

**INTRA-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN THE SEKHUKHUNE
DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE,
SOUTH AFRICA**

PHIROANE ANTHONY PHALA

**A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and
Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in Intra-
Ethnic Conflicts.**

Johannesburg

(October 2013)

ABSTRACT

The failure by the world bodies to provide regime systems that guarantee minority protection is not only due to shortcomings in the peace building processes, but the overall situation based on colonial structural bearings. In the domain of human rights and political freedom; the fundamental principles of rights of individual and or a group of individual who regard themselves different, particularly on conditions arising from geophysical factors.

The perpetual social, political and economic crises in the emerging African economies postcolonial conflicts have caused the region enormous pain and incredible human sufferings. The human and resource manifestation costs have been exorbitant. Thus, the region must take stocks to put its structures and functions on a firm, solid and sustainable foundation.

Prof Khadigala in Moeletsi Mbeki (189,2011) remark, “African countries seemed to confirm the argument of being unprepared for democracy by virtue of the existence of narrowly based elites who often mobilised their ethnic constituencies against challenges within the same territorial boundaries”.

DECLARATION

I, Phiroane Anthony Phala, declare that this Research Report is my own work, except as indicated in the reference and acknowledgements. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in Security Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand. The research report has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this, or any, University.

Phiroane Phala

**Signed at Graduate School of Public and Development Management,
Johannesburg**

On the _____day of October 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have had a wonderful opportunity to meet many people, some of whom I couldn't have met under normal circumstances, to debate and share incredible views, desires, theoretical knowledge that contribute to the security challenges poses by rapidly changing international affairs.

I owe greatest thanks and appreciation to interviewees who responded positively to be available and make possible for me to conduct the research project through their experiences. It is of great importance to send my gratitude to the management and staff at Graduate School of Public and Management Development, particularly Prof. Gavin Cawthra, and the ADU staff who always were available for any assistance and help to be in conduct with tutors. To the librarians in both P & DM and Main Campus who were patient and always available to provide library services, I sincerely appreciate your proficiencies.

The research would not have written in time had I not received unqualified direction from Prof. Gilbert Khadigala. I earnestly appreciate the faith he displayed on me.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this Research Report to my family who were one way or other affected by my unavailability.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
DECLARATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background	4
1.3 Problem Statement	6
1.4 Purpose Statement	8
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Delimitations and Assumptions	10
1.7 Significance of the research	12
1.8 Conclusion	13

Chapter Two: Literature Review	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 The Causes of Intra-Ethnic Resentments	17
2.3 Ethnicity and Power Relationships	21
2.4 Ethnicity and Modernisation Theory	25
2.5 Democracy, Civil Society, Nationalism, and Heterogeneity	29
2.6 Economic Development within the Global System and Ethnocentrism	39
2.7 Conclusion	43
Chapter Three: Research Methodology	45
3.1 Introduction	45
3.2 Research Approach	46
3.3 Research Design	47
3.4 Data Collection	51
3.5 Data Analysis	52
3.6 Validity and Reliability	56

3.7 Limitations of the Research	57
3.8 Ethical Considerations	57
3.9 Conclusion	57
Chapter Four: Presentation of Results	58
4.1 Introduction	58
4.2 Intra-Ethnicity perceptions about Leadership, Political, Social, Economic, Cultural and Environmental Perspectives	59
4.3 Conclusion	65
Chapter Five: Analysis of Research Results	67
5.1 Introduction	67
5.2 District Municipality' s Demographics	69
5.3 Analysis of Hypothesis Questions – 1, 2, 3, and 4	72
5.3 Conclusion	83

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations	84
6.1 Introduction	84
6.2 Conclusion	85
6.3 Recommendations	86
References	87
Annexure A	93
Annexure B	103
Annexure C	104
Annexure D	110
Annexure E	112

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 addresses widely the fundamental rights related to political, social, economic, ecological and environmental; i.e. the protection of the primary aspects of citizenship of society. The Constitutional provisions dictate terms, principles and systems of governance in the three spheres of government, and interdepartmental powers and relations. The provisions are formulated and structured to effect legislative changes and redress what Southall and Melber (2010, 7) refer to as the structures “constructed around extensive systems of imperial preference and protection”. Thus, edifices that were legislated classification of people in terms of race, religion, sex, ethnicity and promulgated their limits in the area of political participation and parameters in the field of economic productivity.

The Population Registration Act, 30 of 1950 enforced policies that inspired white supremacist ideology, manifestations of bourgeois reformism, inequality and political elitism as the basis upon which South African communities should be governed. The political and sociological realities created under such laws according to Gibson and Gouws (2003,43) built indelible conditions on three key perspectives of political system: “its value system, its structure and its political culture”.

The hegemonic policies by colonial supremacies destroyed in contempt indigenous values system, cultures and economic configurations as they referred the latter uncivilised forms of socio-economic interactions. Despite these heinous assaults, indigenous communities through its traditional leadership remained firmly linked to its foundation distinctly. Steadfastly constructed a force to be reckoned along traditional governance, culture and ethnocentric aptitudes. Ethnicity in the current world outlook has become an impediment factor to economic success; it is distrustful as is confined within specified boundaries of clientage lines in which leaders dictate the measures for interaction.

The post-colonial systems governed by the ruling elite appear to navigate the new political order along the similar social framework. In this instance, the ruling classes describe its ideological posture and interest as those of society as a whole. It is worth probing embedded behaviours developed over many years of colonial rule, integrated and entrenched within ethnocentrism.

The culture and economic context upon which patron-client network emanated post 1994 democratic dispensation in South Africa in relation to power, class character and productive modalities; and cultural diversities that are firmly linked to liberal democracy.

The organs of local administration, particularly in the former homeland areas, where the underlying features of apartheid deeply anchored, faces complex intra-ethnic disputes notably over land ownership, the right to equitable justice, service provision and access to scanty economic resources.

The perpetually economic constraints due to wide-range insecurities *inter alia* are high rate of unemployment, poverty, poor health services, etc., are manifested during authoritarian rule amongst the marginalized groups. These are underlying matters on national political discourses, which weigh heavily on current political system, including complexities in the economy, geopolitical factors and global socio-economic trends are matters of critical concerns.

The ruling party's democratic bureaucrats had consistently since 1994 scrambled to find leading edge models to resolve these problems. The situation is more likely to worsen frictions, tensions and entrench patronage-driven habits, where individuals pay allegiances to pressure groups rather than a political principle. The patron-client network seems to cut across political heads, parliamentarians, administrations, the labour movements, statutory formations, business corporations and spill over supposedly into apolitical bodies.

Officials appear to benefit from participating within the patrons political practices wherein appointments on public positions with comparatively high salaries and allowances and awarding strategic national projects strictly to the elite cycles, etc. These tendencies appear to have massive constraints on the economic development as it influences corruption and mismanagement of state resources that correlates to social instabilities in various parts of the country.

1.2 Background

Ethnocentric beliefs, culture and associated values seemed to be main source of civil strife post-colonial rule in many countries. Countless civil wars post independence seems to corroborate this argument that politics of factionalism prevail over rational political discourse, i.e. notions about equality, democratic principles, human rights and the rule of law. Contrary practices generate discontents, skepticisms and futility for fostering the objectives of struggle for freedom. The elites with linkage to resources through underhand networks tend to want to defend their positions employing desperate methods such as state machinery against growing disenchantments. History has shown that adverse reaction to legitimate demands only increases further misconceptions, uncertainties, and mistrust and lays suitable grounds for state of lawlessness.

Studies characterises politics of patronage based on narrow set of political objectives that uses power to centralised institutions of governance. According to Sandbrook (1972,109) the “patron-client network to political machine” takes advantages of underdevelopment, weaknesses and deep-rooted ethnic animosities. Ethnicity promotes false mortal values based on philosophy of selfishness, material greed and violates basic norms of human dignity. Underdeveloped countries experienced considerable incidents of such resentments post-colonial periods. Subsequently suffered the atrocities that inflicted enormous costs to human lives, destabilisation and social disparities flourishing on materialist theories of capital enrichment.

During the epoch of scramble for African resources, defenceless communities were displaced from communal lands; resettled and forcefully subjected to unjustifiable system of governance. In the South African situation forced displacements were effected by Land Act of 1913 and enforced by Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. Post 1994 administrations received authentic political mandate to bring about inclusive institutions of democracy, eradicate self-centered practices of political elites and promote economic advancement for human development as prescribed by the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP). The African Union (AU), formerly Organisation of African Unity (OAU) adopted comparable provisions for intervention by member states to protect vulnerable communities from such egregious human rights violation.

In South Africa the Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) in Limpopo Province is amongst the highly disputed traditional ownership of land; entrenched intra-group politics of patrons-clients relationships creating massive disparities, inequalities, aggrandisements and lineages.

These social impasses are likely to influence the animosities, frictions and instabilities; perpetuate spiral of poverty, unemployment and crime, which are a major threats to human security. SDM is one of the six district municipalities of Limpopo province, it is subdivided into five local municipalities with a total area of 13 528 km². According to Stats SA population was estimated at 1,019.198 in 2010.

Ethnic composition of Sekhukhune in accordance with the 2001 census was Pedi 83,4%, Ndebele 4,4%, Zulu 2,8%, Swazi 2,3% and other 7,1% (including migrants from nearby states).

1.3 Problem Statement

Histories tell that government officials from dominant ethnic groups in multicultural society by virtue of distinct culture and language tend to increase power and quest to take control of sectors of high productivity and activities for control of resources. The impasse in the new democratic dispensation within the local municipality of SDM is alleged misuse of majority ethnic group's political power.

The political administration appears to cliques strategically through a web of cronies and relatives to manipulate areas of influence. The scope and terms of operations depicts the symbiotic relationships that empower and enrich a few at the expense of the majority. The current Syrian conflict; the al-Qaeda carnages in the Sahel region are amongst conflicts which deteriorated into widespread nations fighting against itself are definite illustrations of clientele's practices.

Similar patterns of patronage driven ethos based ethnocentric crises caused the Zimbabwean economic system to collapse. The political turmoil that engulfed Kenya subsequent to a disputed presidential election in 2007 was fuelled by politics of clientelism. In all such instances, despite levels of volatility and widespread factional hostilities the elites justifies legitimacy and argue that institutions of governance are functioning well in line with democratic rule of law.

In the Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) intra-ethnic tensions and perceptions about intense factionalism within dominant group are gradually simmering above the conflict tolerance levels. Miller (1971,181) noted that if such tendencies surpass institutional control, the situation increases variation of hostilities and likelihood of a social turmoil.

Rudolph (2006,1) state that ostracised individual or ethnic group usually radiates negative political energy due to suspicions of inconsistencies. The victims become despondent; loss of confidence in leadership; feel marginalised and foresees perpetual obstinate prejudices.

Peace and security including protection of the most vulnerable communities is a fundamental principle of democracy. It forms the basic political guidelines towards good governance, removal of contradictory assumptions and promotes common thinking that forges democratic values, justifiable process of democratisation post conflict situation.

1.4 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research is to investigate post 1994 democratic dispensation's political approaches in relation to the challenges emanating from intra-ethnic disputes in the local government of SDM. There is a need to find out how the dominant ethnic groups exercise political power in the local political, social and economic landscape.

The misconception requires thorough scrutiny and analysis to understand the ethnic minority's fears about their powerlessness, economic exclusion, cultural marginalization, critical aspects that appears to complicate the development and social order within municipal boundaries.

The social and economic objectives in these areas looked to have changed the nature of political game range beyond the ballot box, the view articulated by Khadigala in Mbeki (187-205). In the African context Eze (1997,81) refer to Hobbes's assertion that the new post-colonial orders in the emerging economies haven't made concerted efforts to achieve material prosperity by promoting durable economic, political and social cooperation for the benefit of the peoples.

The essence of the research is to study the social complexities pose by ethnic anxieties, the profound underlying social structures that tend to weaken systems of governance, functions that promote the authentic flows of economic resources and social development. To contextualise the intra and enter-ethnic networks in relation to political-economic structures of power and dependencies.

1.5 Research Questions

- 1.5.1 How do minorities perceive their positions (roles, responsibilities and functions) in the SDM's geopolitical relationships?
- 1.5.2 How is intra-ethnic marginalisation manifest in this region?
- 1.5.3 Which public, private and or civic organisations strive to mitigate intra-ethnic constraints, enforces compliance to legislative requirements, regulations and institutional principles refer to by Chapter 9 of the Constitution (State Institutions Supporting Constitutional Democracy) along the human rights domain laid out by Article 1.1 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (manuscripts on **Annexure B**); and Civil Society Index (CSI) as developed by Civicus?
- 1.5.4. What are generally perceived methodologies, institutions, public or private policies and systems seem appropriate or ought to deal with marginalised group's despondencies, exceptionalities and frustrations?

1.6 Delimitations and Assumptions

1.6.1 Introduction

The research is restricted by factors such as resources, time and municipality authorisation as some of officials were skeptical about the essence of the project's probable political and economic outcome and concerns about whom the target participants were? The aim of the projects wasn't necessarily to assess the municipality's performance, but to conduct a micro-study on aspects around ethnicity and development of emerging communities under post-colonial regimes in South Africa.

There have been countless services delivery protests in every municipality in South Africa post-independence than any African country, and the consequences of every demonstration becomes unimaginably tragic, uncontrollable violence, destruction of properties and loss of innocent lives.

The essence of the study however, is to reflect intensely the unfolding social dimensions in relation governance in the democratic environment, thinking and understanding by communities about new democratic institutions, its role and responsibilities based on the classical theory of democratisation.

Political scholars and human rights activists hold a view that the causes of ethnic conflicts in the world is unscrupulous politicians who fail to live by rules of law, humanity and equality. Brown, Coete, Jr, Lynn-Jones and Miller (2001,61) claim that the main sources of ethnic hostilities are manipulation of system to "infuse nation with a sense of in-group patriotism and out- group rivalry".

The theoretical and practical basis of the contention is cited by Sambanis (2001, 3-45) using data compiled from one hundred and sixty-one countries over a forty-year period, that ethnic tensions are architected and fuel by factional power mongers. The circumstantial overview of ethnic conflict management in South Africa, a comparative analysis, assumptions and ethnic prepositions mentioned by Irobi's (2005, 34) study about the correlations between power relationships of ethnic heterogeneity, the socio-economic challenges and management thereof of ethnic conflict in South Africa and Nigeria post- colonial regimes.

The research seeks to make comparative analysis about the views that hold irreconcilable cultural classification of ethnicity in relation to new democratic ideals. Secondly, to understand the core objective and or subjective concepts, religious, and or differentiations that escalated incidents of ethnic conflicts amongst communities living under similar conditions and almost suffer from the legacy of inhuman conditions posed by colonial rule. Thirdly, to understand the underlying constitutional provisions that may have been vaguely legislated to meet the set time frame for transition from colonial regime to democracy.

The omissions could have created constitutional voids, deferred unsolved historical claims; disputes that compromised the minorities' human rights. The possibility of reverting such political disparities requires amendment of supreme governing law. In South African political context, to amend constitutional provisions requires a political party to win two third majority of the national election.

1.7 Significance of the Research

The expression ‘unity in diversity is power’ was phrased during wars of resistance to mobilise together people from the different cultural background, beliefs and myths about dangers of ethnicity that cultivated division, mistrust, hatred and misconception of one group against the other. These conservative theories were used to categorise people by class, culture, religious, colour and sex and integrated in power, relationships, social and economic establishments and geographical bounds. The significant of the research is to study the consequences and the damaged created by these theoretical approaches through policy legislations.

The social stratifications that geminated ethnic divisions, cultural inferiorities, indoctrinated ethos of hegemony as an conventional social value, accumulation of wealth and political power in the hands of narrow elite, etc. In essence the study seeks to assess, evaluate make distinctions about the achievement of past 1994 administrations and the political party stances in SDM in relation to policy ills enforced during colonial regimes.

Studies in many countries post conflicts illustrate that the imbalances of political power in hetoregenuos communities often subvert the principles and purpose of democratic institutions. Mc Lennan affirms this notion in Mc Lennan and Munslow (2001,29) that “impoverished or marginalised communities have little leverage and find it difficult to negotiate access to government services”.

1.8 Conclusion

In conclusion chapter one entails the background of the politics of ethnicity and its ramifications post-independence within a district municipality of Sekhukhune. The institutional framework designed and effected by colonial system that confined social spaces for indigenous communities, deprivation, subjected by laws of impunity and forcefully restricted to less civilised territories.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

At end of Second World II, the world became divided into two powerful blocks with different socio-economic doctrines. The diverse ideological posture of these dominant economic powers aggravated tensions worldwide. Its struggle for supremacy entangled and exacted pressure in every country's domestic affairs. It manipulated and created ideological differences that fueled suspicions amongst nations that escalated into violent conflicts, and adversely affected inter-state political and economic alliances.

It manifested severely on social and economic systems particularly from communities under colonial regimes who were subjected to forceful despotic rules. The repressive and bureaucratic forms of governance ingrained deeply into marginalised communities' character of living, such as spheres of cultural, moral, and intellectual life.

The dictatorial institutional patterns and behaviours have rooted extremely into many successive generations and remained social outlook through which the process of transformation is viewed. Protracted methods used to wage a struggle for emancipations across the continent, *inter alia* civil obedience, industrial strikes and guerrilla armed struggles made tremendous effect on the psychic and intellectual outlook to democracy.

Post independence, several societies who emerged from totalitarian systems where indigenous communities were forced off their lands; subjected to undue laws of repression, inferior education, and institutional link to slave interactions and material indulgences.

Biko (1978,56) highlighted that these are all misconceptions imbedded into the enter-group disgust amongst the colonised indigenous communities, i.e. hatred and intolerance. The ethnocentric, xenophobic and other unbecoming social practices, which subverts democratic values correlates to these myths and have become serious security risks in African politics.

The literature on African social instabilities indicates many communities were structurally by means of policy regulations denied access to resources, support services and infrastructure to develop capacities to expand social and economic opportunities. In the case of SDM, there is no literature covering such social crisis on ethnic and tribal disparities. Print and electronic media has covered extensively social flows due to mismanagement, corruption and neglect of the plight of the most poorest. The patronage network is steadily growing to serve the interests of top political elite who abuses legitimate political authority entrusted to them by dominant ethnic groups.

Sandbrook (1972, 106-107) argued that intra-ethnic conflicts have been proven to be basis for fierce ethnic rivalry for economic resources and political power. The contentions rise to forms of irredentist and revanchist tendencies; the root causes of major social crises in African countries.

The post-colonial leadership's weaknesses, compounded by inherent polarisation of class struggles for hegemony overwhelmed the objectives for freedom and profound aspirations for self-determination. The African perspectives on peace and security are covered extensively in literature and many global forums from which principles for peace and stability became prime agenda.

Countless geopolitical series of treaties, agreements and protocols on specific intra-group antagonisms, culminated collective efforts to craft African security and development vision to undo the imbalance-of-power politics brought along by 1884-1885 Berlin Conference. According to Adedeji (2002,32) hostilities, scope, character of conflicts and numerable measures to resolve confrontations pronounced from Lagos to NEPAD brought about African broad-spectrum intellectual knowledge, articulateness to resolve socio-political crisis.

The process for redressing social challenges created during colonial reign characterise a deeply thought-provoking political perspectives of power relations. The synergy between expansive determination for real change, structures and functions of state constraints the exercise of powers control by the few political elites.

Behind the scene such as manipulation of power relations, ethnic coalitions, a systemic cleavage tend to weaken prospects of growth for individuals with minor political or economic power.

2.2 The Causes of Inter and Intra-Ethnic Resentments

Lots of scholars define ethnocentric theory along the profound aspirations by minorities to obtain independent, absolute autonomy from any form of rule based on historical claim of legitimate authority. An idealistic democratic wishful thinking not to marginalise a faction or individual person through legitimate systems of democratic governance; discriminated and not afforded equitable excess to opportunities on the account of cultural, language, beliefs and geopolitical differences.

The trends world-wide depict affected communities aspiring for an equitable kind of institutional mechanisms that are justifiable by law, contextualise by Ditshwanelo (2005) as “substantive equality”. This basic human rights belief is along multilateral principles initiated and endorsed by world bodies such as International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS); United Nation Security Council (UNSC); African Union; and several Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Section 9 and 10 on equality and human dignity respectively.

The concepts of intra-ethnic disputes are mentioned in a wide range environment addressing the issues of impunity, gross violation of human rights, terror, rape of woman and genocide. These types of incidents occurs within the context of looting in the fragile economies, situations which lead to collapse of state and societal structures, destruction of infrastructure and bequeathed a legacy of ethnic hatred.

Practical evidence in several African states illustrate that the ethnocentric conflicts led to high possibilities of confrontational, gruesome massacres and flagrant abuse of human rights by factions justifying cultural inheritance noted Jonsson (17-20, 2007).

The conventional definition of conflict refers to declaration of war against a sovereign country to achieve a territorial advantage. The territorial integrity and political sovereignty given the uppermost priority with expectation that all other security need within the boundaries are secured. The security paradigm post-cold war has changed profoundly from state-centred approach to people-centred.

The intra-ethnic tensions have become serious security risks. The African continent has had several tragedies including civil wars, genocide, terrorism, organised crime all characterised formidable contestation by individual or groups longing for space in the political formation.

The crisis in the Great Lakes region is compounded by number of tensions and insecurities generated primarily from ethnocentric power relations, which have never been resolved by any binding agreement. For instance the Lusaka Agreement of 1999 for cessation of hostilities between all “belligerent forces in the DRC, which entails all acts of violence against civilian population by respecting and protecting human rights”, has made very insignificant impact on the conflicting perspectives, according to Khadiagala (139,2001) to “recreate a sense of nationhood through dialogue on power-sharing and resources distribution”.

The heterogeneous fragility of society, and the lack of technical competences to inability to exercise democratic principles, the rule of law and respects of human rights in conformity with international law and standards in the Central, Western and Eastern Regions of Africa, are subjects of concern in African political perspectives.

The ethnic conflicts post collapsed of communist societies in the late 1980 and early 1990 after the introduction of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by Mikhail Gorbachev, general Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union Central Committee. The new principles embodied basic political measures for reforms towards solving enter-group problems, political, economic, and ideological or any other.

The underlying issues of debates where “great emphasis was laid on the prevention of war and non-use of force in international relations” state Moisyev (94,1989). The smaller nations from this block opted out of the alliance and declared unilateral independence and exercise their right to develop own education, use of own language, political representation, freedom of religion, the preservation of ethnic identity, autonomy and self-determination.

The warring factions, who have caused so much harm to civilian populations, displaced and orphaned countless were and still grounded on social myths and misplaced historical claims. Studies affirm that cliques starts with a clan coalition that shapes the attitudes for power and control based on reciprocal exchange of economic resources.

Sandbrook (1972,108) indicate that cooperation between individuals is on “unequal status, wealth and influence”, and the power relation becomes political for material reward to maintain status quo. Miller (1983,180) characterise two opposing views about intra-ethnic conflicts, one optimistic about the impact on cooperation of factional groups towards evolving change. The pessimistic view describes the extent to which particular factions undermine sovereignty of state; disobey the laws of state, sabotages infrastructure resources, conduct acts of terrorism against the state and innocent people suffer the consequences.

Lake and Rothchild (41-75, 1996) describe the politics of ethnicity from a micro-political perspective which refers to traditional interaction of groups and or individual for a purpose of building a nation through exchange of resources, partnerships on issues of mutual concerns, incorporate cultures, inferred and epistemological knowledge about new shared expertise of enter-groups relationships.

Such approaches endorse the principle of cooperation in search for mutual acceptable ways of peaceful co-existence. The type of techniques adopted by the Japanese difference ethnic groups in building the society’s productive capacity post-World War II. Nonaka and Takeuchi (27,1995) refer to Japanese heterogeneity as sources of strength, involvement and teamwork as basic human values that strive for quality, integrity and continuous improvement for success.

2.3 Ethnicity and Power Relationships

Data about ethnicity and race by countries shows that no country in the world is exclusively homogenous group within its sovereignty. Jourek (2005,19) cite the 1990 UNESCO meeting of experts that studied the criteria of identifying people or group as ethnic or nation. Key aspects considered significant were “common historical tradition, racial or ethnic identity, cultural homogeneity, linguistic unity, religious or ideological affinity, territorial connection and common economic life”.

Jourik further refer to the UN definition of ethnicity based on the rights of population for their freedom and independence, non-discriminatory practices of certain sector by government and the denial of rights to participate in governing of the country. Studies broadly present the view that the ethnicity’s balance of power in almost every sovereign country is skewed. The dominant groups wield enormous political power influence due to demographic advantages, the resources available to the group and the group’s ability to organise and sustain ethnic unison. While the comparative effect of the ethnicity on demographic practices and behaviours have been acknowledged, including sub-Saharan Africa, studies are still lacking about the intra-ethnic balance of power within the dominant groups and how democratic policies are used to violate other’s human rights.

The power relations based on *détentes*, enforced by third parties for convenience, to minimise confrontational situations, destruction and fatalities. The frameworks for resolving the issues are inadequately formulated, lack on commitment and determination to achieve sustainable peaceful environment.

For instance a number of agreements to end conflicts such as the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement of 1999 signed by warring factions and number of neighbouring countries in the Great Lakes regions; the protracted civil wars in Angola between the former liberation movements; and the one to end the apartheid rule in Namibia in the 1990, etc.

The modalities and terms of such agreements lacked to differentiate fundamental terms that people, including minorities' different concerns and aspirations from those of political organisation, or state. In all referred instances, the state, which is formed by political actors, had absolute powers to regulate the ethnic disparities, socio-economic development and ethnic correlations. The political objectives for building democratic African societies based on values of humanity, equality and freedom is to address the underlying courses of conflicts that lie much deeper.

The trends worldwide depict increasing disconnection by minorities in the body politics as a result the difference between the society and state, between the people and the government, between political parties and its constituencies and between different ethnic groups. Referring to the Japanese's unique homogeneity based on well-defined terms as a nation that continue somehow pluralistic in ethno-genic diversities but remain more open based on human dignity, equality and freedom.

According to Wesson (1985,153) that the clans under the Daimyo continued largely "self-sufficient and autonomous and tradition of independent powers centres", but operates smoothly within the constitutional frameworks and democratic governance that the ruling party brings along.

This contravenes the Chinese approaches about the political aspirations of the Tibet. The Tibetans from their predominant territorial regions (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) have demanded partial autonomy from Chinese rule, yearning for ethnic freedoms within the government of the People's Republic of China. The Tibetan's humane appeal according to Sikyong (Dr.) in his statement on 54th anniversary of the Tibetan national uprising day (10 March 1959) was met with apprehensive military forces by applying harsh security measures, including "prolonged imprisonment, torture, public humiliations and disappearance at the hands of security forces".

In the South African situation, the success of political change in 1994 gave hope to provide a new shared course that would provide the basis for profound political freedom. The current social dilemma and the economic realities depict complete contrary view, serious gaps between the ruling party's political aspirations, state and its enormous historically based constituency. The assumption is that the electorate which comprises by people with extreme poverty levels and unemployment versus those who accumulated wealth through access to resources.

The political power relations based on the theory of proportional representations impact significantly towards these social dilemmas. On the other side as Lake et al (41-75,1996) argued about the system's possibilities to contribute toward a fundamental change, in the areas formerly self-administered homelands, majority ethnic groups would without applying rationality easily be persuaded to maintain political status quo through the ballots voting process.

The group would consciously or unconsciously strive to occupy certain strategic positions of administration and the economy in order to protect spheres of control. Chambers and Curti (1996,10) accentuate retrospections as ways of understanding nonconformity to set standards in the process of a society determined to routinise functioning institutions of democracy.

The ethnocentric practices tend to act in favour of personalities and enforce biasness, manipulation and downplay misconceptions, prejudices, and intolerances, become irrational and adversely limiting space for critical thinking. These are reflections of elitist theory that underplay the complexities of the democratic process in the SDM.

2.4 Ethnicity and Modernisation Theory

Literature and scholar fraternity insinuate modernisation theory as national system with definite legal distinctions and regulations regarding citizenships that determine terms and conditions relative to the political, economic and social perspectives of a country. Wessson (1985,7-10) describe modernisation principle as evolving phenomenon broadly defining role, functions of state in relations to society's institutional structures and its expectations.

The functions of state and interactions are within the confines of laws, regulations, traditions and competing interest groups. Rothchild and Lake (1996, 53-56) content that the polarisation of the system by misconceptions and undue emotions exact pressure on the balance of power relations and spill over into disorderliness. Based on these scholarly hypotheses, it is therefore important that body politics broaden the scope and course of governing structure to sustain a nation on a particular ideological route.

Democracy and development precede transformational processes in a stable environment where extraordinary national values, integrity and commitment to succeed overwhelmed petty cultural differences. Acemoglu and Robinson (2012,42) illustrate that prosperous societies brought about the rules and enforcement procedures together with state to grow the economies competitively through productivity.

The prudent policies that stimulate macro-economic stabilisation, trade regime improvement, explore endowment natural resources and constant reformulations structures that ensured stabilities and continuities.

Stability of systems and policy framework build internal networks of relations and support base. Thus ethnic commotions and intransigencies disorientate collective synergy, vision and foundations accomplished for pluralistic political institutions.

Studies reflect the historical and associated attributes about ethnicities in the global context; trends originate within framework of bureaucratic rigidity, proclamations preferences and other social inclinations. Chege in Hansen (1987, 87-99) emphasise that the ethno-convulsive environment impacts negatively on matters of human development, polarise free entrepreneurship activities and impair the efficient functioning of institutions of democracy.

The spontaneity, unpredictability and fragility accelerate the vicious cycle of insecurities, suspicions, fears and potential attacks against one another. The social polarisations manifest it in political alignments, the conditions suitable for abuse by dogmatic political individuals, a clique of hypocrites that controls strategic state resources and siphon public coffers as much they could. A typical example is the topical Limpopo socio-economic debacle, reported by media about the alarming concerns from civil groups on the failure of educational organs to supply books to schools. Secondly, the failing infrastructure projects contracted to political associates that comprised governance and led the provincial systems almost at verge of total collapse.

The mediocrity poses identical conditions about which World Bank in its 1989 report categorically stated that the economies of Africa were in crisis as a results of poor political governance, lack of accountability and centralisation of economic resources note Makgetlaneng (2003, 6).

The discrepancies are similar to weaknesses of failed economies, whose political elites underrate the nature, rights, and responsibilities of citizens. The political norms and practices, functioning of government machinery and how individual, and or dominant political persons ought to operate within applicable framework accentuate Sollors (1996, 108). In the weak state these agenda is disproportional, Sollors refer them as “vague historic idealism” that aggravated hostilities, which flamed Europe through policies of medieval barbarism and genocides.

Unfair indigenisation of territorial land jurisdiction as underlined by Jonsson (2007, 24 - 27) as primary sources of ethnic conflicts. In the African context, the realistic evidence of intra-ethnic conflicts in the Great Lakes, debacle of leadership in Cote d’Ivoire, the Arab political mayhems and recent belligerent between the Northern Sudan and newly established Southern Sudan state. The governing factional bureaucrats continue war mongering tricks, trigger frictions that causes unnecessary loss of lives. This bears testimony about intra-ethnic political realism that contradicts the multiple paths to modernity and development.

Ethnicity in the global context of modernisation and development refers to institutionalisation covering the interest of state and society respectively. The new approaches emphasising on culture of socio-economic cooperation and co-existence amongst the communities. The basic political rules directed towards economic policy frameworks, which make emphasis on acquiring rapid economic growth, poverty eradication, and create job opportunities.

The comprehensive reform models based on endogenous principles of qualitative development; i.e. good governance, participation, legitimacy, accountability through broad partnerships that strengthen strategic capacity of state. Gumede in Mc Lennan et al (44, 2009) noted that such fundamental approaches guarantee the stability and flexibility of democratic systems. These are basis upon which successful economies were built. Darga in Mbeki (169-185, 2011) narrate the Mauritius economic success “reductions in inequality and real human development in almost all spheres of life”, through legitimate partnerships with Mauritians.

According studies, the challenges of modernisation in African politics, which is characterise by politics of heterogeneity are issues such as weaknesses in the overall systems of governance, matters categorised by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as “four broad themes: democracy and political governance; economic governance and management; corporate governance; and socio-economic development” underline Gruzd (2010, 10).

2.5 Democracy, Civil Society, Nationalism and Heterogeneity

The new basic political theories debates, objectives and processes towards the complete removal of human threats, tensions and misconceptions that relates to power relations. The domain of human rights prescribed by treaties has prompted deliberations on philosophical perspectives and practical definitions of security. Buzen's security perspectives are comparatively proposing redefinition of security threats base approach rather than conventional state focus. The new types of threats such as proliferation of nuclear ammunition, privacy, economic security, intra-state conflict, terrorism, environmental and health security are considered imminent catastrophic to human survival.

The latest terms of reference and its scope have dramatically enriched the intellectual perspectives on current socio-economic challenges concomitant to the changing world. Individual and minority groups are yearning for substantive democracy, political emancipation including the wide range protection of individual rights through the rule of law, protection and preservation of own culture, religion and national identity.

Mahub ul Haq (Dr) in the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report's latitude of security extended classifications of threats in seven areas, namely economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political.

Since the dawn of independence in several African states, Africans have been forging for their own future, crafting own indigeneous development strategies and policies to eradicate poverty, inequality, environmental destruction; and authoritative political and economic powers in the hands of few while majority are marginalised, impoverished and excluded from the main stream economy. Critical priority areas identified had become the continent's preferred development agenda generally denoted from Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) to New Economic Plan for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

The concepts from LPA to NEPAD provide a framework to view political commitment, the understanding of Africa's economic uniqueness, the particularities and complexities about the failures of post-colonial development. The principles and objectives are to assume disturbing analysis of development challenges and strategies that the continent had pursued since independence five decades ago, emphasise Adedeji (2002, 32-47) in the South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy.

The South African Constitutional framework Chapter 2 (1996, 6-24) on Bill of Rights contains the protection of rights under the conditions of political, social, economic, cultural and institutional change. The constitutional model takes into consideration the broader human rights in the context of new world order, *viz.* the strategic roles and functions of state, civil society, nationalism and heterogeneity.

The policy pulls together the perspectives of political leadership, institutional transformation, culture, diverse ethnic groups and other geophysical factors.

The constitution's fundamental principles affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom, and in Chapter 7 on Local Government (1996,81), Section 152 (1) make emphasis of objects of local government as to “provide democratic and accountable government for local communities; ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner; promote social and economic development; promote a safe and healthy environment; and encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government”.

These are elementary issues of democratic politics, Dalton (2002, 32-35) accentuate participation and influence government on policy matters to enable people play more meaningful role in politics, to foster the development of civil society groups and other organs representing the people. Dalton (2002,47) further discusses intensively the political perspectives that influence citizen's choices of participation in democratic situation. The theories of participation are modelled on “civic voluntarism model” developed by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) that identified influence by “personal characteristics, group effects, and political attitude”.

The civil society is comparatively marginal individual or groups from society that has the enormous power to shift balance of political power in any sovereignty. In industrialised society the group include labour, business, intelligentsia, security and religious communities who are apolitical. Countries which practices democracy based on world standard have strong civil society groups which legitimise the credibility of governing systems

Nikilov and Semcesen (2008,7) describe civil society individual or groups commonly as “sphere of voluntary collective activity encompassing shared interests, purpose and values of civility”. The groups is located in both public, private and citizen sectors; more affluent, knowledgeable and derive influence from scientific knowledge, generation of theories, capabilities and practices on economic, social and political proportions that can overcome society’s limitations.

The group is highly insensitive to elements that undermine the rule of law, authoritarian leadership and instability. Typical example of Zimbabwean political situation where ZANU-PF through its government introduced transformation measures in the middle 1990s. The policies that were formulated and adopted without considerations of its subsequent implications to the economy and livelihood of ordinary citizens. This turned socio-economic into havoc, instability and collapsed of civic infrastructure. The component of civil society such as the intelligentsia, the highly skilled human capital left the country to areas deemed safe.

This affected decisively the economic context of the country, i.e. macro-economic stabilization, trade regime constraint productivity, output decline and the economy shading jobs rapidly, industrial resources sector outcomes decline affecting internal market forces.

Nationalism signifies a class character of a distinct group of individual who share common vision about its social and ideological construct, beliefs, values and commitments to emerge as a nation. The political structures and discourse should reflect the environment, define explicitly methods of interactions in diverse society.

The socio-economic model based on federal practices adopted by various European countries. The social and economic cultures that seem closely interrelated with practical advancement in educational, independent judiciary, dissemination of information, and private economic entities reflected by country's gross domestic product (GDP).

The transformation of state is not merely a process of institutional and functional re-alignment with new priority challenges, but to acknowledge the political and historical context, the deleterious effects of colonial system, the neo-hegemonic practices ingrained on public expressions of intellectual discourses about development, social integration and cultural expressions.

Keating and Loughlin (2003, 23) describe nationalism in a changing environment as a guiding ideological principle that has to articulate in clear terms new forms of institutionalism, make emphasis on the role of institution in shaping society's values and norms towards constitutional democracy, formalised engagements on the political forums, competitions and rationality for choice, the rule of law, citizen's rights and the supremacy of the constitution.

The principal objective of nationalism as a principle is to drive society to productive value of work harmoniously as a collective, to instill the Japanese culture describe by Nonaka et al (1995,31) as embedded organisational traditions and performance of self-acknowledgement reflected in associations with others.

The 2010 turmoil in the northern region of Africa started by a member of civil society who self-immolated protesting about the social challenges experienced by ordinary citizens in Tunisia became horrendous; but ultimately brought down the end of authoritarian's leaderships, cronies and paving a way for freedom, just and equitable system of governance.

The current Syrian civil conflict already claimed enormous human lives, sufferings; and has potential to engulf the region because of increasing complex interdependence amongst sovereign nations.

The fears of possible spread of such conflicts evolve overlapping and understanding of what human rights are, norms elaborated in the context of the region, and reflecting the peculiar cultural understandings and pragmatic needs of the citizens. Nikilov et al (2008,7) propose that the ultimate solutions to the end of this calamitous situation depend on the civil society's attitude within the Syrian frontiers and interconnected economies. The role of civil society in building democracy is vital, to assist forge politics in context of a human rights dialogue and minimise the conflict due to the adverse stereotypes and misdirected inter-ethnic actions.

Mc Lennean et al (2009,26) citing former President Mbeki's concerns about the challenges in his Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture that political emancipation is defined by the access and display of best commodities in market rather than best institutional instruments and models of democratic development, '...many in our society, having absorbed the value system of capitalist market, ..., for them, personal success and fulfillment means personal enrichment at all costs', This hypothetical analysis is real, it has manifested in body politics.

The practice based on politics of material, misguided leadership that thrive on ethno-pessimism, the aspects contradict with the concept of peace, security and development. The role of civil society in democratic societies is to play a part in body politics as a patriotic citizen, to guard against abuse of state resources by political office bearers and ensure commitment to constitutional driven systems, and rights of individual particularly the most vulnerable communities are protected.

In the South African region the civil society is struggling to find a free-flow platforms to promote democracy and its core values based on the Constitutive Act of the African Union, which pledges in its objectives to “promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance”. These principles are as well enshrined in the South African Constitution of Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

The issue of concern is what characterise civil society in African perspectives? Can it be analysed on the models and measurements of Civil Society Index (CSI) developed by Civicus? The Civicus developed extensive studies of civil society across four analytical dimensions: structures, space, values, and impact. The model is to involve a diverse knowledge and skills of civil society organisations to promote collective action.

It provide a common platform that influence good administrative policies in favour of the marginalised, and community in advancing sustainable development, good governance, a culture of democracy and uphold human rights.

In the South African perspectives the model would generate and depict absolutely a different conclusion, as the civil society constitute labour forces, which is till politically associated to the ruling party because of historical ties during the struggle against apartheid. For instance, some of the key labour movement officials are appointed in structures of government, from the executive, parliament, various portfolio committee structures, administration in national, provincial and local governments.

Thus comparative analysis wouldn't reflect the sincere and credibility of civil society as per international trends and standards. The few civil society organs active and engaging in the country's political discourse have made tremendous revelations, exposes unbecoming acts of abuse by office bearers; questioning financial deals between state and private companies of political connected cronies, etc.

The most prominent and highly successful civil society organisation is Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). It has played instrumental role as factor for change during the heinous period of apartheid by providing legal services to opponents of apartheid system. According to information on www.lhr.org.za, up to this moment "it provides free legal services to vulnerable, marginalised, indigent individuals and communities, who are victims of unlawful infringements of their Constitutional rights".

South Africa is relatively a new democracy, the silent consent among the electorate is indicative extent to which majority of the people have yet to understand the fundamentals of democracy. The institutional approaches in relation to complex social systems reflect and express values that exposes the elite's lack of home grown strategic perspectives, they resort to importing ideas from the western world characterised by rapidly changing environment.

The perpetual tensions between labour and capital markets lead to unstructured strikes; including services delivery complaints, which spiral into violence and infrastructure destruction. The emotional charged and acute difference between state and civil society portrays slowly changing political nature in the context of race and class issues in South Africa. The paradigm shift challenge is a matter of much concern, and actors within the situation have to find common understanding, develop institutional frameworks and structures to resolve the matters in a civilized manner.

The new democratic regime has adopted constitutional principles to close the gap and promote, protect and uphold democratic values. Chapter 9 of the South African Constitution prescribes the modalities about state institutions supporting constitutional democracy. Section 181 (20) of the constitution state that “these institutions are independent, and subjected only to the Constitution and the law, and they must be impartial and must exercise their powers and perform their functions without fear, favour or prejudice”, these are the Public Protector; the South African Human Rights Commission; the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities; the Commission for Gender Equality; the Auditor-General; and the Electoral Commission.

Majority of the South African population, across the ethnic divide is not active in civil society due various permutations, presumably because this is new notion in the country social perspectives. However lack of understanding of its role in constitutional democracy reinforce opportunism and ethnic social polarisation

The rural communities who still live strictly by traditional beliefs, rules and customs fall easily into this ethnic calamity. In terms of traditional functions and responsibilities they are strongly regarded as subjects by traditional leadership, contrary to citizens as construed by the constitution. These communities who constitute over 80 % of the population have no power over themselves, their livelihood, with very little education or none, and absolutely no access to information about the world they are living in.

Majority live as clan, led by strict patriarchal customs characterise by conspiratorial and apocalyptic values. The traditional structures permit interconnectivity through the chieftaincy and have no sense of what the role of government, the private sector, and the civil society in building a prosperous, stable and co-existence in diversities.

2.6 Economic Development within the Global Economic System and Ethnocentrism

Mullerson (1993,803) explain the international regulation and methods for resolving challenges of minorities as prescribe by Article 1.1 and 27 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (see manuscripts on **Annexure B**). The articles outline the inherent human rights scope of legislative, administrative and governance measures that each individual, a group of individual, a society, within every territorial boundary, irrespective of any form of political system.

In South Africa, the first policy document for charting new economic model post 1994 democratic election was White Paper on Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), adopted by Parliament in November 1994. The policy document adopted a new integrated approach that seemed to embrace all sectors of society towards common national socio-economic objectives. It created a consultative structure that link government, labour, business and civil society, namely the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlec) to take charge of transforming the South African economy.

The policy's immediate priority targets was to achieve a sustainable economic growth, create employment, reduce levels of inequalities and improve the living standards of ordinary persons. It put across number of socio-economic variations to transform key sectors of the economy, which required amending a number of legislations or formulating new policy based on the new Constitution components.

Jeffery (2010, 234-268) outline the agenda as a “growth-focused policies” via a very engaging process of a constitutional convention prompted to redress the balance between the unique South African political contexts. The economy is connected to global markets, organised labour, a traumatised communities and rapidly changing power relations globally. The new development was however understood by majority as a solid political course to reassert the power of politics in favour of the disenfranchised in relations to the capital markets. Provide equitable platform to the marginalized communities in mainstream of economic activity as a way to address the social deficits as perceived from a nationalist sentiments and perspectives.

The constitutional reform’s objective, principles and tactics display vision of African leaders who laid broad and deep foundations upon which to build freedom and free society, viz. the respect of humanity. Contrary argue Tragardh (2004, 3) that the capital sector understood the new social and political order as a platform to reintegrate the country into global market society, a prospect for capitalist expansion to maximise profits.

These are theories and expectations based on fundamentals of free market economy and more emphasis of separation of market transactions from cultural and social sentiments. The thinking of economic transformation along the models espouse by the Bretton Wood Institutions, and other trade arrangement accords by industrialised community to continue maximising trade dominance in Africa.

The new South African democracy need to be understood within the context of global, regional political and economic system. Several African counties achieved political independence, but continue to rely economically on former colonial masters for subsistence. The ideals of independent must able to adapt to challenge for asserting African cultural identity, geared toward improving human security.

The ideological economic preference to bring about control of the apparatus of state power in relation to market participants, the economic concept 'Ujama' espoused by the Julius Nyerere, the first President of the Republic of Tankanyika later changed to Tanzania. The policy was based on the level of the community's institutional and industrial knowledge introduced basic forms of social organisation of labour and schemes of co-operation in the main sectors of the economy. Hansen (1987,125) illustrate the economic preference as an "objective" and a course that "embrace changed of fundamental attitudes to life, work, social, cultural and political institutions".

The paradigm change post the tug of war between West and East, and the end of colonial regimes in Africa necessitated remodeling African economies in line with the region's socio-economic challenges. The new conceptual thinking was resuscitated by Thabo Mbeki, the former President of South Africa based on a plethora of policies adopted on various regional deliberations, i.e. policy objectives conceptualised from LP A to NEP AD.

The African Renaissance, the essence of the new developmental drive is to initiate, encourage African communities to take charge of own economic destinies, not allow history repeat itself and ensure the continent reminiscent of the nineteenth century scramble of Africa discontinue.

In support of this approach; Gumede in Mc Lennan et al (2001, 43-98) analysed broadly success of the East Asian tiger economies through change of attitude, the nation navigated their ideological path for development. The critical driving force appeared to have been the intervention by state in stimulating economic development. First amongst the initial priorities was to stabilise the security factor; i.e. strengthening democratic order and identified gaps between key sectors of the society, viz. labour, business and civil society.

People driven social, economic and cultural development catered to close the gap between urban middle class, the farming community and the rural poor. Participatory institutional framework through shared knowledge, inward investment, creativity and free transactions with market forces. Decentralise modernisation functions and emphasis on building autonomous state institutions in line with civil society.

2.7 Conclusion

Comparative studies suggest that since the end of Cold War, the threat poses by intra-state conflicts, which refer to confrontations that occurred within the borders of sovereign nations, have led to disastrous social crisis than the World War II's catastrophic consequences.

Studies reflect the historical and associated perspectives of theory of ethnicity across the globe, its impact in the matters of deeper human understandings. Its premise and traditional persuasions justifies a relative weaker proportion of practices of governance and development, and its rhetoric in cultural content that tend to aggravate differences in society's social cohesions.

Sollors (1996, 108) describe the ethnic disproportions as "vague historic idealism" that aggravated hostilities and flamed Europe through policies of medieval barbarism and genocides. In several heterogeneous societies structural issues such as weaknesses in the overall systems of institutional governance and inequitable distribution of wealth link positively to politics of traditional plurality, iniquitous indigenisation of territorial land jurisdiction underlined Jonsson (2007,24-27) as primary sources of ethnic conflicts.

In the African context, the realistic evidence of intra-ethnic conflicts in the Great Lakes, debacle of leadership in Cote D'Ivoire, the Arab political mayhems and recent confrontational between the old and newly established Sudanese bureaucrats, which claimed unnecessary loss of lives are testimony to distinctive insight into intra-ethnic political realism.

These atrocities, the failures to protect vulnerable communities have undermined the African vision for economic integration and build a sustainable peace and stability in the region. The perpetual inter-ethnic conflicts are a threat to human security, will prolong underdevelopment, marginalization and diminish prospects of industrialised Africa in the near future.

3.1 Introduction

The qualitative research method was used in this study. Primary and secondary data were collected through electronic and administered interviews. The data collected was subjected to a through scrutiny by analysing the narratives and text data submitted, i.e. the contextual views about ethnocentrism in Sekhukhune District Municipality, its cause, effects and comparative analysis to similar trends worldwide.

A total number of hundred and ten persons out of hundred and fifty-five were randomly selected to participate in the project. Interactions with the group on one to one basis were consistently measured, objectively administered to avoid duplications, generalisations and grappling with cross-cutting issues and ambiguities.

Secondary data on intra-ethnicity conflicts were drawn from literature, journals, newspapers, government reports, etc. Data from Internet and journals about the subject matter was critically studied analysed and correlated allegations with actual incidents.

The findings and analysis presented was mainly under the designated municipality structure, which encompasses strategic perspectives, institutional policy and regulations, traditional, and customs, including the role of civil society.

3.2 Research Approach

The research approach phase was to provide a broad framework for contextualising, firstly how various social issues that are causes of ethnic tensions fit together, develop into misconceptions that likely slipped out of control. History tells about rigidities based on material facts as the root causes, indicated Cohen *et al* in Marx and Engels (1980, 261) about traditionally imbedded culture of mutuality, respect and co-existence being relegated into pessimism. Secondly, how political perspective view the new paradigm based on the domains of ethnicity, modernisation and sustainable peace and stability.

The approach was confined within the balanced, coherent and factual realities consistent to differences arising out of post-colonial and or settlements disputes. It encompasses the sensitive issues of land restitutions, and equitable access to public services as prescribes by Section Ten of the Constitution (1996,107); which refers to as legislative, regulatory standards meant to address basic public needs. Thirdly, examine how non-rational factors such political myths and emotions generate flurries and misdemeanours.

Primary data collection comprised interviews, observations and discussions to probe the hereditary claims of inheritance versus the general desire of society to reform and reshape models of social interrelations for common benefits. The data collection embraced scholarly perspectives, literature, government policy documents, and integrated implicit traditional approaches to a wide range of enriching the contents of discourses and explicit indigenous intellectual practices that have evolved to this moment.

3.3 Research Design

The research was design to cover a wide range on issues of leadership, authority, control, relationships and broader aspects on institutional development. Based on the vastness of the area, scattered villages that are far apart, the poor infrastructure, and possible minimal or even inactive civic society actors within the boundaries of the municipality. A target number of hundred and fifty-five persons deemed appropriate for research, i.e. they would provide information sufficient enough to make conclusive determination of results. A sample number of hundred and ten were randomly selected for both electronic and administered interviews, and fixed time frame of exactly thirty days of the month (30) was set to complete the exercise (01 November 2012).

Table 3.1 below tabulate the number of participants across the community who showed keen interest in the research work and responded, unable to respond and or reluctant to answer administered questions or electronic questionnaire openly.

Table 3.1

Electronic	Sector	E-mail Sent	E-mail Received	Percentage Outcome
	Municipal Officials	20	7	35%
	Labour	15	11	73%
	Business	10	7	70%
	Intelligentsia	20	15	75%
	Political Organisations	5	2	40%
	Sports and Culture Fraternity	10	7	70%
Administered Interview	Sector	Target Interviewees	Members Available	Percentage Outcome

	Traditional Leadership	10	6	60%
	Religious and key Community members	20	18	90%
Total		110	73	66,4%

The table shows the number of people approached and made commitment to engage on the project. The overall response was over fifty per cent which is acceptable in term of quorate standard formula of fifty plus one. Respondents per question including additional information on issues of critical concerns submitted through electronic text; and verbatim respondents through the administered interviews met expectations.

Selecting samples based on structures of communities whose knowledge on institutional development is limited within the ethno-regional perspectives, predominantly rural and acting on ‘blind patriotism’. The material and records collected were indications based on individual understanding of the surrounding’s socio-political dynamics, albeit varied in levels of understanding and misconception of the Constitutional provisions and world position in matters of human rights.

The reason for using electronic questionnaire was to reach targeted audience urgently, which provided adequate period to study the questionnaire, apply minds and delivered measured appropriate answers.

Participants consulted discussed and shared with colleagues, some of whom voluntarily submitted their version of events. The added information put more information to the research about communities' displeasure, reflecting what is at best a fairly not expected democratic regime post a precarious social order.

The essence of self-administered questionnaire was to get a sense of personal connection with the interviewees, structured, to find the fundamental matters, deeply rooted in personalities, issues that can only be express emotionally, the fears and levels of impoverishments. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2000,279) the technique assist in the proficiency of the response rate, the quality and rationality of the data provided. The technique provides factual data that brings about subtle, implicit and entrenched attitudes, social structures and factors that influence heavily ethno-genesis.

3.4 Data Collection

Conducting in-depth personal administered interviews and electronic questionnaire collected the primary data. Interactions with various ethnic groups, municipalities' officials in various capacities, traditional leaderships, political organizations, business, labour and active individuals in the communities.

The secondary data was gathered from state policy documents, literature, and electronic data-base such as JSTOR, EBSCO Host, SABINET, ProQuest, and research institutions such South African Institute of Race Relations, Africa Institute of South Africa, South African Journal of International Affairs, etc.

3.4.1 Advantages and disadvantages of method used for data collection

An advantage of qualitative method of research was that data is more prescriptive; i.e. it illustrates causes and effects in real situation.

Data is presented directly to the researcher and captured in certainty to the interviewee's thinking about the feelings and echoes about the general environment without fear or prejudices.

Disadvantage of qualitative research methodology is its limited in terms of application of numerical expressions. It will reflect partial financial figures in respect to budget allocations on development; and limit rigorous analysis of expenditure patterns relative to social realities, the cost and interdependence to other issues related to peace and stability.

3.5 Data Analysis

Analysis of data using qualitative research method requires a descriptive framework that relate to critical substance of research. Neuman (2011,507) recommend to undertake analysis methodological, categorise data in circumstantial structure and follow a chronological format that relates key perspectives of the research to the research problems statement and research questions, and it allows the procedure to be capture data sequentially and pragmatically.

3.5.1 Method of Analysis

Multivariate analyses techniques were applied to examine the critical aspects of intra-ethnic conflicts as reflected through data collected, i.e. categorise under the phases of the past, the current and the future. Neuman (2011, 508-510) analysis intent for objectivity, realistic and interdepend facts to check similarities of assumptions, trends and theoretical approaches.

The analysis underline Hansen's view (1987,34-35) that the empirical information in light of the past and current politics of intra-glass struggle, compounded by economic forces of control based on ethnocentric attitudes in Africa, gives insight of prospective power relations polarise by blind patriotism.

Data depicting predominant areas of concern raised by interviewees through electronic texts and verbatim expressions are analysed on three phases of successive occurrences, the four key cross cutting features, viz. intra-ethnic dimensions, causes, effects and correlations of perspectives are illustrated in **Annexure D.**

3.5.2 Microelements of a Community Far Apart – Underline Minority Groups

The Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) comprises of five local municipalities, two local municipalities borders with Mpumalanga. The new demarcations socio-economic criteria applied have integrated some small ethnic minorities in the SDM.

The feelings from minority groups in areas seemed to have been absorbed into SMD for suspicious political reasons are that it is the most disastrous system of government ever administered the minorities. It categorically pointed out as an oppressive, economical and culturally neglecting the plight of the minorities. The general perceptions are that the group would never ever able to exercise their full social responsibility and democratic rights as prescribe by the Constitution.

The fears by minority groups regarding the prospects of modernisation through infrastructure development and the social welfare incentive from government is seen as underhand strategies to relocate the dominant ethnic group into their areas and minimise the chances of development and growth as a distinct ethnic group. The rationality behind this thinking is perplexed.

The stereotypes compounded by world economic down turn and increasing risks of hostilities amongst the ethnic groups. The dominant group's view about the allegations of powerlessness and marginalisation of minorities as a share of disingenuous, petty and unsubstantiated facts that distort the government's overall endeavours to develop the area.

The groups further claim that minorities in the area are influenced negatively by weak political opportunists and power mongers trying to destabilise the municipality's shared cultural tradition, structures and the forms of political and economic development in a post conflict situation.

3.5.3 Correlations and Degree of Similarities with Comparative Case Studies

Viljoen (2011,196) underline that the ethnic social dilemmas in Africa and elsewhere are products of poorly organized peace building processes, where vaguely drafted treaties are concluded. The treaties enable a political elites controlling power to impose a set of economic institutions that accumulate wealth in the hands of few at the expense of majority who remained languishing in the margins of poverty and impoverishment. The institutions generate economic resources that are used to create services and security forces to protect the elite's absolutist control of state.

Similar social and economic trends in African states post independent are repeating in one form or another emphasise Acemoglu et al (2012,83). Such set of institutions were created by Mobutu Seseko between 1965 and 1997 in Zaire now Democratic Republic of Congo, economic prospects almost next to none, mounting poverty but contrary the political elites became spectacularly rich.

The failure by elite-based political coalition to provide an environment that guarantee social comprehensive security to society including economic growth considered essential, the administration will likely want to follow to system that involve reform through authoritarian methods.

The disjuncture is gradually eroding the central strategy for democratization processes, the respects for human rights and the rule of law. The general issues that concern communities the most, are the behavior of official who display element of arrogance in sensitive matters instead of responding prudently and professionally through relevant structures. Scholars on African studies share the views that greater challenges to peace and stability in Africa are volatile mix of insecurity, corrupt political institutions, declining economic imperatives and impoverishment.

Thomas and Bendixen (2000,508) argue that the South African's despotic character of apartheid policies have ingrained into the value system to society. The violence forms of engagements that are likely to continue underlying behaviour and attitude of hard approaches are not providing to democratic values systems, expectations and inclusive value based construct of civil society.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

The data collected was subjected to thorough scrutiny as indicated in **Annexure D**; a factor analysis of variables, that compares the frequencies of different social incidents as a result of inadequacies in structure and functions of government; and underlying modernisation theories and development processes. Secondly, the failures of public institutions, including some private entities seem to promote ethnic cleavages in terms of employment. Thirdly, the ethnic minority's discontents not only about political space but lack of economic exposure for growth and development, establishment of system of interactions, participation and administrations that are inclusive.

3.6.1 Validity

The correlations of several incidents reflect strong links with the general concerns, perceptions and social challenges due to suspicion of marginalisation.

Substantive open dialogue on empowerment programmes; the policy priority choices in economic development, new democratic approaches that need to embrace transformation models and cultural desires based on geo-ethnic factors.

3.6.2 Reliability

The correlations of data from sources are considered precise, delicate and reflect any uniformities and inconsistencies within the political and social context of the municipality.

3.7 Limitations of the Research

The study is area bound to SDM, focused particularly on people of African origin; and excludes whites, Indian communities, including communities from neighbouring states and the continent at large whose social attributes and challenges may yield absolutely different outcomes. The challenges of partial commitment, nominal cooperation and reluctances to divulge more information by the some interviewees limited the scope of research, particularly in relations to municipality's mandate and ability in managing resources equitably to the communities.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Abiding by moral principle in the research process will provide a creditable output in terms of the final product, sensitivity to attachments of ethnic tendencies, consistency and academically enriched determination of facts.

3.9 Conclusion

Research methods are providing alternative approaches to study and get to the theoretical and practical basis of the subject matter. Neuman (2011,91) illustrate that methodology of the sequence of the study context that relates to "core assumptions, competing principles and contrasting priorities". The socio-economic characteristics explored ought to corroborate with empirical evidences that intra-ethnic conflicts in the SDM impact on socio-economic programmes and poses a threat to human security and stability of the area.

4.1 Introduction

The data collected on intra-ethnic conflicts post independent in the Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) was clustered on related aspects; and subjected to a thorough scrutiny. The data comprised sixty six per cent of the target audience, including about six per cent from concerns members of society outside the sampling number.

The data is contextual and cover the entire human rights domain. It encompasses the past structural policies meant to marginalise the indigenous people as a race, religion, sex, and ethnicity. The data illustrate individual perceptions about the current political regime's policy approaches in relation to minorities, pessimisms, despondent about possibilities of change in the near future. The data was clustered on three assumptions, first on the primordial cultural attitudes, the theories of coherent sets of concepts, statements and arguments in which each group or clan narrate in defending their most fundamental power relations and inheritance. The second and third assumptions are based on each group's interpretations about the current Constitutional imperatives, structures and functions of government and the global approaches on ethnocentric perspectives.

4.2 Intra-Ethnicity perceptions about Leadership, Political, Social, Economic, Cultural and Environmental Perspectives

The first assumptions discussed the major sources of instabilities as a result of fears of what marginalized communities consider threefold marginalization, i.e. the initial macro-ostracism through system of government, second by the political party system and third by dominant group manipulating the latter.

The Constitutional principles, approaches and practices that lay the base for political interaction adopted the edifice for mutual relationships developed by the European communities through protracted processes. The frames and terms were widely employed as passage to instill reign of terror and extract African resource endowment emphasise Nguluma (1980,217); and many communities suffered and still suffering a bitter experience through the customized policy design.

The key policy guidelines have been adopted and customised to the colonised nations post independent; many are failing to bring about fundamental changes to minorities in African, Asian and post-Soviet politics argue Fearon and Laitin (1996,715-716).

The democratic process based on the current party political system doesn't specifically consider ethnic minority's basis of cultural-linguistic affinity and proportion relative to other groups. In the political domain, the minority's ratios in comparison to the dominant group, disadvantage patterns of social and economic engagements; it consistently put them on the losing side of discourses.

The deduction from data illustrate explicitly that what is generally regarded as norms and standards have affected adversely the minority groups' interests in formally organized socio-political gatherings.

At the political spectrum minorities are unable to mobilise voters or supporters behind particular candidates for the party and or government. The political field allows manipulations, patron-client network which develop personal connections rather relationships based on political party principles. Sandbrook (1972,109) question the rationality of the so-called representative and open process as “the *sine qua non* of machine politics”.

These approaches have strained social and power relations in the emerging economies, gradually delineating minorities from main streams socio-economic processes. Scholars have cited this as social dilemma constituting serious threats to security and stability.

4.2.1 Party Political System, Government Structures and Institutional Development

The party political direction post colonial conflicts in African context seem heavily skewed in favour of the ruling party's ideological conviction. The general view from the interviewees in particular electronic texts illustrate issues based on party politicking that appears to cloud the process of building a nation which requires leadership with particular knowledge on social, economic and political sectors.

The competency levels that would prioritize the process of reconstruction based on human security dimensions. According to scholars the human security broadly covers all facets that risk human existence such poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, human trafficking, infectious viruses such as AIDS.

The data portrays despotic practices by several African administrations who will not meet the criteria. Thus, using hard-core approaches in resolving disputes in order to consolidate power control at all spheres of government. These approaches are common in failed post-colonial economies, wherein authoritarian regimes tend to fall back to the former colonial country economically, as well as in terms of security machinery, ensure economic control remained in the hands of neo-colonial forces.

The tendencies embraces social theory and practices that engendered constitutionalism, channeled ideological orientations and conform to norms, notions and caprices of the development merchant systems, i.e. neoliberal model of structural adjustment programme which fully endorse the laws of capitalist exploitations. Political party leadership have benefited from this arrangement as the economy is to greater extent under the white conglomerates while the labour force remain overwhelming under the former marginalized groups.

The perceptions correlates to Census 2011 statistics about capital ownership and labour, that the change in the mainstream economy by previously disadvantage groups has been very slow.

The few who managed through the towers of big business are members of the ruling party and connected cronies. Richmond (2006, 78) makes emphasis on political, social, and economic reforms as mainly long-term institutional processes, systematically and structurally reforming governance thereby creating conditions to stabilise state power relationships, extensive fragmentation of state power designed to avoid despotism and authoritarianism.

The general overview by the group economic policy framework is that the government economic policy would not yield any favourable macroeconomic conditions for growth. A plethora of emotional reasons are cited that 'cadre deployment' policy by the ruling party is to be blamed. Selection for participation is based on party political connection and not the competences required to set the economy on motion.

The party political office bearers' practices of patronage relationships, particularly appointment in key strategic areas have handicapped transformation, tunable to develop knowledge and skills. South Africa irrespective of its unfortunate political history has the capacity to produce the greatest talents to develop its own human capital in par with the developing world. These capabilities in key strategic sectors of the economy are severely constrained by the party's ethnic inclinations, petty politicking and mediocrity.

4.2.2 Global Approaches on Ethnicity Management

The data make strong emphasis of causes of insurgent incidents in countries such China where the Tibetans minorities were brutally suppressed in 1959, in Kosovo the ethnic cleansing of 1988 that killed Albanian minority groups and ethno-political violence in Burundi and Rwanda that commenced from 1993.

Minority marginalisations causes moral degradation, in almost all African states there are a number of small ethnic groups who consider themselves as persons with distinct cultures values. The situation has compelled them to disregard institutional systems, lost confidence and legitimacy of states over them respectively. In this instance if African Union (AU), together with its regional structures do not intervene, issues of power relationships amongst communities might ultimately deteriorate to a serious humanitarian crisis in Africa.

The frustration lead to conflicts which surface initially as protest for equitable service delivery by challenging the authority of the government, erodes the legitimacy of the institution of state, damages public facilities and weakens the provision of public services. The reaction to such acts of destruction usually results in confrontations between communities and the state machinery such as the police and in many occassions elevated to military force against its own peoples.

UN Report in Crime and Development in Africa (2005,29) refers to World Bank's assertion that confrontations between state and people rigorously destroy the public infrastructure "in the areas of governance, trade and commerce, and social interactions, human rights, and crime and its enforcement".

Scholars make emphasis that freedom; justice and human rights are indispensable components of economic growth and human development. The UNDP MDGs require cessation of hostilities by conflicting groups, complete disarmament and engage in forums designed to carry out peace-making and peace-building activities in post- conflict situations.

In the African context AU has developed collective security mechanisms to facilitate effectiveness to conflict and crises situation by its Peace and Security Council (PSC).

The renewed African determination to achieve MDGs within pan-African economic framework by building democratic institutions of governance, balanced economic policies which could attract direct foreign investments, and enhance trades balances worldwide and lays the foundation within which policy reign by providing guidelines for coping with geo-ethno factors.

The data embraced sufficiently international donor support community in the case of post-Soviet in the Eastern Europe which worked tirelessly together with UN transitional administration in Kosovo and Timor-Leste to formulate and implement justice and security development programmes, putting emphasis on principle issues of democratic rule, respect for law, and perspectives of accountability, accessibility, affordability, openness and appropriateness of instruments of governance.

4.3 Conclusion

The data present strong and measured arguments based pragmatic events, assumptions on political, social, economic, cultural and environmental factors that manifest exclusionary ideologies of intra-group politicking.

Data presentation embraces complexities of power relations in multi-ethnic communities, the issues of the right to self-determination of any community sharing common cultural values seemed to have received less emphasis during negotiations to end colonial regimes in many countries.

Studies corroborate that empirical evidence that the most vulnerable communities by virtue of ethno-cultural classification, forced migrations and countless human manipulations are due to selfishness, ignorance, nepotism and liberal fundamentalism. These perceptions are affirming scholarly allegations and theoretical perspectives that the threats to human security are widening beyond its conventional security orientation.

5.1 Introduction

The analyse results presented by the study based on wide range of underlying causes of internal strife, controversies which start from simple, fair inquiries, and queries about structural, political, economic inconsistencies, perceptual patterns, etc. that turn into volatile situations and the worst scenarios deadly confrontational.

The objective aim of data collected from sample was to assess independent thinking about the political status quo on one of many newly emerging municipalities as constructed on the Local Government Municipal Structure Act, No.: 117 of 1998, to address amongst other priorities restoration of dignity of previously marginalised communities as a race, but further on to ensure respect of individual human rights are fulfilled. The fundamental principle is equality before the law irrespective of any group of associations, beliefs and cultural background.

The objective of the Act is to provide appropriate division of functions and powers and regulate internal system of office-bearers to fulfill duties based on continuously evolving individual, group of citizens and a nation.

The time frame for delivery on results was fix strictly thirty to days of the month, and anything beyond would misrepresent hypothetical details; either underrates or overate the substantial realities.

The questions were based on the theory of humanitarian school of thinking which seek to make distinctions between material facts, investigate intensely discrepancies between the theoretical content of a policy and its actual material outcome. Boroduma (1976, 81) referred to Marx and Engels's writings that contextualised the "distinctions between theory and practice, between principles and results, between idea and application, between form and content, between essence and reality, between right and fact, between the good side and bad side".

Interviewees were asking hard questions, making comparative analysis of their status quo relative to others. Furthermore, cross-referencing their social realities to some orthodox theories that promote the rights of ethnic minorities. The empirical evidence of the latest Arab Spring's crisis that resonated from the heroic action of Tarek al- Tayyib Muhammad Bouazizi in Tunisia was repeatedly mentioned as heroic sacrifices for sustainable freedom.

The research questions directed to find out how far has the municipality gone on constitutional issues affecting human rights in the democratic South Africa. The essence was to explore and get the inner senses and feelings about the 'Rule of Law Principle' which relate to legislative instruments for restraining undue behaviours against the vulnerable persons, particularly ethnic minorities who tend to want leading autonomous type of life based on the cultural beliefs.

History tells that within the politics of shared political power in the emerging multi-ethnic economies, local municipal governance and policy-making on areas under the traditional authorities poses a challenge. Lack of clarity on the rules and functions of local government versus traditional authority create a vacuum. The grey area that seems to constrain efficiencies of governance, alleged to be open for manipulation and ultimately compromising individual human rights. The vacuum seemed to breed and nurture a new political frame of mind encompassing arrogance, dishonesty, and fraud, siphoning state resources and protect incompetence of the ruling elites.

5.2 District Municipality's Demographics

Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) contains five local municipalities; and according to Census 2011 it covers a total physical area of about 13,528 per 8km² with a population of about 1,076,840, and a density of about 79,6 per km². The municipality's complete data peculiarities are illustrated in **Annexure C**.

A research project was conducted on people within the average age of 20 to 59 years of age. The age group represent about 32,9 percent of the economically active persons. These are considered persons who are involved in interactive relationships at various capacities of the public, private and knowledgeable about the human rights dynamics. The number of interviewees targeted was equally distributed in each local municipality and fairly directed to people out of the technocrats' circles.

The average performance overview as deduced from the data in **Annexure D**; and the overall summary is demonstrated in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Research questions scoring matrix: Average Performance Overview

	PS	MS	GS	ES	
Q 1	X				PS
Q 2			X		GS
Q 3		X			MS
Q 4		X			MS
	PS	2 MS	GS	NA	MS

Legend: Q = question, PS = poor services, MS = medium services, GS = good services, ES = excellent service and NA = not available

The survey present multivariate scores on question one; two; and three and four with similar outcome; and the overall overview of medium performance services. This present a need to make hypothetical analysis of performance domains on the research questions, make comparative analysis to empirical ethnocentric incidents worldwide and trends and reach hypothetical conclusion. Hypothesis on questions are denoted as **Hypothesis Question – 1, Hypothesis Question – 2, Hypothesis Question – 3 and Hypothesis Question – 4** respectively, and the non-rating of ES is a serious matter of concern worth interrogating.

5.3 Analysis of Hypothesis Questions – 1, 2, 3 and 4

5.3.1 Hypothesis Questions – 1

The general appraisal about the low rating of the municipality on roles, responsibilities and functions in terms of inherent political variances as a result of the municipality's multi-ethnic relationships. The South African Constitution, Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights, provide protection of individual rights and applications, and Section 10 state explicitly “everyone has the right to inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected”. The Local Government Municipal Structure Act of 1998, Section 19 (2) (a, b) discusses the annual review of the “needs of the community and its priorities to meet the need” respectively.

The Hypothesis Question – 1 provide typical different paradigm shift from both constitutional and legislated provisions. The community's internal conflicts due to ethnic disparities are not considered serious within the municipal structures. There seems to be no dedicated institutions that provides practically vigorous engagement to promote the rights, roles and responsibilities of minority groups in order to mitigate dilemmas that raises ethnic emotions. Lake and Rothchild in Brown *et al* (2001,146) refers to minimal representation of ethnic minority due to the concepts of system of proportional representation (PR) in South Africa, which is different from the Russian State Duma, the “system ensures representation of smaller ethnic groups” in the lower chamber of parliament.

According to Lake *et al* “the African National Congress (ANC) agreed, slightly reluctantly, to use PR during the transition period to give racial and ethnic minorities a sense of security”. This is a clear indication that ruling party’s view on ethnicity has remained in its past political abstract descriptions referring to ethnic proclivity as divisive term for ‘divide and rule policy’ that entrenched hegemonic authority over indigenous people. ANC in its policy documents discusses and promote the concept of unity in diversities; the party has failed to contact studies which goes deep into causes of ethnic conflicts as espoused by scholars and active civil society. In particular to study and understand the critical human security issues which led to the worst genocide in history of humankind, i.e. Burundi and Rwanda conflicts,

Conflicts in Africa are a symptom of deeply ingrained historical memories and myths of slavery. It requires African leadership not only to acknowledge historical consequences of the Berlin Conference of 1884/5; that demarcated Africa amongst the colonisers and misconfigured the then fairly precarious social patterns that classified ethnic peculiarities, but to engage cautiously for reconfigurations to restore the dignities, cultures and practice of various religions. Similar approaches adopted by European communities in the seventeenth century that recognised the importance of individual minorities, as a group or a nation who should secure full democratic rights, protection by treaties for co-existence and or lead autocratic system of governance emphasise Acemoglu *et al* (2012,106).

The critical aspects about new political thinking demand leadership with high moral grounds, values, competencies to protect and advance the country's endogenous heterogeneity interests now and in the long-term. The issues of a widespread manipulation of state resources in favour of dominant groups, employment preferences, biasness, managerial and administrative practices are amongst features of political systems that serve the interest of political cleavages and are likely doomed to fail the system.

5.3.2 Hypothesis Question – 2

The general overviews about the prevalence of intra-ethnic marginalization of several clans and sub-clans who are regarded historically inferior, who live little bit out of the accessible areas and leading a semi-nomadic life. Sandbrook (1972, 107) point out the distinctive patterns of life the group of individual are living, which differs in terms of class categorisations from similar structures living in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Southern Europe and Latin America, “a patron-client networks as a characterised mode of political organization”. The issue of land and property ownerships in South African political situations complicates ethnological patterns of the communities as they live in areas that are vested with huge natural mineral endowments.

The new political based-elites together with big mining conglomerates are contacting explorations and mining activities in these areas without proper consultation with these communities. The tendencies in the African politics describe by Mbeki (2011,10) of plundering cultural and economic privileges and create social instabilities that threaten own political power.

The fear of creative destruction of stable indigenous habitats by investing in large-scale capital mining projects is violating the human rights and dignities of the community. The mining excavations, dynamite explosions and heavy geotechnical underground equipment poses discomfort, anxieties and insecurities to the communities compelling relocation to other areas. This is indirectly comparable to forced removals used during apartheid regime; use of military force against unarmed persons.

The displacement of communities, which was legislated by Land Act of 1913 and enforced by Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, has caused ecological and environmental degradations, causing serious frictions amongst communities. The studies learn that new paradigm of security includes poverty, environment, health and social instabilities as threat factor to humanity. Biswas (2011, 1-22) discuss the environment-threat- vulnerability nexus that the human interactive processes of extracting natural resources such oil, gas, water has a spill-over effects on intra-ethnic power relations. Unverified data cites more than hundred active mining operations in the municipality in past ten years, displacing over half a million people.

The internal displacement caused tensions in the issues of land use for individual family and communal subsistence programmes, threatening historical co-existence and mutual relations. Similar situation that triggered hostilities in Darfur - Sudan since 2003, the poverty, impoverishment and depleted resources such as water became a source of ethnic conflict.

Currently in and around the Sekhukhune municipality there is serious shortage of water resources. The mushrooming of mining projects that requires excessive volumes of water are increasing the human security crises. In mitigating the risks for potential resources-based-crisis, the government through its Olifants River Water Resources Development Project is building water catchment infrastructure. According to information the facility will be able to deliver water for domestic and mining use in the greater Sekhukhune and adjacent municipalities say Government Communications and Information Systems (GCIS)

5.3.3 The Hypothesis Questions – 3 and - 4 respectively

The research questions three and four with average score rate of medium services of institutions, structures and system critical to central governance. The area reckoned by social scientists significant foundation of underlying assumptions for public governance.

The intrinsic assumptions theories referred by Handy (1999, 34-35) as “rational- economic, social, self-actualizing, complex and psychological”. These are underlying sources of policy frameworks that determine a direction through which society should navigate the challenges of social realities. The low rating questions the legitimacy of government and institutions over ethnic minority groups, secondly it exposes inadequacies underlying transformational policies, thirdly it depicts the feebleness of government’s political ideology about nationalism and fourth perspective appears to confirm the political policy posture of the majority party, the ANC in relation to Article 1 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICVPR).

In Mullerson's (1993,799) assertion several ceasefire treaties or agreements recognises the sources of conflicts both internal and external dimensions that requires intra-political negotiations and commitment by the key actors, but "ignore the question of the relationship between nationalism and human rights, especially the rights of minorities". Therefore in the current political system where the ballot box determine the administration, whether the minority groups are actively involve or not partake in main socio-political discourse doesn't make a difference as the majority ethnic groups overwhelmingly take a centre of political stage.

These are amongst the complexity aspects of political miscarriages of national liberation processes, the defects that make emerging economies fragile. The risks of politics of shared power in democratic societies where cultural-linguistic affinity become a competing factor, traditional authority of dominant groups are incorporated into an advantaged positions, either in political, administration nor economic areas and the followers receive in turn preferential economic benefits argue Sandbrook (1972,106), politics of patronage clientele.

In Southern Africa such deficiencies occurred in Angolan and Mozambique post independent that caused protracted military insurgencies resulting in killings, starvations and hunger due to a severe destructions of economic infrastructures and weakened provision of basic human needs as the focus was more on fighting. In Namibia, four years after independence from the apartheid regime a minority Mafwe tribe in the Caprivi through its traditional leadership and tribal members who amongst them were part of South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) during the struggle for liberation demanded their tribal autonomy based on ICVPR's propositions.

The communities' rightful demands for self-determination were met with colonial type suppressions, harassments and subjected to impoverishments. They have since approached United Nation for intervention and a declaration for a war to secure basic freedom, dignity and identity had been initiated, and in 1999 Caprivi Liberation Army (CLA) launched military attacks on government facilities in the Northern Eastern Namibia.

The consequences are that unnecessary human lives were lost through confrontational war, imprisonments; forced expulsions and acts of terror. While empirical evidences in these instances worldwide display that the belligerent groups whose rights and interests are trampled upon are weaker side militarily. The civilians are the most vulnerable, woman and children turned into ethno-political mercenaries for mass killings along ethnic line.

Mullerson (1999,800) argue that any form of social or economic suppression including coercive force and or an attempt to deviate from the problem stimulate the group's determination for the protection and preservation of their culture, religion and national identity. The general reactions by state corroborate the Buzan's security propositions about the legitimacy of a democratic dispensation over the minority in heterogeneous society.

Reacting through such egregious forms of human rights violations, deprivations of minority group's human rights within the sovereign states as protected by weak or inadequately legislated constitutional laws, and or other international protocols of non-interference in internal affairs of a sovereign border, correlates the current human security risks in the SDM.

The minority group's disputations might escalate to potential ethnic calamity in near future if suitable steps for substantiality, rule of law and the Bill of Rights in context as outline by the Constitution aren't resolve.

Referring in particular to numerous incidents of human rights violations in the African countries; which have started in similar levels as indicated in the research and turned into large-scale loss of life, ethnic cleansing and related crimes against humanity. The key international actors within the auspices of Unite Nations, African Union and many civil society forums globally have to debate in broader perspectives and endorse Article 1 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICVPR) as obligatory. Its content and descriptions have to be the centrifugal socio-political aspects that should guide crafting comprehensive security peace-making and peace-building activities in post-conflict situations.

The South African transformational policies were formulated based on the unique history of the country's political developments. The new political order emerged through negotiations by key political organs that began in 1991 in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The political dialogue was under the ideological influence by major parties such the African National Congress (ANC) and its leftist alliances and the former apartheid ruling party, the National Party (NP) including numerous civil society gruops.

The underlying constitutional issues of debates comprised the need for a new political system to honour the basic human securities and bring about broad political, social and economic solutions based on inclusivity, discard the obsolete policies of marginalisation and transformational framework that entrenched the fundamental human rights.

The basic aim of the constitutional model is to build a caring and people centred society, the propositions based on the restoration of dignities to those who were legislatively marginalised and eradicate all ramifications of racial, ethnic, gender imbalances and economic inequalities, to ensure that citizens live under conditions of safety and security.

Faure and Lane (1996,20-21) referred to the evolving political phenomenon as “a new and dynamic power-regulating/limiting factor in South Africa”, and that the sensational moment had begun optimistically to unleash a successful undertakings of democracy, peace, stability, economic growth, development and prosperity.

The intense state of relationships in multi-ethnic democracy scrutinized by Collier (2006,14) that transformational methodology and its techniques don't guarantee complete perspective of equalities, and that “even if the minority is in power, it dare not trust democracy because it does not trust the majority”. The political predicament on ethnicity and modernity, which engulfed the Tutsi-dominated governments in both Rwanda and Burundi respectively, changed the understanding of politics in the African Diasporas.

Global events, certainly more emphasis in this research is on African region's tendencies of poor governance and social implications results of intra-ethnic disputes. Internal tensions continue to demonstrate the complexities of dangerous and unpredictable world societies are exposed to.

A number of recent insurgencies display similarities of threats that emanate from within the sovereign confines of the country due to shabbiness of the system's body politics on nationalism and ethnocentrism theories.

In South Africa since 1994, the relative peace and stability during the transition from the minority white regime to a democratic majority, the issue of concern has been the race relationships between black and whites. The intricacies of the political upheaval as a result of ethnicity have never been considered potential security threat. Tribalism that correlates to ethnic inclinations may erode the hard earned body politics if lesson from other experiences are not comprehensible.

In the early 1990, at the dawn of new South African political development, tribal contradictions nearly put the country at the brink of protracted civil war. Morrison and Stevenson (1972, 82-84) categorised political hostilities in African states as the creation of tribalism, nepotism and personalisation of governance. Morrison et al, further define the concepts and theory of political instability as the situation in which established system dislodge from the centre. Once the system's political power, structure and functions are at stake as result of weaknesses in performing civil duties, the state of affairs becomes a dilemma of elitist in which cultural pluralism, nationalism and modernisation mismatch.

The failure by government not to recognise and accommodate ethnic differences as sources of peace and instabilities confirm the hypothesis as it shows major correspondences and few exceptions.

The ruling party continue trapped in ideological school of thought that embraces conventional civil and political rights as fundamental part of modern transformational formula, the ‘one man one vote and simple majority rule principle’ in constitutional democracies. Lane (2011, 127) contests the perspective’s “unquestionable relevance today”.

The government has a major responsibility of initiating investment in the economic and social infrastructure, human resources development, co-operation and enhance improvement capacity that synergise the resources in the three spheres of government in a coordinated manner.

5.4 Conclusion

The new paradigm shift's objective is to develop and create a new pattern of growth that would end poverty and underdevelopment, deepening democratic values and enhance the capacities of governance in defining the new relationship ethos of building partnerships between the state and all segments of the civil society.

The political environment presents an opportune moment, which the leadership should review along a model that embraces homogeneity in African politics. The underlying political motive is to take full account of increasing security threats and circumvent the consequences effectively. The negative socio-economic impact associated with demand for better service delivery in South Africa and the land grabs in Zimbabwe are likely to perpetuate the conflicts even further. Ethnocentric conflicts relate explicitly to the need to innovate and bring about modern approaches towards human security.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The research interactions process with a sample representing about a million people debating the fundamental human rights issues brought in a wide variety of aspects from social, political, economic and environmental aspects that illustrate a new paradigm shift from conservative approaches to modern political theories amongst South African communities.

The in-depth thinking and measured augments by ordinary people around the broad issues affecting communities under distress generated an interesting dimension in South African social development which demonstrated constitutional omission in the historic political discourse of the country. The failure to guarantee substantially the minority group's human rights protection in the constitution. The controversy that brought turmoil in many countries.

The essence of human security threats should remain critical and significance in people's mind-set concurrent to rapidly changing environment, technology and international affairs. The endorsement for new political thinking about change is imperative, to do things differently directed towards removal of threats of human challenges.

6.2 Conclusions

African communities need to make passionate desire for drastic political, social and economic change. The unemployment, grinding poverty and poor standard of living necessitate the cross-functional integration to deliver better national services. Central to this are measures of delivering on the UNDP and AU's peace and security agenda.

The concept of 'substantial equality' is a fundamental principle that entails a dramatic change in the national system, premised on obligations that every country, its society should protect vulnerable communities who continue to be marginalised and suffer the consequences of pseudo-politicking referred by Hutchinson and Smith (1996,65) as "related to common paternal lineage shared by all that places transcendental responsibilities on each actor".

The rights of minorities must be respected at all spheres of government. This is Constitutional prerogative and all national policies should strive for "substantive equality" as emphasised by Ditshwanelo (2005). Africans have to learn from major human atrocities that made fundamental changes in international relations. History conveys that it took almost thirty years for European to reach conclusively a sustainable solution for peace and stability, from Yalta, Potsdam and finally Helsinki. As describe by Nekrasov (1984,58) that "It should be said that the amount of effort put in at the Helsinki correspond to the magnitude and significance of the task: to find the common denominator of the vital interests of all European Countries....".

Nekrasov further indicated that “the meeting known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ended on the 1st August 1975 with signing of Final Act at the Finlandia Palace”. Africa can make it if concerted efforts are put on the conceptualised model from Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) to New Economic Plan for Africa’s Development (NEPAD).

The South African political system is highly constitutionally driven. The constitution is highest and embeds the underlying assumptions by the country’s modernity outlooks. However, it has to be honoured and its fundamental power is obligatory on people and administration similarly. It has to generate similar obligatory measures to bring about a indicative resolve considered as the critical sphere of transformation processes, the rule of law and respects for human rights in particular within the objects as denoted by Articles 1 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICVPR).

6.3 Recommendations

Based on this research report’s findings, the researcher recommend that further studies be conducted in and around the municipalities to verify correlations between causes and effects of ethnocentric conflicts in heterogeneous societies which influences system of governance and modernization impacting adversely on power relationships politically, socially and economically.

REFERENCE

Adedeji, A. (Prof.) From Lagos to NEPAD: Key Address at the African Scholars' Forum on Emerging Initiatives Towards a New Vision for Africa. Nairobi April 26-29, 2002. *New Agenda - South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*. Issue 8, Fourth Quarter 2002

Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J. A. (2012) *Why Nations Fail. The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. London. Profile Books Ltd

Biko, S. (2009) *I Write What I Like*. Johannesburg. Picador Africa

Biswas, N. R. (2011) Is the Environment a Security Threat? *Environment Security beyond Securitization*. *International Affairs Review*. Vol. XX. No. 1: Winter 2011

Borodulina, T. (1976) *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Lenin. On Historical Materialism. A Collection*. Moscow. Progress Publishers

Brown, M. E., Cote. Jr, O. R., Lynn-Jones, S. M. and Miller, S. E. (2001) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. An International Security Reader*. Revised Edition. UK. The Mit Press

Chambers, I. and Curti, L. (1996) *The Post – Colonial Question, Common Skies, Divided Horizons*. USA and Canada. Routledge

Cohen, J., Cornforth, M., Hobshawn, E. J., Jacobs, N., Milligan, M., and Wangermann, E. (1980) *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Collected Works*. Volume 16 Marx and Engels 1858 – 1860. Moscow. Progress Publishers

Collier, P (2006) *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications* got Policy. England. Oxford University

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. Pretoria. Government Printer

Dalton, R. (2002) *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies. (Third Edition).* California. Chatham House Publishers

Ditshwanelo (2005). The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, “human rights, not human wrongs”. *Ethnic Minorities and Indigenous Peoples.* Ditshwanelo’s Statement at the 34th Ordinary Session of the African Commission Human and Peoples’ Rights – 28 April 2005

Faure, M. and Lane, J. (1996) *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions.* London. SAGE Publications Ltd

Fearon, J. D. and Laitin, D. D. (1996) *Explaining Interethnic Cooperation.* The American Political Science Review, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Dec., 1996)

Gibson, J. L and Gouws, A. (2003) *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa.* UK. Cambridge University Press

Gruzd, S. (2010) *Grappling with Governance. Perspectives on the African Peer Review Mechanism.* Johannesburg. Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd

Handy, C. (1999) *Understanding Organizations. The Fourth Edition.* England. Penguin Books

Hansen, E. (1987) *Africa Perspectives on Peace and Development. Conflict in the Horn of Africa* by Chege, M. London. Zed Books Ltd

Hutchinson, J., Smith, A.D. (1996) *Ethnicity*. USA. Oxford University Press

Jeffery, A. (2010) *Chasing the Rainbow. South Africa's Move from Mandela to Zuma*. Johannesburg. South African Institute of Race Relations

Jonsson, J. (2007) *The Overwhelming Minority: Traditional Leadership and Ethnic Conflict in Ghana's Northern Region*. CRISE: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.

Jourek, O. (2005). *Ethno-Political Conflicts in Post-Communist Societies: Prospects for Resolution and Prevention in the Context of International Law*

Keating, M. and Loughlin, J. (2003) *Culture, Institutions and Economic Development. Study of Eight European Regions*. UK. Edward Edgar Publishing, Inc.

Khadigala, G. *Geopolitics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. *The Journal of African Policy Studies* Vol. 7 No. 1, 2001

Makgetlaneng, S. (2003) *Continental Political Governance and Regional Integration. From the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Partnership for Africa's Development*. Africa Institute Research Papers No. 66. Pretoria. MC Printers

Mbeki, M., (2011) *Advocates for Change. How to Overcome Africa's Challenges*. Johannesburg. RSA. Picador Africa

Moiseyev, M. (1989) *The Soviet Military Doctrine: Orientation Towards*

Defense. Moscow. Novesti Press Agency Publishing House

Morrison, D. G and Stevenson H. M (1972) Cultural Pluralism, Modernisation, and Conflicts: An Empirical Analysis of Sources of Political Instability in African Nations. Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 1972)

Nekrasov, V. (1984) The Roots of European Security: 40 Years after the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences (1945). Moscow. Noveti Press Agency Publishing House

Nguluma, A. T. (1980) Unequal Treaties (with Special Reference to the African Experience in Unequal Exchange and Cession of Land). Utafiti, Vol.5, No. 2 Dec 1980

Nikilov, P. and Semcesen, D. (2008) Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict. A Comparative Case Analysis of Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict in Thailand and Malaysia. Lund University

Nonaka, I. and Takeuche (1995) The Knowledge Creating Company. How Japanese Companies Create the Dynamics of Innovation. New York. Oxford University Press

Neuman, W. L. (2011) Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Seventh Edition. USA. Pearson

Purnell, M. (1994) Long Walk to Freedom. The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela. RSA. Macdonald Purnell (Pty) Ltd

Richmond, O. P. (2006) *The Problem of Peace: Understanding the Liberal Peace*. International Policy Institute

Rudolph, J. (2006). *Politics and Ethnicity. A Comparative Study*. USA, Palgrave Macmillan

Thomas, A., Bendixen, M. (2000). *The Management Implications of Ethnicity in South Africa*. *Journal of International Business Studies*

Sambanis, N. (2001). *Do Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)*. Washington, DC. World Bank

Sandbrook, R. (1972) *Patrons, Clients, and Factions: New Dimensions of Conflict Analysis in Africa*. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar. , 1972), pp. 104-119

Sangay (Dr.), L. (2013) *The Statement of Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay on the 54th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day*. [Www.tibet, net](http://www.tibet.net)

Saunders, M., Lewis P. and Thornhill, A. (2000) *Research Methods for Business Students*. Second Edition. England. Financial Times Prentice Hall

Solleors, W. (1996) *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. Great Britain. MacMillian Press Ltd

Southall, R. and Melber, H. (2010). *A New Scramble for Africa? Imperialism, Investment and Development*. Pietermaritzburg. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

Viljoen, F. (2011) Human Rights in Africa: Normative, Institutional and Functional Complementary and Distinctiveness. South African Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 18, No. 2, August 2011, 191 – 216

Wesson, R. (1985) Modern Government: Democracy and Authoritarianism. USA. Prentice-Hall, Inc.,

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Crime and Development in Africa. June 2006. Research Section of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

[Www.lhr.org.za](http://www.lhr.org.za)

ANNEXURE A

COVERING LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam

I, the undersigned hereby intent to do a Research Project in the fulfillment of academic requirements for Masters of Management Degree in Security Studies at Graduate School of Management and Development, University of Witwatersrand. The research is designed to probe about Inter and Intra-Ethnic Conflicts in the Sekhukhune District Municipality. . Ethnic Conflicts are a source of social and economic instabilities globally and have had a devastating effect in the African politics, which start from minor issues of misunderstanding and misconceptions into catastrophic situations.

The research will be conducted through electronic medium and administered interviews on fixed thirty days (30) period of November 2012, i.e. (1st /11/12 to 30th /11/12). All information captured is confidential and will be used for research purposes only. The Graduate School of Management and Development, the Supervisor and the Student will never disclose interviewee's personal information to any third party. The information is purely for academic and scholarly purposes.

The randomly selected electronic interviewees kindly complete the questionnaire and return the written texts through the following

E-mail which is private: phala.maholi@vodamail.co.za

The administered interviewees will be conducted privately on dates, venues and time as agreed with individual randomly selected on a sample of a group

of persons in the municipality.

Thank you very much and looking forward to engage usefully on the subject matter with you.

Sgd: P. Phala (Student Researcher) @ 082 390 2057 Date: 03/10/2012

Supervisor: Prof. Gilbert Khadigala @ 011 717 4430

Data Collection □

Collection of Data on a Sample of 110 out of 155 people willing to participate in the research about inter and intra-ethnic conflicts within the Sekhukhune District Municipality.

Electronic

20/30 Municipal Officials □ 60/80 Civil Society (full time occupations), comprises

- i. 10 Business
- ii. 10 Labour
- iii. 10 Political Organisations
- iv. 10 Sports and Culture
- v. 20 Intelligentsia (teachers, medical practitioners, legal fraternity, etc.)

Administered Interviews

10/15 Traditional leadership and members from various councilors

- i. 4 Chiefs
- ii. 6 Traditional Councilors

20/30 Religious and key members from communities

- i. 10 Church leaders from various denominations
- ii. 10 Key members of communities

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

NB: The information below is OPTIONAL; interviewees are requested to complete information to provide credibility and authenticity of the research results.

1. Personal Particulars	
2. Local Municipality	
3. Ethnicity	
4. Sex	
5. Age	
6. Occupation	
7. Political Affiliation	
8. Religious Domination	
9. Member of Civil Society Forum	
10. Any Information	

Kindly answer the questions by ticking the symbol **X** in a box corresponding to distinct view, believes and assumptions about the state of affairs in the district municipality. Interviewees may submit or provide more information (text, telephonic or verbal) deemed necessary to support his/her view pertaining to social frictions post-colonial; i.e. enter or intra personal relationships and tendencies that seems to strengthen or erode body politics within democratic and legislative structures.

1.5.1 How do minorities perceive their positions (roles, responsibilities and functions) in the SDM's geopolitical relationships?

How often

	Always	Occasionally	Don't Know	Rarely	Never
1.5.1.1 do minorities characterize state organs democratic or totalitarian?					
1.5.1.2 do municipality reacts to disputes between communities who regard themselves having distinct ethnic heritages?					
1.5.1.3 do conflicts erupt over rights to land, education, municipal services, use of language, political representations, etc.?					
1.5.1.4 do municipality respond to claims about unequal access to resources, economic benefit and political power by different ethnic or pressure groups?					
1.5.1.5 do communities debate the underlying causes of ethnocentric attitude as having much more complex effects than what is					

generally perceived?					
----------------------	--	--	--	--	--

1.5.2 How is intra-ethnic marginalization manifest in this region?

In which sector of society are intra-ethnic frictions noticeable and for what purpose? Is it political, economic, and or social control?

	Always	Occasionally	Don't Know	Rarely
1.5.2.1 municipality organs of state?				
1.5.2.2 public private facilities?				
1.5.2.3 civic and community social structures?				
1.5.2.4 youth and cultural structures?				
1.5.2.5 party political gathering?				

1.5.3 which public, private and or civic organisations strive to mitigate intra-ethnic constraints, enforces compliance to legislative requirements ad regulations and constitutional principles on human rights domain?

Which structures act with authority to bring about stability, cohesion, and a sense of collective responsibility amongst the communities?

	Always	Occasionally	Don't Know	Rarely
1.5.3.1 local government?				
1.5.3.2 South African Police Services, judicial system?				
1.5.3.3 Local traditional leadership and its commissions?				
1.5.3.4 political, social, cultural, religious or civil society?				
1.5.3.5 formal and informal social public community forums, societies, stokvels, etc.?				

1.5.4 What are the appropriate institutions, public institutions geared to deal with marginalized groups' sterilities, exclusions and frustrations?

Are there institutions institutes, system and or parties greatly contribute to resolve intra-ethnic tensions?

	Always	Occasionally	Don't Know	Rarely
1.5.4.1 does municipality as mandated by law take charge to stabiles volatile situations within reasonable timeframes?				
1.5.4.2 d organs with institutional authority manage change of attitude to unify communities post conflict situations?				
1.5.4.3 does leadership promote sense of collective identification and common purpose amongst the communities?				

1.5.4.4 do party political ideologies encourage egalitarian policy approaches, interdependency as key elements of endogenous and sustainable development?				
1.5.4.5 does political, business, labour and civil society groups engage in plans for creativity and human development, reduction of inequalities and levels of poverty which are considered root causes of social frictions and insecurities?				

The objective of the questionnaire is to find out a view and or views about the politics and instruments of play by the elite group that dominates by virtue of its socio-economic position from the intra and inter ethnic's perspectives. The forms of conventional political actions that generate social insecurities, uncertainties and economic ineptness, its nature and scope involving personal interests, preferences, and tendencies to apply pressure for compliance. The character, complex hierarchical structures and patterns linking high pressure network that insists to control and regulate all institutions belonging or subject to influence government system.

ANNEXURE B

MULTILATERAL

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. ADPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON 19TH DECEMBER 1966

Article 1.1

All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 27

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of the group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

ANNEXURE C

Sekhukhune District Municipality

District Municipality

Country	South Africa
Province	Limpopo
Seat	Groblersdal
Local Municipalities	-Ephraim Mogale -Elias Motswaledi -Makhuduthamaga -Fetakgomo -Greater Tubatse
Government	
Type	Municipal Council
Mayor	Executive Major
Area	
Total	13, 528km ² (5,223 sq mi)
Population (2011)	
Total	1,076,840
Density	79,6km ² (206/sq mi)
Households	263,802
Racial Makeup (2011)	
Black African	98,6%
Coloured	0,1%
Indian/Asian	0.2%

White	1,0%
First Language (2011)	
Northern Sotho	81,8%
Southern Ndebele	4,4%
Zulu	3,3%
Tsonga	2,0%
Other	8,5%
Time Zone	SAST (UTC+2)
Municipal Code	DC47

DEMOGRAPHICS

The following statistics are from the 2001 census

LANGAUGE	POPULATION	PERECNTAGE
Northern Sotho	806 209	83,36
Ndebele	42 450	4.39%
Zulu	26 758	2.77%
Swati	22 028	2.28%
Tswana	22 003	2.28%
Tsonga	19 373	2.00%
Sotho	12 815	1.33%
Afrikaans	7 956	0.82%
Xhosa	2 191	0.23%
English	2 165	0.22%
Venda	1 665	0.17
Other	1 568	0.16%
GENDER		
Female	536 715	55.50%
Male	430 411	44.50%
ETHNIC GRUOP		
Black African	958 578	99,12%
White	7358	0.76%
Coloured	715	0.05%
Indian/Asian	475	0.005%
AGE		
Age	POpulation	Percentage

000 – 004	116 031	12%
005 – 009	137 472	14.21%
010 – 014	144 079	14.90%
015 – 019	134 067	13.86%
020 – 024	84 482	8.74%
025 – 029	58 621	6.06%
030 – 034	46 464	4.80%
035 – 039	44 473	4.60%
040 – 044	36 946	3.825%
045 – 049	33 255	3.44%
050 – 054	28 931	2.99%
055 – 059	21 971	2.27%
060 – 064	21 959	2.27%
065 – 069	17 382	1.80%
070 – 074	17 411	1.80%
075 – 079	9 079	0.94%
080 – 084	8 508	0.88%
085 – 089	3 181	0.33%
090 – 094	1 728	0.18%
095 - 099	712	0.07%
100 +	374	0.04%

POLITICS

Election Results

Election results for Sekhukhune in the South African general election, 2004.

1. Population 18 and over: 484 867 (50.13% of the total population)
2. Total votes: 318 986 (32.98% of the total population)
3. Voting % estimate: 65.79 votes as a % of population 18 and over.

PARTY	VOTES	%
African National Congress	294 824	92.24%
Democratic Alliance	6 701	2.10%
United Democratic Movement	4 855	1.525
Pan African Congress	3 650	1.14%
African Christian Democratic Party	2 022	0.63%
Freedom Front Plus	949	0.30%
New National Party	833	0.26%
Inkhata Freedom Party	521	0.16%
Independent Democrats	320	0.10%
Unite Christian Democratic Party	295	0.10%
EMSA	261	0.08%
NA	252	0.08%
SOPA	250	0.08%
PJC	223	0.07%
CDP	174	0.05%

UF	166	0.05%
TOP	152	0.05%
KISS	193	0.03%
NLP	85	0.03
Minority Front	71	0.02%
Total	318 986	100.0%

ANNEXUDURE D

The source of enter and intra-ethnic conflicts

Colonial Ara			
Enter and Intra-Ethnic Perspectives	Causes	Effects	Correlation of Causes and Effects
Actors	a. State institutions, b. Traditional leadership, c. Religion d. Private business	a. Policies of social and economic exclusion, b. Parochial interactions c. Lack of free political space	Polarise ethnic approaches in power relations
Geo-physical elements	Culture, language and religion	Embedded ethnic affiliation and interaction limited along inferior social relations	Primitive social dogma and despotic practices

Post Colonial Dispensation			
Actors	a. State institutions, b. Traditional leadership, c. Religion d. Private business	New socio-economic approaches directed on achieving fundamental human values	Emerging economies of scale driving a new society.
Geo-physical elements	Culture, language and religion	People are free to practice own culture and religion	Comprehension of fundamental human rights as protected by the constitution

ANNEXURE E

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS SCORING MATRIX

The analysis of data collected on assessment of municipality performances in respect to research questions. Each question is evaluated on a scale between zero to ten on four performance domains, and compute last digit of the rating scales to determine the average score.

PS Domain: Pessimisms situation, display-underlying values of loss of trust, confidence and ability by municipality to deal with inter and intra-ethnic conflicts.

MS Domain: Municipality's performance less good than expected on issues of ethnic disparities.

GS Domain: Municipality's performance is on par with constitutional provisions, doing everything in the book and within its limits to resolve root causes of intra-ethnic conflicts. □

ES Domain: Optimisms situation, positive underlying values of commitment to Constitutional imperatives about ethnic minority rights, people's aspirations based on equality and mutual co-operation; and genuine autonomy within the policy framework of the Constitution.

Measure of Domain Performance	Rate
Poor Services (PS)	0 - 2
Medium Services (MS)	3 - 5
Good Services (GS)	6 - 8
Excellent Services (ES)	9 - 10

ANNEXURE E.1

The indicators on data assessment about the municipality performance on Research Question One: How do minorities perceive their positions (roles, responsibilities and functions) in the GSDM's geo-political relationships?

S/N	Indicator	Rate
1.5.1.1	do minorities characterize state organs democratic or totalitarian?	0 - 2
1.5.1.2	do municipality reacts to disputes between communities who regard themselves having distinct ethnic heritages?	0 - 2
1.5.1.3	do conflicts erupt over rights to land, education, municipal services, use of language, political representations, etc.?	3 - 5
1.5.1.4	do municipality respond to claims about unequal access to resources, economic benefit and political power by different ethnic or pressure groups?	0 - 2
1.5.1.5	do communities debate the underlying causes of ethnocentric attitude as having much more complex effects than what is generally perceived?	0 - 2
	Average Performance Overview	0 - 2

ANNEXURE E.2

The indicators on data assessment about the municipality performance on
 Research Question Two: How is intra-ethnic marginalization manifest in the
 region?

S/N	Indicator	Rate
1.5.2.1	municipality organs of state?	3 - 5
1.5.2.2	public private facilities?	3 - 5
1.5.2.3	civic and community social structures?	3 - 5
1.5.2.4	youth and cultural structures?	6 - 8
1.5.2.5	party political gathering?	6 - 8
	Average Performance Overview	6 -8

ANNEXURE E.3

The indicators on data assessment about the municipality performance on Research Question Three: which public, private and or civic organisations strive to mitigate intra-ethnic constraints, enforces compliance to legislative requirements ad regulations and constitutional principles on human rights domain?

S/N	Indicator	Rate
1.5.3.1	local government?	0 - 2
1.5.3.2	South African Police Services, judicial system?	6 - 8
1.5.3.3	Local traditional leadership and its commissions?	3 - 5
1..5.3.4	political, social, cultural, religious or civil society?	0 - 2
1.5.3.5	formal and informal social public community forums, societies, stokvels, etc.?	6 - 8
	Average Performance Overview	3 - 5

ANNEXURE E.4

The indicators on data assessment about the municipality performance on

Research Question Four: What are the appropriate institutions, public institution geared to deal with marginalized groups' sterilities, exclusions and frustrations?

S/N	Indicator	Rate
1.5.4.1	does municipality as mandated by law take charge to stabiles volatile situations within reasonable timeframes?	0 - 2
1.5.4.2	do organs with institutional authority manage change of attitude to unify communities post conflict situations?	3 - 5
1.5.4.3	does leadership promote sense of collective identification and common purpose amongst the communities?	3 - 5
1.5.4.4	do party political ideologies encourage egalitarian policy approaches, interdependency as key elements of endogenous and sustainable development?	3 - 5
1.5.4.5	does political, business, labour and civil society groups engage in plans fro creativity and human development, reduction of inequalities and levels of poverty which are considered root causes of social frictions and insecurities?	0 - 2
	Average Performance Overview	3 - 5