The Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority during South Africa's political transition, 1990–1994

Patrick A. Nyathi

Abstract

In 1994, South Africa emerged from a long struggle against colonialism, segregation, oppression and apartheid to embrace a new democratic dispensation. Despite this development, the country continuously recognise traditional leadership institutions, which some scholars argue compromise democratic principles. Consequently, many rural citizens remained subject to traditional leaders' authority, often viewed as undemocratic. This qualitative study employs Traditional Authority and Modernisation Theory to frame its analysis. It uses in-depth interviews with ten purposively selected residents of the Mpukunyoni area to examine the role of the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority before the establishment of elected local governance structures. This paper explores the brief history of the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority in Mtubatuba, examining its role before the advent of elected local government structures in the area. It also investigates how the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) maintained its hegemony in KwaZulu-Natal and Mtubatuba during the political transition period of 1990 and 1994. By analysing these dynamics through the lenses of Traditional Authority and Modernisation Theory, the study illuminates the interplay between traditional authority and emerging democratic governance in South Africa's rural areas during a significant period in South Africa's history, highlighting how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority adapted to, resisted, or was transformed by modernisation and democratisation during this pivotal period.

Suggested Citation:
Nyathi, P.A. (2025). The Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority during South Africa's political transition, 1990–1994. *International Review of Social Sciences Research*, 5(4), 66-89. https://doi.org/10.53378/irssr.353273

About the author:
Master of Arts (History). Lecturer, Department of Educational Foundations, University of South Africa.
Email: nyathpa@unisa.ac.za

1. Introduction

Traditional leaders, such as kings, *amakhosi* (chiefs) and *izinduna* (headmen) at local levels, are neither democratically elected nor subjected to fixed terms of office (Manthwa & Ntsoane, 2024; Turner, 2014; Logan, 2009). They usually inherit these positions based on their lineage or are identified in accordance with cultural norms in a given community. In most cases, they are not held accountable for their operations in rural areas of South Africa. This, among other factors, has been a bone of contention since the eve of the South African democratic dispensation, contributing significantly to the scholarship on traditional leadership and its relevance post-1994. Scholars have argued that the traditional leadership institution has compromised democracy and should have been abolished together with the apartheid system (Ntsebeza, 2005; Oomen, 2005), while other scholars hold the view that, should the role of traditional leaders be clearly outlined, they can contribute meaningfully to the growth and strengthening of South Africa's democracy (Koenene, 2018; Dlungwana, 2004; Keulder, 1998). Initially, tensions arose over who, between democratically elected government authorities and traditional authorities, should have the power to administer land and deliver local services to the people. Today, these historical legacies intersect with contemporary challenges, such as policy reforms, infrastructural constraints, and community expectations, creating a complex governance environment that requires closer examination.

The role traditional leaders played during apartheid continues to negatively influence the administration of land and development in rural areas of South Africa. In the new dispensation, their co-existence with democratically elected structures has made the work of the ward councillors extremely difficult in the areas where these two exist side-by-side. Local ward councillors are always expected to consult traditional leaders to launch any project. Ntombela, who is a former Ward 13 councillor (2001 – 2006) in Mtubatuba and a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, recalls that "*as a Ward 13 councillor, I had to report to Induna (headman) Mr Mkhwanazi of KwaNkombose and Mr Mabuyakhulu of Ebaswazini for me to establish a project without opposition or accusation for being defiant*" (Ntombela, 01 July 2018, personal communication). This demonstrates the ongoing influence of traditional leaders as local administrators and highlights the continuity of certain apartheid-era governance practices in contemporary rural contexts.

The historiography of traditional leadership often portrays it as a hereditary, male-dominated, and exclusionary institution, fundamentally at odds with democratic ideals

(Ntsebeza, 2005; Oomen, 2005). However, scholars such as Koenene (2018), Keulder (1998), and Dlungwana (2004), along with many rural residents, maintain that traditional leadership still holds value and should not be dismissed entirely. Fika Buthelezi, a community leader and struggle activist, in a personal interview, remarked: "*We need them [traditional leaders] for their ceremonial roles; they are important, but they should learn to leave politics to politicians*" (Buthelezi, personal communication, 29 June 2018). Traditional leaders remain instrumental in mediating social conflict, facilitating customary law, and preserving cultural practices in rural areas. However, Mathe, a young businessman from Dukuduku, observed that traditional leaders' interference in political matters directly impacts service delivery. He maintained that this often causes unnecessary delays, particularly when the local traditional leader and the ward councillor are not on good terms or come from different political parties. This scenario has been common in Mtubatuba, where traditional leaders have increasingly become actively involved in party politics (Mathe, personal communication, 25 June 2018). In Mtubatuba, these debates are particularly pronounced, as perceptions of traditional leadership vary depending on individual experiences, locations, and historical memory, demonstrating a nuanced landscape of community attitudes.

While previous studies have explored the role of traditional authorities in rural South Africa, few have examined the specific dynamics of the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority during the political transition of 1990–1994. This study provides novel insights into how local traditional governance interacted with emerging democratic structures, contributing to a deeper understanding of transitional governance in rural contexts. Focusing on Mpukunyoni addresses this gap, providing an under-researched case that exemplifies how historical legacies and contemporary governance challenges intersect at the local level. This study provides novel insights into how local traditional governance interacted with emerging democratic structures, contributing to a deeper understanding of transitional governance in rural contexts.

Therefore, this study uses the case of Mpukunyoni traditional authority to contribute to the national debates about traditional leadership and their influence in the local governance, development and political identities. It specifically examines how communities in Mtubatuba perceive this institution, how policy reforms have influenced its role and authority, and how traditional leaders have navigated changes brought about by modernisation and democratisation in South Africa. By situating Mpukunyoni within broader national and

historical debates, the study clarifies both the continued significance and the evolving challenges of traditional leadership in contemporary rural governance.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Modernisation Theory frames this study in conjunction with the concept of traditional authority to explore the dynamic relationship between traditional leadership structures, such as chieftainships and monarchies and processes of modernisation, including social change, economic development, and the transition to democratic governance. Modernisation Theory posits that traditional authorities may adapt to, resist, or be transformed by modernising forces (Goorha, 2010), making it a suitable lens for understanding the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority during South Africa's political transition.

Traditional African authorities have long been custodians of social norms, values, and practices, passing these down through generations (Mamdani, 1996; Ayittey, 1998; Mawuko-Yevugah & Attipoe, 2021). Their roles in local governance, conflict resolution, and community leadership provided stability and continuity in societal organisation long before colonial intervention. Modernisation, understood as the evolution and development of societies, inevitably interacts with these structures, sometimes reinforcing them, at other times challenging their authority (Goorha, 2010). In the South African context, the advent of democracy introduced new governance mechanisms, shifting some decision-making from traditional authorities to elected bodies, thereby exerting pressures for adaptation or resistance.

While alternative frameworks, such as hybrid governance (Motadi & Sikhwari, 2024) or institutional persistence, could offer additional perspectives on the interplay between traditional authority and emerging democratic structures, Modernisation Theory was chosen for its ability to illuminate processes of adaptation, resistance, and transformation in a rapidly changing social and political landscape.

In this study, modernisation theory is not just a conceptual lens; it vigorously shapes the research design. Interview questions were developed to capture participants' experiences of how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority responded to the democratic transition through adaptation, resistance, or transformation. Thematic coding of the data reflected these core dimensions, ensuring that analysis remained grounded in the theoretical framework. By linking theory directly to empirical investigation, this approach allows for a nuanced understanding of

how traditional governance structures navigate the pressures of modernisation while retaining their cultural and political significance.

2.2 Traditional Leadership Institutions in South Africa

South Africa, like many African countries, was once dominated by the institution of traditional leadership. The continued existence of this institution from the colonial through segregation, apartheid and beyond has sparked intensive debates revolving around its existence in the post-apartheid period. Traditional leaders have fought for recognition and survival in the past three decades. Their role in the new era remains a contested topic, given their role during the former regime in South Africa.

The decline of the traditional leadership institution became evident in the 1980s, as traditional leaders clashed with activists from the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). These groups often viewed traditional leaders as collaborators of the apartheid state and, therefore, illegitimate in the eyes of a growing democratic movement. The roots of these challenges can be traced back to 1948, when the National Party assumed power and began to consolidate control over Black South Africans. The apartheid regime introduced legislation that entrenched racial segregation and oppression. Traditional leaders were absorbed into the system as administrative agents, with limited autonomy, often acting under the oversight of the Native Affairs Department (Mamdani, 1996; Ntsebeza, 2004).

Mamdani (1996) argues that apartheid's use of indirect rule co-opted traditional leadership to enforce territorial and social control, transforming leaders into instruments of state power rather than community representatives. This perspective, echoed by van Kessel and Oomen (1997) and Ntsebeza (2004), underscores a persistent tension in South African rural governance; while traditional authorities historically served as custodians of local norms, under apartheid, they were simultaneously agents of state domination. Therefore, this dual role highlights how political structures can reshape customary authority. It suggests that contemporary understandings of traditional leadership must account for its historical legitimacy and the distortions imposed by external political forces.

Although traditional leaders in South Africa continue to carry a compromised legacy from the apartheid era, their resurgence in the 1990s reflects a strategic adaptation to the changing political landscape. By aligning with liberation politics and framing themselves as

custodians of African culture and rural development, they sought to regain legitimacy and influence. Their push for institutions like the House of Traditional Leaders, modelled on the British House of Lords but requiring democratic endorsement, illustrates how traditional authorities navigated the tension between inherited authority and emerging democratic expectations (van Kessel & Oomen, 1997). This resurgence highlights their ability to reinterpret traditional roles to maintain relevance within a transformed political system.

The turning point in the resurgence of traditional leaders was realised in 1987, when they came together to establish the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa). This organisation aimed to unite traditional leaders nationally against the apartheid regime and the firm opposition of the Bantustan system. This repositioning changed the public perceptions of traditional leaders from stooges and puppets of the apartheid regime to significant role players in the democratisation process. After the unbanning of the liberation movements such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the South African Communist Party (SACP), Contralesa's membership grew significantly. As van Kessel and Oomen (1997) observed, many traditional leaders aligned themselves with the ANC to secure their future in a democratic South Africa. They became influential in mobilising rural support for the ANC during the country's first democratic elections in 1994 (van Kessel & Oomen, 1997).

However, this alignment with the ANC had challenges and successes for both traditional leaders and the ANC. Ntsebeza (2005) maintains that the continued recognition of hereditary, patriarchal, and unelected traditional authorities is at odds with democratic principles, posing a significant threat to democratic values. He contends that democracy should not be compromised by institutions that do not embody principles of accountability and gender equality. Nonetheless, proponents argue that traditional leadership continues to play a significant role in preserving African identity, communal values, and social cohesion (Kompi & Twala, 2014).

The violence of the 1980s, which devastated black communities across South Africa, also shaped the perception and role of traditional leaders. The decade was marked by escalating conflict between the ANC-aligned UDF and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) under Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi. What began as a cultural movement, Inkatha, evolved into a political force claiming to protect the traditional leadership's legacy. The IFP retained significant

support in KwaZulu-Natal, where many chiefs aligned with its ethno-nationalist and Zulu-centric agenda (Liebenberg & Spies, 1993).

The IFP and ANC had initially enjoyed cooperative relations. In the early 1970s, the ANC's OR Tambo and Inkosi Buthelezi agreed that Buthelezi would use his leadership position in the KwaZulu homeland to mobilise rural support for a future democratic South Africa. However, the relationship deteriorated, particularly after a failed meeting in London in 1979, where the two organisations could not agree on who should lead the liberation movement (Liebenberg & Spies, 1993). The split contributed to widespread violence in KwaZulu-Natal, particularly from 1989 to 1991, when over 8,000 people lost their lives in ANC-IFP-related violence.

The formation of the UDF in 1983 intensified this conflict. The UDF, rooted in ANC ideology, rejected the Bantustan system and traditional leadership as it was then constituted. It sought a non-racial, democratic South Africa free from tribalism and authoritarianism. As the movement gained traction, traditional leaders, especially those aligned with the state or IFP, were further isolated. Despite the controversial legacy of traditional leadership, many rural South Africans continued to value the institution. For some, it provided stability and continuity during rapid political and social transformation. As Kompi and Twala (2014:985) argue, traditional leadership institutions offer a "sense of continuity and stability in an era of great change."

3. Methodological Approach

3.1. Research Design

The study employed a qualitative research design appropriate for exploring the lived experiences, perceptions and meanings that individuals attach to complex social phenomena. This approach was particularly suited to examining how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority navigated the transition to democratic governance, highlighting both processes of adaptation and instances of resistance, which align with modernisation theory's key constructs. In this, the focus is on understanding how the traditional leadership institutions, such as the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority, survived the transition period and how they adapted or were influenced by the emergence of democratic structures in rural South Africa. Qualitative methods such as interviews enable the researcher to capture rich, narrative accounts of this process (Lodico et al., 2006). This approach contrasts with quantitative methods prioritising measurement and

statistical generalisation (Creswell, 2014). Instead, the emphasis is on the depth, context and human voice, allowing participants to speak in their own terms about issues affecting them and their lives.

3.2. Participants of the Study

Participants were selected using a purposive sampling, which is commonly utilised in qualitative research to identify individuals with rich, context-specific knowledge (Lodico et al, 2006). A total of 10 participants were identified and interviewed in this study. This sample included a former ward councillor, a traditional leader and ordinary community members. This diversity enabled the study to capture multiple perspectives on adaptation and resistance, reflecting the operationalisation of modernisation theory through lived experiences. While this sample is not statistically representative, it was appropriate for the aims of this study, providing depth and insights into the role of the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority during apartheid and, most importantly, during the transition period when new governance structures were proposed in remote rural areas under the jurisdiction of traditional leadership authority.

3.3. Instrumentation and Data Gathering Process

Data were collected through in-depth interviews and document analysis. All the interviews were conducted in isiZulu and were transcribed and translated by the researcher. The interview protocol was explicitly designed to operationalise aspects of modernisation theory, with questions exploring participants' perceptions of how traditional leadership adapted to or resisted modern governance pressures, and how these changes influenced community life. Interviews were conducted using open-ended questions to encourage participants to speak extensively about their experiences, concerns and interpretations. The interview questions were flexible, the researcher rephrased or clarified questions when necessary and follow-up prompts were used to probe (see Cohen et al., 2007). Document analysis of newspaper articles, official reports, and other relevant sources complemented the interviews by providing historical and policy context, allowing triangulation of findings and connecting theory to empirical evidence.

3.4. Data Analysis

The qualitative data were analysed using thematic analysis. After reading the data, the researcher coded recurring patterns, ideas and expressions. Coding categories were explicitly linked to modernisation theory constructs, such as adaptation (e.g., instances where traditional leaders incorporated democratic practices) and resistance (e.g., preservation of customary practices despite new developments). These codes were then grouped into larger themes aligned with the research questions and the theoretical framework. In addition to modernisation theory, the analysis was informed by complementary perspectives, including hybrid governance and institutional persistence, to capture the coexistence of traditional and democratic structures and the endurance of historical norms. The themes were interpreted through the lens of modernisation theory (Goorha, 2010) and the traditional authority concept, clarifying how the two frameworks complement each other in understanding both continuity and change within the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority.

3.5. Research Ethics

The researcher prioritised ethical integrity throughout the research process. The researcher obtained informed consent from all the participants before interviews were conducted. All the participants were informed about the purpose of the study, their voluntary participation, and their right to withdraw at any stage of their participation without any consequences. Participants who opted to be identified are named in this study, while those who requested anonymity had their identities not revealed in line with the ethical guidelines. Additionally, great care was taken to ensure that the framing of questions and the reporting of findings respected cultural sensitivities and the dignity of traditional leaders and community members.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 The Mkhwanazi Clan of KwaMpukunyoni

Before exploring the history of the AbaKhwanazi, it is important to note that two chiefdoms bearing the AbaKhwanazi name exist in northern KwaZulu-Natal. The first is KwaMpukunyoni (Mtubatuba), located between the Black uMfolozi River and Hluhluwe. The second is situated in KwaDlangezwa, bounded by the uMhlathuze and uMlalazi Rivers to the east and west, respectively, and the Indian Ocean and uNgoye Mountains, under the

jurisdiction of the uMhlathuze Local Municipality (Simelane, 1993). This study specifically focuses on the Mkhwanazi chiefdom in Mtubatuba, KwaMpukunyoni, as it falls within the governance area of the Inkosi Mtubatuba Local Municipality and aligns with the research emphasis on the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority.

Historically, the Mpukunyoni clan migrated into Zululand via the Ingwavuma River from the Kingdom of Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), which was then inhabited by three Bantu-speaking groups, Sotho, Ntungwa-Nguni, and Tonga-Nguni peoples. The Mpukunyoni were identified as one of the Nguni groups distinct from the Sotho (Bryant, 1929). Upon arrival, they found the Ntungwa-Nguni already settled in the area, prompting the Mpukunyoni to move further south and establish themselves between the Hluhluwe and Nyalazi Rivers. They lived peacefully until the disruptive arrival of the Zulu expansion. Another faction, led by Cungele, son of Mdolomba, crossed the Nyalazi and entered Mthethwa territory (Bryant, 1929).

The Mpukunyoni were staunch allies of the Mthethwa kingdom under Dingiswayo, who elevated Veyane to the position of headman due to his loyalty (Bryant, 1929). Veyane's son, Malanda, solidified this alliance through marriage to Ntikili, King Mpande's full sister, who later became the mother of Somkhele. According to DBZ Ntuli, a respected academic and founding member of the Usiba Writers Guild, two Mkhwanazi men arrived at oYengweni, Empangeni, during Dingiswayo's reign (1806–1817). They were reputed specialists in *muthi* (traditional medicine) and successfully mediated conflicts among Dingiswayo's sons, restoring peace through their spiritual expertise (Ilanga Newspaper, 6–8 February 2012: 8; Ntuli, 2012). Their loyalty to the Mthethwa royal family was notable, and their intervention strengthened the Mkhwanazi's standing within the polity.

Following these events, Malanda was granted land between the uMfolozi River and Hluhluwe, areas now known as St Lucia and Hlabisa (Zibuse Mncube, personal communication, 29 December 2019 and Joseph Thethwayo, personal communication, 23 December 2019). This territory became the Mpukunyoni chiefdom and later Mtubatuba, named after the wealthy Inkosi Mtubatuba Mkhwanazi. Historical sources agree that the current AbaKhwanazi of Mtubatuba descend from Mdolomba, succeeded by Cungele, Veyane, Somkhele, Mtubatuba, Gwabangomuthi, and Mzondeni Mkhwanazi (Bryant, 1929). However, exact chronological records for these leaders remain limited.

During Dingiswayo's rule, Velane (*Veyane*), son of Cungele, was the Mkhwanazi headman. His skilful use of the iron axe (*izembe*) earned him significant recognition, leading

Dingiswayo to appoint him as headman (*induna*) of the oYengweni homestead (Sibiya, 1981). The Mkhwanazi actively participated in Dingiswayo's wars against the Ndwandwe under Zwide. Velane lost his life in these conflicts and was succeeded by Malanda, who, as noted, married Ntikili (Sibiya, 1981).

The Mkhwanazi clans in KwaDlangezwa and Mtubatuba share common ancestry, clan names, and praise names (*izithakazelo*). A linguistic feature known as *ukuthefula,* substituting "L" with "Y" (e.g., Velane becomes Veyane), is common to both groups. Despite these shared cultural ties, this article focuses on the original Mpukunyoni clan branch in Mtubatuba and the Hlabisa area, not the KwaDlangezwa chieftaincy.

Somkhele's son, Mtubatuba, succeeded him after Somkhele's death on 21 February 1907. According to Harrison (1989), Inkosi Mtubatuba Mkhwanazi was the wealthiest chief in Zululand, inheriting vast cattle herds from Somkhele. During King Shaka's reign, many Zululand residents sought refuge with Somkhele, who hid their cattle in the Dukuduku Forest for safekeeping during conflict. Upon return, the cattle owners compensated Somkhele handsomely for his protection, allowing him to amass significant wealth.

Mtubatuba's wealth was legendary. Harrison (1989) describes occasions when the chief would count his vast wealth, hundreds of containers filled with money and valuables, over several days. One participant had this to say about Inkosi Mkhwanazi's wealth:

> *"Although the exact source of his wealth was unknown, it was speculated that not only did the inheritance make him wealthier, but he would also fine people when misdemeanours were committed. They would pay either in cash or pay with a heifer, beast or even a herd of cattle, depending on the nature of the offence."*
> (Mthethwa, 01 July 2018, personal communication).

Inkosi Mtubatuba died at around 100 years of age in 1955 and was buried in accordance with custom at his kraal. A succession meeting was held in January the following year at his Nomathiya homestead, and about 2000 attendees were there. When the Commissioner F.C. Hassard announced the two nominees, uproar ensued, leading to physical conflict among attendees (Harrison, 1989). Police intervention quelled the fighting, but no clear successor was chosen. This succession dispute deviated from customary practice, which dictates that the principal wife's firstborn son inherits the throne after the inkosi's death and burial, with the royal family responsible for confirming the successor (Maphalala, 2011). Since the 1950s,

succession disputes have increasingly troubled the Mpukunyoni chieftaincy, often sparking conflict during the heir appointments.

The historical trajectory of the Mpukunyoni chiefdom illustrates how traditional leadership in KwaMpukunyoni has continually navigated challenges of succession and political alliances, while simultaneously maintaining cultural authority and local legitimacy. From the alliances with the Mthethwa polity to the influence of Inkosi Mtubatuba, and the recurring succession disputes after his death, it is clear that traditional authority has always been a dynamic, adaptive institution. Understanding this historical resilience provides crucial context for examining how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority has survived, adapted, and sometimes resisted "collapse", highlighting the enduring interplay between customary governance and modernisation.

4.2 Politics of Legitimacy: Succession Disputes in Mpukunyoni, 1955 and Beyond

The political landscape of Zululand and Natal has witnessed diverse forms of traditional leadership since the early 1800s (Houston & Mbele, 2011). Over the past two centuries, the institution of traditional leadership in South Africa, especially the roles and functions of chiefs and the customs governing succession, has undergone significant transformation, largely shaped by colonialism, segregation, and apartheid. Historians argue that these forces distorted traditional leadership to the point where its legitimacy became questionable (Houston & Mbele, 2011). The introduction of colonial courts and Western cultural norms undermined indigenous institutions, fostering the perception that Western institutions were superior. Africans increasingly resorted to courts to settle succession disputes. At the same time, colonial and apartheid authorities curtailed chiefs' powers, reducing them to enforcers of unpopular policies under laws such as the Native Administration Act (1927) and the Bantu Authorities Act (1951) (Houston & Mbele, 2011; Oomen, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2005).

Customary succession typically follows the principle of primogeniture, where the firstborn son of the *uNdlunkulu* (principal wife) is heir. Chiefs usually had multiple wives, with the *uNdlunkulu* selected from among them, often with the counsel of elders and royal family members; decisions were not made unilaterally by the chief. Mthethwa (2018, personal communication) notes that the *Great Wife* is traditionally the first wife, provided she was a virgin at marriage, and if she bore no male heir, succession could pass to sons of other wives. However, the principle of even and odd numbers does not apply in the Mpukunyoni clan.

The apartheid regime severely disrupted traditional leadership by regulating it through legislation like the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), requiring chiefs to secure approval from white authorities. The succession dispute in Mpukunyoni following the death of Inkosi Mtubatuba Mkhwanazi in 1955 was among the earliest signs of these tensions (Harrison, 1989). Succession disputes were often intensified due to colonial interference, which sometimes resulted in the appointment of chiefs loyal to the apartheid government, marginalising legitimate contenders (Mzala, 1989). For example, Inkosi Buthelezi was confirmed by white authorities in 1957 because he was seen as loyal, eclipsing his brother Mceleli, who had also pledged loyalty.

Succession principles vary between clans but generally emphasise the firstborn male of the *uNdlunkulu*, whose bride price (*lobola*) was paid by the nation (*isizwe*), as the rightful heir. The chief may nominate a successor during his lifetime, or the royal family elders may appoint a regent or successor if the heir is a minor or if the chief dies without a male child (Houston & Mbele, 2011). However, inconsistencies and ambiguities in these customs often fuel disputes. For instance, a daughter of the chief from another clan may hold a higher status than other wives, complicating succession further.

The Mpukunyoni case exemplifies this complexity. In January 1956, Chief Native Commissioner Hassard announced two nominees as successors to Inkosi Mtubatuba, splitting the Mkhwanazi family and community (Harrison, 1989). Historian Jabulani Maphalala, who studied the Mkhwanazi clan, asserts that the inkosi traditionally nominates his successor, who is then endorsed by the royal family (*uMndeni weNkosi*). Succession is confined to direct descendants of the inkosi; non-blood heirs cannot assume the throne (Maphalala, 2011). However, this tradition was challenged by the colonial authorities' 1956 nomination of two candidates.

Legal research by Luthuli Sithole Attorneys (LSA) found that the *uMndeni* of the Mkhwanazi clan consists of houses descending from Velana KaMalanda (also spelt Veyane KaMayanda), with KwaHhohho and Nomathiya as the primary decision-makers on succession. When disagreements arise between these houses, KwaHhohho's decision prevails (Maphalala, 2011). Historically, most Mkhwanazi chiefs have had male firstborn children from their principal wives, except for Mzondeni Mkhwanazi. Given this, succession disputes in Mpukunyoni could have been avoided, but since Inkosi Mtubatuba died in the 1950s, they have persisted. The royal family traditionally confirms the firstborn son of the *uNdlunkulu* as

successor; if unfit, the second son or sons of the next senior wife are considered. The seniority of wives is not strictly determined by marriage order but may depend on royal status. Contrary to other KwaZulu-Natal customs, where the *ikhohlo* (third house) cannot inherit, in the Mkhwanazi clan, the *ikhohlo* can succeed. The family rejects the notion that secret confidants carry the previous chief's wishes regarding succession (Umndeni Wenkosi of the Mkhwanazi Traditional Community at Mpukunyoni and Another v Premier of KwaZulu-Natal and Others, 2017).

Inkosi Mzondeni Mineus Mkhwanazi ruled from 1983 until his death. He died in 2007. His death reignited unresolved succession disputes. His designated successor, Siyabonga, supported by the royal family, died in a car accident before confirmation. Dalisu, another royal family-supported candidate, was interdicted by provincial authorities, while Mzokhulayo was appointed by the Premier and the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA). Mzokhulayo's appointment was short-lived as he was later deposed, highlighting ongoing contestations within Mpukunyoni leadership (Umndeni Wenkosi of the Mkhwanazi Traditional Community at Mpukunyoni and Another v Premier of KwaZulu-Natal and Others, 2017).

The enduring succession disputes within the Mpukunyoni chiefdom, from colonial interventions in the 1950s to contemporary contestations, illustrate how traditional leadership in KwaMpukunyoni has been continually reshaped by historical and political pressures. These patterns reveal the tension between customary practices and external authority, highlighting the resilience and vulnerability of traditional governance. This historical trajectory provides essential insight into how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority has navigated legitimacy, adaptation, and resistance during the apartheid period and the modern democratic era, offering a lens to examine the broader dynamics of rural leadership in South Africa.

4.3 Delivery of Social Services and the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority

Like many other parts of South Africa during the 1980s and 1990s, the people of Mtubatuba faced a complex array of challenges, ranging from political and social instability, including politically motivated killings, to severe economic crises. In rural KwaZulu-Natal, including Mpukunyoni, ordinary people historically had limited direct participation in decisions affecting their lives. Zulu (1984) insightfully observed that, in underdeveloped

countries, the relationship between local power structures responsible for allocating resources and the affected communities critically shapes the development trajectory.

Before the establishment of democratic local governance structures in Mtubatuba, the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority held primary responsibility for allocating and distributing local resources. Ntombela recalled that,

> *"You could not do anything before consulting the induna, who would take your matter to Mgeza (Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority offices) for consideration. This was required even for ceremonies such as umemulo or umgcagco (wedding-related rites), where one had to report beforehand"* (Ntombela, 01 July 2018, personal communication).

This anecdote aligns with Zulu's (1984) assertion that chiefs and their councillors allocate land and influence access to pensions and disability grants. Mthethwa further elaborated that even if one possessed a larger plot and wished to allocate a smaller portion to a relative or outsider from another chiefdom, such transfers required the induna's approval. The *induna* would interrogate the potential settler to determine their reasons for relocation, often suspecting they might be fleeing wrongdoing in their original location (Mthethwa, 01 July 2018, personal communication). Many such settlers were indeed refugees from wars and family feuds. Disturbingly, those seeking plots frequently had to pay the headmen in cash or kind, despite the land being communal property (Mthethwa, 01 July 2018).

In these disadvantaged rural areas characterised by small landholdings and scant capital or infrastructure, cooperation was essential for activities such as input acquisition, marketing produce, and ploughing (Daphne, 1982). Strong organisational structures were necessary to manage daily challenges for communities to prosper collectively. However, Daphne (1982) contended that the most significant limitation to community organisation was the traditional authority, which had been effectively 'hijacked' by the apartheid state to impose central government control over 'black' rural communities. Before the colonial conquest and the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, Amakhosi (chiefs) and Izinduna (headmen) were accountable to the Zulu king. The defeat of the Zulu kingdom in 1879 and the exile of King Cetshwayo marked the dismantling of indigenous sovereignty, enabling white authorities to appoint and recognise chiefs at will (Guy, 1994). Although the traditional authority system did not operate on modern electoral principles, there was an element of representation through consultative processes. Maphalala (1985) explained that before 1878, the Abanumzane (king's council members)

would periodically attend izimbizo, regional or national councils where matters of importance were discussed and consensus sought. Nonetheless, women were generally excluded from these processes, reflecting the patriarchal nature of Zulu society. Decision-making was primarily by consensus among chiefs and their councillors, izinduna and their ward members, and through larger community meetings open to all (Daphne, 1982).

The 1980s brought further hardship to Zululand with a severe drought compounded by a locust (isikhonyane) infestation that devastated crops. Responding to this crisis, P. Daphne and researchers from the University of Zululand proposed introducing drought-resistant crops and improving water supply for the heavily affected Mpukunyoni community. The local council approved cassava cultivation and established a steering committee with representation ensured through izinduna (Daphne, 1982). However, in Qakwini ward, the induna reportedly withheld land access for cassava cultivation and failed to inform his constituents about the programme, effectively excluding them from participation. When challenged, the induna claimed, "It is not for us to ask questions at these meetings but for Induna to inform us of things" (Daphne, 1982). Consequently, Qakwini lacked representation in the programme a year later.

In Nkombose ward, the induna exploited his position by charging R10 per plot to prospective cassava growers, despite the programme being externally funded and growers not required to pay fees (Daphne, 1982). Although not a steering committee member, the induna used his authority to extort money from vulnerable residents.

The literature clearly shows that the delivery of social services rested mainly in the hands of local traditional leaders. In 1981, the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority actively sought solutions to chronic water shortages by requesting assistance from the Anglo-American and De Beers Chairman's Fund. This led to funding for a comprehensive study on domestic water provision and an allocation of R30,000 for borehole installations (Daphne, 1985). However, representation remained problematic. One local teacher noted that he could repair boreholes quickly when they became non-functional, but feared retribution from the induna. The boreholes benefited wards such as KwaMtholo, Somkhele, Mfekayi, Bhoboza, Madwaleni, and Nkombose, but many fell into disrepair due to poor maintenance. Although the Mpukunyoni Traditional Council initiated the borehole installation project, the task was delegated to the white farmers' association in Mtubatuba, raising questions about local agency and control (Daphne, 1985).

Another source of grievance was the KwaZulu Chiefs' and Headmen's Act of 1974, which expanded the powers of traditional leaders, including arrest, search, and seizure of property. This authority was often wielded disproportionately against those opposed to the Inkosi, particularly supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) in Mtubatuba. Ntombela and Mthethwa confirmed that ANC supporters, referred to as 'uKhongolose', faced serious persecution, including 'ukudingiswa' (forcible removal). Between 1990 and 1999, ANC supporters in areas like Ebaswazini, eSiyembeni, and Welani were attacked, shot, and had their homes burnt. They were subjected to traditional courts where chiefs acted as policemen and judges, frequently without formal training or education (Daphne, 1982). Simultaneously, these chiefs and izinduna claimed to represent the people, despite neither being elected by nor accountable to them. This lack of accountability was evident in Mtubatuba and Dukuduku, where many council members and izinduna lacked even basic formal education, such as Matric (Standard 10).

Moreover, the 1974 Act empowered chiefs and izinduna to disperse protests and regulate public meetings within their jurisdictions. Ntombela (01 July 2018, personal communication) recounted that Inkosi Mkhwanazi's allegiance to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) influenced the harsh treatment of opponents and the denial of meeting permits to groups opposed to the IFP. Daphne (1982) further noted the absence of institutional structures designed to represent rural residents genuinely and attempts to organise such representation were perceived as threats to the traditional authority's dominance.

The Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority's control over social service delivery illustrates the complex balance between governance, authority, and community needs in rural KwaZulu-Natal. While traditional leaders facilitated access to resources such as land, water, and agricultural support, they often exercised discretion in ways that reinforced their power, excluded dissenting voices, and limited genuine community participation. These dynamics underscore how traditional authority simultaneously adapted to changing political and social pressures while resisting reforms that might undermine their influence, revealing the nuanced interplay between customary governance, local agency, and emerging democratic structures.

4.4 Inkatha Maintains Its Hegemony in KwaZulu-Natal: The Period Between 1990 and 1994

Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa, has, according to multiple sources, claimed approximately 20,000 lives since 1984 (Kramar, 2020; de Haas, 2016; Taylor, 2002; Liebenberg & Spies, 1994). The period between 1990 and 1994 witnessed a marked escalation of this violence, resulting in numerous deaths, widespread destruction of homes, and forced resettlement. Territorial battles between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) were evident in many parts of the KwaZulu-Natal province. Inkatha received military aid from the apartheid state's security forces while the UDF found support from the ANC and its armed wing, uMkhonto Wesizwe (MK) (Taylor, 2002).

Initially, the conflict was confined to urban townships, but by the late 1980s, violence had spread to many rural areas under the jurisdiction of traditional leaders. It is argued that in rural areas, youth took advantage of growing dissatisfaction and began to challenge the authority of traditional leaders, most of whom were aligned with Inkatha and the KwaZulu administration. It was during this period that the IFP used its powers to sustain its hegemony by terrorising those perceived as supporters or members of the ANC and their families. This was to sustain Inkatha's hegemony in the province and further protect the position of traditional leaders in rural areas. Political division in KwaZulu-Natal led to the emergence of no-go areas across the province (Injobo Nebandla, 2005). Oral accounts from the participants suggest that political intolerance in Mtubatuba forced some members and supporters of the ANC to flee to other areas. Individual attacks and their families escalated after the 1990s, as the country moved towards the much-anticipated democratic elections of 1994.

To violently suppress opposition, Inkatha received military backing from the apartheid state, including the KwaZulu Police (KZP), and mobilised *amabutho* (traditional warriors) to conduct offensives against opponents and to defend Inkatha's strongholds (Injobo Nebandla, 2005). Mtubatuba emerged as one of Inkatha's key bastions. In 1990, Inkatha formalised its status as a political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). By 1993, with explicit assistance from South African security forces, the IFP established, trained, and armed civilian militias known as Self Protection Units (SPUs). Between 1993 and 1994, over 8,000 individuals were trained and deployed as SPU members across KwaZulu-Natal. These militias became instrumental in numerous violent attacks targeting political opponents, effectively operating as a paramilitary wing to terrorise dissenters (Injobo Nebandla, 2005).

Fierce attacks targeted ANC officials, members, supporters, and their families. In Shobashobane, on the South Coast, ANC leader Khipha Nyawose was assassinated grotesquely, his body mutilated, with his stomach slit open and genitals severed, allegedly for muthi (traditional medicine) purposes. In this assault, 19 ANC members and supporters were killed by an Inkatha hit squad armed with G3, R5, and AK-47 rifles (Taylor, 2002).

The dynamics in Mtubatuba differed markedly from those in Shobashobane, KwaMashu, Richmond, Nongoma, and other areas. Here, violence was more individualised and less overtly political, complicating efforts to distinguish politically motivated killings from criminal acts. The IFP enjoyed substantial popular support in Mtubatuba, and individuals attempting to recruit for the ANC faced harassment. A notable example is the Ntuli family: Bheki Ntuli, ANC regional chairperson for Northern KZN and senior shop steward of the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), and his younger brother, Jabulani Ntuli, ANC branch chairperson in Mtubatuba, were subjected to targeted intimidation. Starting from 29 January 1995, the Ntuli family in KwaMsane township endured relentless harassment. On 10 February 1995, about 15 armed men attacked their home, firing multiple rounds. The family sheltered inside until the assailants left. The attackers were reportedly linked to a suspect convicted of the murder of Grace Ntuli. Later that day, two people associated with the family were wounded in a drive-by shooting by unknown gunmen (Amnesty International, 17 May 1995).

On 19 February 1995, during an IFP rally held roughly 500 meters from the Ntuli residence, attendees allegedly incited violence against ANC members, calling for their deaths or expulsion. Police from the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) intervened and ordered the crowd to disperse. Subsequently, on 25 February, approximately 250 armed police and soldiers raided the Ntuli home, demanding weapons. Jabulani Ntuli produced two licensed firearms, but when he refused to surrender more, police assaulted him and others present. Some officers purportedly conducted an external search and later claimed to have discovered two AK-47 rifles buried nearby, leading to the arrest of Jabulani and 18 others. Bheki Ntuli was not present during the raid. While in custody, detainees were allegedly denied medical treatment for injuries sustained during the assault, a form of torture widely reported across the province (Amnesty International, 17 & 19 May 1995).

Mthethwa (personal communication, 01 July 2018) recounts the torture, harassment, and killing of the Zungu boys, ANC affiliates, in 1996, an incident emblematic of the political

intolerance targeting ANC-aligned individuals and families before the 1996 local government elections. In Mtubatuba, the IFP leveraged the KwaZulu Police (referred to by Mthethwa as ZP) to terrorise, torture, and detain political opponents, many of whom were routinely denied bail. The KZP station in KwaMsane township and the presence of the South African Police in town facilitated these repressive actions.

The political instability in Mtubatuba between 1990 and 1994 demonstrates how the IFP leveraged both traditional authority structures and state-backed security apparatuses to consolidate power, often through coercion and violence. These dynamics reveal the complex interplay between political parties, customary leadership, and rural communities, highlighting how traditional authorities navigated, and at times facilitated, the maintenance of political hegemony. This period is crucial for situating the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority within broader debates about adaptation, resistance, and legitimacy in contexts of intense political contestation.

5. Conclusion

The political landscape of Mtubatuba has been profoundly shaped by the enduring dominance of Inkatha and the entrenched authority of traditional leadership during the transition period and the early years of democratic rule in South Africa. The period was also marked by succession disputes within the traditional leadership, sporadic political violence, and challenges in delivering essential social services, all of which shaped community perceptions and interactions with authority. The persistent lack of genuine local representation, coupled with sluggish development, has contributed to ongoing tensions and challenges for the community. While traditional leaders in KwaMpukunyoni have faced criticism and occasional contestation, they continue to hold legitimacy in many aspects of local governance, demonstrating both adaptation and resistance in their engagement with democratic reforms.

Despite the widespread use of magistrates' courts in the country, many residents in Mtubatuba continue to rely on traditional courts to settle disputes related to customary law, except in urban areas. These patterns illustrate how the Mpukunyoni Traditional Authority adapted to democratic reforms by continuing to provide dispute resolution, land administration, and mediating community conflicts while simultaneously resisting changes threatening its traditional prerogatives. Although instances of bias, unfair treatment, and contested authority were reported, traditional leaders continued to exercise legitimate authority in certain

community functions, reflecting a complex and sometimes contradictory relationship with the local democratic structures. The allocation of plots and associated fees further exemplifies how traditional authority intersects with social and economic governance, sometimes creating friction with elected ward councillors.

From the perspective of Modernisation Theory and the concept of traditional authority, these dynamics reflect the tension between societal modernization pressures and the persistence of historical institutions. Traditional leaders negotiate pressures for change while maintaining cultural legitimacy, illustrating both adaptation and resistance as central processes in transitional governance. Overall, this study highlights the enduring relevance of traditional governance structures, synthesises the challenges of succession, political violence, and social service delivery, and contributes to a nuanced understanding of rural leadership and institutional continuity in South Africa.

Disclosure statement

The author reported no potential conflict of interest.

Funding

This work was not supported by any funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

This study was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines set by the *University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa*. The conduct of this study has been approved and given relative clearance by the University of the Witwatersrand.

Declaration

The author declares the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in writing this paper. In particular, the author used *SciSpace* to search the relevant literature for the research questions of this study and *Quilbot* was used to paraphrase. In addition, *Grammarly Pro* was used to edit the language. The author takes full responsibility for ensuring proper review and editing of content generated using AI.

ORCID

Patrick A. Nyathi – https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3473-7743

References

Amnesty International. (1995, May 17). *Further information on UA 22/95 (AFR 53/04/95, 27 January 1995) and follow-up (AFR 53/05/95, 9 March) – Fear of extrajudicial execution.* https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/afr530081995en.pdf

Bryant, A. T. (1929). *Olden times in Zululand and Natal: Containing earlier political history of the eastern Nguni clans.* Longman.

Buthelezi, M. (2018, June 29). Personal interview, Ezwenelisha.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education* (6th ed.). Routledge.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Daphne, P. (1982). *Tribal authority and community organisation* (Publication Series of the Centre for Research and Documentation, Unizul, Occasional Papers No. 3).

Daphne, P. (1985). *A study of the impact of the donated boreholes in the Mpukunyoni area of Natal/KwaZulu.* University of Zululand Press.

de Haas, M. (2016). The killing fields of KZN: Local government elections, violence and democracy in 2016. *SA Crime Quarterly, 57.*

Dlungwana, M. E. (2004). *The role of traditional leaders in rural local governance: A case of Vulindlela and Impendle traditional areas* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Guy, J. (1994). *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Harrison, E. R. (1989). *Early memories of Mtubatuba and the district.* Zululander Stationers & Printers.

Houston, G. F., & Mbele, T. (2011). *KwaZulu-Natal history of traditional leadership project: Final report.*

Injobo Nebandla. (2005). *Freedom from rife? An assessment of efforts to build peace in KwaZulu-Natal* (Violence and Transition Series). Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Keulder, C. (1998). *Traditional leaders and local government in Africa: Lessons for South Africa.* HSRC Press.

Koenene, M. L. J. (2018). The role and significance of traditional leadership in the governance of modern democratic South Africa. *African Review, 10*(1), 58–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2017.1399563

Kompi, B., & Twala, C. (2014). The African National Congress and traditional leadership in a democratic South Africa: Resurgence or revival in the era of democratisation? *The Anthropologist, 17*(3), 981–989.

Krämer, M. (2020). Violence, autochthony, and identity politics in KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa): A processual perspective on local political dynamics. *African Studies Review, 63*(3), 540–559. https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2019.69

Liebenberg, B. J., & Spies, S. B. (Eds.). (1993). *South Africa in the 20th century.* J. L. van Schaik.

Liebenberg, B. J., & Spies, S. B. (1994). *South Africa in the 20th century.* Van Schaik.

Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtle, K. H. (2006). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice.* Jossey-Bass.

Logan, C. (2009). Selected chiefs, elected councillors and hybrid democrats: Popular perspectives on the co-existence of democracy and traditional authority. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 47*(1), 101–128. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30224925

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* David Philip.

Mathe, S. (2018, June 25). Personal communication, Ezwenelisha, Mtubatuba.

Manthwa, A., & Ntsoane, L. (2024). The interplay between hereditary traditional leaders, democratically elected leaders and succession: A case study from Makapanstad, North West Province, South Africa. *Journal of African Law, 68*(2), 203–214. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855323000347

Maphalala, S. J. (2017). *An affidavit filed to the KZN High Court on the Mkhwanazi succession dispute case, Umndeni Wenkosi of the Mkhwanazi Traditional Community at Mpukunyoni and Another v Premier of KwaZulu-Natal and Others* (Case No. 11037/2011).

Maphalala, S. J. (1985). *Aspects of Zulu royal life in the nineteenth century* (Publication Series of University of Zululand, Series B, No. 55). University of Zululand Press.

Mncube, Z. (2019, December 29). Personal communication, Dukuduku Forest, Mtubatuba.

Motadi, M. S., & Sikhwari, T. (2024). Understanding hybridity governance in Africa: A theoretical framework for hybrid structures, policies, and practices. *International Journal of Business Ecosystem & Strategy, 6*(4), 122–136. https://doi.org/10.36096/ijbes.v6i4.655

Mthethwa, M. (2018, July 1). Personal communication, eDashi.

Mzala. (1988). *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda.* Zed Books.

Ntombela, M. A. (2018, July 1). Personal communication, eDashi.

Ntsebeza, L. (2004). Democratic decentralisation and traditional authority: Dilemmas of land administration in rural South Africa. *The European Journal of Development Research, 16*(1), 71–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/09578810410001688770

Ntsebeza, L. (2005). *Democracy compromised: Chiefs and the politics of the land in South Africa* (Vol. 5). Brill.

Ntuli, D. B. Z. (2012, February 6–8). Umlando wakwaMkhwanazi. *Ilanga Newspaper,* p. 8.

Ntuli, H. S. (2016). Probing the roots of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal since 1979. *Gender and Behaviour, 14*(2), 7254–7262.

Oomen, B. (2005). *Chiefs in South Africa: Land, power and culture in the post-apartheid era.* University of Zululand Press.

Sibiya, I. (1981). *Contemporary trends and its preliminaries among the AbakwaMkhwanazi.*

Simelane, A. L. (1993). *The origin of the Mkhwanazi tribe under Mkhontokayise J. Mkhwanazi.*

Taylor, R. (2002). Justice denied: Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal after 1994. *African Affairs, 101*(405), 473–508. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518464

Thethwayo, J. (2019, December 23). Personal communication, Khula Village, Mtubatuba.

Thompson, L. (2001). *A history of South Africa* (3rd ed.). Yale University Press.

Turner, R. L. (2014). Traditional, democratic, accountable? Navigating citizen-subjection in rural South Africa. *Africa Spectrum, 49*(1), 27–54.

Umndeni Wenkosi of the Mkhwanazi Traditional Community at Mpukunyoni and Another v Premier of KwaZulu-Natal and Others, (2017) ZAKZPHC 41 (17 August 2017). https://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAKZPHC/2017/41.pdf

Van Kessel, I., & Oomen, B. (1997). "One chief, one vote": The revival of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa. *African Affairs, 96*(385), 561–585. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a007868

Zulu, P. M. (1984). *An identification of base-line socio-political structures in rural areas, their operations and their potential role in community development in Natal/KwaZulu.* University of Zululand Press.