

Chapter 1

1.0 Background

The initial focus on development was on growth with distribution, Like growth that positively affected all segments of society. Yet means by which a nation was to accomplish such growth remained the same. The emphasis on growth first did not unilaterally alleviate the troubles of the developing world and relatively few nations have achieved the level of sufficiency expected by the model. This then called for development to be redefined with the incorporation of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment in the context of the growing economy while providing revenue for the state to support health and educational reforms and advances. The focus was still on growth being the foundation on which nations would be developed, not the end goal (Heinz School Review, pp2).

1.1 Development

Development is a catchall concept and there is no single definition of development. Development is an open and inclusive approach that allows the process of change to take place in an integrated manner. Eade and Williams (1995) state that development is about women and men becoming empowered to bring about positive changes in their lives; about personal growth together with public action; about both the process and the outcome of challenging poverty, oppression, and discrimination; and about the realisation of human potential through social and economic justice. Above all, it is about the process of transforming lives, and transforming societies. Development can easily be described as progress; social change; economic development; change in income per head as well as change in economic welfare. On the other hand, development can be defined as that process by which societies change so as to become capable of meeting the essential needs of their populations thus representing qualitative social change from economic, political, social and cultural points of view. To a certain extent, development of a country assumes the participation of the whole population at every level without distinction of sex (Eade and Williams,1999:9).

There are however various forms of development that will be explored at length. Development can be categorized into four broad themes; namely human development or social development, economic development, political development and cultural development. Firstly, human development can be defined as a theory that merges older ideas from ecological economics, sustainable development and welfare economics. It focuses on measuring the well-being and detecting economic growth that comes at the expense of human wealth. However, it goes further in seeking not only to measure, but also to optimize the well-being by some explicit modelling of how social capital and instructional capital can be deployed to optimize the overall value of human capital in an economy, which is part of ecology. The human and physical aspects of development are well known. Sectoral aspects stress the importance of cross cutting elements such as coordination, management, and maintenance of an enabling environment for private business and community initiative. Structural aspects focus on the need for good governance, transparent decision-making, efficient legal and judicial processes and sound regulatory systems (World Development Report (1999/2000:3).

The second category is that of economic development which focuses at the role of various stakeholders and their role on economic growth and development. The World Development Report defines economic development as the economic process whereby a country achieves sustainable increases in the per capita gross domestic product of its citizens through the efficient use of its productive capacities and resources. The process entails economic growth structural transformation and increases in economic welfare and some minimum degree of equity (Mhone, 1993:9).

Thirdly, social development focuses on social well-being of the community whilst political and organizational development focus on empowering people with skills so that they can be able to exercise effectively their democratic rights in decision-making processes, which could have an impact on their lives. According to Munslow (1998) social capital is a major concern in social development. It refers to the internal social and cultural coherence of society; the norms and values that govern interactions

amongst people and the institutions in which they are embedded. Without social capital, society at large will collapse. Social development includes cultural and spiritual development which helps people to appreciate their cultural beliefs, traditions, religions and customs. In other words cultural elements to some extent dictates the forms of economic and social structure in each country. The social conditions in any nation are a result of the dominant cultural factors (Munslow,1998: 504).

Lastly, political development includes a strong network of effective organisations and effective governance that is starred by political will. Within political development, there are institutions that are viewed as rules and these can be both formal and informal. Rules can be formal taking the shape of constitutions, laws, regulations and contracts. Institutions can also be informal like values and social norms. Traditional leadership takes shape of informal institutions that have evolved since the inception of the establishment of polities. The institution dates back several centuries and remains the prime custodian of societal culture. The institution is much revered and held in awe while at the same time it is perceived to be the embodiment of the spirit of the ancestors and a link between them and the community. Additionally, it provides a new sense of belonging as well as being a powerful agent of social cohesion and harmony. In the pre-colonial era, traditional leaders played a major role in mobilizing their communities for development purposes. Sometimes traditional rulers initiated development projects and secured the support of both internal and external development agents for the executions of these projects. The institution also had to make sure there is peace and stability which are essential conditions for development through adjudication of cases distribution and sale of land and management of communal resources such as land water bodies and forest resources (Ray,*et al.*,1997:63)

Institutions simultaneously enable and constrain the actions of individuals or organisations. Institutional reforms specify new rules or alter old ones with the intention of changing the behaviour of individuals and organisations in desirable directions. Organisations themselves are characterised by internal rules that define for their members pre-requisites for eligibility, responsibilities, sanctions and rewards. How

effectively and faithfully members pursue the organisation's objectives depends on these rules. Within this context, decentralisation which is politically motivated has a role to play in maintaining political stability and reducing the risk of violent conflict by bringing a wide range of groups in a formal rule-bound bargaining process. Political development has within itself economics; it is concerned with efficient allocation of existing scarce productive resources and with their sustained growth over time. It is also concerned with the cultural and political requirements for affecting rapid structural and institutional transformations of entire societies in a manner that will most efficiently bring the fruits of economic progress to the broadest segments of their populations. As such a larger government role and some degree of coordinated economic decision-making directed towards transforming the economy are usually viewed as essential (Todaro,1997:8).

In the fore front of political development there is political systems which consists of political parties, lobby groups, trade unions, citizens and government. All together have a task of ensuring and maintaining order and sanity in the society while at the same time making it possible for other institutions to make their grievances and complaints put across in the course of social existence.

There are several ways of looking at development. Magaseng (2002) defines development as a phenomenon that encapsulates the idea of living in a cultural, social, political and economic progress without undermining one's local initiatives and expertise. He argues that some theorists believe that development cannot take place without government intervention while others claim it should be left to the private sector. Magaseng (2002) suggest that in order to succeed, development needs to be initiated from below rather than through agencies that impose their own economic package. Development must be state run and must be led by the community, which has its own priorities and can ask the government or the agencies for financial assistance. This means that development must be people centred and be led by the poor themselves as militant community groups or civil society has stated, "There is nothing about us without us" (Magaseng, 2002:20).

1.2 Trusteeship

The theory of trusteeship addresses the challenges facing government in developing the areas under traditional leadership. For example, the local government is unable to develop areas under traditional leadership without clearly defined property rights. On the other hand, it has proved to be difficult to develop private owned land for public or community use. This theory attempts to give the government some form of security as opposed to risking developing private owned land, which in most of the cases benefits the owners as opposed to communities (Speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi,;pp 384)

1.3 The Study

1.3.1 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research is to explore the level of involvement of traditional leaders in community development and social services or delivery programmes. It seeks to establish whether traditional leaders understand their roles as stipulated in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the Framework Bill, Land Management and Appropriation Bill and other relevant legislation. This study looks at the role of traditional leaders on social services delivery in the current system of government. The rural community of Tweefontein in KwaNdebele has been identified for the study.

1.3 2 Statement of Problem

To start with, development means improving people's lives and this also includes people living in underdeveloped areas. In areas where traditional authorities are still recognised traditional authorities must be involved as stakeholders. A lot of research has been done around local sphere of government having to play a major role in development. This refers to both elected representatives and traditional leaders. The focus in this case is on traditional leaders and more specifically in Tweefontein within KwaNdebele. Currently, the situation is that there are serious problems in this area. These are an indication of the area being underdeveloped. There are a number of problems that traditional leaders encounter in this area. Firstly, traditional authorities are marginalized thus they do not take part in decision making in as far as issues that affect

the community like the legislative processes which include policy making are concerned. The researcher also learnt that the local municipality does not consult with traditional leaders be it for bringing a community project or making decisions that affect traditional leaders. They are only given the results on the decisions that have been taken. Another contributing factor is that within the traditional leadership structure alone there is a serious communication breakdown in terms of elected provincial and national representatives reporting back after meetings. Yet this is important in keeping all traditional leaders informed about government plans. The researcher also observed that traditional leaders felt like the government had been talking theory for a long time. Due to this, there is very little motivation for them to believe in the democratic system. These concerns have brought lots of tensions that are evident between traditional authorities and local councillors. This would also include the fading relationship and trust that existed within the traditional authority structure amongst the traditional authorities. This has led to major setbacks in developing the area. The changes that have come with the new governance system in South Africa have brought complications such that traditional authorities do not have a clear understanding of their role in community development; they reluctantly do their daily duties without a clear focus. This in turn hinders success in development initiatives.

1.3.3 Objectives of the Study

The study establishes whether the structure of traditional leadership forms part of the decision-making bodies at local government level.

- (i) To investigate whether traditional leaders work hand in hand with the councillors.
- (ii) To dig deeper into the recognition of the structure of traditional leadership by community members and to what extent the community makes use of their services.
- (iii) The study aims to find out if the Local government has plans for empowering traditional leaders in as far as skills development and educating them on the legislative processes is concerned.

- (iv) To investigate whether local government recognises traditional authority and the role that they have to play in developing the community, as per stipulations by the Traditional Leadership Framework Bill.

1.3 4 Rationale of the study

This study seeks to dig deeper into the situation faced by traditional leaders whom due to colonial thinking had to change some of their practices in the process of accommodating the oppressive rule. The study goes beyond the general image of the institution and its practices. Another thing is that the study highlights the complexities that could be taken for granted by policy makers as they deal with rural needs. The study further argues that there needs to be some kind of a working relationship between democratically elected councillors and traditional leaders.

The study will root out the cause of the current situation in the area in as far as development is concerned. It will also indicate whether traditional institution in the area are in good communication terms with the local municipality which could be the basis for the reason why the area is underdeveloped.

1.3 5 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following questions:-

- (i) Do the traditional leaders in Tweefontein consider themselves as role-players in community development programmes?
- (ii) Are they aware of their role and what do they see as a challenge in getting their work done?
- (iii) Does the community support traditional leaders?
- (iv) Are traditional leaders in Tweefontein fully supported by the government in making development a success?
- (v) What is the response of traditional authorities to post apartheid policies and legislations on local government reform approaches and strategies?

1.3 6 Overview of KwaNdebele (Tweefontein)

AmaNdebele (people of KwaNdebele) once lived in Tshwane (now Pretoria) before the arrival of the Voortrekkers/ Great Trek. Amandebele arrived in Tshwane from Emhlangeni (Reedfontein) where they lived for many years. After the arrival of the Voortrekkers, AmaNdebele were forced to establish the so-called Pretoria named after the Great Trek leader Willem Marthinius Pretoria who was one of the Commander in Chief. During the apartheid era, AmaNdebele were under the reign of Nzuza and Manala's sons and their area was known as Tshwane, which means darkness) (Maylam,1986:46)

KwaNdebele consists of both semi-rural and rural areas situated in one of the South African provinces called Mpumalanga. Mr Malatji explained that three clans historically occupy KwaNdebele. There is the Nzuza which is the biggest clan, the Amanala which is the second biggest clan and the very small clan called Mlethlane who are the minority and are hardly heard of. Within Kwa-Ndebele we find a small area called Tweefontein. It has a population of plus or minus 500 000 people. Tweefontein used to be occupied by the farmers. The people around that area started targeting the land that farmers lived in, fought for it and won in 1979 where people started occupying the land but this was after lots of conflicts between farmers and the community. The community got the land, which could not be used profitably because the people did not have the skills to practice farming as the colonial farmers had been doing. Because of this situation, the community was caught up in the give and take situation where they had to give back some of the land. This move however benefited the residents since people here strive to make a living through small businesses and in some areas people practice agriculture and they sell to community members. The area has many traditional leaders who are well known in the community and amongst these are kings, chiefs and headsmen. What the researcher discovered was that traditional leaders in this area are no longer doing all the duties that they use to. After talking to a number of people in the area, it was clear that the major focus of this structure at that time was on circumcision, assisting community with stamps as per requirement by various government institutions and the bank. They also dealt with issues of grants and juridical cases. Land distribution was

one of their duties, collecting money as grants so as to build schools, and sports facilities. They were promoting culture and traditions by hosting cultural awareness events, promoting ethics and dealing with social welfare needs and conflict resolutions. What the researcher picked up was that there is a need for local authorities to focus on interventions that would remedy the current situation in this area. This is because there are lots of services that people in this area are in need of. One other problem could be that the role of traditional leadership and elected representatives seem to have an overlap as far as power distribution is concerned. This then brings uncertainty to proper implementation of policies with the traditional authority. (History of KwaNdebele by Africa Ntuli (A ward Committee member) and Mr Masilela (Administrator office of traditional Leaders)).

This research covers the following:-

1. The recognition of traditional authorities in the community which offers a platform to work and bring changes to the people.
2. The major part of the study looks at the Tweefontein traditional leaders and how they understand development and relate with local structures.
3. The role of traditional leaders and how they relate with councillors.
4. The study explores the challenges facing the traditional structure.

2: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Literature review refers to the collection of works based on research that has been done by other scholars around a specific field of study. It sets the stage for the completion of a successful study. It provides a framework within which you can answer the important question. A review takes you chronologically through the development of ideas. It also shows how some ideas were left wayside for lack of support and how some were confirmed as being true. Extensive and complete reviews of the literature gives you that important perspective to see what has been done and where one is going. Salkind suggests that today's research is built on a foundation of the hard work and dedication of past researchers and their productive efforts which could be found in journals and books (Salkind,2000:54).

2.1 History of Development

The tradition of community development has continued through the decades in much the same form, for instance during what came to be known as the development decade (1960s), those post colonial countries that opted for a capitalist model of development adopted what has become known as “modernisation approach”. Much has been written about modernisation approach. Suffice to say here that it was an attempt by Western governments and development agencies to set less-developed countries on a path to capitalist industrialization. The modernisation approach was implemented in the wake of the success of the post-second World War Marshall plan to build Europe. It was also part of the cold war battle by capitalist countries against the spread of communism. Roodt (2001) argues that at the risk of caricaturing what is, in effect, a many faceted approach, the main thrust of modernisation was the belief that underdeveloped countries could move from a pre-industrial state through a number of stages to a mature

capitalist state. This was to be achieved through elite investment in urban industry, the benefits of which will “trickle down” to the traditionally backward sectors. With the emphasis of this development paradigm on urban industrial development. The rural poor were once more, while waiting for the results of modernisation policy to “trickle down”, expected to develop themselves. This was to occur primarily through their own efforts (Roodt, 2001:471).

Development is understood as a social condition within a nation in which the authentic needs of its population are satisfied by the rational and sustainable use of natural resources and systems. Macro structural theories had proved themselves to be out of touch with the reality that individuals lived day to day confident of their ability to comprehend the underlying realities of the world and to predict its future course. These faults indicated an overemphasis on broad societal structures and the neglect of individual capacity and insight. There was a need to change perspective and to take account of historical particularity, micro-perspectives and individual actors. This then argues for a shift in development thinking at the theoretical, policy, practical and moral levels (Wood, *et al.*,2001:1).

Traditional and Modern concept

The concept of traditional and modern are frequently misused and can mask a clear understanding of what the concepts are about. They are clearly invalid and do not reflect reality if they are used to describe separable points of individual or group experience. If they are to be used, however they should not be seen as counterbalancing or opposing forces rather than interdependent. They are a useful way of identifying relative differences in values and lifestyles but they do need qualification and explanation. Tradition implies time depth, the continuity of ideals, values and institutions transmitted over generations it cannot be deemed static thus demands continuous adaptation due to changing times, while the change may be less rapid. Traditional authority refers to structures and processes of politics that in some ways and some extent are rooted in different bases of political legitimacy that predates the contemporary state. The traditional governance system is the age-old method by which

indigenous people administered their affairs. Traditional governance varied considerably among different people. Traditional leadership had considerable influence and exercised sovereignty within their areas of jurisdiction as their authority in both spiritual and secular was almost absolute. The office of traditional rulers has been transformed as it has passed through various phases back to the pre-colonial era through the colonial period to the present. Traditional leadership in the contemporary state have different roots of political legitimacy. When the new system evolved it did not obliterate the earlier indigenous systems by which the people had governed themselves. The rule however, halted the evolutionary processes of traditional administrative structures and undermined the basis of traditional rule that was rooted in moral authority. Since the colonial rule, the crucial role played by traditional leadership in Africa and elsewhere changed dramatically. A lot of responsibilities that they were managing are now in the hands of the local councilors (Ray, *et al.*, 1997:46)

2.2 Theories of Development

There are various theories of development. The study only focuses on some of the theories. Firstly, metatheory, theory and methodology view human beings as members of different “worlds”. An individual is at the same time a worker, student, family member, sports person, business person, member of the political organisation, church goer and so on. Each of the worlds that we “inhabit” requires a different kind of knowledge it distinguishes between the world of everyday life. The theory says that different worlds that we inhabit involve quite dissimilar “stocks of knowledge”, this is true because knowledge fulfils various functions; it enriches our lives and in various ways; it broadens our horizons and enables us to understand our world and helps us to make better informed decisions (Mouton, 1996:12).

The second is the modernisation theory in the evolutionist sense it says that social change is unilinear, progressive, irreversible, gradual and the fact that it happens in a set pattern of stages. According to Le Roux and Graaff (2001) evolutionist thinkers often trespass in doubtful territory by presenting their models as explanatory, repeatable and even predictive. It is important for us to understand that modernisation theory and

evolutionism are not the same thing. Modernisation theory has been described as a potent brew of functionalism, evolutionism and free market principles. It is then one of the possible legs of modernisation theory although it is often seen as the most important one (Le Roux and Graaff, 2001 ;45).

The third one is the Marxist development theory, coming from imperialism theories. These theories examine the dynamics of capitalism in first world countries and theories of underdevelopment. Classical theories seek to explain the unprecedented territorial expansion of the western European states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in terms of the needs of the capitalist system for markets. Later dependency theories argued that in the post-colonial period the advanced capitalist societies continued to base their prosperity on unequal economic relations with the periphery locking countries and regions into a cycle of dependency and underdevelopment while the recent theories of post imperialism have shifted from dependency theory to commonalities in national boundary (Wood, 2001:73).

The fourth theory is the one that takes the unconventional line on early Marxist theorising. It subjects dependency theory and world systems theory. The fifth theory exposes the most recent kind of Marxist theories about development namely the regulation approach. This theory argues for micro foundation in development based on people-centred approach. It says that development does not only imply the satisfaction of basic needs but also the right to live a meaningful life. Dependency theory falls short in many ways. It is stagnationist, quantitative and its absolutist in its notion of power, while the world systems theory by contrast avoids the charge of stagnationism by showing that development and change can occur in the world system (Dawid and Graaf, 2001:77).

Traditional leadership seems to disagree with the theory of stagnationist. It concurs with the fact that development cannot be stable and changes with the world systems what might differ could be the rate at which this is happening. It is worth noting that development cannot take place in the absence of good governance. In theorising the state of traditional leadership. There is a need for traditional leadership structure to

evolve and change affirmed that the traditional leaders require capacity building support both in terms of training and infrastructural assistance in order to work constructively with local governments towards facilitating change and social transformation at the local level. In order that development could be closer to the felt needs and aspirations of the people it is expected to be a bottom-up instead of top-down exercise and have the support of the local population. To ensure this, traditional leadership can play a role in mobilising local opinion in favour of, and participation in development plan programs. Corporation between traditional leaders and local development agencies would enhance the potential for effective delivery of development services to local communities (Sharma, *et al.*,1997:37)

Critical theory talks about striving for a society that is guided by communicative rationality and an unrestrained communication about its goal. Critical theory stands in stark contrast on the one hand to positivist theory which has a concealed interest in control and manipulation and on the other hand to interpretive theory. This aims to make people understand what other people think without subjecting it to critical reflection. It is crucial for understanding modernity because it examines such concepts for distortions in communication and for the surreptitious ways in which power relations have been embedded in them (Romm,1998:141).

2.3 Participation, Civil Society, and Development

Roodt (1998) says that participation of the population in local government is an ongoing objective of development practitioners in many parts of the world. Participation is seen as one of the ingredients necessary to promote sustained development. Participation refers to people involving themselves to a greater and lesser degree in organisations indirectly or directly concerned with the decision-making in the implementation of development. Roodt (1998) further argues that participation of citizens in local level decision-making through active involvement in formal structures or through organised pressure groups as part of civil society, is something that is difficult to achieve and to sustain. This can be explained by the desire of local elites to monopolise power and their hostility to wide spread participation. They use a combination of power positions

such as class, race, gender, age and education often backed up by “tradition” to prevent meaningful participation from occurring. In spite of the failure of participatory ventures in other parts of the world there is still a certain amount of enthusiasm for the exercise. This is especially true in south Africa (Roodt,1998:469).

Traditional Leadership and Participation

The value of the participation of traditional leaders in local governance is contained in the legitimacy continuity offered by the structures of traditional leadership and its ability to mobilize the population behind development initiatives. In order to promote just and honest government, the principles of transparency and accountability should be pursued by traditional leaders and local government administration. There should be an open door relationship between government structures and institutions of traditional leadership as well as regular exchanges between associations of local government. This then means that traditional leaders should serve as in an advisory and consultation capacity on ex-officio basis. Traditional leaders in many states that recognised this institution were involved in many community projects aimed at developing their communities like building schools and resolve customary disputes in their own individual jurisdictions and many other duties. Ghana is one example of an African state that has put this theory of participation into practicality. This includes issues of mobilization of resources in the form of funds that would assist the community in pushing identified programs. Prominent traditional leaders like Okyenhene a ruler of the Akyem Abuakwa state in the Eastern region of Ghana who valued education thus established a state college and the scholarship scheme. Traditional leaders in Ghana also collaborated with development agents. For instance the ruler of Dwaben who initiated the palm oil plantation and processing of the oil together with shea butter production. What this says is that if traditional leaders could be given a chance, capitalising on the fact that local people still recognise and respect traditional leaders. They can be used as a vehicle to educate, guide, inform and advise the local communities on issues that relate to welfare education and development (Sharma,etal,.1997:5).

2.4 Gender and Development

The way in which men and women are gendered is a product of the interaction of racially defined categories, class and geographical location as well as political power relations and ideological factors such as religion. Individuals do not simply choose how they want to be gendered. The ways in which genders are assigned also depends on the ways in which gender relations are institutionalised and played out in the community or society. A gendered approach to development hinges on an understanding of power relations. Key is the belief that if development strategies are to make a difference to individual lives, and to women's lives in particular they need to take into account the ways in which power relations are gendered. This means that development strategies needs to take into account the gender power relations operating in house holds, other institutions, different spheres of government and society as a whole. Only then can development succeed in improving the status and quality of life of women and the community as a whole. To be effective, development process must recognise the complex relationship between domestic and other institutional domain (Roodt,1998:450)

2.5 Traditional Leadership

2.5.1 Introduction

Traditional leadership is an institution that has existed since the early centuries. Currently the modern forms of political leadership are gradually moving towards making it a not so important institution especially within the African society. There have been debates around the importance of such an institution more so to the African continent where societies were robbed of their dignity and pride. There is a need to deepen the debate on the role that this institution plays in as far as the current dispensation is concerned. According to Boon (1996) it is crucial that the general features of traditional leadership are recognised and incorporated in our thinking this can be converted to other applications in the workplace and in government. Traditionally the king represented the unity of the tribe and was the personification of the law. This is expectation of all leadership be it in business or elsewhere. Any questions or disputes

were settled by discussion among the wise and old elders of the tribe. The chiefs councillors represented the people and it was their consensus that defined the law. The chief is not expected to partake in the discussion of the case, but merely judges when it has been sufficiently discussed and when a majority opinion becomes apparent at which stage he cuts the case and gives his verdict accordingly (Boon,1996:45). Chieftainship is one of the oldest traditional institutions that has enjoyed the glory, powers and prestige of the pre-colonial times, has survived through the vicissitudes of the colonial period and have reconciled to the new political system of the post-independence period which has gradually reduced the functions, powers and status of this institution. The history of chieftainship in Africa from the pre-colonial period to the present has been a story of gradually declining powers, authority and functions. Nonetheless, traditional leaders have maintained important cultural social and juridical functions at local and village levels in many countries (Sharma,1997:44)

2.5.2 Traditionality

This concept refers to loyalty or attachment to a tradition especially in cultural or religious matters. This would also refer to following one's traditional methods which could include teachings. Traditionality can be a doctrine where all knowledge can be based and would have the originality which could be unconsciously transmitted by traditions (Wikipedia Dictionary).

2.5.3 Leadership

There is no one common definition for leadership. Some academics use characteristics of a leader in defining this concept. Other definitions include the way a group processes issues. Don Clark (1997) defines leadership as a complex process by which a person influences others to accomplish a mission, task or objective, and directs the organisation in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. All definitions seem to highlight that this is all done to meet a single goal or mission (Clark,1997:1).

2.6 Theories of Leadership

1. Participative leadership theories suggest that the ideal leadership style is one that takes the input of others into account. This theory bodes well with the modernisation theories that challenged autocratic rule and thrive to establish democratic structures. It is this theory that advocates for open democratic forums necessary for development and representation. It affords the beneficiaries or participants with the opportunity to identify their problems or challenges and develop diagnosis. This means that this theory is people-centered. These leaders encourage participation and contributions from group members and help group members feel more relevant and committed to the decision-making process. In participative theories, however, the leader retains the right to allow the input of others. (Roodt, 2001:468)

2. Participatory theory is vulnerable to abuse if unguarded. Those in power have the potential to limit the participation or to marginalise those that are described as a threat. For example, cases of marginalisation regarding participation occur during policy formulation processes. The fact that stakeholders are likely to oppose or change the policy direction, they are inconvenienced because notices of the meetings or workshop do not reach them on time. Therefore, they are unable to contribute comprehensively to the policy-making processes. Marginalisation theory has proved to be a reality especially with civil society not aligned to government and in this case, traditional leaders. Civil society identified as anti-government experienced marginalization in the policy formulation processes. (Roodt, 2001:469).

3. “Great Man” Theories: These theories assume that the capacity for leadership is inherent in the fact that great leaders are born, not made. These theories portray great leaders as heroic, mythic, and destined to rise to leadership when needed. The term “Great Man” was used because at the time, leadership was thought of primarily as a male quality.

4. Trait Theories: These theories are similar in some ways to “Great Man” theories, but trait theories assumes that people inherit certain qualities and traits that make them

better suited for leadership. Trait theories often identify particular personality or behavioural characteristics shared by leaders.

5. Contingency Theories: These theories focus on particular variables related to the environment that might determine which particular style of leadership is best suited for the situation. According to this theory, no leadership style is best in all situations. Success depends upon a number of variables, including the leadership style, qualities of followers and aspects of the situation.

6. Situational Theories: Situational theories propose that leaders choose the best course of action based on situational variables.

7. Behavioural Theories: These theories believe that great leaders are made not born. The focus is on the actions of a leader not on mental qualities or internal states.

8. Relationship Theories: Relationship theories focus on connections formed between leaders and followers. These leaders motivate and inspire people by helping group members see the importance and higher good of the task. Transformational leaders focus on the performance of group members, but also want each person to fulfil his or her potential (Wagner, 1995:1).

9. Traditional Leadership Theories: These theories concentrate on the differentiation of leaders and followers. The leader possesses power (authority, influence and control either through his or her traits, style or position. Asher (2002) notes that these theories focus on the traits, behavioural styles, charisma and give leaders power in the context of certain situations (Asher, 2002:151)

2.7 Traditional Leadership: It's Evolvement

In order to understand the nature of traditional leadership in South Africa, it is imperative to explore the evolution of traditional leadership in a global environment and draw some trends and patterns. Exploring, historicising and periodizing the evolution of traditional leadership enables the author not only to understand the paradigm shift but also to assess the key “drivers” of these kinds of leadership.

2.7.1 Ancient Period

Leadership is old as the Greco-Roman antiquity with two interesting leaders Augustus and the leader of democratic Athens in the 5th Century BC and the Roman Empire. Despite the fact that one might have ruled at an early age than the other but both dominated their respective societies and both influenced the course of western history. Pericles (the leader of Athens) knew that he had to make the people of Athens believe that what he urged them to do was unquestionably right. This argument or belief is based on the ancient notion of essentialism, which presents leaders or kings as appointed by God, and therefore they need not be challenged. Pericles was a charismatic leader who was able to sway people on meetings and other gatherings. He had a vision, and to attain this vision he had to use his strategic skills and he played a major role in creating an empire. Augustus rose into power through his nephew Julius Caesar and when he got into power he quickly surrounded himself with those who believed in him like close relatives, sons and daughters. He constructed for himself the image of the defender of Rome, the upholder of the traditional Roman values, the bringer of peace to people who had been in war for too long. There was however an element of being ruthless. He was charismatic but not democratic like Pericles. Traditional leaders posed some characteristic traits that exist in these times like working hard towards attaining their goals; cultivating the image of being dedicated leaders; working only for the good of the people and they knew how to use literature art and architecture for propagandistic purposes. The major focus of traditional leaders at this time was to administer religious proceedings through arts and architecture. The major focus was on trade where the built relationships with neighbouring countries or took over neighbouring territories through wars when negotiations failed. They used powers in making shipping efforts a success. Tax revenue was one of the focal area. They centralised administration through a network of bishops thus shaping good government, while monks were shaping the political and religious life. The important thing was concentration was o democratic values (Susser,1995:2)

2.7.2 Medieval Period

To understand the forms of leadership that existed in the 6th to the 15th century (medieval), it is imperative to explore the powers that dominated societies in this period. According to Susser (1995) religious communities of any kind, both male and female were separated from the outside world and were organized around a hierarchical chain of command. However, a decision making process within that structure was often a subject not only to external pressures for example by patrons, but also by internal power games themselves frequently linked to the connections in the lay world, personal friendship and favouritism. Susser (1995) argues that medieval thought conceived of social organisation the ways in which ranks, offices, resources, power, privileges, duties and rights were to be distributed as rooted in an eternal and immutable order of things. What justified the privileges of the lord, the subordination of the serf, and the authority of the priest was no mere historical accident (Susser,1995:2). Traditional leadership character traits were evident amongst leaders in the Medieval institutions such as the following:

The political: The government is a hierarchical model beginning with the king and working down many levels to the local government, even though the king is partly responsible to the parliament. The political model is “command and control”-oriented and rigidly establishment. To question this structure is considered treason or civil disobedience and punishment can be severe.

The Military: It is part of the government and is highly hierarchical with a top down approach with management. Military personnel are taught to simply obey anyone of higher rank beginning with a general or admiral at the “top” of the chain of command. The military has established serious consequences for disobedience or creative thinking.

State Religion: is an ancient institution with clear levels of clergy rank and authority. Beginning with an archbishop [and] the structure is also rigid, hierarchical and control oriented. To question authority or exhibit creativity is considered rebellion against Gods' established order and the consequences can be harsh.

Evidently, the two institutions (Ancient and Medieval) shared many similarities with the current traditional leadership institution during which men were the most prominent

figures in all institutions and they assumed positions of power, which then meant that they were domineering. Women were sidelined and they were hardly seen in most prominent positions. Leadership in this era focused on societal culture and architecture. Issues of land (territories were of great importance such that wars were fought in an attempt to take land from each other). They enjoyed surrounding themselves with trustworthy allies. They had lots of 'power' over what was to take place in their towns and cities and they were very popular for sending commands. These traits are in no way different from what traditional leaders used to do in the African set-up. It is evident that there are some characteristics from these two institutions that traditional leadership have shared in the last few decades.

2.7.3 Modernisation Period

It stresses the modernisation factor, which states that many societies are simply trying to emulate the most successful societies and cultures. It also states that it is possible to do so thus supporting the concepts of social engineering and that the developed countries can and should help those less developed directly and indirectly. Modernisation as a discourse challenged the kingship and the class structure (Aristocrats versus Commons) and advocated the interests of the masses, but this theory acknowledges the inability or the failure to come up with redistribution strategies. The French Revolution is a case in point where the working class revolted against the autocratic minority rule and thrived to create a democratic environment where the working class masses would have a say. On the other hand, modernisation is a response to the institutions of traditional leadership and it challenged kingship as God-given. Modernisation theories of the 50s and 60s argued that traditional leadership is an obstacle to the development of underdeveloped countries. The modernisation theories argued that for development to take place there is a need to eradicate traditional forms of development. Modern ideology's typically dynamic and conflict-ridden character is clearly related to the decline of the medieval view that our social order reflects the divine order. Ideological discourse takes on its characteristically volatile modern qualities when this central assumption of medieval political discourse loses its hold on the western imagination (Susser, 1995:4).

2.7. 4 Contemporary Period

Colonialism heralded a transformation that saw (what is now) South Africa's indigenous leaders being subordinated to an alien state. This subordination was deepened by the system of separate development introduced after 1948, which divided Africans along ethnic lines and rendered chieftaincy increasingly dependent. It is therefore scarcely surprising that the advent of democracy has generated intense debate about the role that chiefs should play. The advent of democracy in South Africa has made the role of traditional leaders to be ambiguous and questionable. The role of traditional leaders in the new dispensation has been fraught with controversies from diverse stakeholders including civil society, government, academics and politicians. Traditional governance and democratic rule are perceived as opposites, and as such are two systems on a collision course. Modern day Western type of democracy is perceived to be progressive and desirable, whilst the opposite holds true for traditional African leadership. According to Molotlegi (2003:1), traditional governance and democratic rule are complimentary rather than competing.

Some argue that traditional leaders are an obstacle to development and should focus on being the custodians of culture and be removed from politics and development. Whilst others especially the traditional theories argue that traditional leaders have a role to play in development and the majority of the people in rural areas still rely on them for assistance. There are some areas of South Africa where traditional leaders are still highly recognised, the councillors are either overlooked or work closely with the chiefs, which in most of the cases it is not clear whether they still own some of the land.

The two institutions of leadership (Modern and Contemporary) are not new to the traditional leadership institution that exists today. They came with an era of enlightenment where many changes took place in various aspects of life. Gradually some leadership beliefs and practices started 'eroding' with the new concept of democracy and major changes took place which changed most of the indigenous beliefs and practices to accommodate the new form of governance, which was to benefit all. As a result, traditional leadership institutions are facing challenges of having to change or

do away with some of their responsibilities. Traditional leaders have to take on some roles that demand specific skills and competencies and this calls for training. Worse still is the fact that this 'enlightenment' has brought many controversies within this form of leadership. In this case, the study does not intend to consider all the other forms of leadership, important as they are. The focus will be on the indigenous style of leadership whose beliefs are rooted in the old way of leading people guided by beliefs, culture, tradition and values (Jago, 1982:1).

2.8 Traditional Authority

The structure of traditional authorities has been in existence for a very long time in African societies and in some Western countries before the colonial era. The terms "traditional leadership" or "authorities" are used interchangeably in the context of this study. Traditional leadership is based on the belief of sacred traditions and the legitimacy of those who are called upon to govern by the said traditions (Engelbronner-Koff, *et al*, 1998). To define traditional authority one needs to link the term used to a moment in history of colonialism, apartheid and segregation (Ntsebeza, 2004:8). This meant that the name given to the indigenous structure kept changing as the following stages evolved:

1. In the Pre-colonial period, traditional leaders referred to hereditary kings who were representing a collection of clans and each clan had a chief.
2. Colonial period and segregation: At this time, the government appointed headmen and chiefs. Hereditary kings and chiefs still existed but were not recognized unless they were willing to be incorporated. During this period, local government especially in rural areas fell under the native authorities.
3. Apartheid period: establishment of tribal authorities and the change in terminology from Native to Bantu Authorities and the reserves were used as Bantustans and this was during the time of introducing self-government. The Bantustans were referred to as homelands, then self-governing and independent states. New lineages were established from the ranks of appointed chief and headmen, paramount chiefs appointed.

4. The transition to 1994, the terminology changed from paramount chiefs , chiefs, headmen and sub-headmen to the all encompassing terms like traditional authorities or traditional leaders or indigenous leaders (Ntshebeza;1999:7).

There were common practices and features that were prevalent in communities led through these forms of traditional leadership. The structure in this institution demanded that communities be run by kings, chiefs or headmen that held leadership positions allocated to them based on hereditary leadership rather than the common elections. The system of one-man one vote was not practiced and this made things difficult for the community to choose their own leader or to hold the leader accountable if things went wrong. However, important decisions were taken based on negotiations to reach consensus in these traditional structures. There were prominent and powerful figures who were regarded as important people within the communities. “Traditional leaders symbolized unity, peace, custodians of customs or culture, resolve disputes, promote identity of communities, and promulgate tribal regulations” (Keulder,1998:10).

2.9 Development and Leadership

It appears that development and leadership are linked inextricably. Some theories of development argue that leaders, especially the traditional leaders, can only drive development because they are much closer to the people and they understand the community challenges, whilst others criticize the undemocratic nature of the traditional institutions. Traditional theories argue that this is the best institution to deal with this challenge, also because they are able to practice social control over their subjects. Critiques of traditional leaders challenge the traditionalist theorists by arguing that traditionalists’ theories promote the master-slave relationship or the citizen and subject where the former has absolute powers over the latter (subject). Keulder (1998) argues that the fact that the elected representatives seem to play a different role in the hearts of the rural communities, [and] they cannot replace one another. Ideally, the two systems of social control should complement each other (Keulder, 1998: 318). This then calls for a clear division of tasks and functions where each of the two systems performs those tasks best suited to it.

Keulder confirms that traditional leaders are most effective in mobilizing social energy for development. Some theories of traditional leadership argue that traditional leaders should be tasked with more 'technocratic' functions such as mobilizing social energy for development; making sure that the village needs are reflected in local government level (village) development plans; and overseeing the implementation of development projects. This group further argues that traditional leaders should be further incorporated into formal local government structures, under control of the elected structure at lower level in the hierarchy, because they enhance structures' capacities, legitimacy, and hence, social control.

It is therefore important for traditional leaders to be incorporated into official development schemes and programmes. More than anything, they should be co-opted into regional and local development coordinating bodies so that local needs and plans can be forwarded to regional and ultimately to central planning bodies. Hence, effective development cannot take place without the leadership and the community at large (Keulder, 1998:318). It is not only elitist but also misguided to assume that politicians, academics, and other elites know what is better for African communities (Molotlegi, 2004:10).

The South African community experienced oppressive rule under the apartheid government prior to the 1994 democratic national government elections, which were followed by the local government elections in 1996. The previous system of government has in a way influenced the current system of government. It introduced the TBVC states and homeland government systems of governments that are not easy to transform.

The birth of democracy after the 1994 democratic election, preceded by the Kempton Park Constitutional Negotiations afforded South Africans [with] a right to decide who they want to lead them. South Africa's Constitution which is the supreme law of the land provides for all its citizens with a right to have access to basic needs and have a right to choose who they want to lead them. The challenge for the current South African

government is to transform the hereditary structure of traditional leadership into a democratic institution of government that will serve rural communities in accordance with the prescriptions of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The Constitution gives guidelines as to how the state and its institutions should be structured to promote democratic governance and public participation in the processes of decision-making to facilitate social service delivery. Institutional change or transformation has occurred in the past twelve years of democracy, however, the current structure of traditional leaders and their role in the new dispensation (democracy) is still a mammoth task. The current system of South Africa's democracy poses questions such as: Is traditional leadership relevant to the current system of government? Does it promote democracy and good governance? Is the structure of traditional leadership a hindrance or a vehicle to social service delivery and good governance? Is the proposed institution of traditional leadership compatible with the norms and values as set out in the Bill of Rights and the South Africa's Constitution? Which states that "All shall have equal rights and a right to choose".

2.10 Democracy, Governance and Representation

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, "democracy is a system of government by the whole population, usually through elected representatives (Allen, 1990:308). The system of governance in South Africa is based on participatory and representative democracy. In theory, participatory democracy is of the view that citizens should participate in all decision-making processes, but in most of the cases, this does not happen. Elected government officials in the context of South Africa take decisions on behalf of the people, hence representative democracy. Fundamental to representative democracy is that the officials are elected by the public in periodic elections and are accountable to the public. The system of government in South Africa is made up of both participatory and representative democracy. The system of traditional leadership on the other hand is inherited which means that traditional leaders are not elected but they inherit their leadership positions in the community. Swilling (1997) describes 'governance' as the founding values and constitutional meta-policies that constitute the nature of governing institutions which guide their actions and shape the complex

relations between them and the society. South Africa's new constitution necessitated government institutional change or transformation to cater for the needs of all citizens especially the poor in rural communities (Swilling, 1997:4).

Issues relating to the role and responsibilities of traditional leaders have received much attention since South Africa's first democratic government came to power in 1994 and particularly over the past two years as the country has held a general election and a local government election. The question of the role of traditional leaders in the new South Africa is still a major challenge which has remained unanswered. In the prior and post-apartheid era, the role of traditional leaders has been highly contested within the government and civil society circles. The historic 1994 election in South Africa and the 2000 Local Government Elections were remarkable events for the resistance of traditional leaders. The local government elections held in 2000 had to delay because of an attempt to address the concerns of the traditional leaders. Traditional leaders are now recognized in South Africa's Constitution, although there are no roles and responsibilities clearly defined in the legislation. The institution of traditional leadership is one of the institutions that are currently going through a process of transformation so as to fit into the current system of government, which is based on democratic principles of governance. The question to pose is how long then will this process take before poor people in rural communities enjoy the same rights as their counterparts in urban communities? The overall objective of development process in South Africa is to improve the lives of poor people living in abject poverty or disadvantaged by the apartheid regime (Swilling, 1997;5).

The development concept carries a lot of meaning and there is no universal definition of 'development'. Cowen and Shenton (2001) use development management approaches to define development: it is perceived as the process of enlarging people's choices; it encourages participatory democracy and gives people an opportunity to have a say in decision-making and policymaking processes that could have an impact on their lives. Therefore, democracy provides human beings with an opportunity to capacitate themselves in order to realize their maximum potential. Lastly, the development process

is meant to carry out the national developmental goals of sustainable socio-political, economic growth, prosperity, equity and national self-reliance. In modern terms, development is meant to create sustainable livelihoods, which are free from hunger, crime and diseases (Cowen and Shenton, 2001:8).

2.11 Traditional Leaders in Pre-Colonial Africa and Post-Colonial South Africa

During the pre-colonial period, the recognition of traditional leaders was quite high and it was presented as sacrosanct based on essentialist ideas. Essentialism advocates that kings represent God and therefore could not be challenged. The majority of the countries in the pre-colonial Africa were dominated or under the rule of Traditional leaders. According to Eberlee (2001), the roots of legitimacy for African chiefs are partly pre-colonial, historic, partly religious and partly cultural. Traditional leaders were involved in dealing with issues of law and order, which indirectly worked on issues of morality. This included ethical standards that exist in every culture. Colonization took most of this away and some cultural practices faded away because the colonists wanted to dominate for their selfish reasons (Ebelee, 2001:1).

In the pre-colonial times, traditional leaders had lots of powers in as far as developing their communities was concerned, but most of this faded away during colonization because the colonial powers that existed at that time felt threatened by this, thus they had to find a way of doing away with the “challenge”. During the pre-colonial era, every tribal chief had the authority on all aspects of life in the community. The chiefs led military expeditions, initiated and performed a variety of ceremonies to promote the wellbeing of the tribe, maintained peace and order, as well as allocated and regulated tribal land. The chief in council delegated some of its powers and functions to the heads of smaller administrative units called headmen who were extensions of the chief’s authorities. One of these was the chief’s forerunner who was very close to the chief and was viewed as the chiefs ‘eyes’ and ‘ears’. The colonial masters changed the bigger part of everyday practices and the way of life, and the colonized had to conform to the new rules. In essence, most of the cultures and cultural practices, tradition and customs were lost during the colonial period.

During the colonial period, South Africa had to go through another form of colonialism, which was apartheid and this exacerbated the problems that blacks experienced. There was also an element of abusing the existence of this institution in that the apartheid leadership was confusing and used the already existing leadership structures to fulfil their own agendas that were inhumane (Keulder, 1998:318).

Holomisa argues that ever since the settlement of the white man in South Africa the institution of traditional leadership has never been able to find rest and thereby discharge its responsibilities fully. The colonial powers at the same time sought to manipulate, demean, jail and exile the traditional authorities as they saw them as stumbling blocks in their path to exerting their hegemony over the land and its people.

He emphasizes the fact that even the Afrikaner successors to the British Colonial administrators continued to seek to denigrate traditional leaders in the eyes of their people. This was all done under the pretext of restoring their dignity and powers. As leaders of their people under apartheid, traditional leaders provided development services they could under the circumstances. They mobilized communities to raise funds [from] among themselves so as to build schools, clinics and community halls for their people. They visited the labour centres to raise funds for development projects in their areas and encouraged people to produce food for themselves by tilling the land. This tells us that this institution was quite important and largely involved in developmental issues (Holomisa, 2004: 1).

South Africa now has a new system of governance since 1994, which seems to be having problems around fully integrating the traditional leadership structure into democratic processes. Section 211 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa spells out that the institution status and role of traditional leaders according to customary law are recognised, subject to the constitution and that a traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and customs including amendments thereto. This then makes it a starting point to say that the new constitution did make provision for traditional authorities in South Africa. (Constitution, South Africa:1996).

In addition, one is tempted to say that traditional leadership is fully recognized and a lot is happening around matters of making sure that this institution is accommodated in many ways. The establishment of the National House of Traditional Leaders, which was initiated by the National House Act no.10 of 1997, was formulated with a clear understanding of promoting the role of the institution within democratic, constitutional dispensation and this is a major achievement since it has been an uphill battle from the onset, meaning the early stages of democracy (post-1994). This body serves as a voice for the traditional authorities in the country and it fully represents the interests of the indigenous authorities in most of the formal structures at national level (National House of Traditional Leaders, 2003:4).

The Constitution and the House of Traditional Leaders laid a foundation for reasons that the country had to 'give birth' to new legislation. There have been many discussion documents, which were part of the consultation processes. These consultation processes gave birth to the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Bill that defines the categories of traditional leaders, roles and establishment of traditional council. Some concur that the bill has good and vague intentions, as such some of the issues still need to be revisited. This gives direction towards a national legislation to be used formally by traditional institution. Maduna (2003) emphasized that the bill seeks to define the role of traditional leaders in municipalities, and provide for establishment of commission on traditional leadership to deal with disputes and claims to help resolve disputes regarding legitimacy of incumbent traditional leaders (Maduna, 2003:1). The implementation or the practicality of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Bill remains a major challenge for the government (Maduna, 2003:1).

2.12 Civil Society, Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework

2.13 Communication Processes

In a traditional institution, communication channels were clearly defined and the community knew the procedures to be followed. Consultation formed the core of the structures of traditional leaders because nothing would happen without their knowledge

and approval whether the cause of action was for the ‘good’ or ‘bad’. There were specific channels that people had to follow and both foreign and indigenous modes of communications were used to convey messages or information. These methods of communication were clearly understood by members of the community because they were clearly articulated during meetings and were not debatable. Such rules and regulations were passed from one generation to the next, and this shares some similarities to the role of traditional leaders in democracy or the new dispensation. Supporters of traditional leaders argued, “We cannot leave traditional leaders outside the governance of the country because they have been part of development in their capacity throughout our history.”

Even though there is so much progress in the realization of the importance of the traditional leadership, the “birth” of the Traditional Leadership Framework Bill brings with it major questions. A submission by a forum of civil society through IDASA highlights the [following] loopholes that still need to be addressed. Firstly, the constitution defines democracy, transparency and accountability as the main pillars or cornerstones of a [our] democratic state. Consequently, all the public institutions are required to operate within this framework. It is not clear whether the mechanisms for accountability by the institution of traditional leadership are to be put in place. There is a need to further clarify current mechanisms for oversight, e.g., the Auditor General. In terms of accountability to the community, it is not clear how communities will be involved in decision-making process and to what extent they will be able to influence decisions by the institution’s councils.

Another issue is on the fiscal framework whereby the Bill proposes [for] the establishment of three councils or houses of traditional leadership, at the national, provincial and district levels (part 4:16). The institutions to be established will require a funding framework. With the role of traditional leaders, Part 5:18 of the Bill suggests that the national and in some cases the provincial government may provide roles for traditional leaders. Affording provinces powers could signal weak directive from national government and may lead to variation of powers and function of traditional leaders per

province. It is suggested that strong guidelines from the national government may instil uniformity regarding the roles and responsibilities of traditional leaders nationwide.

The submission also puts forward four key issues in the legislation. The legislation does not exist in a vacuum, and as such, attention should be paid to conflicting interests and legislative frameworks from various ministries that have a direct relationship with the institution of traditional leadership. The forum has agreed that in order for the traditional leaders and traditional leadership councils to effectively carry out their functions and duties as reflected under part 5:18, 1, implementation should seek strategies for empowerment and capacity building. While the constitution of South Africa talks about freedom of association by all individuals, the Bill suggests that traditional leaders do not participate in political activities. An element of marginalisation against the traditional leaders has emerged. Whilst the Bill suggests that the traditional leaders should not participate in political activities, Thabo Mbeki, the President of South Africa promised to introduce the representation of traditional leaders in the African Union. This contradicts the Bills that advocate that traditional leaders should be apolitical.

The roles of traditional leadership need to be distinctly separated from those of the municipality to avoid potential confrontation (IDASA, 2003: 1). Keulder (1998) argues that two forms of debates exist around this issue. There are modernists who believe that this institution (traditional authorities) does not seem to fit in very well within the democratic process thus, it goes against the belief of protection of human rights and is seen as the basis for patriarchy especially in rural areas. The liberal thinkers suggest that the institution has to be transformed first and take into consideration issues of gender equality (Keulder, 1998:2). The Commission on Gender Equality concurs with Keulder. The GEC argues that in a traditional court or authority women are relegated to the position of witnesses and do not form part of decision-making body. Keulder (1998) argues that traditionalists believe that traditional leadership is in no way incompatible with the modern democratic governance and that tribal authorities are an essential political, social and economic structures and they symbolize and maintain socio-political order which is necessary for development (Keulder, 1998:1).

Ntsebeza points out one other challenge faced by traditional authorities in local governance. He argues that a lot is said about the role of traditional leadership in promoting democracy in various spheres of government as well as playing the major role in promoting development at local level together with the elected representatives. This however still causes a lot of conflicts because it does not clearly draw a line as to how far the traditional leaders have to go in working with the community and this causes a lot of conflicts between the two structures. “In this sphere the role of traditional authorities is far from being clear” (Ntsebeza, 2004:9).

It would not on the other hand be good enough for us to assume that since the institution is recognised in South Africa then it means all is in good order, there is need to find their place in the new dispensation that will then clearly pronounce their value. Legislation on its own does not give the structure much meaning if there are no clear reasons for the existence of these institutions.

2.14 Effects of Colonisation

Colonialism and apartheid laws discredited and demonised traditional leadership as uncivilized and backward. Post-colonial South Africa appears to be the victim of modernisation that took away its originality like other states, which were colonised. The post-colonial era is characterised by the changing and “chopping” of the policies to try and reduce the powers that the indigenous authorities had prior to their arrival. Historically, traditional leaders introduced “their own” system of governance that favoured only a few. On the other hand, the system of modernisation wiped out a good part of traditional structures that existed at that time. A need arises to emphasize the good things that the system (colonialism) eroded. South Africa attempts to reverse the situation by bringing back what was lost many years ago. The process demands that indigenous structures be integrated and be accommodated by the democratic process. Colonisation brought the constitution that has recognised traditional leadership in South Africa Section 212 of the Constitution states that national legislation may provide for a role for traditional leadership, as an institution at local level on matters affecting local

communities. Since this structure is based at the local sphere of government, the expectation therefore is that traditional leaders have to work with the communities as they have done for years (Constitution, South Africa:1996). Mufamadi, the Minister of Local Government and Constitutional Development in South Africa confirms that the role and function of traditional institutions has a direct bearing on governance that affects all citizens. The hurdle or challenge is that there are elected representatives (ward councillors) who seem to share the same role which is to facilitate development at local level (Mufamadi 2001:1).

2.15 Traditional Leaders versus Local Government (service providers)

The major challenge or obstacle facing development in the areas led by the traditional authorities is that traditional leaders own the land whilst local government owns resources and services to develop the land or the citizens residing in the land under Traditional Authority. This dilemma and contradiction has a tendency to stall or negate development. Traditional authorities in both the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa (CONTRALESA) and the Inkatha Freedom Party took the ANC led government to the Constitutional Court challenging the government over the issue of establishing municipalities throughout the country, including rural areas under their jurisdiction. Ntsebeza (2005) argues that the initial collaboration was around local government, and it is quite clear that the main issue that brings traditional authorities together is their opposition to the notion of introducing new democratic structures. According to Ntsebeza (2005) traditional leaders would be happy to be the only structure in rural areas and insist on preserving the concentration of functions they enjoyed under apartheid, in particular land administration (Ntsebeza, 2005:281).

With the delays in defining the roles of the traditional leaders, providing services to the areas under traditional authorities remains a major challenge. Since local government is regarded as closest to the people and therefore most capable of negotiating development via representatives who are elected and accountable to the people, they are likely to experience resistance. This usurps the role that many traditional leaders would see as theirs. Ntsebeza argues that traditional leaders are not only opposed to

the idea of separation of powers, they are also opposed to any structures that would compete with them. Because of these tensions and difficulties, development, which is particularly vital in rural areas, often falters (Ntsebeza quoted in Profile KwaZulu Natal, 2002: 2).

2.16 Gender and the Traditional Institutions

In the constructing of the new institutions of democracy in South Africa, women's organizations played a crucial role in ensuring that women's representation and the principles of gender equality were secured. The majority of the women' organizations place emphasis on ways to facilitate increased representation of women in the institutions of democracy and to create an enabling environment for women to give 'voice' to their various interests (Baden, Hasims and Meintjes (1998:13). The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) indicated that women are constantly marginalized by traditional leaders who are thought to have no regard of the notion of discrimination. However, it came out during the CGE research that some traditional leaders were aware of gender equality. According to the CGE, the representation of women in the traditional structures has not changed in the traditional setting. For example, the chief assured the CGE that the women played a full and vital role in his traditional court. Based on the CGE follow-up, it emerged that women were called to the traditional Court as witnesses and not to participate in the processes (Hassims, *et al.*,1998:13)

The power of men domineering is proving difficult to shift, particularly at local government level where traditional leaders retain a strong foothold and women have yet to establish a strategic presence. Furthermore, men remain the prime decision-makers in society, and women remain largely secondary subjects. Women's capacity to redefine their gender roles is also dependent on their influence in the media and other cultural institutions, which remain resistant to change, and are not easily held to account for where their practice contradicts equality provisions (Baden, *et al.*, 1998,p.28).

Women are marginalised even if their contributions would benefit everyone. This contradicts the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Bill (TLGFB), which

advocates for respect, protection and promotion of the institution of traditional leadership in accordance with the dictates of democracy in South Africa. The TLGFB states that the institution of traditional leaders must be transformed to be in harmony with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights so that democratic governance and the values of an open and democratic society may be promoted (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Bill 2003:3).

2.17 Constitution and Democracy

The 1993 interim Constitution of South Africa and the final Constitution of 1996 recognised the institution of traditional leadership. The emergence of democracy after the 1994 general elections and the subsequent local government elections of 1995 pointed to the fundamental contradictions in the South African Constitution. The democracy that emerged after the elections was based on liberal principles of representation from all levels of government including local government. It was difficult to get hold of the both councillors and traditional leaders because of the sensitivity of the issue of traditional leaders. There is a struggle between the traditional elected councillors and the headman. The former brought electricity and telephones but the land is in the hands of the headman. The apartheid government created an unaccountable structure of traditional authorities, which was highly authoritarian and despotic. The question of acceptance of traditional authorities is very much associated with their position in and control of the land allocation process at the village and tribal levels. The perception of rural people was that the functions, which were performed by local authorities, should be performed by the newly-democratically elected councillors. In the absence of new legislation, government officials tried to adapt to the apartheid procedure with few changes. This created a lot of confusion amongst civic organizations such as SANCO, COSATU and SACP. The democratic process risks serious compromises (Ntsebeza, 2005:282).

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

Methodology refers to steps that the researcher will take in getting answers for a research question. It must include information on the population and sample involved. This should clearly say how the population was defined and what sampling method was used. Research methodology will also include a description of the specific techniques to be employed, the specific measuring instruments to be utilised and the specific series of activities to be conducted in making the measurements. When original measuring instruments are to be constructed, the researcher must give a detailed account of procedures to be employed in constructing them. The researcher must also discuss the validity and reliability. The researcher must detail ethical considerations or any other factors that may result in problems in obtaining access to data. The researcher must discuss the steps to be taken to overcome these potential problems. There is also a need for the researcher to discuss the procedures she will take to analyze this data. Research methodology includes a description of the specific techniques (Strydom, *et al.*,2002,p.120).

A process of consultation with relevant people was undertaken at the inception of the study to gather background information on the topic. Key respondents such as local councillors (2), ward committees (3), chiefs (6) and (2) headman were identified for the study. These respondents played a pivotal role in identifying the channels of communication and development structures of traditional authorities. The researcher was introduced to various channels or structures working closely with the traditional leaders. The ward committees played an important role in introducing the researcher to the traditional leaders. This process took a long period and delayed the researcher from getting access to the traditional leaders. The researcher opted for the qualitative method of research because in this instance, it helps to understand relationships, how people interact or relate with the surrounding environment.

The qualitative method helps the researcher to understand the feelings, attitude and the mood of the respondents. It also gives the researcher an opportunity to develop rapport

with the respondents so that virtual queues like facial expressions and body language could be expressed and interpreted. This technique could also expose some of the underlying factors that might have influenced actions taken by the role-player. The nature of the study demands descriptive outcome. It uses participatory observation as a method to study the landscape and the relations between different actors (councillors, community and the traditional authorities). This research method allows the researcher to live with the people and build on what they know. The advantage of this research method is that the researcher is likely to get the information that he or she would not have access to if using other methods. This method helps to develop trust between the researcher and the community or the target group to be studied. It is a flexible approach that can easily accommodate changes if need be.

3.1 Data Collection Techniques

To collect data three techniques were used questionnaire, interviews and observations.

3.1.1 Free – response interviews

This method was used so as to apply open-ended questions thus it gave researcher first hand experience because they answered questions without being restricted. Face to face, verbal conversation is the best. The researcher was able to develop close relationship with people in the process through direct communication with the participants. Facial expressions from both parties helped to get the participants attention to the interview. This technique also exposes some of the underlying factors that might have influenced action taken by the role-player. Thirteen participants were chosen by random sampling of chiefs, headman, government officials, and community members. The researcher considered the gender issue in the process.

3.1.2 Structured Questionnaire

For a successful research the questionnaire designed had both open-ended questions and closed ended questions. There were eighteen behavioral and

attitudinal questions to choose from about what was going on in their communities or why they did or did not do as expected of them by the community. The open ended questions also helped the researcher to get as much information as possible because participants were allowed to do a lot of talking thus breaking the ice.

3.1.3 Sampling Procedure

Due to time constraints and cost, stratified sampling technique was used to select key respondents. The sample is made up of chiefs, headmen, community members and government officials (councillors). About thirteen respondents were selected for the purpose of the study. The issue of gender was taken into account when the sample was selected. These participants were identified at the beginning or planning stages of the study. Stratified sampling technique was used to select the respondents to ensure that the participants are fairly represented in the study. It consisted of eighteen simple unambiguous open-ended questions and five simple unambiguous closed ended questions. Open-ended questions give the respondent ample time to express themselves without limitations. On the other hand, it allows the researcher to manage or control the interview process. This helps the researcher to get precise answers on specific questions. In some instances, open-ended questions allow the researcher to probe further.

3.1.4 Method of Analysing the Research Findings

Data was analysed by means of finding common features in the form of themes and patterns and then organise data that has been seen, heard and read.

3.1.5 Validity and Reliability

In the process of compiling and collecting data, the researcher made it a point that in the process there was no biasness. The study recognises the difficulties that the researcher faced in setting up interviews with some participants. During the interview sessions there was thorough questioning which led to more time being spent with one person than the initial plan. This helped the researcher to get the best responses from participants while building the relationship with the respondents. The questions used

were very sensitive to some respondents and there was a sign that they were very passionate about the subject being tackled.

3.1.6 Limitations

Since the majority of the people in the area of study speak IsiNdebele, the language barrier was a problem in gathering data. The researcher had to rely on the local translators. Traditional authorities are still in the domain of men. Because of this, the researcher was only able to interview one female traditional leader due to the unavailability of female traditional leaders. The long process to access the key respondent's especially traditional leaders was a major challenge. It took the researcher several months to get permission to speak to the traditional leaders. Interviews had to be re-scheduled on several occasions and yet still unsuccessful. Councillors were also an obstacle because a majority of them were reluctant to participate in the interviews. The distance from Gauteng to Mpumalanga was also a major challenge. Traditional leaders were reluctant and sceptical about the researcher because they expressed concern that researchers do not report back after the study has been concluded.

3.1.7 Ethical considerations

This study adheres to the Wits University ethical standards of social research. All participants were above 18 years of age. At the beginning of each interview session, subjects were duly informed about the research in terms of the purpose and how long the interview would take so as to avoid any suspicion. Interviewees were informed that the conclusions about the research would be made available on request.

Chapter 4

4.0 Presentation of Research Findings

Before the advent of democracy in South Africa, traditional leaders played a pivotal role in delivering services to the people. Traditional leaders played a role similar to the councillors in the new dispensation. The apartheid government recognized traditional leaders as conveyer belts between the government and the people. The apartheid government afforded traditional leaders with the ruling powers in former KwaNdebele homeland or Bantustan. Prior to 1994, tribal authorities played the role of municipalities. For example, traditional authorities were assigned the role of collecting tribal levies as service delivery component. The chiefs or *Amakhosi* were afforded the status of being Homeland Government Representation in Parliament.

According to the headman of KwaNdebele, chiefs were privileged and authorised to abuse and harass people. Chiefs were intimidating people and violated human rights in all aspects including development programmes. The chiefs were responsible for residential site allocation; graveyard services payment, civil case (trial) and passed sentences. Chiefs also presided over the Kangaroo Courts and imposed fine (*Inhlawulo*) to the people identified as culprits.

In the new dispensation, government recognises traditional leaders by awarding chieftainship certificates with royal family consultation as national traditional leaders, but not tribal leaders like headmen. A Traditional Leaders and Governance Act exists which gives the chiefs a role as traditional councils. Currently, Local House of Traditional Leaders is being introduced both at provincial and national levels.

Municipalities do not provide services directly to the residents but rather they communicate with representative structures such as councillors and traditional leaders. The study points out that 50% of headman said that there must be joint development programmes between traditional council (*Amakhosi*) and municipalities especially on skills transfer. Since *Amakhosi* still regard themselves as chief role players in delivering services, 70% of respondents including chiefs suggested that there should be joint development empowerment programme on services delivery. The following issues were

presented as pressing needs for traditional authorities. These include amongst other things, improving the traditional authority offices and resources or facilities; traditional council and municipal levies collection service training; traditional council budget (grants) allocation service; traditional authority administrative staff should be afforded training on services; traditional authority assessment, monitoring and evaluation. The Chief Assistants emphasised that traditional authorities are “very important people” (VIP) and deserve decent transport subsidy from the government.

4.1 Role of Traditional Leaders

There were mixed responses from the interviewees or respondents about the role of traditional leaders. About 50% of the respondents argued that traditional leaders did not understand the environment within which they operate and their role in the new dispensation. 60% of the respondents said traditional leaders did not understand their sectors and did not have development programmes. One of the respondents from the municipality conceded:

“If the traditional leaders’ duties were known to the community they would be supporting them. But since their duties are not known there is nothing to support besides initiation school.”

The inability of the South African government to spell out the role of traditional leaders in the new dispensation, has to a certain extent made them redundant. Ntsebeza argues that a lot is said about the role of traditional leadership in promoting democracy in various spheres of government as well as having the major role to play in promoting development at local level together with the elected representatives. This however still causes a lot of conflicts because it does not clearly draw a line as to how far the traditional leaders have to go in working with the community and this causes a lot of conflicts between the two structures. “In this sphere the role of traditional authorities is far from being clear” (Ntsebeza, 2004:9). While traditional leaders gives necessary support to the local government to deliver services. On the other hand, there is an overt power struggle amongst the traditional authorities. For example, those who represent

other traditional leaders on a national level do not share information or report to their constituency, in this regard these are the chiefs and headmen.

The general assumption that traditional leaders do not know their duties confirms the marginalisation strategies of some local government which makes them meaningless and redundant despite the theories that suggest that the role of traditional leaders and local government are complementary and therefore should not be seen or regarded as antithetical. According to Roodt (1998), participation of citizens in local level decision-making through active involvement in formal structures or through organised pressure groups that are part of civil society, is something that is difficult to achieve and to sustain. The elites monopolise power thus preventing meaningful participation (Roodt, 1998:469).

Half of the respondents consider the role of the traditional authorities and still rely on them for assistance. Some traditional leaders concur with the former by arguing that:

“As leaders who have been in charge for the community for a very long period, we are aware of our duties and we have been carrying them for a long period and many people come to us for assistance”

Members of the traditional council stated that even in the new dispensation people are still loyal to the traditional leaders and honour their meetings. According to the representatives of the traditional council, the former has been able to maintain continuity (supporting the community) the way they did before the advent of democracy in South Africa). 50% of respondents said community members still rely on traditional leaders to get access to land (they are still the owners of land). One of the traditional leaders said: “they still rely on us to get access to land.” This bodes well with Ntsebenza’s view that the dilemma facing the local government in the areas owned by traditional leaders is the land question. The chiefs still regard councillors as a threat to their role as service providers.

Although 80% respondents agreed that the community continues to support the traditional leaders, but 40% of them argue that they do that partly. Those that seem to challenge the rule of traditional leaders believe that traditional leaders get support from the elders as opposed to the youth.

4.2 Traditional Leaders and Councillors

85% of traditional leaders felt that councillors marginalise them. In most cases, councillors do not involve traditional leaders in their meetings but choose to consult the community. The municipality respondent stated that:

“Practically, we never saw the two working together and that makes it difficult for one to really say that they work or do not work well.”

Some community members concur with the municipality respondents in that there is no teamwork or a common program uniting traditional leaders and the councillors. Conversely, 30% of the chiefs interviewed stated that they hold meetings with the councillors and that their roles or responsibilities (councillors and chiefs) need to be clarified. 90% of traditional leaders see the potential of working with the councillors. On the other hand, 10% of respondents argue that some councillors do have a close relationship with the traditional leaders and some not. 80% of respondents from the municipality do not see any relationship between the councillors and the traditional leaders. According to one of the community members, there is a need for education since traditional leaders come from diverse cultural background.

The study indicates that 40% of the chiefs acknowledge the relationship and resources they share with the councillors, for example office space. On the contrary, 30% of municipality respondents argued that councillors and chiefs do not see eye to eye. A view that some councillors are against the chiefs appears to be dominant amongst the municipality and some community members. 90% of respondents suggested that councillors and chiefs need to be educated on their relationship and their roles in the

villages. 90% of traditional leaders argue that their role in the new dispensation has been reduced. According to one traditional leader:

“It is not easy because the local government does not tell traditional leaders what they should and should not do, and they are trying to take power from traditional leaders. Our offices are not as busy as during the apartheid days because we have to consult with the municipalities and it takes time to receive the feedback from them.”

The municipality is also the source of conflict in the traditional villages of Tweefontein. For example, there is no law that forces the councillors to consult with the traditional authorities and their role is not clear and therefore, “the government does not practice what it preaches.” In addition to the poor relationship between the traditional leaders and the councillors, unclear boundaries due to demarcation exacerbate the ambivalent relationship. 99% of traditional leaders still see their relevance in the new dispensation. They maintain that it is the duty of the traditional authorities to work with the local government to develop people but now they are in limbo.

4.3 Traditional Leaders and the Youth

It has emerged that the youth does not recognise the role of traditional leaders as the elders do. Members of the community argue that the youth do not support traditional leaders and they do not believe in them. 80% of traditional leaders have also acknowledged the poor relationship between them and the youth. According to one of the traditional leaders, the youths find it difficult to relate to the existence of chiefs. Fokwang (2003) [even] attests to the fact that even in the early days of democracy, the older generation for instance represented by Mandela, supported the view that chieftainship should gain more accommodation. The younger camp on the other hand represented by south African National Civic Organisation, youth and South African Communist Party maintains that chieftainship should be restricted to customs and traditions or better still be eradicated completely (Fokwang 203:19).The traditional leaders explain:

“One can say that there are lots of changes but people do not support us as much and may be if the government can move faster in clarifying our roles in the new dispensation and people can go back and appreciate traditional leaders.”

4.4 Government and Traditional Authorities

Traditional leaders acknowledge the Traditional Leaders legislation. However, they cited some aspects or sections that threaten to take the powers of the chiefs. Therefore the legislation needs clarity. 20% of traditional leaders argued that it would be good if they involve all of them in the House of Traditional Leaders because they want to be informed about the developments and have a say. Representatives of traditional leaders in the House of Traditional Leaders do not consult with other members to brief them about the content of the meetings. Consequently, traditional leaders end up being marginalised and not informed.

According to the municipalities, traditional leaders are invited to participate in the Integrated Development Programme, but they are classified as just members of the public. This confirms Mandela’s view that democratic government is growing and taking root all over Africa, but with this political change, older time-honoured values are under threat. According to Nelson Mandela traditional leaders-the kings and tribal chiefs may have lost much of their power, but they remain an important part of the societies they once ruled. In most of the cases, traditional leaders receive late invitation from the government similar to the community. According to the chiefs, the government recognises their existence and their role in the community in theory but not in practice. Traditional leaders receive funding and car subsidies from the government to manage their offices. However, their funding is minimal. Traditional leaders complain that in most of the cases, the government does not meet its promises and most of the decisions taken during their meetings are not implemented. The difference between the apartheid and the new dispensation is that the former gave more resources to the traditional authorities as opposed to the latter. 90% of traditional leaders argue that the

government does not give them sufficient time to contribute to the local government budget. In most of the cases, traditional leaders are invited without being given the agenda, and as a result, they do not give sufficient input to the issues pertaining to them. 99% of traditional leaders argued that lack of sufficient consultation negates their role in decision-making. According to Roodt (2001) those in power have the potential to limit the participation or to marginalise those that are described as a threat. For example, cases of marginalisation regarding participation occur during policy formulation processes whereby during the consultation process, stakeholders are likely to oppose or change the policy direction are inconvenienced in a sense that notices of the meetings. One traditional leader complained that:

“We were called once to come and attend one of the budget presentation, but it was already finalised and we did not even make an input, so we were just listening. Right now, we are just lost as to how the process unfolds and where does that put us as a community?”

Unclear and undefined roles create mistrust and reduce the status and functions of the traditional authorities to their community. One traditional leader complained that: “when we are asked questions by community members we cannot answer them because our work is not clear, for example whose role is to refer cases to court and how do we do that?”

4.5 Challenges facing Traditional Leaders

Mixed responses emerged from the traditional leaders regarding their challenges and responsibilities. Some traditional leaders cited land allocation and houses whilst some stated that circumcision is a major challenge. There seem to be a lot of confusion between the councillors and the traditional leaders. Traditional leaders feel that their roles in the new dispensation are gradually taken away from the structures of traditional leadership. Prior to 1994, traditional leaders were tasked with the role of land allocation. In the post-apartheid South Africa, it is not clear whether land allocation is the role of the traditional leaders or councillors. 70% of traditional leaders maintain that they do have

skills to develop the communities but there is a need for further training. The study shows that there is a need for the traditional leadership institution to transform and accommodate more women into leadership. Out of all the respondents Chiefs and headman as well as the administrative staff in traditional leaders offices, only a single person represented women. According to (Baden *et al.*,1998) [argues that the] power of patriarchy is proving difficult to shift, particularly at local government level where traditional leaders retain a strong foothold and women have yet to establish a strategic presence. Furthermore, men remain the prime decision-makers in this institution. Baden adds that in traditional courts or authority, women are relegated to the position of witnesses and do not form part of the decision-making body (Baden, *et al.*, 1998,p.13).

4.6 Conclusion

It would seem that the role of traditional leaders will only be clarified when the beliefs and practices of the indigenous leadership structure match what the Bill of Rights expects from every individual who is guided by the South African Constitution. The sooner the inclusion of this structure takes place practically, then most of the challenges will be dealt with. Communication lines between the government and the traditional leaders must be 'tightened up' to avoid tensions that result from the lack of communication and marginalisation. The community, especially the older generation recognises the traditional leadership structure, while though the youth know about this structure, they do not value its existence that much. There is a need for gender sensitivity in this structure which might be a challenge when one looks at how traditional leaders come into power. There is also a good chance that the two local structures can work together harmoniously in community development.

Chapter 5: Interpretation and Analysis

5.0 Positive Observations

The traditional leaders still have access to development infrastructure such as offices, car subsidies, salaries, development structures such as ward committees. Some staff members within the traditional authorities have certain levels of competencies and are able to support the traditional authorities. Ward committees are willing to work with both parties (councillors and traditional leaders). Traditional leaders still allocate land with uncertainty as to whether the land allocation still falls under their jurisdiction. On the other hand, traditional leaders play a major role with regards to smaller cases in the tribal courts. Some community members still maintain and believe in the role of traditional leaders. Traditional Authorities that participated in the study, have a very positive attitude about the current system of governance and they are willing to work with the municipality and other structures in the local sphere of government. Some traditional leaders are not educated but they have the potential of being good leaders; the only thing that they need is training and mentoring.

5.1 Success Stories

In certain parts of South Africa, traditional authorities have played a significant role in developing their areas, for example in service delivery such as water, housing and road construction and have also worked closely with the councillors and the municipalities. For example, some traditional leaders have mobilised their people to boycott the water meters. In a study conducted by Ntsebeza it was found out that traditional authorities in the Eastern Cape have prevented development whilst in other provinces like Mpumalanga, traditional authorities have played an important role in assisting councillors and municipalities to provide services to their people. This shows that there are progressive traditional leaders (those who want their areas and communities to be developed) and those who perceive councillors and the local government as a threat to their power. Some theories of traditional leadership have shown that traditional leadership and democracy co-exist. Traditional leadership as an indigenous institution is finding its way towards full recognition by the global arena, especially in the African continent where colonisation had succeeded in disempowering the traditional structure

thus doing away with the culture and traditions. This shift creates more awareness towards traditional leadership.

5.2 Areas of Improvement

The study clearly indicates that lack of consultation of traditional leaders by the municipality whenever there is new development in the area, is one of the causes of conflicts that are prevalent in the Tweefontein area. Traditional leaders as well as local councillors need to play a major role in developing communities. This means that the local sphere of government as an agent must make it possible that all stakeholders are informed and must take part in monitoring any initiative that in its objectives puts development as the first priority. Roodt (1998) argues that consultation would encourage the 'bottom up' approach where beneficiaries of any proposed development participate through their organisations in determining the type of development most relevant to their needs. They may also participate in implementation. The local municipality should make sure that the traditional authorities are informed of any development that is planned for the area whether the land is owned by the chief or the municipality (Roodt, 2001:469).

Secondly, the problem of marginalisation is highlighted in the study, this relates to active participation in decision-making. Traditional leaders need to have a voice in policy-making, budget process, making by-laws and development planning. These processes must be understood by the traditional structure so as to make informed decisions about what affects them. This will include the leadership within the traditional leadership structures in all the spheres of government. Communication barriers must be dealt with so that information can easily "filter" down from the elected representatives.

The human development report (2002) notes that social development is the capacity to organise human energies and productive resources to respond to opportunities and challenges. It encourages individuals to take active initiative for their own advancement thus facilitating freer and wider social interactions. It vastly increases the dissemination of information and multiplication of new organisations since the transition from monarchy to democracy was used as a catalyst for rapid economic advancement. The

spread of democratic institutions today opens up greater possibilities for global expansion. Structures within communities must be afforded an opportunity to participate fully in community issues. Roodt (2001) participatory democracy calls for active involvement by people in civic and developmental organisations, political parties and local government, with the purpose of influencing or having a say in decisions that affect their lives. Participation may be at different levels (that is either as members or leaders or of different intensity that is, merely supporting leaders or actively taking part in activities). In theory it is an attempt to strengthen representative democracy (Roodt, 2001:470). Between the House of traditional leadership, NGO's and the government, there has been on-going discussions on the issue of traditional courts and judicial functions of traditional leaders which is one of the duties that traditional leaders use to do in the pre-colonial times. One can safely say that the government is showing commitment to this institution.

5.3 Approaches of Traditional Leadership

In South Africa, some people felt quite strongly that chiefs and democracy were incompatible. The post-apartheid dispensation presented a major challenge about the relevance of chieftaincy to democracy. Diverse scholars presented their views about the roles of chieftaincy in the new South Africa characterised by democratic values and principles. Some scholars are of the opinion that chieftaincy should be eradicated completely in preference for democratic rule because chieftaincy is not only outmoded, but it has also been corrupted by the process of transformation and apartheid. The second group of scholars argued that chiefs and democracy are compatible. According to Fokwang (2003), this group of scholars maintain that chiefs are 'intercalary' categories, located between the state and their rural communities and should be understood in terms of the complexities surrounding the postcolonial state (Fokwang, 2003:14).

5.4 Political Perspectives on Traditional Leadership

Traditional authorities provide a challenge for the newly restructured municipalities. The civic organisations found mainly in towns and cities are elected structures representing

members' interests in a variety of local government issues and regard the institutions of traditional leaders as essentially archaic (feudalist) ones that should be abolished (Keulder, 1998:3). The civic organisations took a position similar to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to abolish the institutions of traditional authorities. According to Galvin (1999), the African National Congress originally took a position that felt that traditional authorities would undermine democracy and that this illegitimate institution should therefore be phased out. The ANC's position on traditional authorities has always been ambivalent (Galvin,1999:107).

According to Ntsebeza (2003) when the ANC was formed, traditional authorities opposed [to] the 1910 Union of South Africa who were among its founding members. However, as the ANC radicalised from the 1940's onwards, with strong pressure from its Youth League and a growing alliance with communist, two broad streams began to emerge. There were those, such as Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, who supported the traditional authorities and were critical of government policies and those under the influence of communism, who argued that the institution of traditional authority belongs to a previous feudal era and needed to be replaced by democratic structures (Ntsebeza,2003;63). Govan Mbeki represented the latter and noted that:

If Africans have had chiefs, it was because all human societies have had them at one stage or another; but when people have developed to a stage which discards chieftainship, when their social development contradicts the need for such an institution, then to force it on them is not liberation but enslavement (1984:47).

According to Mamdani (1996) what is specifically interesting about chieftaincy today is not what some may perceive as the 'continuity in tradition', but precisely what he sees as the 'break in continuity'. Hence chieftaincy exists today not because of its own legitimacy, but because of its co-operation with (and simultaneous corruption by) the colonial and apartheid states (Mamdani,1996:43). Govan Mbeki shares a common view with Mamdani. According to Govan Mbeki (quoted in Ntsebeza, 2003:64), the institution

of traditional authority, insofar as its incumbent are hereditary leaders and thus unrepresentative, is inherently undemocratic.

Bekker (1993:200) concurs with Mamdani and Mbeki that the institution of traditional leaders is not in accordance with the principles of democracy. For Bekker, the hereditary title, its male-centeredness, its racial and tribal nature and the fact that during colonial times the institution was little more than an auxiliary of the repressive government, are serious obstacles to development. Mamdani (2001 cited in Ntsebeza 2005:24) is arguably the foremost proponent of a complete democratic transformation process in Africa in which, above all, “subjects” should become “citizens” (Ntsebeza, 2005:24).

Gows (2004:1) also shares a similar view with Mamdani that citizenship is usually viewed as universally applicable to all the inhabitants confined within the borders of a specific nation-state by birth, or through naturalisation that confers upon them certain rights, such as the right to vote. The assumption is that citizenship transcends particularity and difference. Both Gows and Mamdani challenge the social construction of “citizen” and “subject” within the traditional institution where rights are vested in an individual (the chief). Lister (1997) argues that rights cannot apply to each individual according to the liberal tradition, but need to be located in the context of the wider society through political action. This will ensure that citizenship rights are not static, but open to interpretation, reinterpretation and renegotiation. The post-apartheid South Africa (democratic) has placed traditional authorities under scrutiny by questioning its relevance in the new dispensation. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa advocates and promotes equality before the law, which in turn contradicts with the traditional institutions, which promotes subservience and reduces the rights of individuals or citizens to that of “subjects”(Lister, 1997:33-35).

According to Mbeki, in an institution of traditional authority, ‘subjects’ are not given a chance to choose their leaders. Mamdani (cited in Fokwang 2003:17) argues that contemporary chieftainship is in many respects a category of ‘decentralised despotism’

(as it was during the colonial state) owing to the withering away of institutionalised mechanisms that served to check the chiefs' access against excess. Contrary to Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, who supported the traditional authorities and who were critical of chiefs, Mamdani (1996:45) argues that under the colonial and apartheid rule, the powers of the chiefs were systematically strengthened emphasising the state as the 'determiner of the consensus'.

These transformations led to the bifurcation of the state not only into racialised categories, but also into the categories of 'citizen and subject.' According to Ntsebeza L. (2003) a feature of rural local government during the apartheid period, and to some extent the colonial period, was the concentration or fusion of administrative, judicial and executive power in a single functionary, the tribal authority. This fusion is well captured by Mamdani¹ in his delineation of what he calls "decentralized despotism" or the bifurcated state," namely, the native authority (Ntsebeza, 2003:85).

According to Ntsebeza L. (2003), it is this "clenched fist" that Mamdani sees as central to despotism in colonial and post-colonial rural South Africa. He sees dismantling it as a condition for democratic transformation in the countryside. It is argued that dismantling tribal authorities is by no means sufficient condition for democratic transformation (Ntsebeza,2003:84). According to Ntsebeza L. (1998, quoted in Fokwang 2003:19) the South African Constitution and the Local Government Transition Act of 1993 (as amended) read 'do not anticipate any meaningful role for traditional authorities in local government'. According to him, there is an obvious difference between the older generation and the younger generation with regards to the question of constitutional guarantees for traditional leadership.

¹ Mamdani argues, "Not only the chief have the right to pass rules (by laws). Governing persons under his domain, he also executed all laws and was the administrator in "his" area, in which he settled disputes. The authority of the chief thus fused in a single person all moments of power, judicial, legislative, executive and administrative. This authority was like a clenched fist, necessary because the chief stood at the intersection of the market economy and non-market one. The administrative justice and the administrative coercion, a regime that breathed life into a whole range of compulsions, forced labour, forced crops, forced sales, forced contributions, and forced removals"(1996, 45).

The other group ('traditionalists') which believes in traditional leadership argue that the institution of traditional leaders is at the heart of rural governance, political stability and successful political implementation and, hence, rural development. In their view, "traditionalism is compatible with modern democratic governance. Despite the patriarchal nature of traditional institutions, the traditionalists maintain that traditional leaders act as a symbol of unity, maintain peace, preserve custom and culture, allocate land to subjects, resolve disputes and faction fights, conduct mediation, attend to application for business rights, promote the identities of communities and promulgate tribal regulations (Hlengwa 1994:35, cited in Keulder 1998:3). This view is however flawed since it reduces and promotes oppressive binary opposites (citizen and subject) and relegates the role of citizens or communities to that of spectators, and is not in accordance with the new Constitution of South Africa which thrives to promote equality, non-sexist and participatory democracy (in decision-making).

Fokwang (2003:19) states that while the older generation, for instance represented by Nelson Mandela, supports the view that chieftainship should gain more constitutional accommodation, the younger camp, represented by the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO), youths and the South African Communist Party (SACP) maintains that chieftainship should be restricted to custom and tradition, or better still eradicated completely.

5.5 Theories for Traditional Leadership

Contrary to the views of eradicating or reducing the power of the chiefs as advocated by mostly, younger generation, Bank and Southall (1996, cited in Fokwang 2003:19) argue that traditional leadership does not necessarily contradict democracy. According to them, traditional leadership can in fact 'provide the bedrock upon which to construct new and experimental governments, including constitutional democracies. Both Bank and Southall (1996, cited in Fokwang 2003:20) have managed to draw the correlation between the traditional authorities and the people. In their study conducted in Mpumalanga Province, they provide ethnographic data that they claim demonstrates that 'chiefs' courts and people's courts co-exist at the local level.' Ntsebenza (2003) concurs with Bank and Southall by arguing that for day-to-day activities such as land

allocation and the resolution of minor local disputes, rural people continue to utilize traditional authorities. However, this is not true of all areas as their investigations in the Eastern Cape reveal a different trend. The Eastern Cape is characterised by continuous struggle between chieftaincy and democracy.

Since 1994, issues relating to the role and responsibilities of traditional leaders have *received much attention in South Africa. The first democratic election in South Africa in 1994 did not only attempt to dismantle apartheid but also to transfer the power and the rights to the people, by reducing the role of traditional leaders in the public domain (local government) as a strategy to promote democracy. According to Ntsebeza L. (2003), the intention of post-1994 South Africa is to introduce separation of powers and democracy in the form of elected representation in local government and land, even in rural areas. These changes were not well received by the traditional authorities. They see rural elected councillors and the extension of democracy to land issues as deeply threatening attempts to undermine their political and economic powers (Ntsebeza L, 2003:84).

There is an overgeneralisation from some of the critiques of traditional leaders like Mamdani that traditional leaders benefited from both colonialism and apartheid and therefore need to be completely eradicated in the new dispensation. However, there is evidence that during the dying days of apartheid, a group from KwaNdebele who opposed apartheid-style independence formed the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa (CONTRALESA) and immediately aligned itself with the ANC in exile.

Ntsebeza L. (2003) argued that the position of traditional authorities is further likely to be strengthened by what is perceived to be the failure of the post-1994 ANC-led government to deliver in rural areas. He further argues that hardly any support is given to newly-elected rural councillors. They are few and cover scattered, often inaccessible villages. They do not have transport, or even, in some cases, telephones (Ntsebeza L 2003:85).

5.6 Democratic Participation and Marginalisation

One of the striking need of traditional leaders, which is currently a cause of disagreement between the government (policy makers) and the chiefs is that traditional council should serve as municipal satellite offices, and also as sub-offices that are built in the villages to serve ward councillors' satellite offices and to service residents. In addition, the traditional authorities should administer and control the payment of rates in the villages under chieftaincy and to share levies collection based on service payment percentage. If municipalities and traditional authorities are afforded a similar role to deliver services to the people, this will not only undermine democracy and violate the Constitutional right, which equates and considers all the people as citizens rather than subjects, but will also become a strategy to abuse state resources.

Given the macro-economic policy of South Africa that provides the restriction of budget or public expenditure, including traditional leaders as services providers could exacerbate scarce resources that municipalities face. It has become evident that people residing in the areas under the tribal authorities do not participate in decision-making bodies, and where this is the case, the voice of the traditional leaders is [an] absolute. This could also promote what Mamdani (1996) terms "decentralized despotism".

Contrary to the marginalisation of citizens residing in the traditional areas in terms of participation in decision-making, government structures appear to be practicing or doing the same. According to Gumede (2005) ten years into democracy, many South Africans increasingly worry that public participation in policymaking and identifying priorities has been on the decline (Gumede, 2005:1). This seems to contradict Turok's (1999) argument that the Constitution is emphatic on the point that public administration must be development-oriented and that the public must be encouraged to participate in decision-making. It also states that transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information and these principles apply to every sphere of government. Evidence in this study suggests that traditional leaders are not afforded with the necessary information punctually to be able to engage constructively during the policy-making processes. According to the findings, in most of the cases, traditional leaders are not given the agenda on time and consequently

become spectators as opposed to active participation. However, traditional leaders tend to become the sole victim of autocracy or oppression whilst democratic participation is limited within government. Democratic participation is not fully transparent and involves strategic marginalisation (Turok,1999:195).

In practice, there is always a risk that those in power would be tempted to minimize dissent by curtailing constructive engagement in policymaking. Participation in policymaking processes has rather not been meaningful, not only for civil society but also for traditional leaders. This is because those that participate in policy process have little time to consult with their constituencies on all issues, and concessions reached at these negotiations are expected to be binding on the organisations. Representative democracy does not only marginalise the citizens of South Africa in terms of access to information and limitation to decision-making but also empowers those elected and undermine the majority. For example, the study found that traditional representatives in the House of Traditional Leaders do not report to their constituencies and do not share information.

5.7 Contradictions, Lack of Clarity and Underdevelopment

Conditions on the ground after 1994 in many rural areas under traditional authorities are often characterised by tensions and conflict between elected councillors and incumbents of apartheid created Tribal Authorities: chiefs and headmen. According to Ntsebeza (2004), these tensions can be attributed to the difficulty in reconciling representative democracy based on elected leaders on the one hand, and traditional authority, which is hereditary. Both the institutions of traditional leadership and representative democracy are entrenched in the constitution. While the constitution recognises the institutions of traditional leaders, there was no clarity about the role of traditional authorities (Ntsebeza L. 2004: 3). Similar to Ntsebeza's argument, the study found out that lack of clarity leads to confusion and tensions on the ground. Traditional authorities in Tweefontein do not understand their roles and as a result, they are unable to account or adequately respond to the pressing needs of the community.

The study found out that the role of local government, councillors and traditional leaders is not clearly defined. It appears that the relationship between the traditional leaders and the municipality is ambivalent. Traditional leaders perceive the councillors as a threat to their authority. Whilst some theories and civil society argue that traditional leaders should be confined or relegated to cultural restoration, some argue that they should be accommodated as they form the bedrock of development. Critiques of development tend to overlook the power relations between the municipalities (local government) and traditional leaders. While the government possesses the resources to enforce development, traditional leaders are the custodians. This dilemma becomes a disservice to the citizens of South Africa, since traditional leaders would want to become developers. In a study conducted by Ntsebeza L. (2004) in the Eastern Cape, one rural resident who was sympathetic to the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO) stated:

This is the reason why we use chiefs, rural councillors run in circles. This makes us a laughing stock and divides us. People will tell you: "If you go to a rural councillor, you won't succeed." You end up going to the chief, even if you did not want to. At the magistrate's offices, they ask you about the stamp (of the Tribal Authority). If you do not have the stamp, they will say: "Don't waste our time" (Ntsebeza 2004:5).

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.0 Introduction

The concept of development complicated as it is, needs proper attention and needs leadership that will have the vision of community development as their priority unlike what used to happen before where development plans were imposed on people especially with the assumption that people were not good enough to be involved in development initiatives. The government needs to listen to what communities think are the pressing needs and avoid claiming that they know what the people need.

6.1 Conclusion

The research found that the undefined roles of traditional leaders and councillors created conflict and hampered development. Role clarification could help to allay fears since traditional leaders consider councillors and local government as a threat to their functions. It is evident that community members in Tweefontein fully recognise the traditional authorities and most of them still consult traditional leaders for assistance when they come across problems especially criminal cases and getting documentation for banks and other institutions. One should mention that the youth seem to have a different view about this structure even though they recognise the existence of the traditional leadership structure. Their level of understanding the importance of such a structure is not the same as adults. It would seem like traditional authorities are not well informed about a number of processes that the local government engage in, one being the budget process where they need to understand how the government allocates money at local level. The issue of skills shortage is a major concern within the institution of traditional leadership. Generally speaking, the matter is complicated by the fact that most of them are less educated which becomes a challenge on its own. Involvement of traditional leaders in decision-making is quite important and It is currently one of the gaps that the local government has to address in order to attain effective development.

6.2 Recommendations

The long outstanding Traditional Leaders Framework Bill should be passed into law. Once this is done, it will be used as a vehicle to define and clarify the roles of traditional leaders within the local government.

The majority of researchers or experts on the issues of traditional leadership have not comprehensively captured the dilemma of land issues and services delivery. Since traditional leaders are the custodians of land and the municipality or local government provides resources for the development of the communities, this dilemma needs to be addressed as it stifles development. There is need to consult widely with the traditional leaders and all the stakeholders should reach sufficient consensus regarding the land question (for development) and service provision.

The relationship between traditional leaders and local government appears to be ambivalent therefore there is a need to improve it to create a conducive environment for development since communities are the victims of this relationship. In addition, in order to improve the implementation of development policies or legislation there is a need to afford traditional leaders with necessary skills.

The lines of communication should be strengthened between the local government and the traditional leaders and communication or information dissemination amongst themselves (traditional leaders). There is a need for an inclusive consultation as opposed to strategic or exclusive (consultation) which promotes marginalisation since stakeholders do not get invitation as well as the agenda to enable them to engage constructively with the issues under discussion. Inclusive consultation should promote participation, transparency and equal representation as the Constitution suggests.

The majority of the critiques of traditional leadership regard the traditional structures as undemocratic and some have termed it decentralised despotism, whilst the government uses centralised despotism by marginalising key stakeholders in decision-making or policy making. This confirms the key findings especially from the traditional leaders that the government does not practice what it preaches. Like traditional leaders, headmen should also be rewarded accordingly since their work or functions are also significant to the development of the rural areas. This could prevent the headmen from being involved in corruption.

There is a need to clarify the role of traditional leaders in the local government fraternity. This could have a big impact in developing the lives of the poor people. In the area where the study was conducted, the municipalities seem to have created an environment which is not conducive for traditional authorities to contribute to the development of the people. For example, they received late notices for the policy meetings and this limits their potential to make a meaningful contribution. This marginalisation strategy by the municipality tends to create enmity between the councillors, traditional authorities and the municipality. Consequently, this has serious implications for the community which in most of the cases is not part of this political wrangling. The bitter relationship between the traditional authorities and the councillors need to be attended to for the sake of development. Research on traditional leadership has shown that relegating the traditional authorities to the margins of development makes matters worse instead of improving the lives of the people. This is an indication that government should develop a sustainable strategy that does not marginalise traditional leadership but promotes their participation in a more transparent manner: which means reconciling traditional system with modernity through legislation.

There is a dire need from the government to speed up the process that is currently unfolding through a series of consultations with other institutions like the chapter 9 institutions regarding the new framework bill that is to deal with the inclusion of traditional leadership institution in the formal judiciary systems. This is done such that

traditional leaders will be able to deal with some cases just like they have been doing before like civil cases.

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