

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

By

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree

**MASTERS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(MPA)**

in the Graduate School of Leadership, Faculty of Management Sciences
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Giyani : September 2001



DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted to the University of the North for the degree of Master of Public Administration has not previously been submitted by me for degree at this University, that it is my own work in design and in execution, and that all material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

Signed: -----

Date : 19/09/2001-----

Acknowledgements

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my wife Rachel for standing by me, when it was difficult, for having faith in me, for her words of encouragement and above all her understanding. My children, Kulani, Vuyisani and Thembi who were my source of inspiration and motivation.

I also extend my thanks to my parents Joseph and Nelly, parents in law Albert and Louisa for their support and encouragement. My brothers, Isaac, Tiny and Ronny, for their support and encouragement.

I further extend my gratitude to my friend with whom I travelled this journey, J. J. Maluleke who was my pillar of strength with his support and assistance; and to my company, the Northern Training Trust for making it possible for me to participate in the MPA programme, as well as Kennedy Maimela who availed himself to help me finalise this work

Lastly I extend my gratitude to my promoter Dr Mafunisa for his patience, contributions and support, including all the respondents who made it possible for me to complete this study.

Finally I take this opportunity to thank myself for believing that I had what it takes to complete this work and making an effort to achieve that. It is true that if you set your mind to achieving something, nothing can stop you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The problem and its setting

Local government is an important sphere of government, and the one that is closest to the people. Local government as such is a structure that is well positioned to deliver essential services to local communities and to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC 1994:13). Local government can effectively deliver essential services to communities where community involvement and participation are strong.

Traditional leadership is an old institution, which for many years played an important role in the lives of black communities. Traditional leaders were responsible for various functions, ranging from the maintenance of law and order to looking after the destitute. Traditional leadership is a form of local government, which was, for many years, the only form of government known to rural communities.

The rural local government and traditional leaders are the structures responsible for bringing about meaningful and effective development in rural local communities. It is unfortunate that they do not co-operate with each other, a situation that hampers rural local development

1.1.1 Problem statement

In order to bring about meaningful and effective development in local communities, the local government and the traditional leaders must work together. To prevent confusion, each structure's role must be clearly defined. The role of local government is clearly defined in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act*

108 of 1996) and other acts of Parliament, but the role of traditional leaders remains undefined.

For many years rural communities accepted traditional leaders as their legitimate leaders and accepted their authority without question. Thakhathi (1995:4), in his analysis of the role of civics in Venda, found that there was conflict between traditional leaders and civic members because traditional leaders did not understand the role of the South African Civic Organization (SANCO) and what it stood for. Traditional leaders consequently viewed civics with suspicion and mistrust. Conflict was also noted between councillors and traditional leaders, and this was ascribed to the lack of role clarification.

Chapter 12 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* gives recognition to traditional leaders. The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* states that the institution, status and role of traditional leaders are recognised according to customary law. Traditional authorities observing a system of customary law must function under the applicable legislation, Section 211 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)*.

The Constitution does not define the role of traditional leaders, except to mention that national legislation may provide for a role for traditional leadership as an institution at local level. It further indicates that national or provincial legislation may provide for the establishment of houses of traditional leaders and that national legislation may establish a council of traditional leaders. These are bodies that are intended to deal with matters relating to traditional leadership, the role of traditional leaders, customary law and customs of communities observing customary law (Section 212 subsection 2 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996, Act 108 of 1996*, and *Council of Traditional Leaders Act, 1997, Act 10 of 1997*).

The announcement of an election date for local government elections for 2000 was postponed several times due to traditional leaders' demanding that their role

and status in local government be clarified. The delay in the announcement of an election date was the result of an emergency meeting that took place between traditional leaders and President Mbeki on 28 September 2000 (Idasa, October 2000).

Another major problem that was raised by traditional leaders was the demarcation of new municipal boundaries. Traditional leaders were unhappy about the process. They saw it as undermining their authority because they were never consulted. Many traditional leaders also expressed their dissatisfaction at being incorporated into municipalities (Idasa, June 2000). The process of demarcating local boundaries was seen by traditional leaders as a way of trying to get rid of them through the back door (Sowetan 2000:9).

An article appearing in the *Sowetan* (2000:9), entitled "Move to democracy - but keep the chiefs", states that traditional leaders are acceptable to rural communities, because rural people believe in leaders being born and not elected. It goes further to suggest that an acceptable model of rural local government should include both elected leaders and traditional leaders. The problem, however, is which of these should be in the majority and what authority/powers each should have. It then points out that whatever model is chosen, it must be based on competence, but also be acceptable to the people for whom it is intended.

The question of the competence of either party is debatable, i.e. traditional leaders and elected councillors, because neither have experience in local government. Traditional leaders have broad knowledge and understanding of rural life and needs. Elected councillors on the other hand have a mandate to govern, but their knowledge and understanding of rural life is in question. Both can learn from each other, and share their knowledge and experiences.

According to Venson (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:278), areas of conflict between traditional leaders and elected leaders concern issues such as who has the right to

consult the community on development, who has the right to convene community meetings, who should manage development funds, and who is responsible for ensuring that the desired development takes place. As a result, workshops were organised in the Free State, Northern, and North West Provinces. The purpose of the workshops was to bring the two parties together to discuss and agree on their roles. What was agreed upon was that elected councillors should be responsible for project delivery, and that traditional leaders were better placed to mobilise the community and facilitate development.

Venson goes further to point out that the success or failure of decentralisation depends on the clarification of roles of locally based statutory bodies, i.e. councillors and traditional leaders. The view is supported by other contributors in a Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung seminar report, entitled "The role of traditional leaders in local government in South Africa". Botha (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:279), for example, submitted that "they (traditional leaders) create an orderly structure in the community". Zibi (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:279), on the other hand, argues that, "without the participation of traditional leaders, no meaningful development can take place in rural areas".

From the above discussion it is clear that traditional leaders have an important role to play in rural local government. What remains a problem, however, is the clarification of that role.

The government, according to the *Sowetan* (2000:9), is of the opinion that traditional leaders should be brought into local government as a 20%, non-voting representation in local councils. This is a situation that will give elected leaders the upper hand, and there will always be questions as to who has the final say. This supports the view that without a clear definition of roles there will always be problems between traditional leaders and elected councillors.

1.1.2 Statements of hypotheses

The first hypothesis is that traditional leaders regard local government councillors as a threat to their authority and leadership.

The second hypothesis is that traditional leaders regard rural local government as an unnecessary structure because traditional leadership is a capable institution/structure.

The third hypothesis is that local government councillors regard traditional leadership as an undemocratic and unnecessary institution with no role to play in local government.

The fourth hypothesis is that local government councillors regard traditional leadership as an outdated institution of puppets of apartheid, with no role to play in a democratic government.

1.1.3 Delimitation of the study

This study focuses on the role of traditional leaders in the Northern Province. It is confined to the Lowveld and Northern regions of the province and is restricted to the Malamulele and Giyani local municipalities. The sample of the study is restricted to traditional leaders (*mahosi* and *indunas*) and elected councillors.

1.1.4 Significance of the study

This study will help to restore healthy relations between local government structures and traditional leaders. By clarifying the role of traditional leaders in local government, confusion about roles can be eliminated and trust restored among leaders. A good working relationship between traditional leaders and local councillors will assist in bringing about the desired effect of uplifting rural communities and advancing local economic development. A flourishing local economy is desirable for job creation and poverty alleviation.

1.1.5 Purpose of the study

This study is aimed at defining the role of traditional leaders in local government. Traditional leaders have an important role to play in local government. It is unfortunate that their role is not clearly defined because that creates uncertainty, which often results in confusion of roles. This situation will always lead to mistrust and strained relations between traditional leaders and councillors, and hence the need to define the role of traditional leaders.

In order to define the role of traditional leaders, they were interviewed to find out what role they thought they should play in local government. Elected councillors were also interviewed to find out what role they thought traditional leaders should play in local government. This would shed light on the views of both parties and help to identify problems that exist in rural local government. These interviews would help to identify the role of traditional leaders and find ways to improve relations between traditional leaders and elected councillors.

1.2 Methods of investigation

Several methods of investigation were employed to obtain reasonable data upon which to draw conclusions, and make recommendations. The data used was of two types i.e. primary and secondary data.

1.2.1 Primary sources

A structured interview in the form of a questionnaire was used and the responses elicited constituted one type of primary data. Other sources were made up of documents such as the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* and other relevant acts of Parliament e.g. *Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000)*, and *Council of Traditional Leaders Act, 1997 (Act 10 of 1997)*.

Interviews conducted were based on the structured questionnaire, which was intended to shed light on the

hypotheses drawn from the statement of the problem (see Annexure 'A').

1.2.2 Secondary sources

Materials such as published studies, newspapers, texts and dissertations formed the secondary data.

1.3 Complexity of the situation

This study was undertaken just after local government elections, and what happened just before the elections could have had an influence on the responses of the target populations. For example, just before the elections, traditional leaders expressed their dissatisfaction to government about the lack of clarification of their role in local government. This put pressure on government to make some undertakings to resolve the matter as soon as possible.

1.4 Clarification of concepts

In this study the following concepts, where used, will carry the meanings indicated below:

1.4.1 Traditional leader: the head ruler (*hosi*) or headman (*induna*) of a rural community.

1.4.2 Councillor: an elected local council member.

1.4.3 Local government: a third sphere of government intended to govern a smaller community i.e. municipality.

1.4.4 Local economic development: a local initiative intended to identify, harness, and utilise resources to stimulate the economy to create new job opportunities.

1.5. Sequence of chapters

Chapter two of this study discusses the nature and purpose of local government. Chapter three focuses on the review of existing materials on rural local governance and traditional leaders. Views expressed form the bases of

comparison between views of traditional leaders and local government councillors. The views of traditional leaders and local councillors are discussed in chapter four. Chapter five discusses the findings of the study, conclusions drawn and recommendations made.

CHAPTER 2

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

2.1 Introduction

Local government is the third and most important sphere of government, because it is closer to communities and therefore in a better position to deliver essential services to them. Local community involvement and participation in local government is crucial in ensuring that delivery of services meets the needs and wants of the community. It will also ensure that the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme is in line with local community values.

Community structures such as civic movements, women's and youth organisations, can also play an important role in creating awareness among community members of the importance of being involved and participating in local government issues. These structures are crucial in ensuring that principles of democracy are upheld, because while they can facilitate community involvement and participation, they can play a watchdog role at the same time.

2.2 The nature of local government

According to Craythorne (1997:13), local government is multidimensional because it operates in a number of dimensions, and is a living and dynamic organism. The dimensions in which it operates include legal/statutory, political, social, economic, administrative, and service provision dimensions.

2.2.1 Statutory/legal dimension

Chapter 7 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* makes provision for the establishment of local government as a third sphere of

government. This provides a framework of powers and duties of local government, which is implemented through *the Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000)*.

Chapter 12 of the Constitution gives recognition to traditional leaders, but fails to define their role in local government because section 212 does not provide for a specific role for traditional leaders in matters affecting local communities.

According to Craythorne (1997:13), under the pre-1994 provincial legislation, municipalities were classified as corporations. This classification gave municipalities the status of corporate body with a juristic persona. He then points out that in terms of the provisions of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* municipalities no longer need to bear the status of corporate bodies, because they are now government. This is the new legal framework provided by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)*. This view was also expressed by the former Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Mohammed Valli Moosa in his foreword to the *White Paper on Local Government (1998)*.

2.2.2 Political dimension

Craythorne (1997:14) points out that politics always played a role in local government, because decisions taken, although in some cases purported to be non-political, were always political. He then points out that, because of that, it is important to ensure that local politicians adhere to tenets of democracy, i.e. they must be transparent and accountable in their actions. Their failure to adhere to or uphold these tenets can lead to politicians being removed from office. Traditional leaders are not elected into office but hold office by virtue of their birth, i.e. only children born of the royal family can ascend the throne. This aspect creates questions as to how traditional leaders holding political office can be held accountable, and hence resistance to their participation in local politics.

2.2.3 Social dimension

Local communities in South Africa are faced with many social ills such as abuse, high rate of crime, high rate of unemployment, and poverty. These, according to Craythorne (1997:15), concern all spheres of government and particularly local government. Local government must therefore take cognisance of the nature of its population, adopt policies that are balanced, be open and responsive, but ensure fairness in exercising its authority.

The South African society is divided along racial lines because of its apartheid past. Local governments therefore have a challenge on their hands, i.e. to create a non-racial society that must be treated fairly and justly. This means mobilising resources in areas that need them most, but maintaining a balance by ensuring that no area is neglected. Black areas, and in particular rural areas, suffered most under apartheid. This is a situation that must be reversed in creating a better life for all. In order to encourage the participation and support of rural communities, traditional leaders must play a role in the decision-making process in matters affecting their communities.

2.2.4 Economic dimension

One of the most important roles of local government is local economic development. This is a local initiative intended to stimulate the local economy. It is a crucial role because a strong local economy that is capable of creating much needed employment, will enable residents to pay for their services. This will in turn create a strong revenue base for the local government. A local government with a strong economy will be less dependent on provincial and national governments, while being capable of delivering essential services to the local community.

Section B of the *White Paper on Local Government (1998)* discusses developmental local government, i.e. its responsibilities towards local economic development. It reviews existing policies and procedures, and provision of

special economic services. Although, according to the white paper, a municipality is not directly responsible for creating jobs, it can provide good quality, cost-effective services and make the local area a pleasant place to live and work in. The local government can adopt policies such as affirmative procurement policies where municipal contracts are linked to social responsibility, speeding up approval procedures, or pro-actively identifying and releasing land for development. These are activities which boost investor confidence and therefore promote local economic development.

The International Republican Institute and the National Business Initiative (1998:v), in their introduction to the local authorities' role in economic development, indicate that changes in South Africa, and the world as a whole, should challenge local authorities to play a more active role in supporting local economic growth and development. This mandate is also provided by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)*, in which local government is mandated to promote the social and economic development of the local community.

In his opening address to Parliament on 7 February 1997, the President of South Africa at that time, Mr Nelson Mandela, emphasised the need to train councillors so that they could effectively engage in matters of local development such as housing, provision of infrastructure and attracting investment.

2.2.4.1. The meaning of local economic development

The International Republican Institute and the National Business Initiative (1998:2) define local economic development as a locally driven process designed to identify, harness and utilise resources to stimulate the economy and create new job opportunities. In view of this definition, local economic development involves local initiatives undertaken by local government to stimulate the local economy e.g. provision of housing, infrastructure such as roads and business sites, as well as attracting investment to the local area.

2.2.4.2. Importance of local economic development

A vibrant local economy is important and necessary because it will create much needed jobs for the local community. This in turn will create a strong revenue base for local government because citizens will be able to pay for services provided to them.

A strong revenue base for local government will enable local government to provide more, better and more efficient services. It will also enable local government to focus on development. In order to stimulate the local economy, local government must provide political leadership, make policies that promote economic development, exploit the economic potential of their resources, promote their locality, take initiative in creating an environment that attracts investment, and lobby provincial and national governments for policies and programmes that will benefit their areas (International Republican Institute and National Business Initiative 1998: 2-4).

In rural areas local economic development is an even greater challenge because unemployment and poverty are at their worst. In view of this, cooperation between all local structures is necessary and obligatory. Thakhathi *et al* (1998:34) point out that local government councillors have a very important role to play in local economic development. They are responsible for establishing communication channels, local development forums and also for empowering communities. He further points out that traditional leaders are also among the important role players in the process of local development and there should, therefore, be synergy between them and local councillors. Traditional leaders are an important structure because they control the bulk of rural land and are trusted by the community.

2.2.5 Administrative dimension

A municipality has administrative needs because it must provide goods and services to the local community. It is

the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of the administrative staff that determine the success of the local government in providing the necessary goods and services (Craythorne 1997:16). In order to deliver goods and services efficiently, the municipality must decide on the best delivery option. That will depend, however, on the ability of the administration to implement the chosen option (*White Paper on Local Government 1998: section F*). This places an obligation on the municipality to develop its administration to carry out its chosen form of service delivery.

According to the *White Paper on Local Government (1998)* many black areas were disadvantaged under apartheid, and many people were deprived of basic services such as water, sanitation and refuse collection. It became necessary under the new dispensation to amalgamate previously race-based municipal administrations. According to the *White Paper on Local Government*, this disadvantaged the staff of former black local authorities. Little was achieved in terms of enhancing performance because weaknesses of the former system were inherited and remained intact.

2.2.6 Service provision dimension

According to Craythorne (1997:16), municipalities provide services to secure the peace, quiet, safety, comfort and convenience of the population. Services provided by local government, like all services provided by the public service in general, are not a privilege in a civilised and democratic society, but they are a legitimate expectation (*Batho Pele White Paper, 1997:3*).

Local government is responsible for rendering various services to the local community. Hilliard and Msaseni (in van Rooyen 2000:66) argue that any government must deliver efficient and effective services to remain in power. They also point out that due to apartheid, people were racially segregated. This caused the duplication and overlapping of services at local level, and in the process services in most black areas deteriorated to the extent that they ground to a total halt.

In order to improve service in the new South Africa, the Minister of Public Service and Administration introduced "*Batho Pele*". The *Batho Pele White Paper* (1997) introduced the eight principles upon which *Batho Pele* is based i.e. consultation, service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness and transparency, redress and value for money. According to Hilliard and Msaseni (in van Rooyen 2000:67) the emphasis of *Batho Pele* is on the national and provincial governments, but apply equally to local government.

According to Hilliard and Msaseni (in Van Rooyen 2000:76), the *Batho Pele White Paper* (1997) suggests a strategic approach to improving service delivery. The approach is based on eight strategies i.e. identifying the customer, establishing the needs and priorities of customers, establishing the current service baseline, identifying the improvement gap, setting standards to close the gap, gearing up for delivery service standards and monitoring delivery against standards and publishing results.

According to Mafunisa (1995:59) the ethical standard of effectiveness is an aid for examining how well government is meeting the public demand for services, and the degree to which the services are responsive to the needs and desires of the community. Services of local government must address the specific needs and wants of the local community but must be rendered in a cost-effective manner.

Local government is better placed to understand the needs and wants of local communities because of its proximity to the communities, and to provide services to satisfy those needs and wants. That can, however, only be achieved if the principles and strategies as proposed by the *Batho Pele White Paper* (1997) and Mafunisa (1995) are upheld and applied with enthusiasm.

Craythorne (1997:86) suggests that local governments should extend into rural areas, including areas falling under tribal authorities. This is an important suggestion

because it will ensure that development takes place at the same pace in both rural and urbanised areas. It is therefore also important that traditional leaders should be allowed to participate fully in matters affecting their communities.

2.3 Characteristics of local government

According to the minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, in his foreword to the *White Paper on Local Government (1998)*, the white paper is like a mini-Constitution because it affects all South Africans. He describes local government as the sphere of government that interacts closely with communities, and which is tasked with ensuring growth and development of communities in a manner that enhances community participation and accountability.

A municipal council governs and represents people in its area of jurisdiction. For such a structure to be considered a local government, according to Craythorne (1997:10), it must have the following five generic characteristics i.e.

- (1) A law establishing such an institution must be non-racial, and set parameters for the qualifications and disqualifications of a person as a voter.
- (2) The law must provide for the qualifications and requirements for individuals to stand for elections, including procedures for nomination of candidates, and election rules.
- (3) Municipalities should govern and represent the inhabitants of a municipal area.
- (4) A municipal council must have powers and functions.
- (5) A municipal council must be able to make by-laws, levy taxes, approve and implement budgets, employ staff and render services.

2.4 *Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998)*

The *Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998)* as amended by the *Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000)* is a commitment of government to fulfilling the provisions of the Constitution to establish local governments. The Act defines categories of municipalities, the types in each category and how each category is determined. Chapter 2 of the Act deals with the establishment of municipalities in each category and how each type is determined.

Chapter 4 of the *Local Government Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998)* as amended by the *Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000)* deals with internal structures and functionaries i.e. executive mayors, metropolitan sub-councils and ward committees. The *Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act (Act 33 of 2000)*, however, does not make provision for the inclusion and participation of traditional leaders in local government.

2.5 Conclusion

The above discussion clearly illustrates the importance of local government. It is an important sphere of government which, according to Craythorne (1997:13), is a true form of local government because section 40(1) of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* provides for three spheres of government i.e. national, provincial and local, which are distinctive, independent and interrelated. The powers and functions of local government as provided for and limited by the constitution mean that local government no longer needs to be given the status of a corporate body but that of government like the national and provincial governments.

Local government is an important sphere of government because it is closest to the community, and as such better placed to deliver essential services to communities.

Traditional leaders and councillors can play a crucial role in the development of rural local communities. However, they find themselves working against each other and in so doing, impeding community development. Strained relations between these two parties can stand in the way of development and progress. Projects may sometimes be delayed to the extent that sponsors even withdraw their sponsorships while leaders are still fighting among themselves.

A healthy working relationship between traditional leaders and councillors is important for meaningful community development to take place. Healthy relations can develop if the role of each party is clearly defined, because clear role definition will ensure co-operation and mutual respect, a situation that will contribute positively to local economic development.

Local economic development and service provision are among the most important functions of local government. Local economic development is important because it will ensure that jobs are created and poverty eradicated. This, in turn, will ensure that services provided to local communities are paid for and therefore enable the municipality to establish a strong revenue base.

CHAPTER 3

RURAL LOCAL GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

Rural communities in South Africa, and in many other African states, for many years accepted the authority of traditional leaders without question. Democracy in South Africa brought about a local government that is focused on bringing about meaningful development to both urban and rural communities. This is, however, accompanied by uncertainties and confusion as to which structure should govern, i.e. traditional leaders or local government.

After the new government came into power, traditional leadership suddenly became questionable. It soon became clear, however, that traditional leadership cannot simply be ignored or wished away because it is an entrenched institution that still has a role to play in rural local governance.

3.2 Tribal authorities

Chapter 12 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* provides for the recognition of the institution, status and role of traditional leadership. According to Moran (working draft part two: 53) as well as the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* traditional authorities and leadership will continue to run under indigenous law.

It must be noted that the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* does not make any provision for a role for traditional leaders in local government. Thakhathi *et al* (1998:34) recognise the fact that traditional leaders are important role players in local government development, and, therefore, the need for synergy between them and local councillors. They further

suggest greater co-operation and regular communication between the two bodies.

The *Draft Discussion Document towards a White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Institutions* (2000) can be regarded as a concession of government, that the role of traditional leaders needs to be defined. In this document the institution is recognised as one the oldest institutions of government, both in Africa and the rest of the world, and pre-dates colonialism and apartheid.

The discussion document also recognises the fact that although chapter 12 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* gives recognition to the institution of traditional leadership, its exact role in the current democratic context remains unclear. This is ascribed partly to the fact that government does not have a consistent policy on traditional leadership. The discussion document is an effort on the part of government to launch a *White Paper Process on Traditional Leadership* in which all questions regarding the role, status and future of traditional leadership will be dealt with in a comprehensive manner.

3.3 *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)*

The Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic as provided for by Section 2 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)* which states that the Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic. The Constitution as such lays a foundation for all other legislation. This means that any law or conduct which is inconsistent with the Constitution, is invalid. Provisions of the Constitution impose an obligation on government to fulfil them.

Chapter 7 of the Constitution provides for the establishment of local government. The status and legislative authority of municipalities are dealt with in section 151, while section 152 deals with the objects of local government.

Chapter 12 of the Constitution provides for the recognition of traditional leaders. Section 212 provides for the role of traditional leaders in matters affecting local communities, but the role is not specified. It is only mentioned that national legislation may provide for a role for traditional leaders in local government. It also provides for the establishment of houses of traditional leaders at provincial level and a council of traditional leaders at national level.

The constitution is clear on the role and place of the elected councillors and local government, including all matters relating to them. Traditional leadership is recognised as an institution but its role is not clarified. The fact that the Constitution makes provision for the recognition of traditional leaders, places an obligation on government to define their role and place in local government.

Traditional leaders and councillors can play a crucial role in the development of rural local communities. They find themselves working against each other, however, and in so doing impeding community development. Strained relations between these two parties may stand in the way of development and progress. During May 2001 the *Sowetan* reported that Inkatha Freedom Party members threatened to stop performing their municipal functions unless the impasse between the government and traditional leaders was resolved (Sowetan 2001:5). This is but one example of what can happen if the role of traditional leaders in local government is not defined.

A healthy working relationship between traditional leaders and councillors is desirable for meaningful community development to take place. Healthy relations can develop if the role of each party is clearly defined, because clear roles for each party will ensure co-operation and mutual respect, a situation that will contribute positively to local economic development

3.4 Rural governance in South Africa

Craythorne (1997:85-86) points out that South Africa still has a large rural population, and that rural areas never

had their own form of local government. He further argues that real circumstances in rural areas cannot be compared to those in urban areas and therefore policy for rural areas should differ from that for urban areas.

The *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (ANC 1994:6) recognises the fact that rural areas cannot function effectively without the involvement of elected local government councillors, and therefore local governments should be extended to incorporate rural areas. To extend the provision of essential services to rural areas is very important, because that will ensure that rural areas are not left behind in matters of local development as was the case in the past.

An important point to note is the fact that services to any community must be paid for, and this applies to rural communities as well. It is therefore important that rural communities are educated about payment for services so that a culture of service payment is developed. Traditional leaders are better placed to fulfil this role, because rural communities trust their traditional leaders.

Taking the above into account, it is clear that rural areas must be incorporated under local governments. Note must also be taken of the fact that they are different from urban areas. Another fact that must not be overlooked here is that these areas fall under tribal authorities and traditional leaders. Their inclusion into local government in any form should therefore provide for the inclusion and participation of traditional leaders with a clearly defined role.

According to Venson (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:278-79) conflict between traditional leaders and elected representatives exists around issues such as who has the right to consult communities on development, the right to convene community meetings, manage development funds and ensure that development takes place. According to her, workshops were held in the Free State, Northern Province and North West Province to try and determine what role traditional leaders should play in local government and how their role could complement that of elected councillors. The workshops confirmed the need for

collaboration and the need for central government to support community efforts and avoid trying to replace locally based structures.

Zungu (in Hofmeister and Scholz 1997:169) points out that the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in 1986 made a number of proposals on the position of traditional authorities in the local authority system in the future KwaZulu-Natal. According to her one understanding reached was that traditional authorities were to be treated as part of the future system of local government.

Zungu goes further to say that the working group on local government for tribal authorities in a new South Africa proposed three models of local authorities as follows:

3.4.1 The first model proposes a system whereby tribal systems would lose their legal recognition, with the tribe managing its own affairs and electing its traditional leaders.

3.4.2 The second model proposes a system in which traditional leaders and their powers are fully recognised and their powers extended to create fully-fledged local authorities.

3.4.3 The third model proposes a system in which the tribal system is amalgamated into a Regional Services Council for infrastructure and service provision. The tribal system is recognised for traditional purposes only.

The above models, although different in nature, confirm the fact that rural communities are different from urban communities and therefore any form of government for them should provide for traditional leadership.

3.5 African experience

In October 1996 an international conference on "Traditional and contemporary forms of local participation and self-government in Africa" was held in Nairobi, Kenya. Discussions at the conference were focused on both rural and urban forms of local government. At this conference

the African traditional heritage enjoyed a special platform. Contributors to the subject were unanimous on the fact that modern and traditional rule should co-exist for local development to be comprehensive and suitable to human needs (Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:8)

According to Ntimama (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:27) local government in Kenya was first developed by the imperial regime for purposes of strengthening its rule over the citizens. According to him this system gave powers to administrators and their agents, including chiefs and headmen. This was a form of indirect rule where the regime ensured that any form of local traditional authority was dismantled, giving way to the oppressive system of colonial establishment. He indicates, however, that there is a new system in place which allows local authorities to be in control of development in their own areas, with the minister of local government only there to help direct, advise and co-ordinate the activities of local authorities.

Boaten (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:135) states that in Ghana it did not matter what happened to the status of traditional leaders, they continued to provide leadership for rural people. They retained their authority and managed their own affairs and also carried out the policies of central government. He also points out that although held in low esteem by both government and the bureaucracy, both admitted that traditional leaders were the key to success and to changing rural attitudes. According to the *Discussion Document on Traditional Leadership and Institutions (2000)* the Ghanaian constitution recognises the institution of traditional leaders and provides for national and regional houses of traditional leadership.

Boaten further points out that the survival of traditional leaders is important because they provide a link between central government and the people. Traditional leaders are also a force in mobilising people, a situation that will prevail for a long time. The Ghanaian traditional leadership had an element of democracy according to which, in his view, modern African political structures can be built. The Ghanaian traditional leadership system was

built on certain values, which the traditional leader had to uphold because failure to do so would lead to the traditional leader being unseated. This, according to him, was the pillar of the system and is an important element which, if properly harnessed, can eliminate all forms of dictatorship.

3.6 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that a more effective local government is desirable and possible if elected councillors and traditional leaders can co-operate. In order to achieve meaningful synergy. Roles of both structures must be clearly defined so that each party knows what is expected of it. This will enable the parties to appreciate and respect each other. Co-operation between the two parties can help to improve the quality of life of the local community.

Local government is an important sphere of government because it is closest to the community, and as such is better placed to deliver essential services to local communities. Local government is, however, not only responsible for delivering basic services and collecting revenue, but is also responsible for local economic development.

The International Republican Institute (IRI) and National Business Initiative (NBI) (1998:V) state that local economic development is about local people, i.e. local authority, business, labour, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and individuals taking control and responsibility for job growth and the economic well-being of their community. The shortcoming in this statement is that traditional leaders are not included among the structures they mention.

Zibi (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997: 279) argues that without the participation of traditional leaders, no meaningful development can take place in rural areas. Co-operation between elected councillors and traditional leaders is important, to create a feeling of comradeship

amongst community members so that local economic development is a joint effort of all community structures.

Venson (in Hofmeister & Scholz 1997:278) points out that during workshops held in the Free State, North West and Northern Province, it was agreed that elected councillors were better equipped to deliver development because they represent government, and that traditional leaders were better placed to mobilise the community because they were trusted by the community. This clearly indicates the need for co-operation between traditional leaders and elected councillors.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This study, as indicated above, is confined to the Giyani and Malamulele areas of the Lowveld and Northern Region, and as such only traditional leaders and councillors from these areas were interviewed. Responses of each group i.e. traditional leaders and elected councillors were analysed separately so that the views of each group could be compared with the views of the other group. Findings made were discussed together to identify and compare concurring and divergent views.

4.2 Analysis of responses by traditional leaders

Out of twenty-three (23) *Mahosi* from Giyani and Malamulele local authorities, a total of twelve (12) were randomly selected and interviewed. The interview is structured into a questionnaire where the respondent is asked to describe or discuss. A total of eleven (11) questions are asked. Of the eleven (11) questions, seven (7) questions require the respondent to answer Yes /No, followed by a justification of the answer.

All responses to the question on the relationships between the traditional leader and his subjects concurred. All traditional leaders expressed the view that their relationship with their communities was one of mutual respect and was very healthy. In each response the respondent expressed satisfaction with the way in which consultation took place between the community and the traditional leader. This contradicted the third hypothesis in which traditional leaders were regarded as undemocratic and unnecessary. This response also contradicted the fourth hypothesis in which traditional leaders were

regarded as an outdated institution of apartheid puppets with no role to play in local government.

In all responses regarding the participation of traditional leaders in local government, it was indicated that traditional leaders did not participate in local government. The reason expressed was that they did not know what their role was and therefore could not participate, but should their role be clarified they would be willing to participate, because they were responsible for the well-being of their communities and knew their needs.

The above, in their opinion, created the need to participate in all spheres of government because at all levels, decisions affecting their people were taken. These responses supported the first hypothesis in which traditional leaders felt that councillors were a threat to their authority and leadership.

Traditional leaders felt they could not participate in local government if their role was not clarified because this would undermine their authority. This was also in agreement with the second hypothesis in which traditional leaders regarded local rural government as an unnecessary structure because traditional leadership was a capable structure.

Responses to a question asking whether it was necessary for tribal areas to fall under local municipalities also supported the second hypothesis in which traditional leaders in rural local government were seen as an unnecessary structure. All responses to this question were "No". Reasons advanced were that the needs of rural areas and urban areas differed, and that tribal authorities could easily manage the service needs of their communities and therefore did not see the need to fall under a municipality.

Traditional leaders felt that they were not afforded the desired recognition by the present government. This was expressed in all responses. The general feeling is that the government just did not have a way through which to get rid of them.

They described the relationship between traditional leaders and councillors as poor and hostile. They felt undermined and looked upon as intruders in their own areas. They saw participation in local government as mere window-dressing where their participation would be of no consequence. This was in support of the third and fourth hypotheses where traditional leadership was regarded as an unnecessary, undemocratic and an outdated institution of apartheid puppets with no role to play in local government.

On what role traditional leaders should play in local government, responses differed from one respondent to another. Suggestions ranged from issues such as tradition, culture and matters of tribal life, to development, allocation of sites, grazing and farming land allocation. What all concurred on was that they should be part of the decision-making process in the local council. They also expressed a need for all community structures to participate in local government. There was, however, a general feeling expressed that local government should be made up of two houses i.e. one of elected councillors and one of traditional leaders.

In all responses, the house of traditional leaders at provincial level was regarded as an ineffective body because it did not give feedback to traditional leaders, nor did it get inputs from traditional leaders.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), on the other hand, was regarded as an effective body, because it provided feedback and the government listened to it. Some reservations were, however, raised regarding the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa's effectiveness. It was regarded as an extension of the African National Congress (ANC), intended to control traditional leaders, and that was why government afforded it a hearing.

From the above discussion it is clear that traditional leaders shared similar views. They were not satisfied with the way they were treated. They were willing to participate

in local government only if their role was clearly defined. They saw themselves as a capable structure that should be involved in all activities of the local government but would prefer to manage their own affairs.

4.3 Analysis of responses by elected councillors

A total of twenty (20) elected councillors from both the Giyani and Malamulele magisterial districts were randomly selected and interviewed. As in the case of traditional leaders, a structured interview questionnaire was used to collect data from elected councillors. The questionnaire is made up of eleven (11) questions out of which four (4) require "Yes/No" answers and a brief description or explanation.

The relationship between the local government council and the community was described by 35% of respondents as positive. It was pointed out in 25% of the responses that some work still needed to be done to improve the relationship, more especially in tribal areas because this form of government is new to rural communities. 40% of responses indicated that a culture of payment for services, more especially in rural areas, needed to be developed so that services could be paid for. This is contrary to the responses given by traditional leaders whose responses were expressed without a feeling of uncertainty about their relationship with the community.

Traditional leaders were seen as a necessary structure because all responses were in the affirmative. It was generally accepted that traditional leaders were readily accepted as leaders in rural areas. They are custodians of culture and tradition and therefore an important structure to uphold community values. This was contrary to the third hypothesis in which local government councillors regard traditional leadership as an undemocratic and an unnecessary institution with no role to play in local government. This was also contrary to the fourth hypothesis where it was believed that traditional leadership was an outdated institution of apartheid puppets with no role to play in a democratic government. In all responses traditional leaders were said not to be

participating in their local government. The reason advanced was that their role was not clearly defined. It was, however, indicated that this matter was receiving attention and a solution may soon be found. It was also pointed out that traditional leaders should actually participate at all levels of government. This was contrary to the belief expressed in the third and fourth hypotheses. What was clearly suggested, however, was that their participation should be restricted to matters of tribal interest, culture, tradition and custom. This was contrary to the suggestions of traditional leaders who believe that they should participate fully in all activities of the council.

Responses on whether traditional leaders were afforded the necessary recognition, could be categorised into two categories. 10% of respondents believed that traditional leaders wanted to be treated as they were treated in the past, where they were unwittingly turned into politicians to the benefit of the apartheid regime. This view fully supported the fourth hypothesis that traditional leaders are regarded as apartheid puppets with no role to play in local government. The other 90% expressed the opinion that traditional leaders were not afforded the necessary recognition and were not fairly treated. A feeling was expressed that even where they were involved, their participation was mere window-dressing. They were not consulted even on matters that directly affect them, such as the demarcation of municipal boundaries.

Regarding suggestions as to how local government should be structured, 60% of respondents suggested a situation where elected councillors and traditional leaders would participate, with traditional leaders only involved in situations involving tribal issues, while 40% suggested a situation of total involvement with the council made up of two houses i.e. elected councillors making one house and traditional leaders making the other house. This view is in support of the view expressed by traditional leaders.

Other structures such as women's organisations, youth movements, the South African National Civic Organisation and other relevant structures should also have some form of representation in the council. This was in contrast to

the third hypothesis in which traditional leaders were regarded as an unnecessary institution with no role to play in local government.

4.4 Conclusion

Views raised as indicated above, clearly suggest the need for an integrated effort from all stakeholders. To create an environment conducive to development, a situation of co-operation, calm and goodwill between traditional leaders and elected councillors can only help to create a local economy that is capable of creating much needed jobs and in eradicating poverty.

Traditional leaders cannot be ignored because they do have a role to play in local politics. They enjoy the support of their subjects and have the ability to facilitate development for their communities.

Traditional leaders control tribal land, which they hold in trust on behalf of their communities. This particular aspect puts enormous power in the hands of traditional leaders. This factor cannot simply be ignored because traditional leaders can withhold land for development. Cooperation between traditional leaders and local government councillors is very important. It will create a climate conducive to development, as both parties will share a common understanding of local problems.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In South Africa, as in many other African states, traditional leaders were responsible for distributing land, for settling disputes among community members, for looking after the destitute and for upholding traditional values and customs. It is for that reason that traditional leaders continue to play an important role in the lives of rural communities.

The concept of local government is something new for rural communities. It is a concept that is not clearly understood by these communities because they have always been under traditional rule where they lived a simple form of life with few demands for services such as electricity, running water and sanitation. Today the situation has changed drastically. Many rural communities have access to the above services, a situation that creates the need for a competent body to render and maintain such services. The provision of the above services also creates the need for the collection of fees, which requires a certain level of competence and expertise. The local government is a body that has the expertise and legal right to provide and maintain such services.

In chapter one, the focus was on the problem statement in which it was pointed out that the role of traditional leaders in local government was not clearly defined. This created confusion and uncertainty among rural communities. The chapter also discussed the statements of hypothesis, delimitation of the study, its significance and aims, methods of investigation, and the complexity of the situation under which the study was conducted. Unfamiliar concepts were also clarified.

Chapter two of this study discussed the nature and purpose of local government with the main focus on the provisions of the *Constitution of the Republic of South*

Africa Act, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000), and the White Paper on Local Government (1998). The main focus of the discussion was on dimensions of local government with specific emphasis on local economic development. The research findings emphasise the need for cooperation between traditional leaders and local government councillors.

Chapter three of the study dealt with rural local governance and traditional leadership. Provisions of the Constitution as the supreme law of the country were discussed with the focus on the recognition of traditional leaders and the establishment of local government. Other relevant legislation e.g. *Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998)* as amended by *Local Government Municipal Structures Amendment Act, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000)*, and *Council of Traditional Leaders Act, 1997 (Act 10 of 1997)* were also briefly discussed. Other sources such as contributions to an international conference on traditional leaders and contemporary forms of local participation and self-government in Africa and other relevant texts and newspaper articles were discussed.

The research findings confirmed the fact that traditional leadership is a recognised institution but its role is not clearly defined. This supports the first hypothesis which stated that traditional leaders regarded local government councillors as a threat to their authority and leadership, the third hypothesis which states that local government councillors regard traditional leadership as an undemocratic and unnecessary institution with no role to play in local government, and the fourth hypothesis which states that local government councillors regard traditional leadership as an outdated institution of puppets of apartheid with no role to play in a democratic government.

Chapter four dealt with the analysis of data collected. The first part dealt with the responses of traditional leaders. Findings support the first hypothesis in which traditional leaders regard elected councillors as a threat to their authority and leadership. They also support the second

hypothesis, in which traditional leaders regard local government as an unnecessary structure, because traditional leaders regard themselves as having the capacity to provide services to rural communities. There are, however, findings that contradict these hypotheses e.g. traditional leaders indicated their willingness to participate in local government provided their role was clarified.

The second part of the analysis dealt with the response of the elected councillors. The findings support the first and second hypotheses. The general feeling expressed is that traditional leaders feel threatened by elected councillors and also feel that they themselves are capable and able to provide services to their communities. The findings also support the third and fourth hypotheses on the fact that traditional leadership is undemocratic and also an outdated institution of apartheid puppets. These are, however, expressed by less than ten percent of the respondents. Contrary to this, all the responses indicate the need for the participation of traditional leaders in local government. There is also consensus with the responses of traditional leaders, i.e. that participation of traditional leaders should not only be in local government but also at provincial and national government level.

In view of the above, the conclusion can be drawn that traditional leaders must participate in local government. This is supported by the responses of both traditional leaders and elected councillors, and is also supported by the findings recorded in chapters 2 and 3. This means that traditional leaders do have a role to play in a democracy, but what this role should be is not clearly demarcated.

Councillors suggest a role which focuses on tradition and customs. Literature suggests a much broader role, which includes mobilising and facilitating communities on matters of development. Traditional leaders view their role as even broader, including not only matters of culture, traditions, customs and development, but also the allocation of land for farming, grazing and housing. They would also like to participate with councillors as equal partners in all activities of the council.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that rural local councils are responsible for rendering services to two distinct sectors of the community i.e. urban and rural. The needs of these two communities are completely different e.g. urban areas need a refuse removal service while rural areas do not need this service. They need grazing, while urban areas do not need such a service.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that the role of traditional leaders in local government should promote co-operation between the community and the local authority. Traditional authorities should facilitate development in areas falling within their jurisdiction. This will ensure that the community accepts the local government initiatives, which in turn will ensure that the community accepts the responsibility of paying for services.

Traditional and elected leaders need to co-operate with each other so that both can contribute positively to the creation of a better life for all. The unfortunate thing, however, is that the role of traditional leaders is not clearly defined. This situation creates tension and animosity between traditional leaders and elected councillors, a situation which in turn creates confusion among community members.

The suggestion of a council composed of two houses sounds reasonable because this will ensure that traditional leaders participate in deliberations of the council on all matters affecting their communities. The council would therefore be made up of a house of elected members and a house of traditional leaders. Traditional leaders would therefore play a role similar to that of the National Council of Provinces at national level i.e. they participate in all deliberations on matters affecting provinces. In the same way, all matters regarding areas falling within the jurisdiction of tribal authorities would be introduced in the council by the house of traditional leaders. This would ensure that the needs of rural communities receive the same attention as those of urban areas.

In order to avoid controversy, all traditional leaders falling within a municipal area should participate in council activities. Traditional leaders referred to, mean only *mahosi*, but in areas where their numbers are insignificant the *indunas* should also participate. This would differ from area to area, but the basic approach would apply to all rural local authorities.

Based on the above discussion it is recommended that the views expressed by traditional leaders regarding their participation be accepted because they do have merit. Meaningful local governance can only be achieved by full participation of both parties, with each party's role clearly defined. A situation of this nature can help to create co-operation and better understanding between both parties. It is therefore necessary that the clarification of the role of traditional leaders should be given priority.

As in the case of traditional leaders, elected members will focus on communities falling within urban areas. The house of elected members would concentrate on areas not falling within the jurisdiction of tribal authorities. On matters affecting all communities falling within the jurisdiction of the council, a joint sitting of the council would be appropriate.

From the above it is clear that traditional leaders have a place in the new democracy in South Africa. They can play an important role in ensuring that the needs of rural communities receive the same attention as those of urban communities. Elected councillors cannot manage both rural and urban communities without the participation of traditional leaders. The two must co-operate with each other so that both communities can benefit.

The importance of defining the role of traditional leaders cannot be over-emphasised because without a defined role traditional leaders will continue to refuse to co-operate and in so doing, frustrate all development efforts by the local government. Whatever role is assigned to traditional leaders, it should allow them full participation in council deliberations and decisions. Another important issue is

that all efforts should be made to ensure that traditional leaders are brought into local government and become effective participants.

Six months after the elections, the role of traditional leaders in local government remains undefined, a situation that can further strain relations. A solution to the problem, on the other hand, does not guarantee better relations, but may strain relations even further. If the government does not find a suitable/appropriate solution to concerns raised by traditional leaders, however, the impact on relations could be negative.

The National Department of Provincial and Local Government recently indicated that it is not dragging its feet over the resolution of the outstanding issues about the roles and functions of traditional leaders. This was in response to a threat by Inkatha Freedom Party members, to stop performing their municipal functions by 21 May 2001 unless the impasse between the government and traditional leaders was resolved. This is an undesirable situation, which, should not be allowed to develop further, and therefore government should be committed and finalise the matter.

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The Role of Traditional Leaders in Local Government

Questionnaire: Traditional Leaders

Dear respondent, please note that information obtained through this questionnaire will be kept confidential, and your name will under no circumstances be divulged to any body.

Please respond to the following questions as honestly as you can, by inserting an "x" in the appropriate answer and/or provide details where necessary.

Question 1.

How is the relationship between you and your community? Please explain -----

Question 2.

Do you participate in the local government/municipality in your area? Yes/no

Please explain -----

Question 3.

Is it appropriate that traditional leaders should participate in local government?

Yes/no Please explain -----

Question 4.

At what level of government should traditional leaders participate?

Local/provincial/national Please explain -----

Question 5.

Are traditional leaders afforded the desired recognition by the government?

Yes/no Please explain -----

Question 6.

How should local rural government be structured? -----

Question 7.

What role should traditional leaders play in local government? -----

Question 8.

Is the house of traditional leaders an effective forum for traditional leaders? Yes/no. Please explain-----

Question 9.

Is CONTRALESA an effective forum for traditional leaders? Yes/no. Please explain -----

Question 10.

Please describe the relationship between your local council and traditional leaders in your area. -----

Question 11.

Is it necessary for tribal areas to fall under local governments/municipalities? Yes/no. Please explain -----

Your participation is highly valued, THANK YOU.

The Role of Traditional Leaders in Local Government

Questionnaire: Elected Councilors

Dear respondent please note that information obtained through this questionnaire will be kept confidential, and your name will under no circumstances be divulged to any body.

Please respond to the following questions as honestly as you can, by inserting an "X" in the appropriate answer and/or provide details where necessary.

Question 1.

How is the relationship between your council and the community? -----

Question 2.

In a democracy, is it still necessary to have traditional leaders? Yes/no. Please explain -----

Question 3.

Do you think that traditional leaders still have a role to play in South Africa? Yes/no. Please explain -----

Question 4.

Are traditional leaders in your area participating in the local council? Yes/no. Please explain -----

Question 5.

At what level of government should traditional leaders participate? Local/provincial/national. Please explain -----

Question 6.

Do you think that traditional leaders are afforded the desired recognition by the government? -----

Question 7.

How should rural local government be structured? -----

Question 8.

What role should traditional leaders play in local government? -----

Question 9.

Please describe the relationship between your council and local traditional leaders. -----

Question 10.

Please describe benefits of a good working relationship between traditional leaders and elected councilors to the community. -----

Question 11.

Do you think it is necessary for rural areas to fall under local government/municipalities? Yes/no. Please explain-----

Your participation is highly appreciated, THANK YOU.