

**TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Adom.

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My profound gratitude goes to Professor Rahim for his priceless support and guidance. Without his guidance and critique, this study would not have been a success. I also want to thank my senior brother, Richard Adom for enrolling me for this program and also standing by me throughout the difficult days of my studies. Brother, you are one out of a thousand.

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Above all, I want to thank the Almighty God for taking me through this study.

ABSTRACT

Traditional leadership was the cornerstone of sociopolitical development in pre-colonial South Africa. However, with the arrival of the colonialists in Africa, this important institution became corrupt. The colonial administrators destabilized what traditional administration stood for and made use of native leaders as tools of colonial administration. In post 1994 however, leaders of South Africa have gone all out to revive traditional leadership in South Africa. It is based on the foregoing discussion that this study seeks to investigate traditional authorities and social development in South Africa. The focus is to interrogate whether the ANC-led government's decisions to resuscitate native institutions in South Africa can help promote development.

In 1993, the ANC-led government of South Africa passed two legislation- The Tradition Leadership and Governance Framework Act in order to facilitate the revival of native administration in South Africa. Scholarly debates have characterized the passing of these legislations resulting in the establishment of two schools of thought, which this study calls pro-chieftaincy and anti-chieftaincy. This study therefore examines and also critiques these two theories by establishing the scholarly flaws in them. Alternatively however, this thesis argues that both native leadership and modernity are embedded with elements, which can be employed for sociopolitical advancement of South Africa. To succeed in the integration process, the study calls for an integrated model that will be characterized by tradition and modernity.

DECLARATION

I, Alex Yaw Adom hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work. It was submitted at the University of Fort Hare.

Signature..........

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CHAPTER ONE

The problem and its setting

Introduction

Native leadership and other native oriented institutions were responsible for administering Africa in the pre-colonial era. In centralized societies like the Zulu and Venda kingdoms, chiefs emerged by virtue of “genealogical link to the founding ancestor” (Ayittey, 1991:43). However, in acephalous societies, native leadership was based on fame and titles (Bathily, 2000). Chiefs were revered in the pre-colonial communities because of their roles and responsibilities. Chiefs were people-centered and therefore made sure that both the physical as well as the spiritual needs of members of the subject population are met. It was also incumbent upon traditional leaders to initiate and sustain development in the community by stimulating socio-economic growth and technological innovation. Among the Zulus of South Africa for instance, a traditional leader was considered the breast of the state; therefore, the traditional leader had to provide for the society especially for the needy and also protect the weak in the community. Failure to function in this capacity made the chief very unpopular and often, the chief was deserted or removed from office for a more active and influential leader.

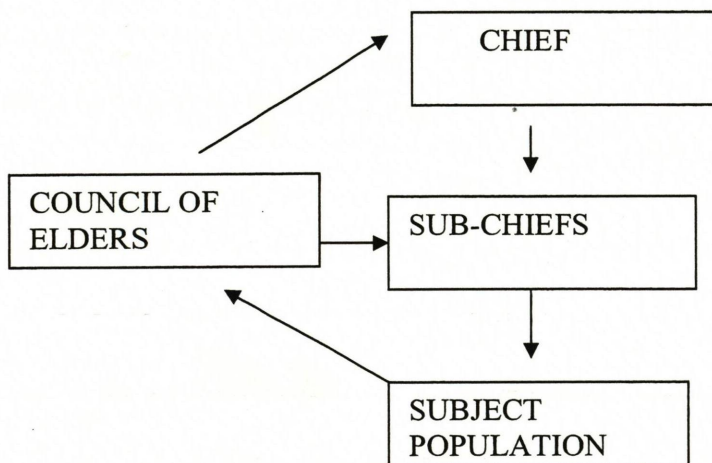
The expectations from the subject population always kept natives leaders in check against administrative malpractices. Consequently, leadership roles in the African political system were often assumed by leaders who were directly involved in production. Hence, before colonialism, Africa, under native leadership became a strong partner in the Trans-Saharan Trade and technological innovations such as metalwork and bead making (Bathily, 2000:25).

The administration of the pre-colonial African states was made possible because traditional leaders received a lot of co-operation from both the subject population and the council of elders. Members of the council of elders were advisers to the chief and the chief could not take any decision without the concern of the council of elders.

In pre-colonial African societies, leaders presided over all the arms of government-the executive, judiciary and the legislature. The concentration of state administrative institutions in the office of the traditional leader pre-supposes that traditional leaders were despots and non democratic. However, it is important to note that administrative powers were conferred in the office of the chief but not on the chief as an individual, which means that the traditional leader had little room to abuse power conferred in his office by the subjects. Participatory democracy was well practiced in the African political system. Institution like the council of elders against abuse of office held the traditional leader in check. In addition, decision-making on matters concerning the state was also based on consensus where every member of the community was given the opportunity to freely

contribute to public debate. Diagram (A) below gives a description of the structure of the Africa political administration:

Diagram A: The structure of the Africa Political Administration



Inferring from diagram (A) above, it is established that in the Africa political administration, the chief occupies the helm of administration; followed by sub-chiefs. Sub-chiefs are responsible for administering the 'satellite' states. The 'subject' population comes after the sub-chiefs and the chief chooses membership of the council of elders from the 'subject' population. The council of elders as indicated earlier helps both the chief and the sub-chiefs in administering the African state.

The introduction of colonial rule in Africa transformed the traditional African states and their institutions. South Africa which is the main focus of this debate was the worst state affected by colonialization. Chiefs were roped into civil service. Therefore, chiefs, like any civil servant in the colonial state, remained in office as long as long as the colonial administrators were satisfied with work of a native leader. As a result, chiefs could be appointed, transferred or dismissed at the discretion of the colonial administrator (Mamdani, 1996: 53). The new status assigned to traditional leaders made them corrupt, abusive and unaccountable since it was incumbent upon the chief to ‘demand respect’ from the subjects to be able to function as a leader. The uncontrolled nature of chiefs in the colonial era is reiterated as follows:

The chief is the law, subject to only one higher authority, the white official stationed in his state as advisor. The chief hires his own police... he is often the prosecutor and the judge combined and he employs the jailer to hold his victims in custody at his pleasure. No oriental despot ever had greater power than these black tyrants, thanks to the support which they received from the white officials who quietly keep in the background (Padmore, cited in Mamdani, 1996: 53).

During the liberation struggles and the post-colonial era, politicians and intellectuals discredited chieftaincy institution claiming the institution is anti-development, primitive and resistant to change. To these critics, chiefs and chieftaincy institutions would ‘die naturally’ in Africa and be replaced by “modern” bureaucratic structures, which are development oriented (Warnier, 1993: 318; Harmeit-Sievers, 1998: 57; Mappa, 1998). The critics of native leadership again contend that the appropriation of chiefs as agents of rule by colonial and postcolonial states undermines the ability of traditional institutions to mobilize for sociopolitical change in Africa. Some scholars also call for the abolishing of

chiefs who stood for tribalism and social segregation and further suggest the establishment of a common political and legal regime that guarantees equal citizenship for all. According to these critics of chieftaincy, colonialism divided South African into two groups of people 'citizens' and 'subjects'. The laws of the state governed "citizens" while the "subjects" fell under the jurisdiction of the traditional authorities (Mamdani, 1996:19) therefore to build a unified state in post independent South Africa, institutions like native leadership which assisted the colonial administration to segregate the African society under the colonial era must be abolished.

In the mist of the debate surrounding native institutions in Africa, scholars like Fisiy and Goheen (1998) have become relentless in their call for the resuscitation of chieftaincy institutions in Africa. According to these advocators of native leadership, Africa has reached a stage where the multiple problems facing the continent can only be solved when the glory that characterized traditional leadership in pre-colonial Africa is reinstated (Fisiy1995, Goheen, 1992; Fisiy and Goheen, 1998).

In South Africa, although the credibility of chiefs to the subject population has been interrogated, "retraditionalisation" is taking deeper roots and many chiefs are taking up roles in contemporary South African politics instead of being pushed "into the position of impoverished relics of a glorious past" (Oomen, 1999; Warnier, 1993:318). The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, since independence, has come to acknowledge the institution of traditional authorities. Chiefs removed from office by the apartheid regime have been reinstated and new chiefdoms and traditional councils have also been established to sustain this institution in South Africa.

The ANC –led government has again passed two Bills through parliament in 1993 to augment relationship with traditional institutions in South Africa –the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework ACT and the Communal Land Rights Bill-which make concessions to traditional authorities, reviving the powers they had enjoyed in pre-colonial days. The Framework Act accepts tribal authorities as foundation for establishing traditional councils, while the Communal Land Rights Bill recognizes these traditional councils as having the authority to administer and allocate land in the rural areas (South Africa Government Gazette, 2003). The above give rise to a number of questions: (1) is liberal democracy as enshrined in the South Africa constitution compatible with chieftaincy institutions? (2) If it does, what is the role of chiefs in the development of South Africa? (3) Or do chiefs have a role in social transformation in South Africa?

The statement of the problem

The institution of chieftaincy has been one of the political issues confronting post-apartheid South Africa. Critics of native leadership argue that chieftaincy is anti-development and therefore cannot co-exist with people centered development in South Africa (Ntsebeza, 2002). These critics are of the view that the African political system is characterized by nepotism, which makes it inadequate for chiefs to have a place in the development of post independent South Africa. Mamdani (1996), who is one of the critics of native administration, argues that native leaders always surround themselves with members of the royal lineage and close friends who make it difficult for an all-

inclusive government to operate in the native Africa political administration. Mamdani (1996) refers to this concentration of authority in traditional leaders as “clenched fist” (Mamdani, 1996: 54), which he indicates as inappropriate for social transformation.

To others, the appropriation of chiefs as agents of rule by colonial and post-colonial states undermines their ability to mobilize for sociopolitical change. Bank and Southall, who are by far the foremost proponents of this scholarship argue that chiefs under the colonial and the apartheid regime were anti-development, self-centered, unaccountable and corrupt when they administered the former Bantustans and should therefore be excluded from the development of modern Africa (Bank and Southall, 1996). Mamdani, another critic of native authority in South Africa also calls for a common political and legal regime that guarantees equal citizenship for all and for the abolishing of the bifurcation of “subjects” and “citizens” within the state (Mamdani, 1996).

However, in post-colonial South Africa, affiliation to traditional institutions in the rank and file of the citizens of South Africa has reached an inclination. A significant number of Africans are now joining forces with chieftaincy institutions to promote development in their various communities. This is as a result of the fact that Africans have come to realize that modern government is out of their reach and therefore reckon chiefs as intermediary between the government and service delivery especially at the local level (Ray, 1996). According to those claiming affiliation to native leadership, the marginalization of chiefs in the African society will create a vacuum in social advancement. Some scholars also claim the institution of chieftaincy is people-centered and also epitomizes ‘Africaness’ and should not be marginalized in the development of

Africa (Ayittey, 1992:110-114). It is in acknowledgement of the aforesaid that the government of post-apartheid South Africa has passed several bills through parliament to promote chieftaincy institutions. These bills recognize traditional communities as well as establish traditional councils. The resurgence of resuscitating native administration has necessitated this discourse to question the role of traditional authorities in the social development of South Africa.

Objectives of the study

Considering the current debate surrounding the chieftaincy institution in South Africa, the aim of this study is to examine some of the key works and theoretical approaches that have informed current debate on chieftaincy and social development in South Africa. The focus of this work is to: (1) Highlight the previous weaknesses in the on-going debate surrounding chieftaincy in South Africa and also add a voice to the debate. In other words, the objective of this study is to propose an alternative model, which will facilitate the integration of chieftaincy institutions into the national development of South Africa.

(2) This study also aims at pointing out some of the scholastic gaps created by rigidity and prescriptiveness of modernist theories on traditional leadership and social development in South Africa and also suggests an alternative model that would help marry traditional institutions and modernity in South Africa.

The institution of native authority has gone through many challenges in both colonial and postcolonial states. However, there are certain elements within the institution of native authority that can be harness for social development in South Africa

(Ismail,1995). For example, the traditional rule is devoid of party politics. And decision-making in the African political system is also rooted in consensus, which is the best panacea for development in a multi-ethnic society like South Africa. According to Ismail, traditional authorities have democratic elements that can strengthen rather than weaken current efforts to build a democratic culture among the African people (Ismail, 1995:1-5).

(3) This study therefore emphasize that the good in chieftaincy institutions should be carefully integrated into the new democratic dispensation in South Africa. Indeed, the purpose of this study is to highlight the fact that chieftaincy is embedded with development; people centered and also democratic. Accordingly this study would provide a guideline that would help facilitate the integration of native authorities into the development of South Africa.

Research methods

Methodology is the techniques and procedures adopted in the process of gathering data, for interpretation and the explanation of research. It serves the purpose of explaining the process of scientific enquiry (Cohen, 1989:35).

Chieftaincy and social development in South Africa is a functional phenomenon and therefore has to be explained in the functionalists' perspective. Functionalism looks at the role played by each component of society for the continuous functioning of the entire society (Turner,2006). According to functionalists, human society is made up of interconnected parts and no part must be underestimated because overlooking a

component can result in the “dysfunction” of the entire society (Shepard 2002:20-21). In the same vein, native leadership is an important component in the functioning of the African society and therefore, in investigating the topic under discussion, different research methods were used to ascertain the role of native leadership in the development of South Africa. These research methods included content analysis, which involves “the study of recorded human communications. Among them for suitable study are books, magazines, news papers, web pages, poems, songs, laws as well as any component or collection thereof” (Babbie, 2007:320); as well as the combination of qualitative and the quantitative (triangulation) methods were used in collecting data for this study. Triangulation is used to describe the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodology. According to AS de Vos, the concept triangulation is “a conscious combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology (AS de Vos, 1998:365). For the purpose of this study the above-mentioned methods have been employed because the topic under study is so “enmeshed” that a single approach couldn’t suffice in finding answers to the research question. “It would therefore, be futile to behave as though one approach should be fully accepted and another rejected” (Mouton and Marias, 1990:169-170). To avoid inadequacies, this study adopted the content analysis and the triangular approach so they could complement each other to promote a better understanding of the topic under discussion. However, detailed discussions of these various research methods used in this study will be made in chapter four of this research work.

Another important reason why the researcher made use of the combined approach is as a result of the limited number of questionnaires administered on the field. Language was a

major barrier to me on the research field. Apart from English language, which I can speak, I could not speak any South African native language and therefore the research questionnaires for this study had to be written and administered to the population who could communicate in English language and also well informed about the topic under studies. To reconcile this discrepancy, I decided to also make use of the content analysis to complement information secured from the research field.

Population

A population is made up of “all those people with the characteristics a researcher wants to study” (Shepard, 2002: 45). The study under discussion is traditional leadership and social development in South Africa and therefore the population from which data is collected for this study comprises traditional leaders as well as the subject population in South Africa.

Sampling

The study seeks to investigate traditional leadership and social development in South Africa. The sampling population is therefore made up of 50 respondents consisting 10 chiefs and 40 non-chiefs in the formal Transkei region of South Africa. The Transkei was used as field of study because the region is dominated by native institutions and also because people living in this part of South Africa still hold strong allegiance and affiliations to chiefs. Stratified random sampling based on gender, educational

qualifications whether a traditional leader or not was used to divide the population. Individuals are then randomly selected from the groups. This was done to get a true representation of the larger population. Content analysis also formed an integral part of data collection for this study. The content analysis served as complement to the limited number of the sampling population involved in this research. Documentary materials from archives and libraries in the Eastern Cape on native leadership were also used in collecting data for this study.

Validity and reliability of instrument used

Shepard (2002) defines validity as “when a measurement techniques actually measures what it is designed to measure” (Shepard, 2002:58). In other words, a valid statement gives a true description of what it claims to describe. Reliability on the other hand is a “measurement techniques that yield consistent results on repeated applications” (Shepard, 2002:58). This implies that whatever the instrument results from a study, must be the same when done by another person using the same method. To ensure validity and reliability, the questionnaire used in this study were structured to obtain reliable and valid information. To test the reliability and validity of the information gathered, the study makes use of documentary instruments like archival materials, books, journals and newspapers that deal with the subject matter under study.

Data analysis

Data analysis deals with the methods and techniques that were used in the analysis of data that were collected by describing the situation and the interpretation of the findings of the research. Data analysis helps to test hypothesis and also brings to the fore a better understanding of social phenomenon. In this study however, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in data analysis.

Delimitation of the study

This research has three issues that may limit its potential to accomplish what it intends to do. Firstly, the fact that the research was conducted on par-time basis limits the time spent on the field. It may therefore be possible that some insights from observing how people behave and interact with traditional authorities on the ground could be missed.

The language barrier may also serve as a constraint to the researcher because not all people that would be contacted would willingly co-operate in giving the needed information. Lastly, access to literature also pose a problem. The researcher always had to pay so much to town libraries in order to have access to information. However this study hopes the above mentioned hindrances will not have any negative effect on scholarship.

Organization of the paper

The dissertation is going to comprise five chapters.

Chapter I

This chapter gives the introductory part of the study where the background of the problem is spelt out.

Chapter II

The review of related literature

Chapter III

Inadequate service delivery

Chapter IV

The research methodology

Chapter V

Data analysis and presentation

Chapter VI

Conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of literature

Introduction

The institution of chieftaincy in post-colonial South Africa is an institution characterized by myriads of controversies. Mbeki (1964), Mamdani (1996) and Ntsebeza (2005) are of the view that native leadership has no place in the development of post 1994 South Africa. The main concerns of these groups of individuals are that native leadership is anti-modern, anti-development and undemocratic which makes it incompatible with the people-centered development prevailing in post independent Africa.

However, in recent years, the ANC-led government and scholars like Ismail (1999) and Oomen (2002) have come to appreciate native administration as an institution that can help salvage South Africa from the myriad of problems inherited from the colonial and apartheid regimes. In an effort to resuscitate traditional leadership in independent South Africa, the government of South Africa since 1994 has passed two crucial bills through parliament resuscitating the authority of chiefs in South Africa. This change in attitude has premise the current debate on chieftaincy and development in South Africa. As a

result, two opposing schools which this study calls anti-chieftaincy and chieftaincy schools have emerged.

I will begin by discussion the two schools of thoughts that surround native leadership in South Africa and also unveil the shortfalls that characterize these theories. By reviewing these two schools, a new model, which I call the syncristic model, will also be discussed to promote a better understanding of how to integrate modernity and tradition for social development in post-apartheid South Africa.

(i) The anti- chieftaincy school

The anti-chieftaincy school is made up of scholars and politicians who think native institutions have nothing to offer the development of post-independent Africa. They argue that chieftaincy is anti-development, anti-democracy and also characterized by personal aggrandizement and gender inequality, which contradict development. Therefore, according to this group of individuals, for Africa to develop, the abolishing of native leadership and native oriented institutions is inevitable.

New wine in an old wine skin

The proponents of the anti-chieftaincy school claim that the Africa political system is characterized by dogmatic philosophies that make it difficult for the continent to develop. Dogmatic practices like the promotion of patriarchy and succession by hereditary which violate the people-centered development prevailing in post-colonial administration

(Mamdani, 1996). According to the anti-chieftaincy proponents, for Africa to break away from the bondage of under development– the old wine skin must be relegated to the background for modernity- the new wine to be kept in a new wine skin. Alluding to the biblical quotation, since new wine would destroy an old wine skin, modernity, if allowed to accommodate elements of traditional institutions would hinder development in South Africa. In this era of globalization, it is unproductive for a society to get stuck with outmoded traditions like chieftaincy and refuse to accept the ‘universal standards’ dominating the global stage. Appiah (1992) in his contribution to this debate ridicules nativism by arguing “Railing against the culture hegemony of the west, the nativists are of its party without knowing it. Indeed, the very arguments, the rhetoric of defiance that our nationalists mustered are in a sense, canonical, time-tested” (Appiah, 1992:59).

Mbeki (1964), an opponent of native institution in Africa in his path-breaking book *The Peasant Revolt*, supports Appiah’s argument against nativism by arguing “if Africans have had chiefs, it was because all human have had them at one stage or another. But when a people have developed to a stage which discards chieftaincy...then to force it on them is not liberation but enslavement” (Mbeki, 1984:47). In line with Mbeki’s argument, most postcolonial African states ended up either marginalizing or abolished native oriented institutions. This was as a result of the fact that most Post- independent African leaders came to realize the backwardness and the anti-development characteristics that veiled traditional institutions and therefore replaced these native institutions with modern structures that will help them develop (Ayittey, 1991:80).

Some scholars are also of the view that chieftaincy has nothing to offer the development of South Africa. According to these scholars, the appropriation of chiefs as agents of rule by colonial and post-colonial states undermines the ability of traditional to mobilize for socio-political development. According to Bank and Southall (1996) chiefs under the colonial and apartheid era, were unaccountable, and corrupt especially, when they administered the former Bantustan. Mamdani(1996) indicates that the absence of democratic forms of accountability turned into a license for traditional leaders to freely augment the local treasury and supplement their own meager salaries through extortion from local residence” (Mamdani, 1996:58). As a result of the relationship that existed between chiefs and the colonial administrators as well as the frustrations that the subjects had to undergo because of the corrupt nature of traditional leaders, Bank and Southall argue that chieftaincy institutions were also some of the edifices of societal segregation and must therefore be excluded from the development of post-apartheid South Africa because of the hangover of their role in the colonial past (Bank and Southall, 1996:4).

Ntsebeza (2005) has also relentlessly questioned the motive behind the acknowledgement of hereditary institution like chieftaincy in the liberal democratic dispensation of post apartheid South Africa. According to him, these two institutions; that is, native institutions and development-centered democracy are like water and oil. Mixing them will lead to no avail. As a result, Ntsebeza (2005) argues that decision by the ANC-led government to resuscitate native institutions in South Africa be reconsidered. Ntsebeza explains that:

The recognition of the hereditary institution of traditional leadership in South African Constitution while at the same time enshrining liberal democratic

principles based on representative government in the same Constitution is a fundamental contradiction. The two cannot exist at the same time for the simple reason that traditional authorities' claim to power is by birthright and their subjects are not afforded the opportunity urban-based South Africans enjoy of choosing or electing their leaders (Ntsebeza, 2005:256).

Ray (1996) also states that, chieftaincy institutions form a parallel power to the people-centered development in African and therefore cannot co-exist with modernity. In a study on chief-state relation in Ghana, Ray notes that chiefs derive their claim to legitimacy from pre-colonial roots, while the modern state is a "creation of, and a successor to the imposed colonial state" (Ray, 1996:181). Ray further states that integrating natural rulers into the democratic dispensation would aggravate developmental problems plaguing Africa.

Freedom fighters in South Africa, especially those within the African National Congress (ANC) remain critical that chieftaincy lost its popular legitimacy in the liberation movement and must therefore be abolished with the apartheid regime (Mbeki, 1964). This antagonistic sentiment stems from the fact that even though ANC was founded with chiefs in 1912 as a movement to liberate the Africans from the brutal colonial administration and also promote the advancement of the black population in South Africa (Walshe, 1970:210). However, by 1932, chiefs within the movement parted ways with the ANC for their selfish interests, and ironically aligned with the colonial regime to undermine the development of communities inhabited by the black population and also exploit the black race in South Africa (Maloka, 1996:178-179).

Critics of native institutions in South Africa contend that chieftaincy is non-democratic and therefore cannot co-exist with the liberal democracy in South Africa. In the African political system, contrary to modern administration, a leader is born to rule the subject population for life. According to the anti-chieftaincy school therefore, the choosing of leaders in the African society is undemocratic and therefore such leadership must not be tolerated in the development of South Africa. A chief in the African society is assisted in governance by a council of elders, which according to the pro-chieftaincy school makes the institution democratic and less prone to abuse (Ayitteh, 1991). However, it has become obvious that the composition of this council is still far from democracy. The selection of membership of this council is veiled by nepotism to the extent that members of this council always come from the royal family or the king's favorite's allies. Mamdani (1996) reiterates that among the Swazi in the Ngoni society "The king ruled with the advice of an inner council (the liqoqo). Though the inner council is appointed by the king, the composition of this council was primarily drawn from the members of the royal clan, as well as from principal headmen and trusted commoners" (Mamdani, 1996:46). The absence of well established democratic governance in the African political administration makes it impossible for it to co-exist with the development of independent South Africa.

Ntsebeza (2004) in his *common citizenship approach* also argues that in a liberal democracy, citizens must be ruled by elected representatives and not by few appointed representatives or members of a hereditary institution or family who are not elected. Agrawal and Ribot (1999) further argue, "Democratic decentralization is said to occur

when powers and resources are transferred to authorities that are downwardly accountable to local population (Agrawal and Ribot, 1999:478). Ntsebeza as a result disagrees with the inclusion of these centralized despots in the development of South Africa and therefore calls for the total abolishing of native institutions in South Africa because the people-centered dispensation prevailing in Africa has no room to accommodate this non-democratic and hereditary institutions (Ntsebeza, 2004:33).

Scholars like Evans and Hendricks also argue that traditional rulers (chiefs) were imposed on colonial Africans and were an extended arm of the central government and therefore the institution has no legacy that merits its involvement in the development of South Africa (Evans and Hendricks, 1997:260).

The widening gyre

The colonial and the apartheid administration that ruled South Africa for more than hundred years entrenched a non-reconcilable racial barrier in South Africa. The bifurcated administration resulted in the creation of what Mamdani (1996) calls “citizens” and “subjects.” The settlers or the white population were known as citizens while the native population became known as subjects. The citizens were governed by civil institutions. The subject population on the other hand was very deprived and subject to traditional institutions. Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2007) indicates that:

White settlers typically monopolized the political system as their private reserve and the socio-economic order as the vehicle for their exclusive property. At a practical level, this included primitive accumulation of wealthy tactics such as expropriation of the richest land, forcible displacement of natives from their original lands, wholesale claiming of prime natural resources like minerals, introduction of open social segregation as well as enactment of exploitative

practices to exploit native labour. The native-settler divide was concretely created through the process of demarcation of land into reserves and homelands as abodes of natives and towns as natural abodes of the white settlers where native entry was very restricted and closely monitored to ensure that those natives who entered did so for purposes of providing cheap labor (Ndlovu- Gatsheni,2007:34-35).

Mamdani (2001) has furthered his argument by giving a perfect description of the impact of the colonial bifurcated as follows:

1. How colonialists governed Africa forms the background of post-colonial citizenship problems in Africa involving former settlers, former natives and different ethnicities.
2. Colonialism bi-furcated colonial population into citizens, subjects and numerous rigidified ethnic groups.
3. Colonial denial of citizenship to Africans (black subjects) set the stage for African nationalism to be a struggle for citizenship rights.
4. Colonialism was marked by deeply ingrained and deliberately promoted racism where race became a pre-condition for citizenship.
5. Colonialism is the mother of citizenship problems in Africa
6. Colonialism ossified African ethnic identities and coded them in legal terms, affixing rigid boundaries (Mamdani, 2001 cited in Ndlovu- Gatsheni, 2007:34-35).

The segregation that characterized the colonial administration has left negative consequences on the post-colonial landscape of South Africa especially with regard to the establishment of common citizenship for all South Africans. In an attempt to bridge this racial barrier, Thabo Mbeki, the former president of South Africa defined himself as follows:

I am an African and owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land... I owe my being to the

Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of beautiful Cape- they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives to defend our freedom and independence and they, as a people, perished in the result... I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsha and Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the soldiers Moshoeshe and Ngungunyane taught never to dishonour the cause of freedom. My mind and my knowledge of myself are formed by the victories that are the jewels in our African crown... I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines. I am born of a nation that would not tolerate oppression. I am born of a nation that would not allow that fear of death, torture, imprisonment, exile, or persecution should result in the persecution of injustice... I am born of the peoples of the continent of Africa. The pain of the violent conflict that the people of Liberia, Somalia, the Sudan, Burundi and Algeria experience is a pain I also bear. The dismal shame of poverty, suffering and human degradation of my continent is a blight that we share(Mbeki, 1996,cited in Ndlovu- Gatsheni,2007:37).

However, as a result of the legacy of the bifurcated administration and the indifferent attitude of post independent leadership, building a “rainbow” nation in South Africa seems unattainable. South Africans are quick to identify themselves with their various racial groups today (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007) because the post 1994 leaders is not doing any different from the bifurcated state to promote a united state. I would have wished that the government of South Africa for instance, promoted a ‘National Day’ rather than a ‘Heritage Day’ to shepherd a common national identity in South Africa.

The South African blacks, who are in the majority are relentless in “claiming their exclusive citizenship rights and entitlements as a majority constituency (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007:10). This claim to exclusive rights has only succeeded in widening the racial gap between the minority white population and the majority black population, which is not conducive in the development of an all-inclusive society.

This social canker of exclusive citizenship is cropping up because the post 1994 administration of South Africa has not done enough to “detrribalize” South Africa. The post 1994 South African government is instead, investing a lot of resources into the promotion of “nativism”. This is evident in macro-economic policies like affirmative action, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) as well as the enactment of bills like –the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework ACT and the Communal Land Rights Bill-which make concessions to traditional authorities, reviving the powers they had enjoyed in pre-colonial days. The Framework Act accepts tribal authorities as foundation for establishing traditional councils, while the Communal Land Rights Bill recognizes these traditional councils as having the authority to administer and allocate land in the rural areas (South Africa Government Gazette, 2003). To establish the ANC’s position in strengthening nativity in post- independent South Africa, the Native Club was set up in 2006 under the theme *Where are the Native? The Black Intelligentsia Today*. This club was also brought into existence to promote the black intellectual fraternity. The attempts by the ANC to refuel racism and in South Africa by promoting nativism are very dangerous to the development of a multiracial society like South Africa. According to Ntsebeza (2005), the promotion of ‘nativism’ turns to widen the racial gab.

Corrupt leadership

It is again pointed out by the antagonizing school that chieftaincy is corrupt by all standards. According to these scholars, contrary to liberal democracy where the state administering powers: executive, judicial and legislative are decentralized to promote

development; the African political administration on the other had centralizes all the arms of government in the office of the chief and that makes the native leadership susceptible to corruption and abuse. Mamdani (1996) calls this power concentration in the chiefs' office "clinchd fist". Under the colonial era, it became possible to centralize power in the office of the chief because traditional leaders "were made accountable to a new consensus, one that emphasized the state as the determiner of the consensus" (Mamdani, 1996:45). As a result, traditional leaders became so corrupt that the colonial administrators even struggled to contain behaviors put up by chiefs.

The apartheid government had to pass the Consolidation of Regulation: Financial Liabilities of Bantu Chiefs to regulate indiscriminate spending by traditional leaders. (Cited in The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Government Notice 1498/32).

It is against this corrupt nature of native leadership that the anti-chieftaincy school argues that with the introduction of people-centered development in South Africa, an institution like chieftaincy has to be abolished because it has the tendency of corrupting the post 1994 administration rather than promote development among the people of South Africa.

In his call for an all-inclusive administration in South Africa devoid of segregations, Mamdani (1996) argues that a consistent democratization requires the dismantling and reorganizing the local state (Mamdani, 1996:25). Maloka (1995) also supports Mamdani's argument in his article *Traditional Leaders and the Current Transition*, states that "chieftaincy in South Africa is an outmoded institution in dire need of replacement by democratic institutions" (Maloka, 1995).

The anti-chieftaincy scholars further argue that native institutions are infested by tribal affiliations, which is capable of destroying the development of South Africa. Under traditional leadership, it is not uncommon to find leaders and the subject population playing the tribe card. For example, a Zulu or a Xhosa will want to be identified with his tribe and culture more than as a South African (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). This tribal sentiments, if allow to permeate the development of South Africa has the ability of derailing the unity prevailing in post-independent South Africa.

Mamdani (1996), again argues that colonialism succeeded in categorizing the African as a “tribesperson” but this “carries the seeds of its own fragmentation and possible self-destruction”(Mamdani, 1996:22-24). In support of Mamdani’s assertion, the South African National Civics Organization (SANCO) argues that emphasizes on tradition and culture diversity underpinned apartheid’s ideology, which resulted in the creation of ten homelands in colonial South Africa. SANCO further states that tribe and culture heterogeneity as well as chieftdom was used to deprive Africans access to democracy and development As a result, the leadership of SANCO argues that since colonial past, traditional institutions have always succeeded in promoting division within the South African society. To avoid any future occurrences, which may jeopardize the development and the smooth administration of South Africa, native institutions must be abolished in South Africa (Bennett, 1997:7; Oomen, 2005:3).

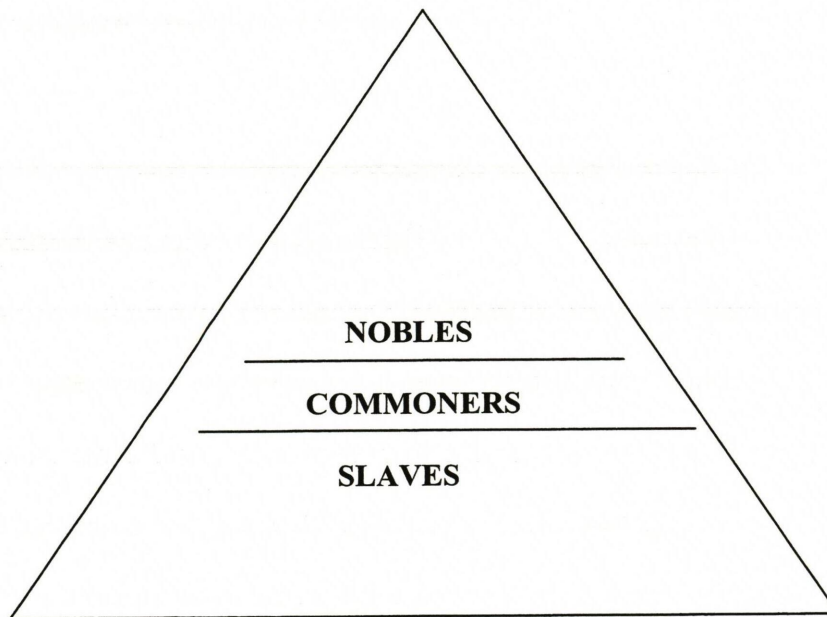
Skweyiya (1993) also argues “chiefs and tribal authorities have provided a geographical and ideological base for apartheid and emphasized the deep-rooted fear that they will

bring their “ethnic baggage” with them into post-apartheid South Africa, dividing and derailing the process of democratization and national development that is essential for new South Africa” (Skweyiya, 1993:4).

It is also indicated that native administration in most colonial South African states are dominated by social stratification, which does not conform to the liberal democratic dispensation prevailing in post-apartheid South Africa. The African society is divided into segments- the noble, the commoners and the slaves. The nobles form the ruling class, the commoners come after the noble class, while the slave class that is most disadvantaged forms the lowest class in the African social set up. The classes in the African society are impermeable because there is no way for instance, a slave can become a commoner or a noble. Neither, can a commoner become a noble because the African society upholds the assertion that social stratification is divinely ordained and must not be altered by human beings. This philosophy has therefore succeeded in entrenching classes within the native society. Prominent among these classes include the noble class-leaders emanates from this class. Commoners follow the noble class while slaves assume the bottom position (Tyrrell and Jurgens, 1983:40).

Diagram (B) below is a diagram that gives a vivid explanation of social stratification in pre-colonial Zulu state by Tyrrell and Jurgens, (1983):

Diagram B: The Social Structure of the Zulu Society



As a result of the social stratifications which characterizes most pre-colonial South African societies, the anti-chieftaincy school argues that, South Africa, which is struggling to overcome the hangover of social and racial segregation brought about by colonial and apartheid regimes must not welcomed into her folds any form of institution characterized by segregation including native institutions (Bank and Southall, 1996:4). According to these scholars, the assertion that native leadership is co-existing with modernity in other African countries and therefore South Africa must do the same is an understatement. Every society, according to them is unique in terms of history and culture and for that matter different political terrain which means that if native leadership is co-existing with development in other countries does not mean that the development of South Africa must include traditional leaders.

Inadequate administrative structures

In the African political system, even though women play an integral part in the development of the society, there are no adequate administrative structures that acknowledge women. Decision-making and governance in traditional African societies is patriarchy dominated. Women and the youth are prevented from participating in community meetings where important decisions bidding the whole community are made (Hunter, 1961:395). In present day Botswana for example, there had never being a female chief until 2001 when *Kgosi Seboko* a female, was made chief of *Balete*. This smilingly impossible stance was pull through only when women's NGO's "lobbied government to look at all sectors with respect to gender neutrality, and this must include the chieftaincy" (Nyamnjoh, 2002:9-10).

Bank and Southall (1996) therefore reiterate that, there is conflict between traditional authorities, which are male, dominated and gender equality enshrined in the South African constitution. Bank and Southall further argue that to reconcile gender inequality and people centered development dispensation prevailing in post-apartheid South Africa, native institutions must be abolished in South African society (Bank and Southall, 1996:408). McCormack (1981) also supports Bank and Southall's stand against the integration of chieftaincy institutions in the people- centered democratic structures in Africa. According to McCormack, the African political system has no adequate structures that recognize women. Therefore, the theories of development that have been embraced

by native administrations have failed to address the issue of gender inequalities (McCormack, 1981:27)

Native institutions are frequently characterized by succession disputes because there are no well-established patterns of succession. According to the scholars of the anti chieftaincy school, this succession disputes in native leadership stems from the fact that succession lines are ambiguous. For instance, Shaka, the founder of the Zulu kingdom was not able to end his reign gloriously because of succession disputes. In 1928, his half brothers who were also power thirsty assassinated him (Ngubane, 1986:11). In another instance, succession dispute nearly plunged the kingdom of Pondoland into civil war. The dispute was between two brothers of the incumbent king. Paramount chief Faku, "in view of the friction between his two sons, gave his younger son the territory of Western Pondoland and told them that each should rule his own country independent of the other on equal terms"(cited in King William's Town Archives, N1/1/2). As a result of the succession disputes that characterize chieftaincy institutions, antagonists of native institutions argue that bringing chiefs into the development of South Africa will bring the administration of South Africa into disrepute.

Chiefs and underdevelopment

The modernization theorists argue that the high value placed on tradition by Africans is one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of Africa (So, 1990). According to the modernists, for Africa to experience economic development, Africans must be prepared

to do away with traditional institutions and acquire Western modern traits (So, 1990:36-37). Modernists further argue that traditional lifestyle is a great setback to development in Africa. The modernization theories emphasize that Africa is struggling with underdevelopment today because of the traditional set up. African societies and her backward institutions could not allow the indigenous African to produce the works of science that modern societies can boast of. A critical study of advanced societies attests to the fact that for Africa to develop outmoded institutions like chieftaincy must be replaced by modern institutions in the development of the African continent. In an attempt to replace the “backward” traditional institutions in Africa with more “advanced” modern ones, General Smut (1929), argues that the African was of “a race so unique that nothing could be worse for Africa than the application of a policy that would de-Africanize the African” (Smut1929, cited in Mamdani, 1996:4)

It is in line with the above argument that most post-colonial African states decided to either abolish or marginalize native institutions in their bid to promote development in their various countries. Kwame Nkrumah, the first black president of South-Saharan Africa contended that traditional institutions were too primitive in technology to be used in the development of Ghana. “Instead, he sought modern, scientific methods” (Ayittey, 1991:80).

Some scholars are of the view that modernity is thriving very well with tradition in other African countries like Ghana, Nigeria and Botswana therefore South Africa should not be an exception. However, it is important to note that the fact that native institutions co-exist with development in other African countries does not mean that chiefs can equally

survive with modernity in South Africa because countries share different historical background. Apart from the historical differences, it is imperative that scholars calling for the integration of native institutions in the development of South Africa consider the fact that social composition in South Africa is unique and therefore inappropriate “according to universal status” (Mamdani, 1996:9). According to scholars opposing native institutions, South Africa is a heterogeneous society different from sister African states where native institutions are successfully co-existing with modernity. South Africa is a multi-racial society striving for “shared values” to bind the society together. Therefore, to integrate an institution like chieftaincy, which most South Africans because of its colonial legacy loathe will affect the social stability and development of independent South Africa.

It is also important to note that the recognition of native institutions in South Africa is bound to create two sets of authorities within the state—“subjects” and “citizens” (Mamdani, 1996). That is people who would want to owe allegiance to the state and others who would also want to owe allegiance to native institutions. According to the anti-chieftaincy school, a situation like this will end up weakening the authority of the central government over her citizens. In his book, *African Crisis*, Onimode reiterates that:

Culture dependency gives rise to diffusion and decline of national consciousness. The issue of nationality or African solidarity has, therefore, increasingly become one of mere identity rather than have a basic consciousness or awareness of sharing common aspirations, goals and destiny. This underlies the increasing disparity between neocolonial identity or subordinate status and consciousness in Africa. This growing incongruity between distorted identity and consciousness also largely explains the ambivalence and paradoxes of socio-political behavior in Africa, for example, between being non-aligned and pro-West conduct, between affirmation of an African identity and an open or secret collusion with apartheid, between the rhetoric of African liberation and the active suppression of a

liberating consciousness in the form of growing revolutionary pressures among the broad masses (Onimode, 1986:237-238).

To do away with these discrepancies, opponents of chiefs argue for a dispensation, which will “Covert the counter-consciousness into a new consciousness for the urgent liberation of Africa from the deliberating shackles of reactionary culture dependency and erect the foundation of an authentic and modern African civilization” (Onimode, 1986:238).

The anti-chieftaincy school has valid and convincing arguments. However, this study contends that the call for the total dismissal of chieftaincy in South Africa is premature. The study again wants to emphasize that the anti-chieftaincy school’s arguments are based on scholarships and malpractices that characterized the native institutions from the colonial past independent of ethnographic enquire. Their arguments does not bring to light the relationship between chiefs and the subject population neither have they succeeded in coming up with any tangible and convincing evidence to demonstrate that the alternative (liberal democracy) is embraced by all Africans as the best form of governance that promotes development.

In the proceeding pages, arguments put forward by the pro-chieftaincy school will be looked at.

(ii) The pro-chieftaincy school

The pro-chieftaincy school has also come up with convincing arguments that chieftaincy institution is the bedrock of Africa’s social set up and cannot be marginalized in the

development of post-colonial South Africa. According to the pro-chieftaincy school, native institutions co-existed with modernity in the past and must continue in the present and in the future.

Co-existing

In most post-colonial African states, chieftaincy institutions successfully co-exist with sociopolitical advancement. Therefore, to argue that South Africa is too modernized for native institutions to co-exist with development is a scholarly deformity (Sklar, 1994:1).

Chieftaincy institutions have the schema of co-existing with every form of governance and development in Africa (Ayittey, 1991:86-89). Gluckman (1940) also reiterates the co-existing power of native leaders. In his studies of the Zulu kingdom, Gluckman states that after 1887 when the British took over the administration of Zululand, chiefs in Zululand came to play an “intercalary” role in the colonial administration: chiefs became accountable to their subject population as well as to the colonial government (Gluckman, 1940:47). Among the Venda, for example, modern local government administration, which was managed by native leaders, started as early as 1913 when the government of the Union of South Africa created the ‘reserves’ for the black population (BERCD, 1979:41).

Boahen and Webster (1970) are also in agreement that native leadership was very instrumental in colonial administration. According to Boahen and Webster, traditional leaders were the main administrators of local government in the colonial era. Chiefs were responsible for appointing officials of local government and these officials were

responsible to the traditional leader. The chief and his officials were responsible for administering justice at the local level, and also laying tax on the local residents. The revenue from this tax is sent to the central government and the remaining channeled into developmental projects such as road construction, sanitation, schools construction and also paying local officials (Boahen and Webster, 1970:242).

In post-independent Africa, chiefs continue to have influence in socio-political development. For example, in Botswana, the government has set up tribal administration offices in which chiefs participate in certain aspects of local government and the judiciary (Ray, 1996). Ghana has also established an elaborate system of Houses of Chiefs both at the local and the national level to assist in the development of Ghana. The House of Chiefs in Ghana has participated extensively in promoting social development in all spheres of the Ghanaian society including solving delicate question over land ownership and other issues affecting the society (Ray, 1996:2). Scholars of chieftaincy school therefore argue that if native leadership is prevailing with modernity in other African countries as indicated above, then, it is erroneous to call for the abolishing of traditional leadership in South Africa. Ray also indicates that for Africa to develop, the argument should not be how to eradicating native institutions, but how to integrate it into the administrative machinery of modern governance (Ray, 1996: 1).

Ismail (1999), another strong defender of the co-existence perspective argues that the Africa political system is embedded with democratic elements that:

Can strengthen rather than weaken current efforts to build a democratic culture among the African people. According to Ismail, in political terms it is not possible

to talk about African renaissance without detailed and systematic analysis of indigenous political systems on the one hand, and comprehensive prescriptions on how to integrate these into the social development of Africa on the other hand (Ismail, 1999:15).

Participatory governance

Contrary to the popular allegation by the anti-chief scholars that native institution is not democratic, rather it is embedded significantly by democratic elements. In the African political system, even though chiefs ascend to leadership position by virtue of birth, decisions on issues concerning the society is strictly based on consensus because in the Africa political system, power is derived from the people for whom it is held in trust. In his book *Africa in Search of Democracy*, Busia (1967) states:

When a council, each member of which was the representative of a lineage, met to discuss matters affecting the whole community, it had always to grapple with the problem of representing sectional and common interest. In order to do this, the members had to talk things over; they had to listen to all different points of view. So strong was the value of solidarity that the chief aim of the counselors was to reach unanimity, and they talked until this was achieved (Busia 1967: 28).

Mandela (1984) also attests to the fact that democracy is not foreign to native governance and therefore to argue that the Europeans introduced democracy into Africa is an understatement. Quoting from Mandela's autobiography, San (2006) states:

In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela describes how influenced he was as a boy, by seeing the democratic nature of the proceedings of the meetings that were held in his hometown. "Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form. There may have been a hierarchy of importance among the speakers, but everyone was heard, chiefs and subject, warrior and medicine man, shopkeeper and farmer, landowner and laborer (Mandela, 1984, cited in San, 2006)).

Among the Zulus, democracy and decentralization of power forms an integral part of native governance. Gluckman states that advisers in Zulu administration assisted the Zulu chief. These advisers were predominantly the chief's relatives and trusted sub-chiefs. In performance of his duties, the Zulu king consults this council of advisers before acting (Gluckman, 1940:38). Among the Vendas of South Africa also, democratic governance is not unknown. They practice a well-established democratic order just like the Zulus. The king in Vendaleland operates through three councils-the great, district and private councils. At the great council, matters bothering the Venda kingdom are deliberated upon. This council is composed of all sub-chiefs and their advisers. At the district level however, matters concerning individual villages are discussed. The private council on the other hand serves as an inner circle, comprising favorites of the king who turn to council the king (Steyn, 1968:195). This participatory governance, which is insignificant in multi-party societies, can be integrated into the development of South Africa

African political administration is also branded as male dominated by the anti-chieftaincy school. This argument emanates from the fact that most African chiefs are males. However, this allusion has no empirical basis because the female population plays a significant role in the administration of traditional Africa society. According to Ismail, et al (1997), among the Balobedu in the Northern Transvaal and other small North Sotho tribes, the chief has to be a woman and she is succeeded by the eldest daughter (Ismail, et al, 1997:118).

Ismail, et al (1997) state that among the Zulu's the paramount chief had numerous vassal chiefs who helped the king in administering the vassal states. Among this vassal chiefs were "few women" (Ismail, et al: 1997:119).

In *Vendaland* also, women were very instrumental in social development. The chief's eldest sister *makhadzi* was always involved the administration of the state. She had the final say in all matters involving the Venda society and as a result consulted on all developments that were going to take place in Venda. Accordingly, as a result of the omnipotent character of *makhadzi* when "the chief and councilors had agreed to embark on a war, then their efforts would not materialize until her consent had been obtained" (Ismail, et al, 1997:127).

Among the Igbo's also, women had equal opportunities with their male counterparts in the day-to-day administration of the society. According to Harris (1950), women generally attended age- set gathering to perform various rituals functions. But the gatherings which performed the major role in self-rule among women and which articulated women's interests as opposed to those of men were the village-wide gatherings of all adult women residents in a village which under colonialism came to called "mikiri", meaning from "meeting" (Onimode, 1986).

The story is not different among the Akans. Women wielded so much influence in society to the extent that a chief could not be enstooled until the queenmother gives the go-ahead (Ayittey, 1991:55). Therefore, according to the pro-chieftaincy school, for any scholar to argue that the African traditional administration is not people-centered because women were excluded from the governance of the Africa political system is understatement.

Ascending the throne

Leadership struggle is an exception rather than the rule in the Africa political system. Among Africans, the fact that a written constitution does not exist as a guide in choosing leaders does not mean that any individual can become a chief. According to Ayittey, “the chief was never elected by balloting. He was appointed but he could not appoint himself” (Ayittey, 1991:43). Well-established conventions exist in the African society on choosing leaders. Among the Vendas of South Africa, Stayt states:

A chief is succeeded by his son, whose appointment lies in the hands of the makhadzi(father’s sister) and the khotsimunene(father’s brother), subject to certain regulations. When this two people appoint the new heir they at the same time appoint one of his sisters to be the khadzi and one of his brothers to be the ndumi, who, on the death of their brother, assume the positions hitherto held by the makhadzi and khotsi (Stayt, cited in, Ismail, et al 1997: 120-123).

Stayts (1968) further reiterates that when Dimbanyika of Vends state was reigning, he succeeded in appointing his sons and kinsmen as petty chiefs throughout the villages and therefore, after Dimbayika, his son Phophi who was well equipped with leadership skills succeeded his father without any difficulty (Stayt, 1968:12). These smooth power transitions refute the popular belief that the Africa political system is plagued by succession disputes.

It is important to note that in pre-colonial Africa political system, no person can become a leader through fraudulent means or become despotic because the chief did not rule; he only led the subject population and therefore it is improper to claim that power struggle dominates traditional administration. According to Olivier:

When it became evident that the tribe was discontented and not likely to tolerate oppression much longer, the fathers of the tribe would hold a great *pito*(gathering), and in the presence of the tribe denounce the chief for his wrongdoings, and intimate that some other member of the royal household had been elected to act in his stead. A chief so deposed would be murdered if he remained to contest the position (Olivier, 1969 cited in Ayittey, 1991:41).

Ismail et al also reiterate that in Zulu kingdom besides the council of elders, other measures like open forums exists where all citizens especially the adult population could express their views (Ismail, et al, 1997:123). This is in contradiction to the popular opinion held by the anti chieftaincy school that native administrators were despotic feared and unaccountable when they administered the subject population in the colonial past (Mamdani, 1996:45)

On the crossroads-ANC and chiefs

The argument by some scholars within the ANC that chiefs abandoned the ANC movement when they were most needed and therefore, should not be involved in the development of post apartheid South Africa is uncalled for. Chiefs were always there for the subject population in South Africa. This is evident in the fact that the ANC movement was even the brain- child of a traditional leader. Chief Pixler Ka Izaka, the founder of the ANC indicated that the ANC was formed to liberate the African race from the oppressive leadership of the white settlers. He states this by outlining the purpose of the formation of the African National Congress in the following words:

Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a scheme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have

formed what is known as the Union of South Africa- a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration. We have called you, therefore, to this conference so that we can together device ways and means of forming our national union for the purposes of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges (Thema, 1953).

Therefore, if a chief could form a movement, which eventually liberated South Africa from colonial rule, then, the debate should not be the abolishing of chief in the development of South Africa, but how to integrate this noble institution into the post 1994 South African administration.

Even if native leaders abandoned the ANC, in course of the struggle, the pro-chieftaincy school argues that the factors that triggered this have to be critically analyzed by scholars before hastily calling for the alienation of native institutions in development of South Africa. According to Maloka, a number of factors compelled traditional leaders to abandon the ANC movement. Firstly, the failure of the ANC to oppose successfully the Land Act made native authorities to loose interest in the ANC movement. Secondly, the radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie at the head of the ANC and the invasion of the countryside by branches of the newly- formed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. This union, especially during rural revolts of the mid-1920s, even spearheaded campaigns against some chiefs.

South Africans should therefore disabuse their minds of the assertion that traditional leaders abandon the ANC movement to fulfill their selfish interests (Maloka, 1996:179) and learn to appreciate this institution in the development of South Africa because post independent South Africa can only ensure sustainable development when leaders and

citizens alike come to appreciate that native leadership is democratic and development-centered and must constitute the base of development in Africa since modernity alone is not the best option for the development of South Africa. South Africa, which is struggling to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, cannot wholly embrace modernity because “modernity has turned every element of the real into a sign, and the sign reads for sale” (Appiah, 1992:45). Therefore the inclusion of native leadership, which provides security for all members of the society, cannot be overlooked in the development of South Africa.

‘Africaness’

Ismail (1999), a scholar defending native institutions in South Africa argues that, the authorities that handled the chieftaincy issue in South Africa before 1994 have not done a good job. According to him, they only succeeded in marginalizing traditional authorities and their role reduced to “a mere symbolic retention of the institution” (Ismail: 1999:1). Ismail further argues that traditional authorities have democratic elements that can help strengthen the infant democracy existing in South Africa rather than weaken current efforts to build a democratic culture among African people (Ismail, 1995:1-5).

Ismail *et al* in their book, *Local Government Management* state that it is inappropriate to marginalize “one’s sociocultural experience in favor of something which comes from abroad. Thus it is unwise, if not foolish, to ignore the past when experimenting with new models of governance”(Ismail *et al*, 1992:132). Accordingly, Ismail *et al* reiterate that the

Africa political system of the Zulu, for instance is embedded with several democratic elements, which the post apartheid South Africa must not overlook because after all, traditional institutions were not the only institutions that were manipulated and used by the colonial past in Africa. Colonialism and apartheid was a political dispensation. Every South African then was manipulated directly or indirectly. It is therefore not appropriate to “singled out” and isolate chiefs in the social development of the post-independent South Africa the president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa argues (Mail Guardian, 1995:7 April). For Africa to emerge from the shackles of underdevelopment and poverty, native institutions must be resuscitated because:

If for centuries, colonialism has carried out a ‘civilizing mission’ to remove ‘backward’ local institution, and replace it with more ‘advanced’ modernization programs on every front, then the anti-colonial, national movement could no longer trust anything coming from the side of the colonial devils. A ‘self-rediscovery movement’ was called upon to discover our uncontaminated self and authentic tradition, to replace the deeply invaded colonial imagination... colonialism works by the mechanism of identification, through aggression and establishing the colonizer as the figure of modernity, to bind colonizer and colonized together, then nativism works by identification with the self(Kuan-Hsing Chen, cited in Ndlovu- Gatsheni,2007:25).

Oomen (2002), in her contribution to this debate argues that in post-apartheid South Africa, “retraditionalisation” has reached a stage worth noting “as the state came to be considered as just another actor in an increasingly complex and interwoven global order” (Oomen, 2002:8). As a result, most communities in Africa have formed alliances with traditional institutions “as an important vehicle for more or less authentic indigenous political expression”(Ray and van Nieuwaal, 1996:7).

According to Oomen, the perception towards chieftaincy in Africa in terms of “performance” has changed from “let’s abolish them, they were corrupt before and are

still corrupt and they have delayed progress in the community to they are the people who bring development” (Oomen, 2005:195). Other scholars in the pro-chieftaincy school have also argued that chieftaincy institution epitomize ‘Africaness’. As a result, abolishing it from Africa will cause political instability among the indigenous Africans. To maintain social stability and unity among Africans, countries that relegated native institutions to the background have followed the steps of their colonial masters in incorporating chiefs into state administration in pursuit of national unity (Ribot, 2001:75).

Social security

The African society was a security for all who lived in it. The community protected the rich and the poor because in the African political system the wealth of the society is utilized for the benefit of all the members of the society and not for any individual or group of individuals. Neither did the rich in the African traditional society exploit the poor to augment their power and wealth. Traditional African leaders were considered as the repository of society’s wealth and could under no circumstance made wealth entrusted to them their personal property. In his call for socialism in Tanganyika, Julius Nyerere states:

Apart from the anti-social effects of the accumulation of personal wealth, the very desire to accumulate it must be interpreted as a vote of “no confidence” in the social system. For when a society is so organized that it cares about its individuals, then, provided he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow or his orphans. This is exactly what traditional African society succeeded in doing (Nyerere, cited in Nnoli, 2000:152).

The security which native institutions promoted among Africans necessitated the scholars of this school to argue for the integration of native institutions into the development of South Africa, a society struggling to leave the ordeal of colonialization and apartheid which never guaranteed security and social unification behind her.

Chiefs and state institutions

The opposing school again argues that chiefs always side with the government of the day. According to anti-chieftaincy scholars, native administrators dance to the tune of the ruling administration to sustain their selfish interests. However, the pro-native institution advocates disagree with the opposing school on the aforementioned. The proposing scholars argue that the compromising strategies, which chiefs adopted especially in the colonial regime, are what have helped conserve African traditions. Indigenous African leaders “realized that surrender or cooperation, far from being an act of cowardice, was the best way to preserve their kingdoms under the prevailing circumstances and constraints” (Ayittey, 1991:91). He further argue that:

In southern Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland kept their identities through skill and luck in manipulating the rivalry between Britain and the Boer republics. King Moshweshwe of Lesotho requested and received British annexation to fend off the Boers in the Orange Free State in the 1880s. Prior to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899, Swaziland was under the control of the Boer republic of the Transvaal. Following the defeat of the Boers, the British rewarded the Swazi king for his help with the grant of considerable autonomy under British rule (Ayittey, 1991:92).

The above mentioned demonstrates that contrary to the accusations leveled against chieftaincy by the anti-tradition school, it has become obvious that native leadership is people-centered.

In a country like South Africa, which is characterized by acute lack of human resource and underdevelopment, the call for the abolishing of traditional institutions in the development of South Africa is unnecessary because traditional leaders have potentials that can be harness as human resource for the development of South Africa. Ray in his article *Enhancing the Role of Traditional Leaders in African Governance* argues, “if chiefs continue to have influence, and if there are still problems in carrying out development projects, one way of aiding the process of development could be to involve chiefs” (Ray, 1996:1). As a result, the pro-chieftaincy scholars argue that all well-wishers of South Africa must join in the call for the inclusion of chieftaincy in the development of South Africa.

The above arguments by the pro-chieftaincy school are also valid and convincing. However, these arguments fail to suggest how these native authorities could be integrated into the development of Africa. In other words, an elaborate discussion is needed to articulate how to integrate this precious institution into the modern, people-centered democratic dispensation dominating the African continent rather than simply concluding that the institution must continued to be recognized because it’s the best way out now that modernity has failed us and the fact that it also epitomizes ‘Africanees’.

Having reviewed the arguments put across by both the chieftaincy and the anti-chieftaincy school, this study has come up with a new model called the syncristic model which I am going to through light on in the pages that follow.

Towards a syncristic model of chieftaincy and development

This research seeks propose a model which can help promote co-operative governance in South Africa using the functionalist theory approach. Functionalist theorists like Spencer, Comte and Durkheim, perceive the society as a system of interconnected parts and when these various parts function well, the whole system also functions well and vice versa. According to the functionalists, the social universe can be compared to the family where each and every member plays a role for the functioning of the entire family (Turner, 2006:44). Babbie (2007) also compares the functioning of the society to the human body or automobile, he states:

By analogy, considers the human body. Each component- such as the heart, lungs, kidneys, skin, and brain –has a particular job to do. The body as a whole cannot survive unless each of these parts does its job, and none of the parts can survive except as a part of the whole body. Or consider an automobile. It is composed of the tires, the steering wheel, the gas tank, the spark plugs, and so forth. Each of the parts serves a function for the whole; taken together, the system can get us across town. None of the individual parts would be very useful to us by it, however (Babbie, 2007:37).

Equally speaking, there is no institution that exists in society that has no purpose. The family, traditional institutions, businesses and the government all exist to “help maintain the state of balance that is needed for the system to operate smoothly” (Popenoe *et al* 1998:12). It is therefore in line with the functionalist perspective that I strongly argue that

the call for the abolishing of native institutions in South Africa is inappropriate because the abolishing of native institution, which forms the crust of African society in the pre-colonial, colonial as well as the post-colonial dispensations will destabilize the African society. Instead of calling for the abolishing of native leadership in South Africa, this research suggests that a syncristic approach be adopted in the development of South Africa. Syncristic model simply means the integration of modernity and modernity. Appiah (1992) on the other hand refers to this integrated model as “neo-tradition” (Appiah, 1992: 140-148). That is a system where modernity and tradition are integrated. Otherwise stated, “Authorizing a return to traditions while at the same time recognizing the demands of a Weberian rational modernity” (Appiah, 1992:150). Appiah explains the neo-tradition further by using the artwork of a Yoruba man going to the market with a bicycle. The artwork according to Appiahs “the influence of the western world is revealed in the clothes and bicycle of this neo-traditional Yoruba sculpture which probably represents a merchant en route to market” (Appiah, 1992:140). The sculpture also suggests that the modern African has become a personality with many faces-composed of tradition and modernity. In the same vein, Africa has become like the neo-traditional Yoruba man on the bicycle, westernized and traditional and therefore to promote development in this dispensation, South Africa must go by the syncristic model where tradition is fused into modernity. But the question still remains. Does tradition have a place in modernity?

From the functionalist perspective, traditional institution is still an integral component of development in South Africa and therefore cannot be relegated to the background. In

post-independent African societies like South Africa, a significant number of people still owe allegiance to traditional leadership and in South Africa alone; more than 18 million people still have strong affiliations to native leaders (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). This implies that chiefs still wield significant power in South Africa and therefore the marginalisation or abolishing of native leaders in South Africa will create an irreplaceable vacuum in social development. It is therefore no coincidence that the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act and the Communal Land Rights Bills were passed to give native leadership the constitutional recognition it deserves.

It is imperative to take cognizance of the fact that development in any society in the world operates through the people concerned and their way of life. As a result, to succeed in planting seeds of development in South Africa, recognition of the African way of life is inevitable. Just like our scenario of the Yoruba man on a bicycle, you can only be able to understand the Yoruba man better when you consider him through his cultural background and not by his appearance.

Another clarification that has to be made with regard to the syncristic approach is the fact that in the African political system, notwithstanding the fact that leaders are born and power seems to concentrate in the office of the traditional leader, the native institutions is development-centered (Ayittey, 1991). Leaders like Shaka of Zulu and Osei Tutu of Ashanti and many other African leaders were born leaders but were very instrumental in state formation and state development in their respective kingdoms. In effect, before the arrival of colonialism, Africa could boast of great kingdoms like Zulu kingdom, Ashanti kingdom, the Great Zimbabwe kingdom and many other kingdoms. These kingdoms did

not only exist in name, they were also very instrumental in promoting the welfare of members through farming, trade and technological developments.

Africa political system is also characterized by the finest form of governance, which can be emulated by modernity for socio-political advancement. Decision-making through consensus and participatory democracy was the bedrock of Africa political administration. Busia (1951), assisted significantly in unearthing the wealth embedded in native leadership that can facilitate the development of post-independent Africa. According to Busia, (1951), decision making in the African political system is underpinned by consensus and consensus is the best mechanism for social harmony and development. Busia (1951) elaborates on the consensus building and the participatory democracy that characterizes native governance by stating:

When a council, each member of which was the representative of a lineage, met to discuss matters affecting the whole community, it had always to grapple with the problem of representing sectional and common interests. In order to do this, the members had to talk things over; they had to listen to all different points of view. So strong was the value of solidarity that the chief aim of the counselors was to reach unanimity, and they talked until this was achieved (Busia 1951; 105-110).

Sklar (1994), another strong functionalist who also in agreement with the acknowledgement of chieftaincy in modern Africa, in his *Mixed Government* thesis argues that, native institutions must not be abolished in the socio-development of Africa because the institution is so much embedded with elements which can help develop Africa today (Sklar, 1994:1).

In modern democratic dispensation prevailing in South Africa, consensus building in decision-making is inadequate because decision on matters affecting the society is taken by few-elected group of individuals who woefully represent the entire citizens of the

country. Above all, the multi-party system of administration, which is practiced in Africa, eliminates capable citizens who are not into politics or might happen to fall into the opposing parties because in multi-party administration, the winning party governs.

In addition, leaders of present-day administration are vested with exceptional powers that permit them to take decisions without consultation. These exceptional powers, which are bestowed on leaders, make them corrupt, abusive and unaccountable. In the traditional leadership however, no leader is given such extensive powers because the entire community especially the council of elders closely monitor leader's actions and behaviors. It is against the above mentioned that I call for a dispensation where native leadership and modernity are brought together to compensate each other in the development of South Africa.

It is undeniable fact that the colonial leadership manipulated native leadership. However, native leadership is still embedded with valuable essentials that can still be incorporated into the development of South Africa. It is based on this functional ideology that the ANC-led government had to pass the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act which will enable the government resuscitate chieftaincy institutions and also help integrate native leadership into the development of South Africa. To ensure the best form of integrated development, native leadership had to go through transformations in order to do eliminate the negative elements in the institution that are not development oriented. Prominent among these was the fact that the institution, status and roles of traditional leadership had to align with the constitution of South Africa. The current legislation

therefore transformed the composition of traditional councils to provide for elements of democracy (40% of members must be elected) and gender representivity (one third of members must be women). To succeed in the above mentioned, the former President Thabo Mbeki, appointed a commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims in October 2004, in terms of section 23 of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003. In terms of section 25(2), the commission was mandated to hear cases on: (a) whether a traditional leadership position was established in accordance with customary laws (b) the title of an incumbent traditional leader being challenged (c) claims by communities that wishes to be recognized as traditional communities (d) whether established “tribes” are legitimate (e) disputes around traditional authority (South Africa Yearbook, 2006:320-321). The legislation has made it possible for municipalities and Traditional Councils to join forces towards achieving “co-operate governance”. In addition, Traditional Councils have also been given a strong voice in development matters and may now leverage enter into partnerships and service delivery agreements with the government in all spheres that will go a long way towards accelerating service delivery in rural communities in South Africa (South Africa Yearbook, 2006:321).

CHAPTER THREE

Inadequate service delivery

The 1996 constitution of South Africa, which is widely acclaimed by constitutional experts around the world promises to promote development in all spheres of the country through service delivery. To this regard, the 1996 made provision for the establishment of local governments throughout South Africa. The local government among all other things must be able to manage within its financial and administrative capacity to achieve the under listed objectives:

- a. the provide democratic and accountable government for local communities
- b. to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner
- c. promote social and economic development
- d. to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e. to encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in the matters of local government

In terms of the local government: municipal Systems Act, 2000(Act 32 of 2000), all municipalities are required to prepare Integrated Development Plans (IDP). This Integrated Development Planning is a process by which municipalities prepare five-year strategic plans that are reviewed annually in consultation with communities and stakeholders like chiefs and opinion leaders. The main objective of the IDP is to achieve service delivery and development goals in municipal areas in an effective and sustainable way. The implementation of the IDP was the responsibility of the National and

provincial-sector departments, development agencies, private sector bodies, non-governmental organizations who are stakeholders (South Africa Yearbook, 1996:324).

In addition to the local governments, other micro and macro-economic policies have been employed to promote economic growth and development. Prominent among these policies include Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) and more recently the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA).

Notwithstanding all the above-mentioned efforts, which the South African government is investing in her bid to promote economic development through service delivery, very little has been experienced in this direction. Majority of South Africans are still trapped in poverty and disease. "According to the Census of 2001, the Eastern Cape province is home to 14.4% of South Africa's population. Measured by its total current income, the Eastern Cape is the fourth richest province in South Africa. However, in per capital income terms, the province only ranks eighth (SSA, 2003a cited in Elsenburg, 2005:1).

Elsenburg (2005) further states that:

In 2003, the Eastern Cape contributed approximately 8.1% to the National GDP, while 14.4% of the South African population lives in this province. This implies that the per capita GDP in the Eastern Cape is lower than the national average. According to the IES/LFS 2000 estimates, the Eastern Cape per capita income was R6,774 in 2000, only about half the national average of R12,411. High levels of poverty and inequality persist as they do in the rest of the country. However, agriculture households are generally worse off than non-agricultural households in terms of income levels (Elsenburg, 2005:7).

The Eastern Cape is predominantly rural community with the majority of the population employed in the agriculture sector. This indicates that “poverty and unemployment in South Africa are often rural phenomena” (Elsenburg, 2005:1) which requires that local authorities especially traditional leaders who are in direct contact with the rural folks “and ultimately results in their having a significant bearing and influence on the well-being of the general public” (Ismail, et al, 1997:64) are brought in to help fight the canker of underdevelopment and poverty plaguing post-apartheid South Africa.

Local government was part of the Africa political administration before the arrival of colonialism. Chiefs in the pre-colonial era headed large kingdoms. Therefore; vassal states were allowed to govern themselves under the auspices of the paramount-chief in the fashion of modern day local government. Busia (1967) reiterates “the first feature to note about the Asante system is that it was based on decentralization which gave a large measure of local autonomy to the smaller units” (Busia, 1967: 29).

The colonial administration acknowledged the form of local government that was practiced by traditional leaders. And therefore, when they took over the administration of Africa, the leadership of local government continued to remain with chiefs. Ayittey (1991) indicates that under the colonial era especially in British colonies:

Each colony was divided into regions under regional or chief or chief administrators, each region into provinces under provincial commissioners, and each province into districts under district commissioners. Each district consisted of one or more of the traditional states, and the day –to-day affairs and local ordinances were left in the hands of the traditional rulers and their council of elders. The African chief was the instrument of local government. He appointed all officials who were responsible to him. He or his officials presided over the law courts, which, as far as possible applied African law. His agents levied taxes for the local treasury. Part of the revenue was sent to the central government and the remainder kept for local improvements such as roads, sanitation, markets, and

schools and to pay the salaries of local official (Boahen and Webster, 1970 cited in Ayittey, 1991:86).

The local government in the colonial era, which included chiefs, witnessed significant socio-political development. It is against this background that I argue that the problem of service delivery, poverty and underdevelopment characterizing post-apartheid South Africa is as a result of the fact that traditional leaders are not well integrated into the development of South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the methods followed in collecting data for this study. This chapter gives a clear and concise description of how the research method was followed in order to achieve the research design of this thesis. It is important to note that topical issues such as the representativeness of the sample, the validity and the reliability of the methods used in the study as well as the problems encountered and how they were surmounted were considered in this chapter since methodology is the techniques and procedures adopted in the process of gathering data, for interpretation and the explanation of research (Cohen, 1989:35).

Another important thing that has to be considered in interpreting the result of this study is the delimitation. The relatively small number of questionnaire administered and the small sample size as well as the fact that the questionnaires were written in English and administered to people who could read and write in English create room for caution in the generalization of the result obtained from this study. However, these delimitations will not adversely affect this scholarship since the limited number of questionnaire administered is consolidated by documentary sources.

Population and sampling procedures

Traditional authorities and social development in South Africa is a functional phenomenon, which can best be explained using the triangulation and the content analysis methods. Functionalism sees the “universal society” as integrated and the role these integrated structures play in the functioning of the larger society (Turner, 2006:44). Therefore, in order to arrive at an objective conclusion with the topic under discussion, this study resulted to having a study population of native leaders and non-traditional leaders in South Africa. A study population is made up of all those people with the characteristics a researcher wants to study. A sample comprising 10 senior chiefs and 40 non-chiefs (ordinary members of the community) from the Eastern Cape of South Africa was taken from the population. A sample on the other hand is defined as the drawing of limited number of cases from the population. The sampling must be done in such a way that the selection of elements from a population accurately portrays the total population from which the elements are selected (Babbie, 2007: 190).

Qualitative research methodology

The term qualitative enquiry is ambiguous in its definition because it can be used to describe research activities like “phenomenology, ethnography, action research, symbolic interactionism, and grounded theory” (Schurink, 2005:35). Based on the difficulty in defining qualitative research, writers have decided to define qualitative enquiry to suit the conditions under which they operate.

Creswell (2003), therefore define the term qualitative research as the use of “different knowledge claims, strategies of enquiry, and methods of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2003:179). Creswell further reiterates that qualitative research “takes place in natural setting” (Cresswell, 2003:181) because this allows the researcher to actively “go where the action is and simply watching and listening” (Babbie, 2007:305). The active participation by the participants in their natural settings reduces “intervention” and “interference” and therefore helps the researcher “build rapport and credibility with the individuals in the study” (Creswell, 2003:181).

Strengths of qualitative research

This research method is characterized by strengths that can help promote validity and reliability in this research. Some of the advantages of this method include the fact that:

- a. It permits a better understanding of social situation. Dealing with the topic under discussion for instance required me to examine social interactions over a period of time to equip me with a better understanding of the social situations to enable me handle the topic adequately without bias. According to Shepard (2002), qualitative research “produces a depth and breadth of understanding unattainable with quantitative research. Uniquely they can reveal insights into a social situation from the experiences of the people involved” (Shepard, 2002:50-51).

- b. It's flexible to work with because qualitative research method is devoid of rigidity, which enabled me to alter my research design anytime I found it necessary because qualitative research makes room for modification of the research design even on the research field. Babbie (2007) notes that with the qualitative research method "you're always prepared to engage in field in field research, whenever the occasion should arise, whereas you could not as easily initiate a survey or an experiment" (Babbie2007: 312).
- c. Qualitative research is relatively inexpensive to work with. This research method does not require costly equipment and therefore I was able to collect the needed data for this study without incurring so much dept.

Weaknesses of qualitative research

Like all research methods, the qualitative method also has its unique weaknesses.

Prominent among the weaknesses are:

- a. it often characterized by bias outcome. Since the qualitative research does not have precise measuring instruments and therefore relies on personal judgment and interpretation, personal prejudice filters into the outcome of the study making it unreliable.
- b. It is difficult to duplicate. The absence "of objectivity and standardized research procedures makes it difficult for another researcher to duplicate a field study" (Shepard, 2002:51).

To compensate the weaknesses in the qualitative research, this study has also made use of the quantitative method so that these two approaches can compensate each other.

Quantitative research methodology

Quantitative research is mainly governed by theories that the researcher seeks to test because “theory provides an explanation for the variables in question and hypothesis in quantitative research” (Creswell, 2003:119). In other words, quantitative enquiry assists the researcher to establish cause and affect relationship between variables.

In order to ensure objectivity and reliability in a study, qualitative researchers use surveys. According to Creswell, “survey design provides a quantitative or numerical description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population” (Creswell, 2003:153) which helps the researcher formulate generalization about the population studied and also help the researcher “develop objective, precise measures with numbers that capture important features of the social world” (Neuman, 1997:329). Quantitative methodology like other research methods is also characterized by advantages and disadvantages. For the purpose of this study, I am first going to look at the strengths and then move on to discuss the disadvantages that go with the quantitative research methods.

Advantages of quantitative research methods

a. Quantitative research method promotes accuracy in understanding research work.

Unlike qualitative method, which makes use of words that can be misunderstood, “quantification” of data “makes our observations more explicit” (Babbie 2007:23) because the research turn to have the luxury to aggregate, compare and summarize data.

b. Quantitative method also permits the collection of large samples that enables detailed analysis.

Disadvantages of quantitative research methods

a. Quantitative methods are very expensive because it involves large samples, which can only be best analyzed using expensive equipments

b. Quantitative research lacks flexibility. With this method, there is no way the researcher can be able to alter the research design. Because survey questions are always predetermined, the interviewer does not have the luxury of including “important unanticipated information” (Shepard, 2002:46).

In order to tap from the richness of both qualitative and quantitative research methods, this study has made use of both methods to give a complete understanding of the topic under discussion. A detailed discussion of this combined approach is given bellow.

The Triangulation approach

Triangulation is used to describe the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodology. According to de Vos (1998), the concept triangulation is “a conscious combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology (AS de Vos, 1998:365). This study therefore decides to make use of the triangulation approach because the topic under study is so “enmeshed” that a single approach couldn’t suffice in finding answers to the research question. “It would therefore, be futile to behave as though one approach should be fully accepted and another rejected” (Mouton and Marias, 1990:169-170). The triangulation approach has a lot of advantages associated to it. The strength include:

1. Allows the researchers to be more confident of their results. This is the overall strength of the multimethod design. Triangulation can play many other constructive roles as well. It can stimulate the creation of inventive methods and new ways of capturing a problem to balance with conventional data collection methods.
2. It may also help to uncover the deviant or off-quadrant dimension of a phenomenon. Different viewpoints are likely to produce some elements that do not fit a theory or model. Thus, old theories are refashioned or new theories developed. Moreover, divergent results from multi-methods can lead to an enriched explanation of the research problem.
3. The use of multi-methods can also lead to synthesis or integration of theories. In this sense, methodological triangulation closely parallels theoretical triangulation, i.e. efforts to bring diverse theories to bear on a common problem.

4. The triangulation may also serve as the critical test, by virtue of its comprehensiveness, for competing theories (Jick 1983, cited in de Vos et al, 2002:342).

Research design

Huysamen (1993) defines research design as “the plan or blueprint according to which data are collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner” (Huysamen, 1993:10).

This study chose survey questionnaire and content analysis as the main data-gathering instruments. I use Survey questionnaire in this study because just like any other social research, it helps the researcher to collect “original” information on the topic under study for “describing population too large to observe directly” (Babbie, 2007:244). Studies on traditional authorities and social development in South Africa is a topical issue in post-apartheid South Africa and therefore demands a research approach that would help measure “attitudes and orientations in a large population” (Babbie, 2007:244).

Content analysis was another important data gathering tool used in this study. According to Babbie, content analysis “is the study of recorded human communications” (Babbie, 2007:320). As a result, the researcher made use of archival materials, books, newspapers, journals and web pages, which dealt with the topic under study.

In designing questionnaires, I relied heavily on the research objective as well as the available literature and the debate surrounding the resuscitation of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa. In order to facilitate data collection process, the questionnaire was divided into two major themes namely questionnaire for chiefs and non-chiefs. The questionnaire was coded, structured, and included both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The steps were taking by the study in order to obtain the best information from the population.

Data collection methods

In collecting data various instruments were used in order to obtain reliable information. Questionnaires and documentary analysis were used in gathering information for this study. The main reason for choosing questionnaire in this study is the fact that it is reliable. In using questionnaire in a research, the researcher has the opportunity to establish a rapport with the population and can also easily explain the main purpose of the study and the meaning of items related to the study that may not be clear (Best, 1981). The research stratified the population into chiefs and non-chiefs before selecting the sample. This was done in order to ensure that the sample gives a through reflection of the population (Fowler, 1988).

Administering the research questionnaire was purposive. Questionnaires were administered to 50 respondents-10 traditional leaders and 40 non- chiefs. The sample comprised individuals who have adequate knowledge about traditional authorities in South Africa “since it’s appropriate to select a sample on the basis of knowledge of a

population, its elements, and the purpose of the study” (Babbie, 2007:184). As a result of language barrier, limited number of questionnaires was administered and distributed to the section of the population who were literates. The questionnaires mainly sought information on gender, age, level of education, importance of native leaders in society, and whether chiefs and elected representatives can work together to promote social development.

Since administering the questionnaire was purposive, the target population was the subject population in the formal Transkei region where chiefs still have influence in society. In South Africa, unlike in most African countries, chiefs can only be found in the former Homelands where the black population lives. The researcher therefore had to seek permission and guidance as well as list of traditional leaders in the Transkei region from the Chris Hani municipality offices in Queenstown. The list, which contained the names and addresses of the traditional leaders in the region, facilitated the data gathering process. Fifty people were interviewed and this included forty non-chiefs and ten traditional leaders. The sample population came from Illinge, No-Gate and Cofivamba.

I also collected data for this study through content analysis. The cluster sampling was used to collect information from archives, newspapers, web pages and books. I selected archival materials, newspapers, books and web pages that relates to the topic of study and carefully analyzed them. The analysis took the form of paragraph-by-paragraph analysis to solicit information for the study. These materials for the content analysis came from King William’s Town archive, University of Fort-Hare library and public libraries in Queenstown.

Validity and reliability of instrument used

Shepard (2002) defines validity as “when a measurement techniques actually measures what it is designed to measure” (Shepard, 2002:58). In other words, a valid statement gives a true description of what it claims to describe. Reliability on the other hand is a “measurement techniques that yield consistent results on repeated applications” (Shepard, 2002:58). This implies that whatever the instrument results from a study, must be the same when done by another person using the same method. To ensure validity and reliability, the questionnaire used in this study were structured to obtain reliable and valid information.

To test the reliability and validity of the information gathered, the study makes use of documentary instruments like archival materials, books, journals and newspapers that deal with the subject matter under study.

Data analysis

Data analysis deals with the methods and techniques that were used in the analysis of data that was collected by describing the situation and the interpretation of the findings of the research. Data analysis helps to test hypothesis and also brings to the fore a better understanding of social phenomenon. In this study however, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in data analysis.

Quantitative Data Analysis

In this data analysis, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used. With the SPSS, it was easy to enter the number of respondents who identified themselves with a particular factor. For easy assessment of data, information of possible factors, number of respondents who participated in the study and their responses on each factor was displayed on the SPSS. Conclusions were then drawn from the statistical information displayed by the SPSS taking into consideration the research question. The SPSS is very import in data analysis especially in situations where smaller samples are involved. With the questionnaire coded, the analysis of the collected data was facilitated. The SPSS was helpful in coming out with results of univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses. The programmer, excel was also very helpful in analyzing the data especially in generating graphs for the data distribution

Qualitative Data Analysis

Data from archival materials and all the other documented materials were analyzed differently. Content analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data since that helped the researcher to bring to the fore themes from the raw data. Content analysis is therefore considered as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1278).

The content analysis was facilitated through coding. Data obtained from the documented sources on traditional authorities and social development in South Africa were “broken down, conceptualized and put back in new ways” (de Vos, et al, 2002:346) which helped the researcher derived working theory from the data collected.

Problems encountered

Data for this study was collected with some few difficulties, which have a bearing on the data collection procedures. The major problem encountered in this study was the language barrier. Another constraint was finance. The language barrier restricted the size of the population. The questionnaire was in English and therefore had to be administered to people who could read and write in English. The financial constraints also influence the number of samples that could be used in this study. However, the sample size did not distort the significance of the study since a small sample can equally give a true reflection of the target population when the methodological procedures are well followed.

Conclusion

This chapter brings to the fore the methodology followed in the study. This chapter also brought up issues like instruments, the population, data collection methods and analysis procedures, validity and reliability as well as problems encountered in the data collection process. The main objective of this chapter is to answer the research question as a result; the chapter tries to present a picture of the subject under investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data analysis, presentation and interpretation of findings

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present to the reader the procedures followed in the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the research findings. The data in this study was derived from content analysis and questionnaires administered to fifty respondents from the formal Transkei region of Eastern Cape. The Transkei region was part of the formal homeland. Homelands were inhabited by the subject population who were black South Africans led by traditional leaders. I decided to collect data from this region because traditional institutions still part of the culture of the people living in this part of modern day South Africa. The respondents comprise forty non-traditional leaders and ten traditional leaders. Documentary sources in the form of archival materials, books, journals and newspapers that deal with native institutions in Africa were also analyzed, presented and interpreted as well. In order to facilitate the data interpretation, tables, graphs and figures are use in conjunction with simple descriptive statistics.

The objective of this research is to establish the relationship between traditional leadership and social development in South Africa. In order to achieve this objective, detailed analysis of the relationship between identified dependents and independent variables will follow. The conclusions this study should be regarded as tentative and

probable as other approaches could yield different results. In any case, this does not mean that important inferences cannot be made on the basis of this study.

Attributes of respondents

In chapter three of this study, discussions were made on social development in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. This study therefore seeks to establish the relationship between traditional leadership and social development in South Africa. To reach a conclusion on this, a population of 50 respondents was made to give answers to administered questionnaires. The information sought from respondents among all other things included sex, age, educational qualifications, likeness for chiefs as well as influence of traditional leaders in promoting development in society. These attributes are considered integral in understanding the research topic.

Table 1: Sex of respondents

Variable	Frequency	%
Male	29	58
Female	21	42
None response	0	0
Total	50	100

The representation on table 1 shows that 58% of men and 42% of women participated in the study. This evidence demonstrates the dominance of men in African political administration which also gives a strong indication that in South Africa, traditional authority is patriarchal dominated. The figures in the table above refute the observations made by Schapera (1937). He argues that contrary to popular assertion that traditional African societies marginalized the female population; women were significantly included in the administration of African societies. Schapera further reiterated that communities

like Balobedu state and other North Sotho tribes, the chiefs were always women (Schapera, 1937:176). However, the unequal representation of women in table 1 demonstrates the dominance of men in Africa political system. Therefore, the mandate bestowed on local government by the 1996 constitution of South Africa to promote democratic and accountable government for local communities is far from reached.

The disproportionate representation of males and females attests to the fact that in Africa, even though women play an integral part in the administration of the continent, they have little or no room in the administration of their societies. Decision-making and governance in traditional African societies hinges on men. Women are constantly prevented from participating in community meetings where important decisions concerning the whole community are made (Hunter, 1961:395). Brydon and Chant also argue that the African political system has no adequate structures that recognize the role of women. Therefore, the theories of development that have been embraced by native administrations have failed to address the issue of gender inequalities (McCormack, 1981:27).

Table 2: Age range of respondents

Variable	Frequency	%
15-21	3	6
22-29	7	14
30-37	7	14
38+	33	66
Total	50	100

A careful look at table 2 indicates that native institution is dominated by people who are 38 years and above. This has come to the fore as a result of the fact that 66% of the total sample population falls within 38+ years. On the other hand, those within the age group of 15-21 form the minority representing 6% of the sample population.

The possible reasons for the disproportionate representation of the age groups may be because of the adult domination in Africa political system. Because usually, in Traditional administration, people who are appointed leaders are people who are

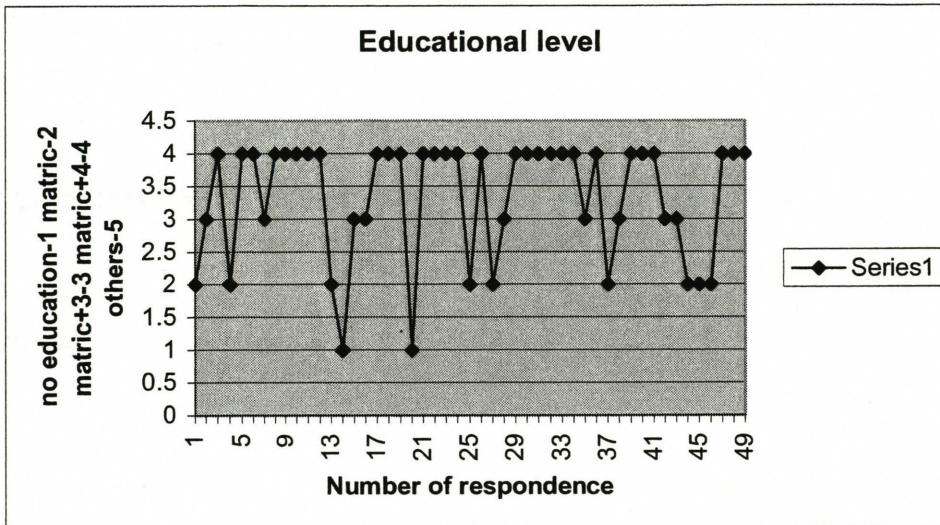
advanced in age and well versed with African tradition. It is only on rare occasions that a minor is made a traditional leader and this attests to Hunter's argument that women and the youth in African societies are always prevented from participating in community meetings where important decisions biding the whole community are made (Hunter, 1961:395). On the contrary, Busia (1951) contends that the youth in the Africa political system had much influence the administration of their various communities. He states that "they (the young men) would come as members of their respective lineages, but they also formed an unofficial body having a recognized and effective way in which they expressed their will not only about elections of the chief but on all matters affecting the tribe" (Busia, 1951:105).

This trend may also be established because the younger generation is no longer interested in traditional leaders and native institutions because of education and influence from the west. Youth in Africa have lost contact with their cultures and therefore do not want to have much to do with native institutions. It is therefore not surprising that after independence, most African leaders decided to do away with native institutions in their countries. The youth of Africa, especially the elites are more comfortable with elected representatives than chieftaincy institutions because most of them perceive native institutions as backward, non-productive and also characterized by nepotism. According to Gluckman, among the Zulus, close relatives and friends are the only instrumental people involved the administration of the tribe. As a result, majority of the subject population especially the youth have no room to participate in the administration of traditional societies. In the Zululand for instance, princes, brothers of the king and close relatives were the aristocracy in the land (Gluckman, 1940:34).

Table 3: Educational Qualifications of Respondents.

Variable	Frequency	%
No formal Education	6	12
Matric Certificate	14	28
Matric + 3 qual.	16	32
Matric + 4 years qual.	13	26
Others	1	2
Total	50	100

Diagram C: Educational qualifications of respondents.



From table 3 and diagram C, it is indicated that educated individuals in South Africa owe strong allegiance to traditional institutions. The possible reasons why chiefs have become popular among scholars in post-independence South African society could be that scholar has come to the realization that elected representatives are corrupt and unaccountable to ordinary citizens. Because the elite population, has lost confidence in political leaders the only solace has become native administration which is perceived by scholars in recent times as development and people centered and must therefore be utilized as a panacea to solve the problem of underdevelopment plaguing Africa. (Fisiy1995). However, Mamdani (1996) perceives the resurgence of traditional leaders in Africa as a result of the fact that post-colonial states in Africa succeeded in “derecialising” the continent but have

not succeeded in “detrribalizing” the continent of native institutions. The main reasons why the African continent could not be detribalized were because of the liberation movements, which were formed in Africa against the colonial administration. During the liberation movement, all concerned stakeholders in society including traditional leaders were called on board without hesitation. In some instances, chiefs even founded these liberation movements. The African National Congress (ANC), the main liberation movement in South Africa, for instance, was formed around traditional leaders. According to Maloka (1996):

Chiefs were particularly important to the ANC in two ways. Firstly, since many of those who became supporters of the ANC had long been involved in the struggle against colonialism, it was assumed that they represented their tribes. Secondly, the new organization (ANC) was also financially dependent on chiefs for survival. Each chief contributed L5 to the provincial ANC in his area; while each paramount chief contributed L25 to the province and another L25 to the headquarters of the organization (Maloka, 1996:179).

These reasons have served as fertile grounds for the “retraditionalisation” which is taking deeper roots and also compelling chiefs to take up roles in contemporary South African politics instead of being pushed “into the position of impoverished relics of a glorious past” (Oomen, 1999; Warnier, 1993:318). Other reasons why native leadership is gaining a lot of grounds in post-apartheid South Africa are because of the support the institution is getting from the leadership of South Africa. The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Acts is part of the efforts the government of South Africa is investing into resuscitation native administration in South Africa. The colonial administration has also contributed to the upsurge of retraditionalisation in South Africa today. The apartheid government divided South Africa into what Mamdani(1996) calls the “subject” population and the “citizen” population. Subjects were led native leaders

and the customary laws while citizens were governed by the central government and the constitution. After the independence of South Africa, these two worlds could not be integrated because of the hangovers of the past. And that is the main reason why the African population in South Africa is reluctant to let go their allegiance to native leadership.

However some scholars in South Africa are opposed to the resurgence of chieftaincy institutions in South Africa. According to this group of individuals, the colonial administrators destroyed native leadership. They argue that during the colonial era, traditional leader who opposed the National Party's policy of social segregation were deposed and in their place, ordinary citizens who were loyal to the apartheid regime were installed as chiefs. In Ciskei, for instance, nine chieftaincies were created as a result of bantustanisation while in Transkei, apart from the removal of stubborn legitimate chiefs, ordinary individuals who became influential with the apartheid authorities rose to power. Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei homeland was one of such people who rose to the status of chief and consequently president of Bantustan as a result of his alliance with the colonial administrators. By the end of the 1950's, headmanship had dominated both the Transkei and the Ciskei regions (Maloka, 1996:174-175). By June 1957, Alice district alone had eleven headmen (King William's Town Archive, N1/1/1).

Mamdani, in his ground-breaking studies also confirms that native administration is now an artificial institution. Mamdani argues that consensus was imperative in native administration. However, the colonial and apartheid government succeeded in

strengthening the powers of African chiefs beyond the reach of the ruled, which consequently resulted in making the state the “determiner of consensus”(Mamdani, 1996:45). In the African political administration, decision making on matters affecting the society was by consensus. The chief could not unilaterally take decisions without consulting the citizens. Mandela (1984) explained the consensus that characterized the African political system by stating that:

Then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings... Then the country was ours, in our name and right... All men were free and equal and this was the foundation of government. The council [of elders] was so completely democratic that all members of the tribe could participate in its deliberations. Chiefs and subjects, warriors and medicine man, all took part and endeavored to influence its decisions (Mandela, 1984, cited in Ayittey, 1991:37).

However, in the colonial era, the subject population lost their rights in contributing to matters affecting them because the state concentrated all powers regarding the administration of local communities into the office of the chief and the chief was only responsible to the state and not the subject population. Mamdani (1996) describes the concentration of power in the office of the native leaders as “clinged fist”

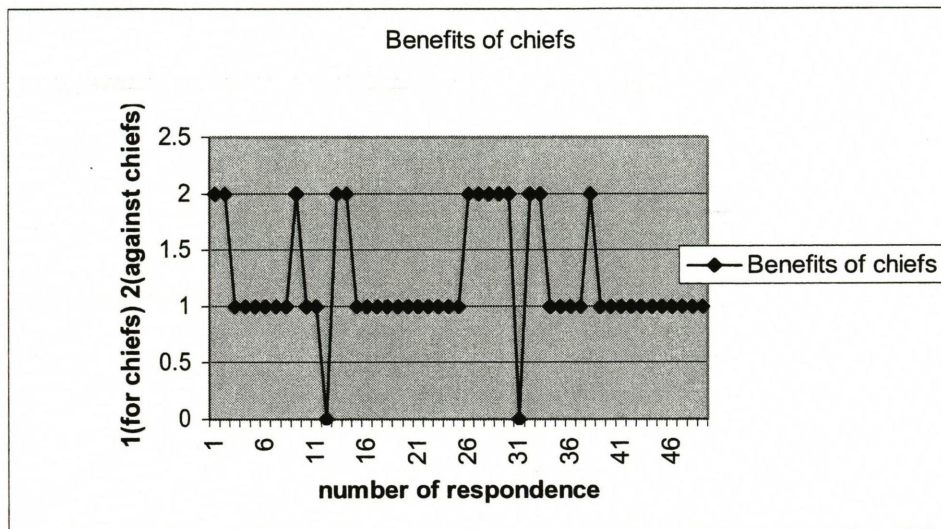
Table 4: Importance of chiefs in society- response by non-chiefs

Variable	Frequency	%
Yes	24	60
No	14	35
I don't know	2	5
Total	40	100

Table 5: Importance of chiefs in society- response from chiefs

Variable	Frequency	%
Yes	10	100
No	0	0
I don't know	0	0
Total	10	100

Diagram D: Importance of chiefs in society



From tables 4, 5 and diagram D, it is demonstrated by respondents of the questionnaire that native administrators are very important in the South African society. 60% of the respondents who are not chiefs agree that traditional leaders are important in the community 35% disagrees that chiefs are important and 5% do not know if chiefs are relevant to the society or not. Among the chiefs however, 100% of respondents who are traditional leaders attest to the fact that chiefs are still very integral component of the South African society. The supportive response from the despondence to the questionnaire contradicts the popular claims by some scholars and politicians that chieftaincy is anti-development and outmoded and must therefore be uprooted from the post-apartheid South Africa. Govan Mbeki for instance argues in his book *The Peasant Revolt* (1984) that native authorities are outmoded and therefore have to be “discarded.”

Mbeki premised his argument in the colonial era and the behavior exhibited by traditional leaders during the colonial period.

Chiefs under apartheid regime became very corrupt beyond control. In the absence of checks against the powers of the chiefs, native leaders resorted to extortion of money from local residents to supplement their meager salaries. Bantustans were compelled by chiefs to pay for everything including access to houses and employment in the civil service. In Langa location in Cape Town, residents had to call on the acting assistant Native commissioner of Salt River to stop extorting money from the local residents (King William's Town Archives, N1/1/2). In Transval, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had to come up with a policy titled Consolidation of Regulation: Financial Liabilities of Bantu Chiefs. This policy was to regulate chiefs from financial misuse. The stipulations in the policy were as follows: "If a chief in Natal or Transvaal enters into an agreement for the purchase of an article on credit without the permission in writing of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, then the contract is null and void if the purchase price or the unpaid balance therefore exceed R20" (King William's Town Archives, N1/1/1).

Maloka, also elaborates the corrupt nature of chiefs under the apartheid era as follows:

Chiefs charged fees for access to village resources, especially land. In Sekhukhuniland, for example, from the 1960s villagers were required to pay an annual traditional levy, and to make contributions to school building fund. In addition, chiefs expected their subjects to raise money to buy them cars, to build them houses and to pay the bride wealth of the chief's wife. The subjects were also expected to deliver a variety of traditional tributes including a portion of all beer brewed and cattle slaughtered as well as rendering tribute labour on the chief's lands and in royal house (Delius, cited in Maloka, 1996:176).

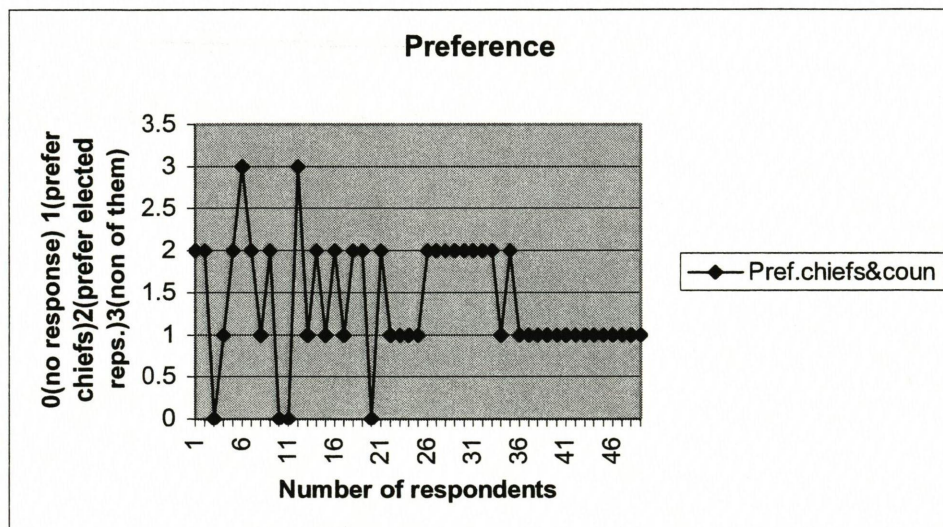
If chieftaincy is perceived as an outmoded institution in African society as claimed by Mbeki, an overwhelming majority of respondents to the questionnaire administered, as depicted in table 4 will indicate otherwise.

The 100% affirmative response from native leaders in table 5 also confirms that all traditional leaders –both hereditary or apartheid installed support the existence of the chiefs in society.

Table 6: Which do you prefer? Chiefs or elected representatives?

Variable	Frequency	%
Chiefs	23	46
Elected Representatives	21	42
Non of them	2	4
No response	4	8
Total	50	100

Diagram E: Which do you prefer? Chiefs or Elected representative?



The data from table 6 and diagram E reveals that notwithstanding the challenges that traditional leadership had gone through, a great number of South Africans still prefer chieftaincy institutions to elected representatives. Of the number of people who responded to my questionnaire, 46% prefer chiefs as leaders in post-apartheid society. 42% said they prefer elected representative as leaders in independent South Africa while 4% of the respondents prefer either of them. 8% was however lost response. The possible reasons for the preference of native administration over elected representatives could be as a result of what this study calls African Politics. With this polity, government only attends to the needs of the citizens when election is approaching in order to canvas votes

from the electorates. However, in the African political administration, because lineages within the traditional states can desert a leader who fails to discharge his duties appropriately, chiefs are always conscious of duty calls (Stayt, 1968:198-199).

As a result, the citizens who have lost confidence in government's approach to their needs have turned to traditional leaders who are always there for them. Scholars and politicians have recently come to the realization that native administration is people centered and development oriented and must therefore be utilized as an antidote the problem of underdevelopment plaguing Africa (Fisiy1995; Goheen, 1992).

Table 7 :Do you think Chiefs and Elected representative working together?

Variable	Frequency	%
Can work together	44	88
Cannot work together	3	6
I don't know	3	6
Total	50	100

Diagram F : Do you think chiefs and elected representative can work together?

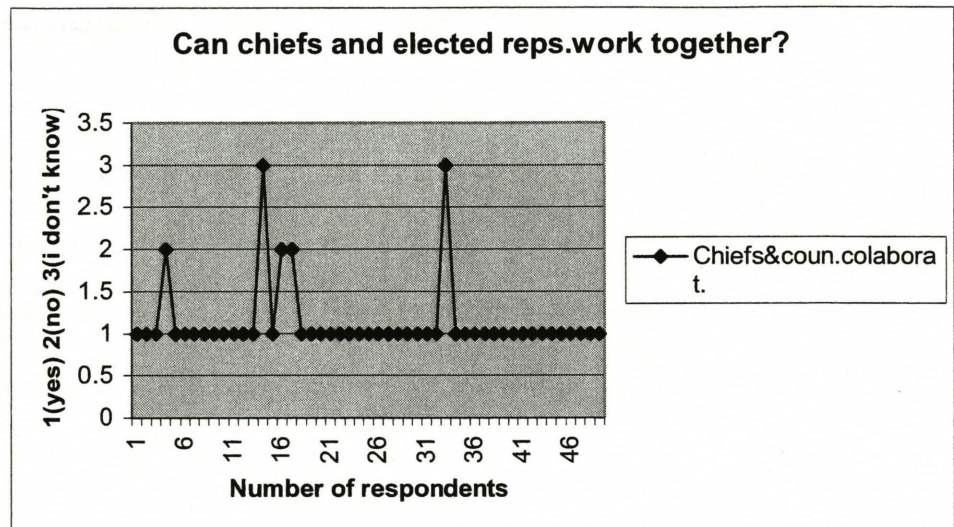


Table 7 and diagram F shows that South Africans believe traditional authorities and elected representative can work together to promote social development. 88% of the respondents to the questionnaire agree that traditional leaders and elected representatives can work hand-in-hand to promote development in South Africa while 6% of the respondents are of the view that traditional leaders and elected representative cannot work together. The remaining 6% of the respondents say they do not know whether chiefs and elected representatives can work together.

The percentage of respondents in table 7 and diagram D demonstrates that chiefs can work together with elected representatives to bring about social advancement. This study also agrees with other studies conducted by scholars in other parts of Africa concerning chieftaincy and modern administration. In Ghana, Botswana and Lesotho, native

administration is co-existing with elected representatives with ease (Sklar,1994). However, Ntsebeza (2005) disagrees with the fact that traditional institutions can be integrated into modernity. In his co-existence thesis therefore, Ntsebeza argues that these two institutions; that is native institutions and elected representative governance are like water and oil. Mixing is impossible because these two institutions operate on different dimensions (Ntsebeza, 2005). Ray (1996) also agrees with Ntsebeza that chieftaincy institutions cannot be integrated into modern dispensation. Ray also reiterates that chieftaincy institutions form a parallel power to the people- centered governance prevailing in African state and therefore cannot co-exist. In a study on chief-state relation in Ghana, Ray notes that chiefs derive their claim to legitimacy from pre-colonial roots, while the modern state is a “creation of, and a successor to the imposed colonial state”(Ray, 1996:181).

Maloka (1996) on the other hand argues that when the ANC was formed, chiefs were major stakeholders of the organization. However, due to the greedy nature of chiefs, ANC was abandoned for the colonial administrators, which the organization was fighting against. Maloka therefore perceives native leaders as discredited to be integrated into modern administration for social development (Maloka, 1996:178-178).

Conclusions and summary of the main findings

In the data analysis, important findings came to the fore. Some of these important findings included the fact that most Africans still have very strong affiliations to native

institutions. This attitude emanates from the failures of modern governance in terms of service delivery. Scholars are now affiliating with native leaders as an alternative to promote development in their various societies because native leaders have succeeded in proving to scholars over the years that they are reliable partners in the advancement of Africa. Notwithstanding the retraditionalisation which is gaining a lot of momentum in African, some scholars are also of the view that the development of South Africa must not include native administrative institutions because this institution was part of the abusive colonial and the apartheid regimes which have failed the majority population of South Africa and must therefore go with the colonial administration. Between these scholars- those calling for the abolishing of native leadership and those calling for the resuscitation of native leadership is a group of individuals who believe that native leadership and modernity can co-exist to bring about development in post-independent South Africa.

This chapter has succeeded in the presentation and analyzing the data collected. The subsequent chapter however gives a summary of findings on this study and recommendations to assist scholars and policy makers on how to handle issues of traditional leadership in

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and conclusion

Introduction

The foregoing chapter presents data, which supports the hypothesis advanced at the beginning of this study interrogating whether the integration of native institutions into the administration of post-apartheid South Africa can help promote social development. The underpinning factor that premises this study is the recent attempt by the African National Congress leadership's attempt to resuscitate chieftaincy institutions in post-independent South Africa. Although the credibility of chiefs among the subject population has been interrogated, "retraditionalisation" is taking deeper roots and many chiefs are taking up roles in contemporary South African politics instead of being pushed "into the position of impoverished relics of a glorious past" (Oomen, 1999; Warnier, 1993:318).

The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, since independence, has come to acknowledge the institution of traditional authorities. Chiefs removed from office by the apartheid regime have been reinstated and new chiefdoms and traditional councils have also been established to sustain this institution in South Africa.

The ANC –led government has again passed two Bills through parliament in 1993 to augment her relationship with traditional institutions in South Africa –the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework ACT and the Communal Land Rights Bill-which make concessions to traditional authorities, reviving the powers they had enjoyed in pre-colonial days. The Framework Act accepts tribal authorities as foundation for establishing traditional councils, while the Communal Land Rights Bill recognizes these traditional councils as having the authority to administer and allocate land in the rural areas (South Africa Government Gazette, 2003). The government’s decision to acknowledge native institutions in South Africa gives rise to a number of questions:

- a. Is liberal democracy as enshrined in the South Africa constitution compatible with chieftaincy institutions?
- b. If it does, what is the role of chiefs in the development of South Africa? In order to arrive at real answers to the above questions, this study presents a discussion guided by information gathered from the fieldwork.

Co-operative governance

Section 41(1) of South African constitution deals with the principles of co-operative government and intergovernmental relations. The constitution determines that all spheres of government and all the organs of the state must:

- a. preserve peace in the Republic of South Africa;
- b. promote the well-being of all its people;
- c. provide an accountable and democratic system of government;

- d. be loyal to the basic laws of the Republic of South Africa;
- e. respect the institutions of government;

- f. not exceed its constitutional powers and responsibilities;
- g. respect the institutional integrity of other levels of government;
- h. co-operate in good faith with other spheres of government;
- i. facilitate good intergovernmental relations.

A careful study of the 1996 constitution of South Africa again promotes cooperative governance and also indicates that local authorities should be an integral part of this process because local authorities are in direct contact with the citizens at the local level and therefore the guardian of the welfare of the public. This implies that the development of South Africa cannot be successful without the inclusion of traditional leadership. A critical analysis of data gathered in course of this study attests to the fact that the development of South Africa must be based on the syncristic model as indicated in the previous chapters.

Native leadership has become an influential component of development in South Africa since pre-colonialization it is therefore not surprising that, even after 1994, about 18 million South Africans still affiliate traditional authorities (Molotlegi, 2003:4). This significant influence of chiefs in post independent South Africa suggests that native leadership cannot be abolished in South Africa without creating socio-political imbalances. Table 5 and diagram C of chapter four of this study affirms that majority of South Africans are still enjoying the administrative influence of chiefs. This evidence like

other studies indicated above testifies that native leadership cannot be marginalized in the development of post independent South Africa.

Traditional leadership as indicated by some scholars is more reliable than elected representative regarding service delivery. This is because in the African political administration, incompetent chiefs more often than not are deserted for a more competent and reliable leadership. This form of holding leaders into account hardly takes place in modern leadership. In modern administration, once a leader is elected, that leader, whether competent or not rules till the end of turn because removing such leaders would mean making the ruling party unpopular.

Apart from the physical needs of the subjects, traditional leaders also attend to the spiritual development of their people. This function, which cannot be performed by elected administrators, makes chiefs very popular and preferred to elected representatives among South Africans. Table 6 in the previous chapter gives attestation to the fact that chiefs are preferred to elected representatives.

South Africans have again come to acknowledge that all the features of modern governance characterize native administration. As a result, most Africans are calling for an administration, which is made of both modernity and traditional leadership. According to Ismail (1999), indigenous governance has its democratic elements that can strengthen rather than weaken current efforts to build a democratic culture among the African people (Ismail, 1999:1). The decentralization of pre-colonial state for instance is an important

feature of modern state administration, which cannot be relegated to the background.

Gluckman depicts decentralization in Zulu state in this fashion:

Projected laws and matters of national importance were announced to the people by the king through his sub-chiefs, though many announcements were made at the first- fruits ceremony. When necessary, the sub-chief passed on these orders to their indunas in charge of wards and these reported to the heads of lineage groups and homesteads (Gluckman, 1940:38).

Chieftaincy institutions are also very accommodative and can therefore co-exist with all forms of administrations. In his book *Tribal Innovators*, Schapera (1970) points out this important character of native administration. Schapera argues that chiefs introduced innovations such as taxation, social legislations and supported the Europeans whom they accepted into their chiefdoms. According to Schapera, traditional institutions since colonial era have been “intercalary figures”, serving the modern projects of the colonial states as well as the “traditional” aspects of their chiefdoms (Schapera, 1970).

Native leaders apart from creating states also succeeded in planting a sense of identity and nationality among the subjects. National identity is also an integral part of our world today any every state today just like pre-colonial era is bent on promoting national identity through various ways including language. According to Afolayan (2004), under Shaka’s reign, a new and integrating sense of nationalism was promoted as every inhabitant, no matter his or her origin, became a Zulu, speaking the Zulu dialect, the language of the kingdom (Afolayan, 2004:32).

The native institution may look refined and the best for South Africa. However, it is imperative to note that chieftaincy like any form of political administration in the world

has its ugly side. Prominent among these negatives in chieftaincy is the fact that traditional leadership is patriarchal oriented. In the African, political system, women and children are always marginalized. Women and children are hardly involved in the administration of the society (Hunter, 1961:395). However, in liberal democracy it is wrong to marginalize a person or group of persons based on gender, race or creed. It is therefore not surprising that children and women as indicated in tables 1 and 2 in the preceding chapter oppose native leadership.

Some scholars also perceive native leadership in the development of post-colonial South Africa as unnecessary. Mamdani (1996) argues that allowing traditional leadership in the development of South Africa will create what he calls “citizens” and “subject”. This will govern citizens governed by the central administration of the country while the subject population will still be under the tutelage of chiefs. He further argues, “ Contemporary chieftaincy is in many respects a category of ‘decentralized despotism’ due to the absence of institutionalized mechanisms that served to check against excesses”. In pre-colonial era, the chief was the custodian of land and the “ultimate popular sanction against a despotic chief was systematically strengthened-emphasizing the state as the determiner of the consensus” (Mamdani, 1996:45). According to him:

Most postcolonial states in Africa succeeded in derecialise but not to democratize the bifurcated state, thereby maintaining the basic framework of decentralized despotism to the detriment of the rural peasantry. He therefore suggested that by introducing democratic reforms which encompasses the worlds of both citizens

and subjects, the urban and the rural, and the local African states can be sure of a world entirely of citizens, no bifurcated and despotic(Mamdani, 1996:45).

Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Bill

In a bid to reconcile the irregularities in chieftaincy institutions and also integrate the good aspects of traditional administration into the development of South Africa, the ANC-led government succeeded in passing the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Bill through parliament. This bill among all other things seeks:

- (i) To provide for the recognition of traditional communities; to provide for the establishment and the recognition of traditional councils;
- (ii) to provide for the functions and roles of traditional leaders; to provide a statutory framework for leadership positions within the institution of traditional leadership, the recognition of traditional leaders and the removal from office of traditional leaders;
- (iii) to provide for houses of traditional leaders; to provide for dispute resolution and the establishment of the commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims; and to provide for matters connected therewith(Government Gazette No.25437, 2003).

The bill established Traditional Councils which must work with local municipalities to promote co-operate governance from the local to the national spheres of administration. In order to ensure that the co-operate governance is sustained, the bill has spelt out the following functions which have to be followed by the traditional councils:

1. facilitating the involvement of the traditional community in the development or amendment of the integrated development plan of a municipality in whose area that community resides.
2. Supporting municipalities in the in the identification of community needs.
3. Recommending appropriate interventions to government that will contribute to development and service delivery within the area of jurisdiction of the traditional council.
4. Participating in development programmes of municipalities and of the provincial and national spheres of government.
5. Promoting indigenous knowledge systems for sustainable development.
6. Administering the affairs of the traditional community in accordance with custom and tradition.
7. Assisting, supporting and guiding traditional leaders in the performance of their functions.
8. Participating in the development of policy and legislation at local level.
9. Promoting the ideals of co-operative governance, integrated development planning, sustainable development and service delivery.
10. Alerting any relevant municipality to any hazard or calamity that threatens the area of jurisdiction of the traditional council in question, or the well-being of people living in such area of jurisdiction and
11. Performing the functions conferred by customary law, customs and statutory law consistent with the constitution.

Recommendations

It is evident in this study that developmental characters that can help promote socio-economic advancement of South Africa endow native leadership. However, this study admits that traditional administration like any other political systems in the world is embedded with features that are incompatible to development in South Africa. And not until these negatives in chieftaincy are done away with, attempts by the government of South Africa to resuscitate chieftaincy will not yield any good result.

First among the transformations that must take effect in traditional leadership is the abolishing of succession by hereditary. Succession by hereditary marginalizes potential leaders who might belong to the subject population. However, by subjecting appointment to leadership position in the African political system to electoral process, competent leaders will have the chance of being elected by the subject population. By subjecting chieftaincy institution to electoral process, the previously marginalized groups in society like women and the youth will also have the chance of participating in the decision making process of the community in which they live in.

For chiefs to actively participate in the development of the society, native leaders must go through administrative trainings that will equip them to function very well as leaders in the face of rapid modernity taking place in South Africa.

This study also contends that in as much as there is the need for transformation in chieftaincy institutions in South Africa, there is also the need to transform the modern

dispensation prevailing in South Africa to accommodate native leadership and also make room for a syncristic model of development. For this syncristic administration to successfully operate in South Africa, both the liberal democratic administration and traditional leadership must agree to let go their negatives and only integrate the positives in the development of South Africa.

Conclusions

This study on traditional leadership and social development has unearthed several conclusions. Prominent among them is the fact that chiefs are still very popular among South Africans and therefore, traditional administration must not be overlooked in the development of post-apartheid South Africa. It is in this direction of including traditional leadership in the development South Africa that the ANC-led administration passed both the traditional leadership and governance framework bill to promote co-operative governance and development in all spheres of leadership in South Africa.

To achieve this agenda of co-operative governance and development, a syncristic model of governance, as noted earlier in this chapter has to come into play.

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UNIVERSITY OF FORT-HARE

I shall be grateful if you will respond to the questions listed below as candid as possible.

You are assured absolute confidentiality.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHIEFS

PLEASE TICK CIRCLE OR EXPLAIN WHERE APPLICABLE.

1. Sex:

1. Male

2. Female

2. Age:

1. 18-30

2. 31-45

3. 46-60

4. 60+

3. Your level of education?

1. No formal education

2. Matric certificate

3. Matric + 3 years qualification

4. Matric + 4 years qualification

5.Others (please specify)

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.....

4. Are you a traditional leader?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not Applicable

Are you a paramount chief or sub-chief?

.....
.....

5. How many years have you served as a traditional leader?

1. 0-6 years

2. 7-15

3. 16-21 years

4. 22+ years

6. Is traditional leadership beneficial to society?

1. Yes

2. No

7. How can chieftaincy help develop the society?

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8. Is there any difference between an elected counselor and a chief?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. I don't know

9. Which do you prefer a hereditary chief or an elected representative?

- a. Chief
- b. Elected representative

10. Do think an elected representative and a chief work together towards the development of the community?

- a. Yes
- b. No

11. What should be the role of a hereditary chief in the new South Africa?

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12. Do you think a chief can still play an important role in community development?

1. Yes
2. No

13. Do you think chieftaincy is an obstacle to development?

1. Yes.
2. No

14. If yes briefly write down these obstacles

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

I shall be grateful if you will respond to the questions listed below as candid as possible.

You are assured of absolute confidentiality.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NON- CHIEFS

1. SEX:

1. Male

2. Female

2. AGE:

1. 15-21

2. 22-29

3. 30-37

4. 38+

3. Your level of education?

1. No formal education

2. Matric

3. Matric + 3 years qualification

4. Matric + 4 years qualification

5. Others (please specify)

4. Do you have a traditional leader in your community?

1. Yes

2. No

3. I do not know

5. Is traditional leadership beneficial to your society?

1. Yes

2. No

If yes,

6. What is the traditional leader doing to help develop your society?

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7. Is there any difference between an elected counselor and a chief in your community?

1. Yes

2. No

8. Which do you prefer?

1. Chief

2. Elected representative

9. Do you think an elected representative and a chief can work together to develop your community?

1. Yes

2. No

3. I do not know

10. What should the role of chief be in the new South Africa?

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10. Do you think native authorities are obstacles to development in South Africa?

1. Yes

2. No

If yes, briefly write down these obstacles

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