is pivotal so that traditional leaders can grow up knowing more about leadership traits and the prerequisites for basic service delivery and economic development. What seemed surprising is that the uThukela house of traditional leaders did not have an LED budget, which suggests that government had not set aside ring-fenced monies for development, even though the only way traditional leaders have access to development monies is through the municipality.

Further findings revealed that there is a great need for the land under the ITB to be developed. This requires the collaboration of the local government officials and traditional leaders because ultimately, it is the amaKhosi who own most of the land. However, it is also the local government that owns the resources to develop that land. For this reason, it is the responsibility of all the different stakeholders to work together.

Lastly, the final objective of the study was to explore whether traditional leadership is still relevant in a democratic dispensation. This has been a challenging objective to address because the core philosophies the institution of traditional leadership functions according to do not require accountability and even transparency from its leaders at times. Many who believe that

traditional leaderships should be done away with have suggested that the institution of traditional leadership may soon perish, like other flamboyant regimes that have reigned in the past. However, from the analyzed data it is still not certain how long the institution's resilience will triumph; hence, further studies could attempt to bridge the gap between the principles of election and law of traditional leadership and those of a democratic culture of governance.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction & Overall Summary

This chapter will reconcile the different sections of the study and assess whether the aim of the study was realized. The chapter further includes recommendations formed by the researcher through conducting the study. The final remarks are drawn from the angle in which the study scrutinized the institution's ability or inability to function as a proactive and reliable facilitator of development in rural areas.

In addition, to recap, Chapter One included the introduction and overview of the study, as it focused on a single case study; uThukela district. This chapter further included the overall aim and objectives of the study. As explained in Chapter One, the theory chapters were divided into two, this to allow adequate discussion lengths for both theoretical frameworks.

Chapter Two included literature on traditional leadership, which focused on the different theories of leadership mainly, democratic pragmatism and organic democracy. Other theories mentioned included traditionalism and modernism, which played a crucial role in demonstrating the roles and functions of traditional leaders in these complementary periods. Furthermore, this chapter focused on the evolution of South Africa's traditional leadership institution over the various political regimes and how different legislation affected the institution's effectiveness.

The subsequent chapter, Chapter Three focused on theory around LED, this section of the thesis focused on international LED theories and those pertinent to South Africa, the chapter further explored the approaches of LED from a South African perspective while further securitizing policy regulating LED in South Africa. Additionally, towards the end, the section reconciled the traditional leadership chapter with the LED chapter, as both these theoretical frameworks form the basis of the study presented.

Subsequently, Chapter Four presented the methodology, focusing on the research design, limitations of the study and ethical considerations that had to be taken into account. Chapter Five presented the data analysis which reconciled the data that had been collected and the

literature that had been presented in the theory chapters, the reason for this was to reflect back to objectives of the study and find out whether the research did in fact address the aim of the study and its objectives.

The concluding chapter (Herein), Chapter six reconciles all the chapters of the thesis and presents how the research has realized the study's overall aim. Furthermore, the chapter adds related recommendations for further studies in the field of LED and Traditional Leadership.

6.2 Conclusion

Rural development is everyone's concern. South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. Therefore, there is a great need for the reduction of poverty and unemployment; these two variables are most visible in rural areas where most of the youth are uneducated and unemployed.

The concept of local economic development encompasses various approaches to address these variables, although these approaches may be positioned at opposing ends at times (Bodhanya, 2014), for example, the pro-growth approach advocates sustainable development and robust economic growth in a country like South Africa, and sees a great need to enhance economic activity in towns and cities so that locals can be globally competitive with other developing regions (Bond, 2004). However, robust economic growth alone is somewhat destructive as it supports a neoliberal mind-set which makes those with a competitive advantage even richer and those without it even poorer. Thus, the advocates at the opposite end of the theoretical spectrum advocate a pro-poor approach.

In an attempt to create a more holistic approach, the government of South Africa has introduced more suitable ways of promoting both sustainable and rapid economic growth and, on the other hand, incentives for the private sector, through the subsidizing of state resources and by lowering taxes for them, to invest in uplifting the poor. Furthermore, government has taken the initiative of creating environments that are conducive to economic growth; i.e. business hubs and Special Development Zones in an attempt to lure investment from local and international businesses. In preserving sustainability, the government has further made an attempt for people residing in rural areas to have markets that will not only be competitive enough to compete with those in urban areas, but also effective enough to boost the areas' local economic growth.

Objective One of the study was to explore whether traditional leadership institutions are adequately represented in economic development activities within contemporary South Africa, following the literature collected, the data revealed that there is a considerable amount of representation for traditional leaders. However, their representation and inclusion in decision making processes is mostly marginal as they are not allowed to vote in some local government matters. Additionally, there is a great need for more explicit legislation that includes traditional leadership and adequately defines its roles in governance as it seems that the government is still content in maintaining the institution.

Objective Two of the study was to explore the extent to which traditional authority, as an old structure of local government, has been successfully integrated with newer forms of democratic governance at local level. Theory included in the study suggests that traditional leadership has managed to manifest itself throughout the numerous political evolutions of South Africa's history. Furthermore, the data collected suggests that the government has played a significant role in including traditional leadership into its leadership structures. However, certain variables make it quite difficult to integrate the institution conclusively into local governance. The fact that the institution's leadership structures are not completely democratic tends to make it difficult to gauge the institutions' accountability and even its effectiveness. Therefore a lot still needs to be done to fully integrate the two stakeholders of local government before one can resolutely rate the effectiveness of the latter.

Objective Three of the study explored how relationships between traditional institutions and democratic government affect LED. In looking at the bigger picture of the two central variables of the study, traditional leadership and local economic development, the researcher, like Bodhanya (2014) suggests that, local economic development in South Africa requires an intricate and dynamic approach that should be area specific and individually planned for each area. It is also clear that in some areas where there is both a strong traditional authority presence and political tensions with elected officials, development is slow-paced owing to the differences between the two stakeholders. This suggests that LED in rural areas requires a vigorous and inclusive approach from both traditional leaders and councillors if it is to work effectively as in like urban areas. Furthermore, as referred to in previous chapters, social capital, participation and mutual trust are just a few of the fundamentals required to address LED in rural areas, and if addressed accordingly, rural and regional economic development can be better achieved with proactive inclusion of both municipal officials and traditional leaders.

Additionally, the last objective of the study, Objective Four, was to critique whether traditional authority is indeed relevant in the new dispensation. Like Bond (2005) suggests, economic development is only achievable if there is relevant support and cohesion amongst all the stakeholders involved. In many rural areas, traditional leadership is considered as a legitimate form of authority, and is therefore considered as a substantial role player in local governance. Essentially, what is required in rural areas is for both democratically elected councillors and traditional leaders to work hand in hand considering the fact that both these institutions represent a form of governance endorsed by the state. There is also an undeniable need for more appropriate legislation from government which distinctly highlights the roles of both these stakeholders and can be translated into effective practice. On paper, roles of these two role players are characterised, however, in practice you find that these two representatives of the state exercise similar roles but at different capacities. Lastly, it is evident that traditional leadership is still relevant in contemporary South Africa, this owing to the influence that the institution has been able to maintain in particular areas (predominantly rural areas) over the years. However, the extent to which its effectiveness can be measured sometimes seems marginal.

6.3 Recommendations

This section provides recommendations for further studies. Future researchers could evaluate the success of planned partnerships between traditional leaders and other relevant stakeholders. The study suggests that the formation of partnerships in rural areas has proved more successful where all stakeholders have participated fully. It also came to the attention of the researcher that there was government policy in municipalities, like the uThukela District LED Strategy, which is theoretically highly effective for addressing the challenges, but has provided few mechanisms to facilitate execution of those policies. Therefore, future research could focus on the monitoring and evaluation of these strategies, especially those that involve rural areas. Research in this area would assist in establishing support programmes that can be implemented by the uThukela district which will yield short and long-term benefits for the monitoring of municipalities' LED strategies.

The one approach amongst many other approaches to LED, which is particularly important for this study, is the building of partnerships. The effectiveness of this approach has been demonstrated in many other studies and the need for partnerships cannot be over emphasized.

KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs Michael Mabuyakhulu listed the functionality of each local municipality's business chamber. In addition, the MEC stated that the uThukela district does not have an effective Business Chamber. He listed Imbabazane Local Municipality and Indaka Local municipality as the two municipalities which have no business chambers, which suggests that uThukela District requires the formation of strong partnerships between its different stakeholders in order to facilitate LED adequately in rural areas. It is therefore essential to form of a district business chamber, which will act as a channel for the various stakeholder engagement programmes and also strengthen linkages even amongst the various municipalities.

Because of the scope of this research, the researcher could not focus on other stakeholders involved in LED, such as the business sector. Thus, future research could focus on the roles of business chambers in synergizing relationships between the various private and public institutions, with emphasis on the traditional institution as a catalyst to rural development. The provincial government of the district has planned to implement LED agencies that will be formed in each of the five districts in KwaZulu-Natal. As these agencies work from a district level, they should be able to create links between different local stakeholders and establish mechanisms that will evaluate these partnerships. However, the roles of these LED agencies is still unclear as it is assumed that their roles will be similar to those of LED officials in municipalities. These agencies may prove to be an effective tool in promoting LED effectively in municipalities as they are independent of the provincial level and are solely designed to regulate LED. In the case of traditional leaders and elected councillors, these agencies could assist in neutralizing the relationships between the two stakeholders as, being autonomous, they are independent of both parties.

Following the outcry from traditional leaders about not being involved in LED planning, the researcher suggests that LED managers, mayors and local traditional leaders deliberate on LED strategies in their respective localities, so that inputs from traditional leaders, who are autonomous, cultural heads of their localities, can also be heard. The research highlighted that there is not much dialogue with regards to annual developmental schedules between LED officials, councillors and AmaKhosi. The researcher adds that it is imperative that all stakeholders at local level be updated about all the developmental activities in their respective areas, so that each meeting will be approached with relevant knowledge.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Objective 1

To explore whether traditional leadership institutions are adequately represented in development activities in contemporary South Africa

1. Is there a traditional leadership unit or council in the uThukela district?
2. Describe the relationship between local traditional leaders and councillors?
3. Does the traditional leadership council fall within the uThukela municipal structures?
4. Do you feel the government has spelt out the roles of traditional leadership effectively?
5. Do you think the government is doing enough to involve traditional leadership in contemporary South Africa?
6. The 1996 Constitution of South Africa was said to have minimized the role of traditional leadership, thus making their roles unclear, as opposed to the interim constitution, where traditional leadership played a dominant role in the negotiations of the first democratic elections. Do you feel this is true?
7. Some still think the Traditional Leadership and the Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003 vaguely stipulates the roles of traditional leadership vaguely. What is your impression of this statement?
8. What do you think of the way traditional leadership is treated in democratic South Africa, as opposed to the way the Institution was treated prior to 1994?

Objective 2

To explore the extent to which traditional authority, as an old structure of local government, has been successfully integrated with newer forms of democratic governance at local level

1. Who do you feel should assume the role of facilitating service delivery in rural areas? Should councillors or traditional leaders be trained to administer these local economic activities?
2. If government were to take full control of all the rural land ruled by traditional leaders, do you think there could be better local economic development?
3. Do you think traditional leaders should be incorporated into local government as government officials?
4. Are traditional leaders in rural areas equipped and trained in how to promote local economic development initiatives, or are these activities to be solely exercised by government officials?
5. Are traditional leaders given a budget by the government that is designated for local economic programs?
6. In rural areas predominantly governed by traditional leaders, what are the roles of councillors?

Objective 3

To explore how relationships between traditional institutions and government affect local economic development

1. What is the relationship like between traditional leaders and councillors?
2. How easy is it for councillors to approach traditional leaders?
3. Do traditional leaders welcome economic development opportunities proposed by councillors in rural areas?
4. Do you feel that the Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 limits power of government to regulate service delivery in rural areas?

5. The White paper on LED focuses on different partnerships between traditional leaders and the government that work with the community to better the community's lives. Do you feel all these parties are working together in rural areas?
6. Do you feel the introduction of councillors into rural areas after 1994 was a way to eradicate traditional leadership?


Objective 4

To critique whether the institution of traditional leadership is still relevant in the democratic South Africa

1. Rate the effectiveness of traditional leadership in uThukela district?
2. Do you feel that the uThukela Traditional Leadership Council is regarded as a substantial form of authority by the municipality?
3. From a personal perspective, do you feel that traditional leadership is slowly diminishing or do you feel it is still adequately represented in contemporary South Africa?
4. A number of traditional leaders grieve about how the roles they used to assume before 1994 have been taken away by councillors. Do you think that this statement is a true reflection of the division of roles between councillors and traditional leaders?
5. With the advent of democracy and urbanization, people are moving away from rural areas for employment opportunities. Do you feel that the preservation of rural areas and traditional leadership has lost its place in the contemporary South Africa?

APPENDIX B

ETHICAL CLEARANCE



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25 July 2014

Mr Methembe Ziphozonke Mdlalose 210531200
Graduate School of Business and Leadership
Westville Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0862/014M
Project title: The role of traditional leaders in Rural Localities from an LED Perspective: A case study of uThukela District

Dear Mr Mdlalose

Expedited Approval

In response to your application dated 23 July 2014, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

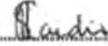
Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further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



Yours faithfully


Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Dr Jennifer Houghton
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr E Munapo
cc School Administrator: Ms Eileen Mohamed

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APPENDIX D

LETTER FROM EDITOR



LETTER OF CONFIRMATION – EDITING

December, 2014

Methembe Ziphozonke Mdaloze (201531200)

This is to confirm that the dissertation of Methembe Ziphozonke Mdaloze (201531200) has been edited by me. This process is aimed at eliminating grammatical errors, structural errors and errors of expression only. In no way was the academic content of the dissertation altered.

While I thoroughly checked every word of the dissertation and made changes and recommendations wherever necessary, the responsibility of finalising the corrections and recommendations rests with the student and are not rechecked by me.

However, I am satisfied that the editing has been thoroughly done.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B Soana".

B Soana (Dr)

APPENDIX E

TURNITIN REPORT

Turnitin

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