

**MAKGOTLA: A VEHICLE
FOR DEVELOPMENT IN
RURAL
COMMUNITIES?**

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Abstract

This is an exploratory study using a qualitative approach. This study attempts to explore the nature of *makgotla* found in the rural community of Ramokgopa. It examines the structure and operation, nature of services rendered, successes, areas of concern as well as the role of *makgotla* played in community development. The primary objective was to assess the viability of *makgotla* as a vehicle for development in rural communities.

Data was collected via in-depth interviews, and using a community-forum approach. Eleven headmen/key members and five consumers of services were selected for interviewing. Two community meetings were also held for the same purpose.

The study found that *makgotla* have taken initiatives and efforts to develop their own community. This is in spite of the fact that there are areas of concern like gender sensitivity that need to be addressed.

The study concludes with some recommendations, one of them being that local government officials be made aware of the presence of *makgotla* and how best to engage in a dialogue which will reap benefits for the community.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work and that the assistance obtained has been only in the form of professional guidance and supervision, that no part of this dissertation has been submitted in the past for a degree at any other university, and that the information was gathered by myself while registered as a candidate for the degree of the MSocSc in Social Work Administration, University of Cape Town.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

One of the daunting challenges that confronts the government of national unity (GNU) is to address the structural inequalities caused by apartheid policies.

For the government to survive, it will have to be responsive to those who have been historically disadvantaged and disempowered such as women, youth and rural communities. There are no clear-cut solutions on how to respond to these challenges. This study seeks to contribute towards the search for alternatives. How to meet the challenges of delivering services whilst at the same time ensuring that there is community involvement and participation is a crucial question. It is the writer's opinion that the Makgotla approach provides a meaningful response to a people-driven service delivery.

Makgotla could become a viable vehicle for development in rural communities. Social work's emphasis on values such as self-help, self-determination, empowerment and client's participation are very much evident in the Makgotla approach.

1.1. TOPIC

Makgotla: A vehicle for development in rural communities?

1.2. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The study has the following main aims:

- 1.2.1. To investigate the nature of *makgotla* in rural communities .
- 1.2.2 To establish the range of services provided by *makgotla* in a particular area.
- 1.2.3 To establish the effectiveness of *makgotla* as an organisation involved in development.
- 1.2.4 To raise awareness of community members about the initiatives and role performed by *makgotla*.
- 1.2.5 To raise awareness amongst *makgotla* leaders about the need to incorporate women in their leadership (Gender sensitivity).
- 1.2.6. To explore theoretical development approaches relevant to rural communities.

1.3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

South Africa has entered a new phase. It has moved a step forward from the tragedy of apartheid to a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, and just society. The first ever democratic elections that were held in April 1994 is a testimony that the democratization process is indeed irreversible. It should, however, be mentioned that the democratization process has both opportunities and challenges.

The political developments will, undoubtedly, have a significant influence on human service organisations, both private and public. Louw (1993:94) expressed the view that helping professionals and their co-workers are faced with the daunting challenge of concretising the change in South Africa in a way which translates into a better quality of life for people at community level.

Gathiram (1993:26) specifically notes that South African social workers presently confronted with the task of extending services, especially to the Black population, are faced with two major difficulties. Firstly, reducing the existing inequalities between the different population groups, and secondly, extending services to remote areas. As a result of the limited existing resources and severe economic constraints, this task becomes even more daunting.

One of the biggest challenges facing social workers is to extend their services to the rural areas which have been deliberately neglected by the Nationalist government of the past.

Statistics shows that the worst poverty is to be found in rural areas where about 75% of the total South African population resides. (Kgarimetsa, 1992:9).

Ramphal and Monnibal (1993:366) have also reiterated this view in their findings that there is an urgent need to move towards the provision of services in rural areas. The findings further indicates that members of various organisations are anxious about their perceived lack of ability, experience and skills required to meet these challenges.

McKendrick (1990:16) eloquently makes the point that for social workers to be effective in the prevention and promotion of people's abilities they have to step down from their professional thrones and recognise that ordinary people in communities want to be of help to themselves and others, but often lack the "know how" and skills to do this.

The country faces a tightly constrained capacity to overturn the pervasive legacy of apartheid. There is a dire need for creative and sensitive ways of responding to the development requirements of apartheid-crippled rural areas. It is important for those intending to extend services in rural communities to realize and accept that, despite the massive poverty that exists, there are still many community strengths and positive supportive systems which need to be encouraged and strengthened whenever possible. Each community is unique, having a different power structure, dynamics and trigger issues.

Given these issues that confront all of us in the welfare and social service sector, the question then arises: what will be the significance of this particular study which focuses on *makgotla* in the rural areas?

Broadly, the study will be significant in the sense that it will be in line with one of the social welfare and development goals of the African National Congress (the majority party in the government of national unity) which is to redress past imbalances through a deliberate process of Affirmative Action in respect of those who have been historically disadvantaged, especially women, youth and those people living in rural communities and informal settlements (ANC-National Social Welfare and Development Planning Framework, 1994:5).

The ANC document further proposes the recognition of the role of organs of civil society in the welfare system such as traditional and other complementary healers.

More specifically, the study will contribute towards the conscientization of social workers about *makgotla* and identify their proper place in community development. Furthermore, the study will create awareness amongst community members about the role that *makgotla* have played and the role they can still play.

The democratization process alluded to earlier, requires tolerance of cultural diversity. In the light of the above, the study is significant in that it will enable social workers to be culturally sensitive in order to make their practice relevant to the local conditions.

It is in this context that a study about *makgotla* assumes greater importance in order to investigate whether it is a viable strategy in the development of rural communities.

The researcher was born, grew up and worked in a remote rural area where he observed how influential *makgotla* have been in initiating community projects, building of schools, creches and guiding and providing financial assistance to soccer clubs and other institutions.

The post-1990 era brought heightened political awareness throughout the entire country. This political development resulted in the formation of civic organisations in some rural areas to deal with bread-and-butter issues. In rural areas as expected, the youth who were in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid were also behind the formation of civic organisations. The civic organisations were seen by youth as "democratic" and accomodating everybody, unlike *makgotla* which only accomodated adults.

However, the civic organisations with their democratic goals did not always enjoy the legitimacy and respect that *makgotla* had enjoyed and are still having to date. It would appear that cultural/traditional systems die hard.

Makgotla have deep cultural roots with a history of sustained activity making them a viable structure through which further development can take place.

1.4 THEMES

The following themes will be dealt with in this study:

1.4.1 History of *makgotla*

1.4.2 Nature of *makgotla*

1.4.3 Successes and failures

1.4.4 Attitudes and perceptions of community towards *makgotla*.

1.4.5 Future goals

1.5 RESEARCH CLASSIFICATION

This is essentially an exploratory study although it has elements of a descriptive study. Combining exploratory and descriptive study is useful if one wants to describe a phenomenon in detail.

The main purpose of an exploratory study as expressed by Collins (1987), Selltiz, Grinnel (1988) is to gather facts about a phenomenon with the aim of formulating a more precise research problem of developing hypotheses. According to Kahn (1970) diagnostic or descriptive studies have as their main aim the assessment of the characteristics of a population or situation.

The study will utilize qualitative research methods. This is recommended when exploratory and descriptive studies are being conducted. Qualitative methods in both exploratory and descriptive studies attempt to answer "what" and "why" questions and to describe what was observed.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The findings will be limited to the community being studied, but it is likely to reveal the trends within rural communities and identify a proper place for *makgotla* in the development of rural communities.

There is very little research done on *makgotla* in rural communities. Consequently, the researcher in this study will be "breaking new ground" in many ways. The researcher will be dependent largely on what people say and recall may be distorted (poor memory). It will therefore be difficult to draw generalizations.

The use of an interview schedule as a tool for data collection is another limitation. This technique tends to be time consuming and is not cost-effective. Furthermore, there is the likelihood of subjectivity on the part of the researcher. The transcriptions of cassettes from Northern Sotho into English is another limitation.

1.7 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

1.7.1 *Makgotla*

The concept "*lekgotla*" (singular) and "*makgotla*" (plural) is used by Northern and Southern Sotho, as well as Tswana speaking persons. It is mostly found in rural areas that are tribally orientated although it was transplanted into urban areas. In Xhosa, it is called Inkundla whereas in Zulu it is called bandla. In Venda it is called Khoro whilst in Tsonga it is called vandla.

The concept "*makgotla*", as Hund and Kotu-Rammopo (1983:184) have expressed, has been used indiscriminately to cover a wide range of phenomena.

Blaine (1981) in Hund (1983:184) defines "*lekgotla*" (singular) as open tribunals following unwritten law and custom having for precedents the judgements of past chiefs.

Camaroff and Roberts (1981) in Hund (1983:184) define "*lekgotla*" as a body of "all advisors and headmen" which meet periodically to consider affairs of policy and administration, but which has as part of its function the settlement of disputes.

Grant and Schwikkard (1991:304) refer to *makgotla* as one of the informal courts existing outside the formal legal structures but it does not include uncontrolled mob action or "self-help" violence.

Scharf (1990:19) went beyond informal court and refers to *makgotla* as both informal court and informal policing structure. He states that these structures do not only perform dispute-settling and disciplinary roles, but that they are adjuncts to a particular form of local government.

From the definitions given above, it is clear that there is no universally accepted definition although there are similarities. One could deduce that "*lekgotla*" is a tribally-oriented structure that deals with a wide range of issues, (for example, settlement of disputes, informal policing (crime prevention), and the preservation of custom and disciplinary roles). For purposes of this research the aforementioned definition will apply.

"*Pitso*" refers to a public meeting convened by a chief. Unlike *makgotla* where participation is restricted to adult residents, anyone may attend "*pitso*". The chief is expected to make official opening and closing remarks.

1.7.2 Community Development

There is no universally accepted definition of community development due to the controversy that surrounds what is meant by development. The emphasis on community development emerged from the post-World War II process of decolonisation.

The United Nations (1963:4) defined it as: "... a process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions for communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex process is, therefore, made up of two essential elements: The participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help".

Kotze and Swanepoel (1983:6) have defined it as "an attempt by a community collectively and with own initiative to realize self-identified needs according to pre-established procedures through societal institutions in order to reach certain set goals".

Hugo (1984) in *Social Work Practice* (1992:11) define it as "a process wherein joint effort is taken by the community itself from the government and the private sector to improve economic, social, cultural and physical conditions in the community in order to improve their quality of life".

Recent debates about development have emphasized that development should be seen in a holistic manner and should be sustainable. There is a greater realization that people must be active participants in this process and efforts must be taken to ensure that they participate fully in the improvement of the quality of their lives.

Development: For purposes of this study any people- initiated project which shows evidence of self-reliance, grassroots participation, and empowerment will be considered as having contributed towards the development of that community.

1.7.3 Rural

It is difficult to define what is meant by "rural" because no legal definitions exists, and there are no formally accepted definitions in use.

In an attempt to define what is meant by rural or "a rural community, Burr (1932) in Sanderson (1932:11) defines a rural community as a population group in an agricultural area of such size and unity as to permit its citizens to readily cooperate in group activities".

Vogt (1932) in Sanderson (1932:11) defines it as "that aggregation of people the majority of whose local interests have a common center".

There is a growing recognition that central to the definition of rural area is the issue of lack of resources. The rural development strategy of the government of national unity (1995:5) argues that rural areas are those areas that have the lowest level of services, and the greatest average distance to the nearest service points. They include large scale farming areas, much - but not all - of the ex-bantustan areas, and small municipalities with little potential to raise taxes sufficient to meet the costs of services.

Lombard (1992:222) expressed it eloquently: "a rural area is an area which has a backlog in comparison to cities, regarding (1) population per square metre, (2) education, (3) variety of experiences, and (4) the power to control its own destiny".

For purposes of this study, the definition given above by Lombard will be used.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 MAKGOTLA

Based on current literature, one finds that *makgotla* came into existence before South Africa could be colonized. As Burman and Schärf (1990:695) state, when the colonizers arrived in the country they found African societies operating under their own rulers with their own laws and customs. British colonizers attempted to impose a foreign legal system on the people of South Africa. (Grant and Schwikkard, 1991:305).

Consequently, *makgotla* was transplanted from rural into urban areas without much success (Horwitz, 1992, Bapela 1987, Hund and Kotu-Rammopo, 1983). However the research findings of Labuschagne and Swanepoel (1978), Ndaki (1981), Bapela (1987), Schärf (1990) all indicated that there is much to be said in favour of *makgotla*.

As Schärf (1992:3) has acknowledged Community Courts like *makgotla* in African townships came into existence for very good reasons.

The courts of the past apartheid rulers have been courts that have enforced the laws and the interests of those in power. They were not accessible to Black South Africans for many reasons.

Not only are they inaccessible physically but because they have difficult procedures they are not easy to understand and they do not use the language of the people. These court proceedings are held only during the day when people find it difficult to attend since they fear losing their jobs.

Even if someone is not represented by a lawyer, that person still has to take time off from work to go to court.

Lawyers are very expensive and this makes it difficult to use the courts. And finally, when someone is sent to prison, the family loses a breadwinner if the person is employed.

The development of *makgotla* in urban areas came as a response to the crises that prevailed in the township at that time. For instance, *makgotla* in Soweto developed between 1969 - 1974 as a response to a surge of break-ins, assaults and rapes. It dealt with cases such as juvenile delinquency, assault of parents by children, stealing money, swearing at their elders, playing truant and refusing to go to school (Zonk, African People's Pictorial, vol 12. No. 7, July 1990).

According to the Rand Daily Mail (1974:27), from mid-1979's *makgotla* dealt with offences like assault, theft, malicious damage to property and the threatening of residents with knives or firearms. Murder, rape and armed robbery were not dealt with but left to the police.

According to Hund and Kotu-Rammopo (1983:180) *makgotla* in Mamelodi-Ward Four came into existence in 1977 to maintain law and order and bring stability in the area. They found that *makgotla* refers to a range of courts with diverse styles of operation and degrees of popular support. Hund (1988) categorises this range of informal structures in the following manner:

- * systems of Justice which are appendages to the formal Legal system.
- * Semi-autonomous systems of Justice
- * Autonomous systems of Justice.

As pointed out by Schärf (1990:22), as far as the *makgotla* which were appendages of the system are concerned, it seems as if they were constituted in terms of the law as adjuncts to the ward committees established by the community councillors. They operated both as courts and as vigilante organizations.

Other types of *makgotla* found in Mamelodi were associated with tribal or homeland representatives in the townships (Hund , 1988:205). Both styles of *makgotla* utilized amended versions of customary law. The semi-autonomous justice structures consisted of groups that set themselves up as peace-keeping vigilantes or as cultural movements, yet more closely linked to community councillors eg. Vukani Vulimehlo People's Party in Mamelodi.

The *makgotla* movement grew from strength to strength and eventually had paid-up members. It took a political turn when some members of *makgotla* were campaigning for local elections on a *makgotla* ticket. These events were summed-up by Schärf (1990:27) who stated that the intensification of the political struggle from the time of the tricameral constitution in 1983 had profound effects on informal courts. Essentially what happened was that all structures that were linked to, or loosely associated with, community council structures (which includes some *makgotla* in the PWV area and the Cape Town Street Committees) became politically discredited along with all organs of state which ruled blacks.

It is important, however, to mention that Schärf (1990) drew some similarities between *makgotla* in the Transvaal Townships and Street Committees in the Cape Town area.

The similarities included of community councillors, the creation of civic structures to take up community grievances and the intensification of the struggle against apartheid.

Makgotla that aligned themselves with oppressive structures had a legitimacy problem in the black townships.

The demise of *makgotla* in Black townships led to the emergence of people's courts in early 1985 in the Eastern Cape, Schärf (1990:29). This eventually spread throughout the country. It should, however be stated that these events centred around *makgotla* in the PWV area as well as Street Committees in the Cape Town area.

For instance, in other areas like Bophuthatswana, *makgotla* continued to exist and considerable progress has been made. Through the insistence of the then President Mangope, women were elected to these structures. Members have also attended courses on administration such as budgeting, development and working with finances, (South Africa Commission for Administration, 1991:8-9).

Based on the available literature on *makgotla*, one gets the feeling that this structure performs a wide range of activities aimed at the betterment of the quality of lives of residents. In other words, its primary goal was for community development. The emphasis in community development is the involvement and participation of the local people.

To a larger degree, the participation within *makgotla* has been dominated by men and this is one of their shortcomings. As mentioned earlier, *makgotla* was not seen as being democratic by the youth. Consequently, *makgotla* was resisted by the youth. As South African Institute of Race Relations (1975:3) argues that while a considerable number of the people of Soweto appear to approve of the *makgotla*, this approval seems to derive largely from their fear and helplessness and a grasping at something that might be of some help in reducing crime, especially by restraining juvenile gangs which imperil the lives of

ordinary citizens. They assert emphatically that help cannot be obtained from the police. Hence they say, the *makgotla* are better than nothing.

The potential of *makgotla* is that they are based right inside the communities, thereby leaving scope for an all-inclusive grassroots participation. However, *Makgotla* were infiltrated by unscrupulous individuals thereby becoming vulnerable to abuse. They failed to maintain an apolitical stance and hence had people using them to campaign for local elections. In spite of this, *makgotla* managed to deal with crimes, lawlessness and instability that occurred at the time. The role of the government which had a negative impact on *makgotla*, cannot be underestimated. Rather than encourage, direct and guide voluntary work, the government stifled community initiative.

Furthermore, from the literature on *makgotla* it became clear that most of the research have been conducted in urban areas. This is despite the fact that it has been acknowledged that *makgotla* were transplanted from rural into urban areas. The findings, although they do provide a picture of *makgotla*, cannot be generalized to rural areas where conditions are totally different from that of urban areas.

Thus research on *makgotla* in a rural area will offer another dimension to our understanding of how such a "system" can enable people to become self-reliant.

Also, almost all studies conducted on *makgotla* were analysed from a legal perspective. Therefore, the primary foci were on operation, administration of justice, procedure and evidence within *makgotla*. Little or no attention was paid to the role of *makgotla* as a vehicle for development. Further research on this aspect will be beneficial.

2.2 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

As socio-economic and political circumstances change in South Africa, development has become a key issue. Development can mean many things.

As expressed by Todaro (1977:56), everyone wants development, but what does it mean? Who should define development? Who should benefit from development and how? Major theories on development will be critically analysed to throw light on some of these crucial questions.

2.2.1 Modernization Theory

The proponents of this theory are classical theorists who focussed on the transition or change from traditional to modern society. Coetzee (1989:19), mentioned theorists like Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. Foster-Carter (1986:13) singled out Rostow as one of the most famous writers from this school.

This school draws on the principles of neo-classical growth theory which argues that the development process should be based on productive investments in infra-structure and modern industrialisation enterprise modelled on Western industrialised countries.

It is also rooted in Rostow's (1986) concept of the "stages of economic growth" and its premise that all economic systems evolve historically in accordance with the existence of certain conditions which facilitate the accumulation and mobilisation of capital and a free market economy, Foster-Carter (1986: 13-16).

The basic tenet of this theory is transformation from traditional or pre-modern society to one which adopts technological, organizational, social and other characteristics of modern society.

The underlying assumption is that there are general characteristics that are attributed to traditionalism on the one hand and modernity on the other. The belief is that transition is possible from one continuum to the other.

Coetzee (1989:23) argues that the construction of a dichotomy of traditionalism and modernity will automatically bring with it an ideological dimension. The view is that Third World countries should follow in the footsteps of developed countries.

The components according to which modernisation is normally analysed, include the following - Differentiation, Integration, Adaption, Growing Systemness and convergence towards modernisation (Coetzee, 1989: 24 - 28). There are two major principles that governs modernisation thought. Firstly, there should be contact and communication between different developed and developing societies. Secondly, we have the view held in Western countries that development is centered around industrialization.

One of the shortcomings of this approach is that it is not universal. In real life it is difficult to have all those variables that characterize only modernisation or only traditionalism and hence one will end up with a combination of factors.

This approach fails to acknowledge the uniqueness of countries and does not seem to realize that even Third World countries are different in terms of their social, economic and political conditions.

The primary emphasis is on economic development. It implies that economic development will automatically result in improved levels of living. Being in South Africa, it is hard to believe this, because even before the decline of the economy, there was no improvement in the quality of life of the majority.

2.2.2 Dependency Theory

The dependency theory emerged as a result of criticisms that were levelled against the modernisation theory.

The proponents refute the concept of underdevelopment as an original state of backwardness and attribute such underdevelopment to the influence of the industrialised nations.

This theory is influenced by Marxian and Neo-Marxian theories. According to Foster-Carter (1986:17), one of the proponents of this theory (Frank) does not see society as the unit of analysis. Instead, he sees national economies as structural elements in a global capitalist system. This view follows Marx who saw dependency as the consequence of inequality and exploitation amongst countries.

The proponents of this theory argue that relations that are developed with the poorer or underdeveloped countries are exploitative in nature as they involve the transfer of materials and wealth from the poor to the rich (or developed) countries.

Todaro (1977:64), in looking at economic development, alluded to the notion of a world of dual societies - rich nations and poor nations internationally and pockets of wealth within broad areas of poverty in developing countries. T

The concept of "dualism" represents the existence and persistence of increasing divergences between rich and poor nations and rich and poor people at various levels.

Dependency theory is relevant in understanding the historical underdevelopment of South Africa. One immediately realises that rural agrarian communities have become increasingly economically dependent on industrialised urban areas, for the provision of employment. This is so, despite the fact that the majority of the people reside in rural areas. The economic relations of the urban industrial sector are heavily influenced by international market forces.

One of the major limitations of this theory is that it became preoccupied with criticism against the modernisation theory but did not offer alternatives.

Another limitation is that it views development in economic terms which is a narrow view of development. Development, as it has been expressed by Todaro (1977:56) should be perceived as a multidimensional process involving the reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems.

2.2.3 Human Scale Development Theory

The proponents of this theory regards human needs, self-reliance and organic relationships as the basic tenets of the theory.

It is based on a human needs theory which suggests that there are a number of 'basic human needs' that humans will strive to have satisfied.

It argues that the needs themselves are universal and fundamental to the human character - although the "satisfiers" are culturally and socially defined. "Needs" includes food, shelter, security, community and identity or recognition. The proponents of this theory argue that development is about people, not objects, that the economy should serve the people, not vice-versa and economic needs are not satisfiers of human needs.

It assumes a direct and participatory democracy which encourage creative solutions flowing from the bottom upwards. People must be "subjects" of their own history, the protagonists of their future.

"Human Scale Development is focussed and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, and of civil society with the State", (Max-Neef, et al, 1989:1).

Human Scale Development offers the idea that, rather than thinking simply of "poverty" and understanding it primarily in economic terms, we should rather understand "poverties" as existing in relationship to any basic human need not be satisfied.

For example: Poverty of subsistence (due to insufficient income, food, shelter etc) of protection (due to bad health systems, violence, arms races, etc) of affection (due to authoritarianism, oppression, exploitative relations with the natural environment, etc) of participation (due to marginalisation and discrimination against women, children and minorities); of identity (due to imposition of alien values upon local and regional cultures, forced migration, political exile, etc).

If one of the poverties mentioned above is not adequately met, then it generates pathology.

This approach does not rely on ideological stereotypes - capitalist/marxist, left/right etc. Instead it puts emphasis on developing processes of economic and political decentralisation (Max-Neef , et al,1989:1-4).

The researcher finds the approach relevant in the present South African situation where the country is in a process of democratization. One of the key elements of democracy is active participation of people in issues that affect them. The respect and encouragement of diversity is also an important feature of democracy.

It is within this context that *makgotla* in rural areas should be understood.

2.2.4 Animation Rurale

The proponents of this approach were French and hence it is not surprising that it is mostly found in French rural areas. However, Kotze and Swanepoel (1983:10) argue that this approach is also found in South Africa.

The tenet of this approach is that it takes the form of an educational apparatus attached to the institution with overall responsibility for development, with representatives at that level of government which decide on and also implement economic and social programmes.

This approach, as stated by Kotze and Swanepoel (1983:10), is not aimed primarily at local communities and it is not concerned with a community's capacity for self-help.

The shortcoming of this approach is its ignorance about the structures like *makgotla* that exist in communities. It has elements of the apartheid tradition of planning for, and not with the community. There is a greater realization and acceptance that any development initiatives that do not involve the community are doomed to failure.

2.3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is important to look at community development in South Africa in order to understand the development of alternative structures like civic organisations, *makgotla*, *stokvels* and burial societies.

It is the writer's opinion that these structures came as a response to the inability of the government to take care of the welfare of its citizens. And, more importantly, to protect the customs and beliefs of a particular ethnic group.

Community Development was developed and nurtured in the western world. It can be traced to two separate elements. Firstly, according to Sanders (1958:2) it got the term "development" from the concept and practice of economic development. Secondly, the term "community" was derived from the concept of community organisation for development. As expressed by Louw (1993:94), the emphasis on community development emerged from the post World War II process of decolonisation. The history of community development illustrates the development of an approach by firstly colonial governments then by countries with vested economic interests and later by Third World governments. On a smaller scale, multinational corporations also got involved through the establishment of funding sources to secure their interests and then to ensure that their interests were maintained in the developing nations. As noted by Van Heerden (1987:20), the British were concerned with the growing call for independence within their colonies, especially in India, and the obvious inability of the existing structures to cope with and control the extent of the change.

Van Heerden (1987:23) further states that in South Africa the then Minister of Community Development, P.W. Botha, claimed that South Africa was actually in the vanguard of the development movement as it was actively creating the necessary machinery for its implementation.

Botha referred to the Group Areas Act, claiming that it was essential to resettle people in their own areas if development was to be achieved. He added that an adherence to group areas and the resultant protection afforded to all racial groups would lead to a situation in which "South Africa will eventually give the world an example of community development and good race relations." (Van Heerden, 1987:27).

Community Development has meant many things to many people. For the Nationalist government of the past community development meant maintaining control over the lives of people of colour by keeping them in a state of subservience. Any efforts or initiatives that would have undermined the status quo were viewed with suspicion. It was seen as advancing the broader political struggle against apartheid.

As a result of the apartheid ideology that pervades all aspects of human life in South Africa, welfare services were rendered inaccessible to the majority of the citizens (Blacks).

Africans who were the hardest hit responded to this unjust and inhumane situation in many ways. McKendrick (1987:16) noted that *stokfels* or *mahodisana* and burial societies developed in urban African townships.

It is against this background that alternative structures like *makgotla* should be understood as a response to those issues that were neglected by the then government.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

At this point, it is important to lay out the plan, structure and strategy of the research in an attempt to clarify the research process. This is essentially what a research design is all about.

3. RESEARCH AIMS

The study has the following main aims:

- 3.1. To investigate the nature of *makgotla* in rural communities .
- 3.2 To establish the range of services provided by *makgotla* in a particular area.
- 3.3. To establish the effectiveness of *makgotla* as an organisation involved in development.
- 3.4. To raise awareness of community members about the initiatives and role performed by *makgotla*.
- 3.5 To raise awareness amongst *makgotla* leaders about the need to incorporate women in their leadership (gender sensitive).
- 3.6. To explore theoretical development approaches relevant to rural communities.

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of the study lies in its contribution towards affirming traditional alternatives of social service delivery. Historically disadvantaged and apartheid-crippled rural communities have for some time been battling to provide for their own needs through traditional structures such as *makgotla*. *Makgotla* emphasizes such values as self-help, personal initiatives and grassroots participation.

The researcher argues that each community is different, having its own power structure, dynamics and trigger issues.

Developmental approaches should not be universally applied but should be adapted to suit local conditions taking the uniqueness of each community into consideration.

The practice of *makgotla* are associated with traditional authorities. Given the fact that Chapter 11 of the Interim Constitution has recognized the institution, status, role of traditional authorities, the study will go a long way in giving meaning to accepting cultural diversity.

This study is in line with the Social Welfare and Development Planning Framework of the African National Congress which emphasizes the recognition of the role of organs of civil society in the welfare system such as traditional and other complementary healers. (ANC - National/Social Welfare and Development Planning Framework, 1994:6). This will help to democratise South Africa and change how policies and programmes are implemented.

Furthermore, the study will contribute towards the need to develop rural communities. As the Rural Development strategy of the Government of National Unity (1985:8) argues that the available data confirm that the rural people of South Africa are at great risk of being poor. The risk is not only higher in rural areas than elsewhere, but almost three quarters of the poor in South Africa live in rural areas. See Table A and Figure 3 below.

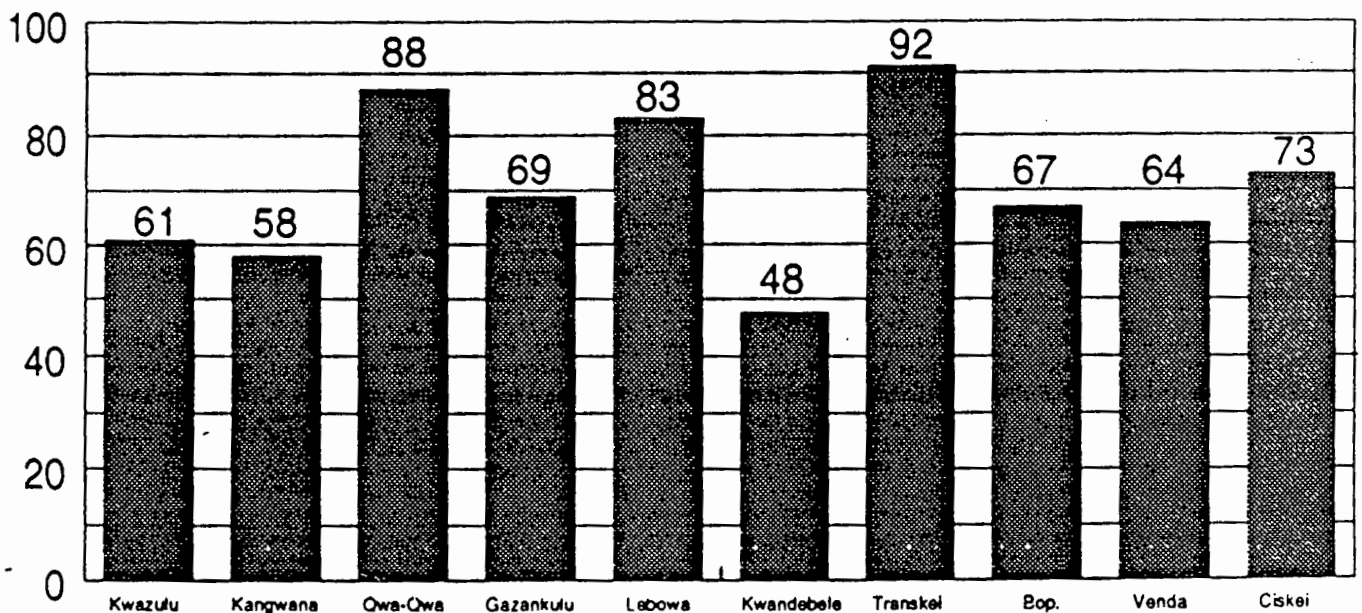
TABLE A Distribution of Poverty between Rural and Urban Areas (1993)

	POVERTY SHARES (%) (Which area has the poverty)		POVERTY RATES (%) (The rate of poverty in the area)	
	Poor	Ultra	Poor	Ultra
Rural	74.6	80.7	73.7	43.5
Urban	15.7	14.1	40.5	19.8
Metropolitan	9.8	5.3	19.7	5.8
All	100.0	100.0	52.8	28.8

Source for Table A and Figure 3: RDP: Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa, 1995

FIGURE 3

**Poverty rates in former Homelands
(% of population of former Homelands who are poor)**



As already highlighted, a study on *makgotla* will conscientize both social workers and community members about the strengths and weaknesses of *makgotla* and the role that *makgotla* have played and can still play in the development of rural communities.

It is in this context that one needs to research *makgotla* in order to identify their rightful place in development.

5. CLASSIFICATION OF RESEARCH DESIGN

This was an exploratory-descriptive study set in a qualitative paradigm. This research explored and described the nature of *makgotla* in a rural area.

Qualitative research methods were used to understand the respondents' "meaning" given to the research subject: how respondents felt about the nature and impact of *makgotla* have been explored.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1 Study Population and Sample

In exploratory studies emphasis is on obtaining data about a phenomenon. Grinnel R.M. (1988:251) found that in such studies, non-probability sampling is suitable.

The study population was divided into three categories:

- (i) All the headmen and/or key members of *makgotla* were interviewed. There were approximately 12 *makgotla* in the area. (I.e. 12 in-depth interviews were done).
- (ii) Consumers and/or potential consumers of services, ie. members of the community were interviewed (5 respondents).

- (lii) The wider community was reached through the community forum approach and the information received was collated (2 public meetings)

The motive of having in-depth interviews with all the headmen is to gather a detailed description of *makgotla*.

6.2 Collection of Data

The material for this study have been obtained from both secondary and primary sources. The study has utilized a variety of methods including a review of the pertinent literature, consulting experts in the problem area, in-depth interviews the use of the Community Forum Approach, observation and personal experience as a rural dweller.

Grinnel (1988:277) recommends unstructured interviews if little is known about the research question being studied. The nature of *makgotla* in rural areas is a good example. On the other hand, Bailey (1982:255) strongly recommends observation as a data collection method in field studies. The combination of these methods helped to study *makgotla* in depth and provided a better understanding about this phenomenon.

Data was essentially collected with the help of cassettes and was transcribed into English from Northern Sotho.

A pilot-study was conducted to pre-test the interview schedule on each one of the categories mentioned earlier on. Thereafter the necessary amendments were made.

The study was conducted at Ramokgopa in the Northern Province. The area is situated \pm 55 kms to the North of Pietersburg and \pm 50 kms South of Louis Trichardt. It has a population of \pm 23 300. There were two reasons for the choice of Ramakgopa.

Firstly, the researcher grew up in the area and hence the community members were readily accessible. Secondly, the researcher is familiar with the area.

6.3 Measurement

Bailey (1982:62) states that qualitative variables are used extensively in observational studies and purposeful conversation.

In the light of the above, the study was qualitative. Bailey (1982:63) states that all qualitative measurement is nominal and hence this study was also nominal.

6.4 Assessment of reliability and validity

One of the data collection techniques that was used in the study is the unstructured interview. The unstructured interview is said to be more valid when the respondent has to recall events of the past which may not always be accurate due to poor memory.

The respondent was allowed to follow what Gordon (1969) in Bailey (1983:202) calls "the natural paths of free association". Gordon (1969) argues that to help the respondent to remember facts accurately, the interview must be sufficiently unstructured and flexible for the interviewer to be able to return to the same topic several times if necessary to stimulate the memory.

This was important if one realises that to investigate *makgotla* in rural areas one was relying heavily on elderly people who might have memory failure.

On the other hand, this could be a weakness if respondents do not want to admit that they do not have sufficient knowledge about a phenomenon or they cannot recall past events.

Unstructured interviews may also be more valid if the universe of discourse varies from respondent to respondent so that the interviewer must change the question wording to meet the understanding of the respondent.

On the basis of the arguments given above, one could safely say that to some extent some richness of data was still achieved.

Participant observation enabled the researcher not only to listen to what respondents are saying, but to observe as well. This improved validity of the information gathered.

On the other hand, seeing only what one expects to see could lead to bias, thus threatening both reliability and validity of the findings. Recording what the subjects have said rather than only giving researcher interpretations provided a valuable qualitative dimension.

7. DATA ANALYSIS

Data was qualitatively analyzed according to various themes.

The responses to the questions posed in the twelve in-depth interviews with headmen and/or key members were analysed according to dominant themes.

Five interviews for consumers of services were analysed according to responses received. Once again, the responses were categorized according to the major themes.

Finally, responses from the community Forum Approach further gave another perspective to the data gathered and served as a cross-checking mechanism.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The research findings will be presented according to the identifying data and themes drawn from the interviews. The themes will be directly related to the aims and purpose of the study. The themes are as follows:-

1. The definition and structure of *Lekgotla/Makgotla*.
2. Establishment and purpose of *makgotla*.
3. Operation of *makgotla*.
4. Relationship of *makgotla* with other community structures.
5. Services rendered by *makgotla*.
6. Successes and strengths of *makgotla*.
7. Areas of concern
8. Gender sensitivity.
9. Role of *makgotla*.

As this study was qualitative, data will be presented predominantly in commentary rather than tabulated form.

8.1 THE IDENTIFYING DATA

8.1.1 Who were the respondents:-

All the respondents were selected by the researcher. There were twelve interviews with headmen and five with consumers of services and two public meetings. With the exception of the public meetings, all interviews were taped. All tapes were then transcribed and the data was presented according to particular themes as indicated above.

8.1.2 Age/Sex/Area of Operation

Table 2: Headmen/key members

Area of operation°	Position	°	Age	°	Gender
Mabeba No. 2	° Headman	°	46	°	Male
Moneyane	° Headman	°	40	°	Male
Makoetja	° Headman	°	60	°	Male
Joel	° Headman	°	77	°	Male
Maila	° Acting Headman	°	62	°	Male
Mabula	° Headman	°	54	°	Male
Mashaa	° Acting Headman	°	59	°	Male
Mabeba No. 1	° Headman	°	46	°	Male
Madiehe	° Headman	°	64	°	Male
Raphaswana	° Headman	°	60	°	Male
Mannya	° Acting Headman	°	66	°	Male
Mokomene	° Senior Chief	°	63	°	Male
	° Adviser	°		°	

N = 12

It is a feature of South African tribal society that most headmen/key members in the decision-making structures are males. It is interesting to note that their ages range between 40 and 77 years. The areas of operation are typical rural areas in the Northern Province forming part of Ramokgopa.

Table 3: Consumers of services

Area of operation	Age	Gender
Ramoroko	42	Female
Joel	39	Female
Mannya	30	Female
Ramokgopa	20	Male
Mabeba No.1	56	Male

$N = 5$

8.2 THEMES EMERGING FROM THE INTERVIEWS

8.2.1 Definition and structure of "lekgotla/makgotla"

From the interviews it became evident that there is no generally agreed upon definition of what constitutes *lekgotla* (Scharf, 1990:19). The term as Hund and Kotu-Rammopo (1983:184) have expressed, it has been used to cover a wide range of specially called meetings to discuss community issues. This will be illustrated by the following quotes:

"According to my understanding of makgotla in this area, it is a structure attached to a Chief through which a public meeting is convened. For instance, there are different makgotla like Mabeba, Monenyane etc. If the Chief wants these makgotla, we will write letters to them and convene a public meeting" (Headman A)

"Lekgotla is kgoro. Kgoro is a place where Maila people are holding their meetings" (Headman B)

"I know it as kgoro which is a place where we (men) discuss problems and decide what we can do. Women are sometimes called to get their opinions" (Headman D)

"I will say it is a gathering of people from Mabeba" (Headman E)

"Makgotla is a collection of people who represents the community" (Headman F)

"It is a meeting of people with a common purpose" (Headman I)

"It is a place where people discuss issues of community interest" (Headman J)

"I am not sure whether should I say lekgotla is kgoro or pitso because lekgotla is a bigger thing. I will say lekgotla is a meeting convened by the Chief" (Headman K)

"Lekgotla is a group of people who talks about issues that affects them whilst kgoro is a building/place where we meet" (Consumer 5)

"Lekgotla is a meeting of people" (Consumer 1)

"It is a group of people who are able to build schools, creches and to work together" (Consumer 2)

"Makgotla is a structure that is involved in dispute settlement" (Consumer 4)

"It is a collection of people who shares common interest and are involved in community issues" (Consumer 3)

"It is a government that is in operation" (Headman C)

"It is a grouping of people" (Headman H)

From the above-mentioned definitions, one will realize that *lekgotla* in Ramokgopa is used interchangeably with the term "kgoro" as indicated by Headman B, Headman D and Headman K. However, Consumer 5 stated it clearly when he made a distinction between *lekgotla* and *kgoro*. According to him *kgoro* was a place where *lekgotla* was held.

From the interviews, it can also be deduced that the type of *lekgotla* found in the area is closely associated with tribal authority. This has been well illustrated by Headman K when he states that "*Makgotla* are the eyes and ears of the chief. Anything that happens in the community is supposed to be reported to the Chief via the headman." In other words, *makgotla* were established to assist the Chief with administration of the community - to maintain stability, law and order.

8.2.2 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSES OF MAKGOTLA

The following quotations will illustrate when *makgotla* was established and for what purpose:

"It has been established long time ago to assist each other during funerals" (Headman A)

"It was established long time for the purpose of allocating sites" (Headman C)

"It has been in existence for a long time. We do not know when because we found it when we were born" (Headman D)

"It was formed by elderly people for the purpose of establishing a sense of belongingness" (Headman B)

"When I grew up, I found it in existence. It was established to help each other during funerals" (Headman E)

"It has long been established. It was established to help each other during funerals." (Headman F)

*"It's long time. It was established to maintain law and order in this area"
(Headman G)*

*"Our lekgotla is a sub-structure of Raphasha which has been in existence
for a long time" (Headman H)*

*"Long time ago. It has been formed to help each other and to provide
guidance where necessary" (Headman I)*

*"Established when this area was established. They came into existence
because each area had a headman in order to assist the chief in ruling
this area" (Headman K)*

*"It has been established long time ago to bring people of this area
together" (Headman L)*

8.2.3 HOW MAKGOTLA OPERATES

It is important to mention that in Ramokgopa alone (where the study was conducted) there are seventeen *makgotla* that are in operation. For the purpose of illustrating the process of how *makgotla* operate, the researcher will use Monenyane as a case study.

Moenyane meets twice a month on Sundays and the meetings are presided over by the headman. The headman is not appointed but he has inherited this position from his father who has passed away. It is important to mention that the headman is of royal blood. This is the situation with all the headmen.

Before the present headman took over, his uncle, with the guidance of the would-be headman's mother, was the acting headman.

The headman has the authority to convene an urgent meeting if there is something to be discussed such as a funeral. In such cases, he will request somebody to go around and let members know.

Membership is restricted to adults only. Adult refers to any person who is not at school and usually a male. Presently, it has a membership of \pm 25 families.

Being a member of Moenyane, one is compelled to join a burial society. The headman meets with other headmen once a week, usually on Tuesdays. Thereafter, every Friday there is a community meeting with all the headmen and the community. It is, however, important to mention that in all these meetings, women are not part and parcel of the decision-making. They are only called in if there is an issue or problem that concerns or affects them.

Another important recent development worth mentioning is that if there is no meeting for *lekgotla*, then people go to what is called a zonal meeting. Members of Moenyane belong to Zone 1. Other *makgotla* in Zone 1 include Thoka, Mabeba 1 and Mabeba 2. In other words, Zone 1 comprises four *makgotla*. At a zonal level, the chairperson, treasurer and secretary are elected and they are not necessarily of the royal blood.

The zonal structure has the authority to embark on joint projects, e.g. the building of a school named Rathoma is a product of this. Rathoma meaning "we have started" and it also identifies all the parties involved. Ra = Raphahlelo (Moenyane), Tho = Thoka, Ma = Mabeba no 1 and 2.

8.2.4 RELATIONSHIP OF MAKGOTLA WITH OTHER COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

It is important to mention that the various *makgotla* interact with the only Civic Organisation in the area as well as linking up with various political organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). To a certain extent it appears that the relationship between some *makgotla* and the Civic Organisation is somewhat strained. The following quotes will illustrate this:

"Most organisations came into existence after the April elections, eg. the Civic Organisation. Many people are having problems with the Civic Organisation because they do not know what type of organisation it is and how it operates. The structures that we had before April elections in this area were makgotla. We did not have Civic Organisation, PAC, ANC and the like" (Headman A)

"There are problems. For instance, there is a problem between the Civic Organisation and the Chief and the blame is always placed upon my shoulders" (Headman K)

On the contrary, there are some *makgotla* who have a good relationship with the Civic Organisation, the ANC and the PAC. The following quotes will illustrate this:-

"Political organisations have approached us on several occasions and we are working quite well with them" (Headman E)

"We work well with other organisations. We have a close relationship with the African National Congress (ANC). For instance, on Sunday we are going to a Civic Meeting to talk about water and electricity" (Headman F)

*"We have never encountered problems with other organisations."
(Headman I)*

"We work well with other organisations" (Headman G)

There are, however, other *makgotla* whose relationship with other organisations is not clear. It also appears that they will be willing to enter into a relationship with organisations that have the Chief's approval. The following quotes will indicate this viewpoint:

"We do not have problems as long as organisations approached us via the Chief who will then instruct us" (Headman C)

"When we discuss issues pertaining to lekgotla, we do not talk about other organisations" (Headman J)

"No problems. They should inform us about what they are doing through letters approved of by the Chief. If it is not approved, it means I am discussing lies" (Headman D)

8.2.5 THE SERVICES RENDERED BY MAKGOTLA

Makgotla provides a wide range of services and the following quotations will illustrate this:-

"Makgotla have been established long time ago to assist during funerals. Other services include allocation of sites. Firstly, the person should be belonging to a particular lekgotla. Two men will accompany him to the chief's kraal and he will indicate which site he is interested in. Thus why I

am saying lekgotla is a structure. We now have a school called Rathoma which has been built by makgotla collectively viz, Raphahlelo, Thoka and Mabeba. The name Rathoma means "we are starting". There is also a creche called Mantekene which is being accommodated at Mabeba building. Arrangements are in the pipeline to have a creche building" (Headman A).

"It helps people during funerals and settlements of disputes" (Headman B)

"It has built a house where equipments are being kept and it is also being used to hold meetings. Furthermore, it has built a school with six classrooms and we are intending to build a pre-school" (Headman F)

"It has a burial society and it is also involved in settlement of disputes" (Headman I).

"We have done things jointly with other makgotla for example, installation of more water pipes" (Headman C).

"We are involved in the allocation of sites either for residential or business purpose" (Headman G)

"It is involved in sites allocation, water, electricity, employment and fundraising" (Consumer 1)

"To build schools and pre-schools" (Consumer 2)

"Burial society, and helping each other during ceremonies" (Consumer 3)

"If one is a member of a certain lekgotla, then you will get assistance eg. during funerals or wedding ceremonies" (Consumer 4)

"Funeral services, It gives money, bake cakes and perform other duties" (Consumer 5)

"We act as mediators between the Chief and our constituency. We convey instructions from the Chief" (Headman D)

"We have done nothing significant towards the development of this area except to help political organisations like ANC financially" (Headman E)

"They are the ears and eyes of the Chief. Anything that goes wrong should be reported to the Chief or headman" (Headman K)

"There is a burial society and we are also involved in settlement of disputes" (Headman L)

From the meetings held, it became clear that all the soccer clubs in the area had been established by *makgotla*. Although they have different names, these are commonly linked to *makgotla*. For example, Home Sweepers football Club is commonly known as Makoetja. Korea Football Club is known as Madiehe because of the headman, etc.

One of the major services that is being rendered by all *makgotla* is assistance with burials. As has been mentioned all *makgotla* have burial societies to which members are compelled to join. The reason behind this is that there are problems if someone dies who is not a member. It causes division within *makgotla*. Thus being a member of a burial society, one is assured of help during funerals and wedding ceremonies. The members contribute a certain amount of money towards the event and help with the baking of cakes, cooking of food and provision of water. More importantly, members offer moral support during and after funerals.

8.2.6 THE SUCCESSES/STRENGTHS OF MAKGOTLA

From the data gathered during the interviews, it appears that there are considerable achievements that *makgotla* have made. The following quotations will illustrate this:

"The one that I think is the major achievement is the building of a school (Rathoma). I am saying this despite the fact that it was not Mabeba alone. The idea came from Mabeba after realizing that we are far from schools. If you look around, you will notice that most people did not go to school in this area because schools were far" (Headman A)

"After the elections, the ANC came to us and asked for money to throw a celebration party. We did not behave like others, but gave them R200. This was highly appreciated. The other major achievements is the involvement of women because we have realised that majority of them are single. They are now part and parcel of the structure" (Headman H)

"The installation of water pipes and the negotiations for the provision of electricity" (Headman D)

"It has built a house where equipments are being kept and it is also being used to hold meetings. Furthermore, it has built a school with six classrooms and we are intending to build a pre-school" (Headman F)

"The establishment of a soccer field for our children" (Headman L)

"I do not know whose idea it was, but due to lack of schools, particularly the primary schools, we adopted a model that we have seen working in GaMachaka. (In this area, makgotla were grouped into zones). thus how the zones came into being. We realised that if money collected from the community to build schools is taken to the Chief, it may not materialise. Hence, we divided the area into zones so that each zone can look into its educational needs". (Headman K)

"We are proud to have established a burial society that helps one during funerals" (Headman I)

"I'm proud of the co-operation that exists within makgotla" (Headman G)

"It has built schools, encouraged people to put up businesses, negotiates for more residential land, and has the capacity to deal with crime effectively eg. dagga. Finally, it is influential in the decisions that the Chief could take" (Consumer 1)

"They have built schools and this is development. The government has failed to build schools. In the past, there were no pre-schools, but today these are available due to the efforts of makgotla" (Consumer 2)

"Its strength lies in co-operation that exists within makgotla, eg one lekgotla might have more than one member to be buried, and due to co-operation they will manage to deal with it" (Consumer 4)

"They could be a strong force for change if they are given appropriate training" (Consumer 5)

Furthermore, *makgotla* have been identified as being capable of dealing with crime in the area. For instance, if parents have a delinquent child, the child will be taken to *lekgotla* to be dealt with. This is closely related to settlement of disputes. Petty crimes like housebreaking and theft are being handled within *makgotla*.

From the public forum meetings, people commended *makgotla* for their efforts in establishing burial societies, building schools and providing recreational facilities for youth in the form of soccer clubs. They did, however, state that all other services are important resources to a disadvantaged community like Ramokgopa.

8.2.7 AREAS OF CONCERN

It will be naive to assume that all is well within *makgotla*. The following quotes will illustrate the areas of concern found or perceived in these structures:

"Makgotla discriminates on the basis of status one has in the community. For instance, if you are respected, you are given immediate attention if you need help. There is also selfishness amongst makgotla members"
(Consumer 1)

"Meetings are poorly attended. There is also a delay when there is a need to contribute financially" (Consumer 2)

"Discriminatory practices eg. people pay for tent annually, but if you have a wedding party, you are still expected to pay again. Another weakness is the ignorance amongst leaders. They are not aware of the extent to which poverty exists" (Consumer 3)

"Your question is difficult. There are many problems, eg. As I have explained that we are involved in helping during funerals, there are people who are unable to pay burial societies's fees due to the unemployment. As a result, if he/she dies, people won't go to dig the grave. We experience problems because we cannot just leave them like that"
(Headman A)

"We do not have problems. The only problem that we have is to collect money on behalf of the Chief not knowing how the money is being spent"
(Headman B)

"There are people who do not want to pay their annual fees" (Headman D)

"We experience problems when a person living in this area/zone who is not affiliated to our lekgotla has passed away. Under such circumstances people are not willing to help the person" (Headman E)

"There are people who does not want to belong to makgotla" (Headman F)

"The problem that we have is to know income and expenditure of the tribal authority" (Headman G)

"Lack of co-operation and understanding about the Civic Organisation" (Headman H)

"The problems that we had, we managed to deal with them. Initially, we did not have accommodation where we can hold meetings, but now we have a building" (Headman J)

"There is no oneness amongst makgotla. I have been observing the developments, but it appears that there are people who are selfish who are not looking at the interests of the community. I do not want to quote names but there are many amongst us who are destabilizing this area" (Headman K)

"Headmen have insufficient political knowledge and hence do not accept people who are politically minded" (Consumer 5)

"Some people go to a meeting being drunk. I do not think they can discuss issues constructively" (Consumer 4)

From the meetings, major areas of concern identified were the following:-

- **Non-participation /or minimum participation of women.**
This situation differs from one *lekgotla* to another. There are *makgotla* which have tried to involve women although their participation is still not satisfactory.
- **Unequal treatment of men and women.**
This is closely related to the above. Since women's participation is minimal and hence they are not always there to let their voices be heard, they do not get the same treatment as their men-folk.
- **Conservative Headmen**
There are headmen who are not pro-active and assertive. They are always being instructed by the Chief and act out his orders.
- **High membership fees**
This is related to burial societies that have been established by *makgotla*. People expressed concern that the membership fee is not affordable, especially to those who have been hit by unemployment.

8.2.8 GENDER SENSITIVITY

The question of whether men who have played a leading role in the leadership of *makgotla*, should continue this way or not, has been met with a mixed reaction. As Headman A put it:

√₁ { *"There is a long held traditional belief that women are not allowed to discuss issues with men. To bring women into the leadership, despite his acknowledgement that it is a brilliant idea will be opposed by those who hold this belief."*

Headman C went further to say that " *To have men as Headmen is due to our tradition*", whilst Headman L put it this way: *"Ever since I was born, I have never seen a woman being a headman"*.

On the contrary, it has been found that more respondents are of the opinion that women should be brought into the leadership. The following quotes will illustrate this view:

"No, men should not continue to play main role in the leadership of makgotla alone. I think Whites had women as headmen long time ago, e.g. Helen Suzman. I think women can play a vital role in makgotla. For instance, if a woman wants a divorce and the issue is handled by a woman, she can be persuaded to change her decision" (Headman D)

"I think women should play a main role in the leadership of makgotla. Women are members of the community as well. The era of saying "if a nation is led by a woman, it will be in the dark", belongs to the past. Women should be leaders of tomorrow" (Headman F)

"I think there will be time when women will be brought into the leadership. I am looking forward to that day" (Headman G)

"Nowadays, we have entered a new era and we should get rid of apartheid mentality. It is not difficult to have a woman as the headman." (Headman H)

"Makgotla should not continue having only men as headmen, because we are in the process of establishing a non-sexist South Africa. I might just add to say there are women who are more competent than men" (Headman K)

"Although lekgotla is for men, if there is a woman who has leadership skills, I do not foresee any problems" (Headman B)

"They have played a main role in the leadership of makgotla because they (men) are available. If I am not available, my mother will be in charge but she cannot handle problems with us" (Headman E)

Directly linked to the above issues was the incorporation of women in the leadership of *makgotla*. Furthermore, the kind of issues that could arise if women were brought into the leadership brought some interesting responses. The following quotes will illustrate this:

"Yes, women should be brought into the leadership. This is so because we have been saying that women should stay at home and should not attend meetings. We are in a situation where we look at skills. For instance, when a teacher is employed at school, there is less emphasis on whether it is he/she but we require qualifications" (Headman A)

"I do not think it is difficult because if I am away, my wife becomes acting Headman" (Headman C)

"Women should be brought into the leadership. For instance, the Nationalist Government only banned Mandela, and left Winnie alone because she is her own Chief. If we could organise women, we may end up having someone who has leadership qualities" (Headman D)

Headman D went further and stated that *"there won't be any problems because there is a woman who is a Chief, ie Makoma Modjadji"*.

Headman E, whilst acknowledging that it will be difficult to accept women because of the belief that they should not be involved in *makgotla*, he, however, does not think it is right. As he put it: *"I feel women should be brought into the leadership especially because I am given guidance by my mother"*

Headman F also supports this view when he put it this way: *"I do not think there could be problems. For instance, a woman becomes the headman if her son is still young. This goes to show you that a woman can lead if a man is not there"*

"It will be more useful to make efforts to bring women into the leadership because women are more competent than men. Men are partial when resolving disputes" (Headman G)

Headman H put it openly when he states that *"If we do not make efforts to bring women into the leadership, it implies that we are oppressive"*

Headman I reiterates this view when he states that *"In this new era, I think if women could be brought into the leadership, it will be more helpful. This is on condition that we do not follow the old saying that if we are led by a woman, she will lead us into darkness"*.

Headman K feels that a lot of education has to be done to the conservatives. As he put it, *"Another man was puzzled by the fact that I have allowed my girl to bring her boyfriend to the house. This man did not understand that I am a modern man"*.

Furthermore, he states that *"it has been my intention and I have tried it. The other day when we had a meeting, I insisted that when we elect delegates, women should also be involved"*.

Headman L felt very strongly that *"makgotla belongs to men and the idea of bringing women into the leadership will be rejected"*. He did however, suggest an option *"to let women to establish their own lekgotla"*

8.2.9 THE ROLE OF MAKGOTLA

From the interviews it became clear that respondents envisage different roles for *makgotla*. This will be illustrated by the following quotes:

"Makgotla should continue supporting the women's movement which has got representatives from all the makgotla to develop the community"
(Headman C)

"Yes it has a role. I do not know how I can put it. As I have mentioned, there are basic needs that are needed in this area. For instance, we do not have electricity and water. I think these are some of the needs that Mabeba should be involved in. We are looking at RDP. I was still telling someone that according to my RDP one needs to define his own RDP. We need to address problems that affects us, e.g. the existing Health Centre is inadequate. These are some of the issues that makgotla could play a role" (Headman A)

"Makgotla have a role to support the New South Africa" (Headman B)

"If I looked at the new South Africa, I think makgotla could play a main role in this area. This could be possible if they work hand in hand with tribal authority" (Headman F)

"It does have a role to play. For instance, we have allowed our women to be members of the women's coalition that has been established recently" (Headman H)

Headman K perceives a bigger role for *makgotla*. He feels that representatives from *makgotla* could be elected to form a Council to make this process inclusive in order to develop the community.

There were, however, different views about the role *makgotla* can/should play. As headman D put it:-

"I do not think these small makgotla will have a role to play in the New South Africa. The new government that has been elected should now take over and deliver services."

Headman E shares the view that there is no role for *makgotla* except to be supportive to a political organisation.

Headman G went further to state that *makgotla* lacks vision and hence they are not clear about the role they can play. Headman J perceives *makgotla* as not being proactive and always dependent on what the Chief has to say.

The following quotes will illustrate the perception held by consumers of service about the role they think *makgotla* play:

"It represents the interests of the community. If there is anything that people want, then lekgotla will take it to the Chief" (Consumer 1)

"To develop the community" (Consumer 3)

"To help each other" (Consumer 4)

"Settlement of disputes" (Consumer 5)

It is important that when one talks about the role of *makgotla*, it is linked to their future plans. The future plans will further identify the role *makgotla* could play.

The following quotes will illustrate this:-

"We are planning to organize women whose children are attending a creche to have a garden and sell vegetables. We also intend to have sewing and knitting courses" (Headman A)

"We want to get involved in negotiating for installation of water pipes. There is shortage of water in this area" (Headman J)

"It plans to extend their building where meetings are being held. They also have intention to increase their contributions" (Headman H)

"We are concerned about matriculants. We intend allowing matriculants to use the building (where we normally hold meetings) for study purposes" (Headman F)

"We want to build a creche" (Headman C)

"We want to continue developing the community" (Headman G)

"We do not have money. If we had money we could address the shortage of water" (Headman D)

"We are looking at the development of this area. The problem is that as headmen we do not have a common vision and understanding" (Headman C)

As far as the contribution that *makgotla* could make in the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) people responded as follows:-

"They can help a lot provided they are given training. They should be educated about what the Civic organisation is, RDP, what the Interim Constitution and what does it say etc. Makgotla collects tribal levies and if this could combine with what the government will give us, it can do something" (Consumer 5)

"It can help in job-creation. For instance during funerals whites do not go and dig the grave. They have employed people to do it and we can also do that" (Consumer 4)

"They can help to develop the community, eg. road construction. We have had 16 deaths due to bad roads. They should be involved in campaigns against alcohol abuse amongst youth. This will help the community unlike concentrating only on a burial society" (Consumer 3)

"If they could continue building schools with cooking facilities this could create employment" (Consumer 2)

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the findings, bearing in mind the original purpose of this study, the major themes emerging from the data collected and relevant literature which impacts on this research.

9. THEMES EMERGING FROM THE INTERVIEWS

9.1 The Nature of *Makgotla*

A major component of the interviews was focussed on understanding the concept "*lekgotla*", its establishment and purpose.

Previous literature on *makgotla* has acknowledged that there is no generally agreed upon definition of what *lekgotla* is (Schärf 1990:19, Hund J and Kotu-Rammopo, 1983:184).

From the data gathered from the interviews it became clear that people's perceptions and understanding of this concept differ (see Chapter 4: 33 -35).

What has also emerged is that people define *lekgotla* in terms of what *lekgotla* does. The following quotations highlight this viewpoint:

"It is a collection of people who shares common interest and are involved in community issues (Consumer 3).

"Makgotla is a structure that is involved in dispute settlement"

"It is a group of people who are able to build schools, creches and work together" (Consumer 2)

Furthermore, *lekgotla* is used interchangeably with the concept "kgoro". The following quotes will illustrate this:-

"Lekgotla is kgoro. Kgoro is a place where Maila people are holding their meetings" (Headman B)

"I know it as kgoro which is a place where we (men) discuss problems and decide what we can do. Women are sometimes called to get their opinions" (Headman D)

It has also emerged from the findings that self-help seems to be a key word in terms of the purpose for the establishment of *makgotla*. The following quotes will justify this view:-

"It has been established long time ago to assist each other during funerals" (Headman A)

"It has been established long time ago to bring people of this area together" (Headman C)

"When I grew up, I found it in existence. It was established to help each other during funerals" (Headman E)

"It's long time. It was established to maintain law and order in this area" (Headman G)

These views support the argument put forward by Schärf (1992:3) that community courts and *makgotla* in African townships came into existence for very good reasons.

Self-help and self reliance are basic values generally upheld by the social work profession. Self-help is at the heart of Human Scale Development (see Chapter 2:20).

The researcher agrees with Mckendrick (1987:16) when he argues that the spirit of self-help amongst Africans was further fostered by the Apartheid regime which made welfare services inaccessible to the majority of the citizens. As a result, Africans learnt to do things for themselves.

Seen against the background of rural Ramokgopa where there were no governmental organisations rendering services it is easy to understand how structures such as *makgotla* have taken the initiative in doing things for the Community.

With regard to the establishment of *makgotla*, the findings supported the view expressed by Burman and Schärf (1990:695) that these structures came into existence before South Africa could be colonized (see the quotations above).

However, their long existence poses some challenges in a post-apartheid era. *Makgotla* were and still are enjoying the dominance and support in the area. The establishment of the civic organisation in the area presented some challenges to *makgotla* due to the similarities of issues that they were involved in. The following quotes will illustrate that the relationship between the two is somewhat strained:

"Most organisations came into existence after the April elections, eg. Civic Organisation. Many people are having problems with the Civic Organisation because they do not know what type of organisation it is and how it operates. the structure that we had before April elections in this area were makgotla. We did not have Civic Organisation, Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the like"

"There are problems. For instance, there is a problem between the Civic Organisation and the Chief and the blame is always put on my shoulders"
(Headman K)

No structure can claim the monopoly of development and it is therefore important that a process has to be set in motion on how *makgotla* can work hand in hand with the Civic Organisation. To regard *makgotla* as a structure representative of the whole community is not entirely true. *Makgotla* is a traditional/cultural system which incorporates the decisions of the Chief and Headmen in a well regulated manner. Authority is vested in the Chief and delegated through him to the Headmen. It is a hierarchial arrangement. The Civic and the political organisations consist largely of democratically elected officials (not necessarily the Chief or Headman). Here we have the "rub". How does one merge one "system" with the other for the betterment of the people?

9.2 The Services rendered by *makgotla*

Following from the discussion on the establishment and purpose of *makgotla* it appears that one of the purposes was related to the preservation of customs and traditions.

Unlike *makgotla* in urban areas that came into existence to deal with crises of a mainly criminal nature (Rand Daily Mail (1974:27) and (Hund and Kotu-Rammopo 1983:180), *makgotla* in rural areas were confronted with a different situation. They were confronted with poor socio-economic factors like lack of adequate schools, lack of recreational facilities, unemployment and lack of water.

Consequently, the services that were provided were an attempt to deal with the above. This is summed up by Consumer 2 (See Chapter 2:47) who states that:-

"Makgotla have built schools and this is development. The government has failed to build schools. In the past, there were no pre-schools, but today, these are available due to the efforts of makgotla"

The services rendered (See Chapter 4:40-42) indicates the extent to which *makgotla* have succeeded in developing the community. What is more important is that *makgotla* created "a sense of belongingness" and loyalty to the community. The concern is, however, that people are somewhat compelled to belong to *makgotla*. This could lead to a situation where people are not fully committed to these structures.

Of some concern is the degree to which all the people are involved in determining which projects to embark upon. Not everyone agrees with the Chief and Headmen and there are real tensions. Also *makgotla* is largely male-dominated.

The post apartheid era will pose some challenges to *makgotla*. Although the Government of National Unity supports and encourages people's participation in development, the government will also want to be seen to be active in the provision of services.

It seems likely that, with the establishment of democratically elected local government, some of the services that *makgotla* rendered will be taken over by the local government. For example, installation of water pipes, allocation of sites and perhaps building of schools. A lot will depend on local governments' sensitivity to what *makgotla* have already achieved and how to adopt a strategy which would incorporate all the established organisations, both civics and political organisations as well as *makgotla*, into a single developmental initiative.

Areas of concern

Minimal participation of women and non-participation of youth

The basic tenet of Human Scale Development (see Chapter 2:19-21) which the researcher supports, puts emphasis on participatory democracy where creative solutions flows from the bottom upwards.

This is directly related to two principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) viz: A people-driven process and democratisation of South Africa. With the first principle, the RDP asserts that **"our people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are our most important resource. The RDP is focussed on our people's most immediate needs, and it relies, in turn on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs.**

As the population statistics of Ramokgopa indicates (See Chapter 5:66), women and youth constitute a large proportion of the area. In our present situation of wanting to harness all energies towards upliftment one cannot exclude this important segment of the population. Old values, customs and traditions will have to be challenged in the light of new demands.

Regardless of race or sex or whether they are rural or urban, rich or poor, the people of South Africa must together shape their future. Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment." (RDP document, 1994:5)

With the latter principle it asserts that there is a need for fundamental changes in the way that policy is made and programmes are implemented. It proposes that the people affected must participate in decision-making. This will contribute in transforming not only the state but civil society.

The lack of participation amongst women and youth is a cause for concern. Looking at the headman and key members of *makgotla* (see Chapter 4: 32), it is evident that women have not been fully integrated into the structure.

However, it should be mentioned that the Women's Coalition in the area consists of women representatives from different *makgotla*. This is not enough if one considers the fact that women are in the majority in the area. Population statistics in 1994 as provided by the Ramokgopa tribal authority, were as follows:-

Men	-	2437
Women	-	3887
Boys	-	7495
Girls	-	<u>7344</u>
		<u>23300</u>

Furthermore, this strategy will continue to marginalise rural women and exclude them from making decisions that affects their life. The youth who constitute the majority in this area are also excluded.

The issue of minimal participation of women is closely related to gender sensitivity that will be discussed in the next section.

Gender Sensitivity

The findings on this issue highlighted a conservative traditional belief that women are not supposed to be part of decision-making in *makgotla*. (See Chapter 4:48-51). This is a reflection of a patriarchal society where men are seen as superior to women. This old traditional belief is worrying and it needs to move with the changing times.

On the other hand, there are those who realise that tradition is not static and hence there is a need to accommodate women in decision-making structures. (See chapter 4:48-51).

The realisation and acceptance that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla* has been captured by Headman F who states that:-

"I think women should play a main role in the leadership of makgotla. Women are members of the community as well. The era of saying 'if a nation is led by a woman, it will be dark' belongs to the past. Women should be leaders of tomorrow."

It is the researcher's view that *makgotla* in their endeavour to develop the community require a visionary approach which harmonises the potential of both men, women and youth.

If this is done they will be aligning themselves with the Reconstruction and Development Programme which calls for participation of both men and women in development. The focus throughout the RDP is "on ensuring a full and equal role for women in every aspect of our economy and society" (RDP document 1994: 9).

THE RDP -Document highlights a number of important points regarding the position of women:

- a. That our history has been a bitter one dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies; (Par.1.2.1)
- b. That women must be free to shape their own future with other South Africans; (Par. 1.3.3)
- c. That emphasis on a full and equal role for women and on affirmative action must unlock boundless energies and creativity suppressed by racism and discrimination against women; (Par. 1.4.6)
- d. That there is an excessive concentration of economic power in the hands of white males. There are still very clear racial and gender inequalities in ownership, employment and skills - which along with other inequalities and neglects have led to a low level of investment in research and development, low and inappropriate skill levels, high costs, low productivity and declining employment - in short an economic crisis; (Par. 1.4.13)

- e. That there are at least 17 million people living below the subsistence level, and that the majority of the poor live in rural areas and are women; (Par 2.1.1)

- f. That the central objective of the RDP is to improve the quality of lives of the most poor and marginalised sections of our communities. This objective should be realised through a process of empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilise sufficient development resources, including those from the democratic government. The RDP reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations; (Par 2.2.3)

- g. That a programme of affirmative action must address the deliberate marginalisation from economic, political and social power of black people, women and rural communities;

- h. That the RDP must find a mechanism to address the disempowerment of women and boost their role within the development process and economy; (Par.2.2.8)

- i. That the RDP must recognise and address the existing gender inequalities as they affect access to jobs, housing, land, etc. (Par. 2.2.7)

- j. That there is a lack of statistics to quantify and locate the problem of poverty, and that we need a national unit to monitor poverty and deprivation and develop indicators for measuring the success of the RDP. This unit must pay special attention to women's legal, educational and employment status, infant and maternal mortality rates, rates of teenage pregnancy, etc. Women have been hidden in statistics so far, and must be made visible in the gathering of all statistical data. (Par 2.2.9)

The various key persons of *makgotla* have been further exposed to gender sensitivity through this study, but the question that remains unanswered is whether they will take action to correct this situation.

The Role of *makgotla* and how it relates to the Reconstruction and Development Programme

From the data collected during interviews, it became clear that there is a role that *makgotla* can still play. This was captured by Headman A when he stated that:

"There are basic needs that are needed in this area. For instance, we do not have electricity and water. I think these are some of the needs that Mabeba (his lekgotla) should be involved in"

As outlined by Cronin (1994:8), the Reconstruction and Development Programme is a coherent plan to address socio-economic problems and, in particular, the areas of job creation, housing, education and health. It is an attempt to bring our national resources together, be they economic, cultural, social or moral. He further argues that the RDP is not only people centred but people-driven. People must be involved in decision-making.

There are plans (see Chapter 4:51-54) that *makgotla* are intending to implement. These plans indicate the vision that *makgotla* have in developing their communities. However, it is not clear yet what specific role *makgotla* will play after the election of democratically elected local government. This is so despite the fact that the RDP has proposed to recognise the role of organs of civil society such as traditional structures. Perhaps a gap in this research endeavour has been in not pursuing discussion around the impact of democratically elected government on *makgotla* or vice-versa. More research needs to be done in this area.

There are, however, certain roles that *makgotla* will continue to play like establishing and strengthening burial societies, settlement of disputes and mobilising people to determine their needs. Furthermore, *Makgotla* provides an opportunity for ordinary men and women to participate in decisions that affect their everyday life.

The discussions on the findings have contributed to the understanding of the concept "*lekgotla*" and highlighted some of their successes and areas where improvements were needed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following conclusions are made regarding the study of makgotla as a vehicle for development in rural communities:-

That people's perceptions and understanding of the concept differ (see Chapter 4:35-37). However, the key word in most definitions is self help and self reliance. It could therefore be concluded that makgotla are local indigenous organisations which provide mutual help and assistance to the community in a variety of ways and these factors seem to contribute to their success as an organised structure. Furthermore, makgotla have increased people's commitment to do things for themselves, and encouraged their resilience which has helped them through apartheid years. The community's belief in themselves as agents of change are positive aspects. The importance of a community determining what kind of services are provided has been eloquently put by De Graaf (1986:15) when he states that:

"A community which does not control its infrastructural arrangements can be a victim of external factors. A village that does not control the services of government personnel that are supposed to serve them will be dependant and cannot adjust its own situation to its needs."

The research findings have highlighted the intensity of the problems that confront rural communities, for example lack of schools, recreational facilities and the shortage of water.

In the light of the above-mentioned problems, the research-findings have furthermore highlighted the initiatives and efforts that rural people have put into developing their own communities through makgotla. Whilst the democratic government would want to play an active role in provision of services it still requires active involvement and participation of residents. It is in this regard that makgotla could play a vital role not only in mobilising people's participation but in continuing to provide services where the government is unable to do so. No structure, as yet exists which facilitates the linkages of *makgotla* with government activities in the area.

It is important, also, to acknowledge that *makgotla* in their efforts to develop the community have marginalised women in particular and youth. It has made these two groups recipients of services without involving them comprehensively in the decision-making. The RDP strongly believes that development is not about delivery of goods and services to a passive citizenry. The real challenge to *makgotla* is learning to work with other structures if they are to be viable channels for development. There are four factors that need to be addressed:-

(i) **The need for training**

The importance of training in development cannot be overemphasised. Leaders and members of *makgotla* need to invest in human development training in order to actively participate in the development of their communities.

(ii) **Involvement and Participation of Women**

The misconception that exists regarding the position and status of women in rural areas cannot continue unchallenged. *Makgotla* have to respond to the need to involve women in decision making. *Makgotla* need to make a choice for participation and inclusivity if they want to move forward into a new era.

(iii) **Consultation and Collaboration with Local Government and Civics and Political organisations**

The Chief and Headmen need to understand the sharing of power in the new dispensation if *makgotla* is to play its crucial role in development.

In the light of the above, the role of social planners and those responsible for policy formulation should be to formulate policies that both recognises and incorporates *makgotla* structures.

(iv) **Working with Social Workers**

And lastly, the social worker has an important role to play in rural development. The social worker has an enabling role, i.e. to harness the creativity and energies of rural people to continue developing themselves. The social worker should also act as a change agent to ensure that marginalised groups (women, youth) participate fully in *makgotla* thereby taking their rightful place in development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- ◇ Despite the areas of concern highlighted above, it is recommended that in the spirit of encouraging the initiatives that people(*makgotla*) have taken, *makgotla* need to be strengthened and hence utilised for facilitating development in the area. The research strongly recommends that local government officials be made aware of the presence of *makgotla* and how best to engage in a dialogue which will reap benefits for the community.
- ◇ It is further recommended that social workers need to be exposed to theory in rural development with a focus on the role that *makgotla* could possibly play in development.
- ◇ It is further recommended that development training especially organisational capacity building be the focus of rural initiatives in the future.

The need for further research

The purpose of this study was to understand and analyse *makgotla* as a vehicle for development in rural communities. It seems that *makgotla* could be a viable route to take in developing rural communities. There is, however a need to engage in action research to help in organisational development and capacity building. Furthermore, there is a need to develop a policy on the utilization of *makgotla* around joint initiatives i.e. local government and *makgotla* engaging in development work together.

APPENDIX 1**TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS****1. INTRODUCTION AND RAPPORT-BUILDING**

The purpose of interview and research was explained. Thanked interviewee for agreeing to be interviewed.

2. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA**HEADMAN A**

2.1 Area of operation: Ramokgopa
Name of *Lekgotla*: Mabeba No. 2

2.2 Age: ± 46

2.3 Gender: Male

3. Interviewer: What is your position within *makgotla*?
Response: I am the headman.

4. Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *makgotla*?
Response: Ever since I started working, I do not remember the exact date.

5. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOGOPA)

Interviewer: Could you tell me about the origin of this area - When, how and which persons were involved?

Response: I do not have knowledge about that.

6. FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *makgotla*?

Response: According to my understanding of *makgotla* in this area, it is a structure attached to a Chief through which a public meeting is convened. For instance, there are different *makgotla* like Mabeba, Monenyane etc. If the Chief wants these *makgotla*, we will write letters to them and convene a public meeting.

Interviewer: When was *Lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: It has been established long time ago to assist each other during funerals.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: In 1969, when the Chief was being installed, there was a car accident that killed people like Malakalaka, Rameetse, Monyepao and Mabeba who played a major role in the establishment of *makgotla*.

Interviewer: One of the major services that you have mentioned *lekgotla* provides is to assist during funeral. I want to know what other services are being provided by *lekgotla*.

Response: Other services include allocation of sites. Firstly, the person should be belonging to a particular *lekgotla*. Two men will accompany him to the Chief's kraal and he will indicate which site he is interested in. Thus, why I am saying *lekgotla* is a structure.

Interviewer: What other services do you think Mabeba has provided?

Response: This question could have been answered properly if I had time to prepare myself. I know that those are not the only services provided by Mabeba. For instance, we now have a school called Rathonia which has been built by *makgotla* collectively viz, Raphahleto, Thoka and Mabeba. The name Rathonia means "we are starting". There is also a creche called Mantekene which is being accomodated at Mabeba building. Arrangements are in the pipeline to have a creche building. These are some of the services provided for by Mabeba.

Interviewer: You have given me five services/functions performed by Mabeba. I want to know which one do you regard as a major achievement of your *lekgotla*.

Response: The one that I think is the major achievement is the building of a school (Rathonia). I am saying this, despite the fact that it was not Mabeba alone. The idea came from Mabeba after realizing that we are far from schools. If you look around, you will notice that most people did not go to school in this area because schools were far.

Interviewer: We have been talking about the role of *makgotla* played in the development of the community. I want to know the effect that your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life.

Response: Presently, the effect is minimal, although I can confidently say it will increase in future. For instance, there is shortage of transport in some sections of the community and high rate of unemployment which requires the attention of *makgotla*.

Interviewer: *Lekgotla* is just like a soccer club, any structure and there is always problems in most structures. What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: Your question is difficult. There are many problems. Eg. As I have explained that we are involved in helping during funerals, there are people who are unable to pay burial societies's fees due to unemployment. As a result if he/she dies, people won't go to dig the grave. We experience problems because we cannot just leave them like that.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organizations and what are they?

Response: Most organisations came into existence after April elections, eg. Civic Organisation. Many people are having problems with the Civic Organisation because they do not know what type of organisation it is and how it operates. The structures that we had before April elections in this area

was *makgotla*. We did not have Civic Organisation, PAC, ANC and the like.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: I think it should not continue this way but it will not be acceptable to others. For instance, there was a site which caused problems. Women realized that this issue is dragging on for too long and they decided to tackle it. I am coming back to the opinion that it would not be acceptable to some people. For instance, when this issue was being addressed, the Chief said that in accordance to our tradition, men are not allowed to discuss issues with women.

Interviewer: Do you think efforts should be taken to bring women into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes, women should be brought into the leadership. This is so because women have been deprived of their rights. We have been saying that women should stay at home and should not attend meetings. We are in a situation where we look at skills. For instance, when a teacher is employed at school, there is less emphasis on whether it is he/she but we require qualifications.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: Yes, it has a role. I do not know how I can put it. As I have mentioned, there are basic needs that are needed in this area. For instance, we do not have electricity and water. I think these are some of the needs that Mabeba should be involved in. We are looking at RDP. I was still telling someone that according to my RDP one needs to define his own RDP. We need to address problems that affects us. Eg., the existing Health Centre is inadequate. These are some of the issues that *makgotla* could play a role.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: We are planning to organize women whose children are attending a creche to have a garden and sell vegetables. We also intend to have sewing and knitting courses.

Interviewer: My last question is how did you experience this interview?

Response: I do not understand, can you clarify your question?

Interviewer: I clarified the question.

Response: I found your questions to have a developmental focus, and I think your studies can help us.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN B

1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa

1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Maila

1.3 **Age:** ± 62

1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within Maila?

Response: I am the assistant for my brother who is in Johannesburg.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in this *lekgotla*?

Response: 1983.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: Could you tell me more about the history of this area - When, how and which persons were involved?

Response: I do not know the history of this area.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla*?

Response: *Lekgotla* is *kgoro*?

Interviewer: What is *kgoro*?

Response: *Kgoro* is a place where Maila people are holding their meetings.

Interviewer: When was this *lekgotla* established?

Response: Long time ago.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about and why was it formed?

Response: It was formed by elderly people for the purpose of establishing a sense of belongingness.

Interviewer: What kind of services does Maila provide?

Response: It helps people during funerals and settlement of disputes.

Interviewer: Are there no other functions/services that Maila has performed?

Response: It also helps to collect money for tribal authority.

Interviewer: What is the money for?

Response: For the community.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of your *lekgotla*?

Response: Is to build Maila.

Interviewer: What is the most important lesson that you have learnt from your involvement in your *lekgotla*.

Response: Respect.

Interviewer: *Lekgotla* is just like a family, and there is no family without problems. What kind of problems do you experience in your *lekgotla*?

Response: We do not have problems. The only problem that we have is to collect money on behalf of the Chief not knowing how the money is being spent.

Interviewer: What do you think is the cause of the problem just mentioned?

Response: Is the apathetic community.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations, and what are they?

Response: There is a good relationship.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: Although *lekgotla* is for men, if there is a woman who has leadership skills, I do not foresee any problems.

Interviewer: Do you think efforts should be taken to bring women into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: We should support the New South Africa.

Interviewer: How?

Response: In anyway it can.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for your *lekgotla*?

Response: Yes, we want to develop the community.

Interviewer: What do you mean? How are you going to develop the community?

Response: We will talk to the people and be given direction on how to go about it.

Interviewer: We have come to the end of the conversation. I want to know how did you experience this interview?

Response: I am delighted about this conversation, more especially the usage of the tape-recorder. My views are not a secret anymore.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN C

- 1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa
- 1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Mabula
- 1.3 **Age:** ± 54 (1940)
- 1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within Mabula?

Response: I am the leader.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in this *lekgotla*?

Response: Four years.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When was this area established.

Response: This area was established in 1959.

Interviewer: Who were the first persons to reside in the area?

Response: All the headmen were the first people to stay in this area eg. Thoka, Mabeba, Makwetja and others.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: How would you define *makgotla*?

Response: It is a government that is in operation.

Interviewer: When was this *lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: It is a long time, I do not know the date.

Interviewer: Why was it established?

Response: It was established for the purpose of allocating sites.

Interviewer: What role does your *lekgotla* play in the area.

Response: We act as a mediator between the tribal authority and our constituency.

Interviewer: What kind of services does your *lekgotla* provide?

Response: Ever since I became a headman, there is nothing important that we have done.

Interviewer: Do you want to tell me that you have done nothing for four years?

Response: No, we have done things jointly with other *makgotla*.

Interviewer: Which are those things?

Response: Installation of more water pipes.

Interviewer: How big an effect would you say your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life?

Response: I am still being guided by the elders on how to help people with problems.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in your *lekgotla*?

Response: Problems like site allocation and marital conflicts.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: We do not have problems as long as organisations approached us via the Chief who will then instruct us.

Interviewer: Up until now men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: To have men being headmen is due to our tradition.

Interviewer: Is it tradition?

Response: Yes.

Interviewer: What kind of issues could arise if we could have a woman as a headman?

Response: I do not think it is difficult because if I am a way, my wife becomes acting headman.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes, efforts should be taken provided it is approved by the Chief.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: Yes, there is a role to play. There is a women's movement which I think works with social workers. This women's movement has got representatives from all the *makgotla* in this area.

Interviewer: What other role do you think *makgotla* can play?

Response: If we can work together despite being many, we can develop the community.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for your *lekgotla*?

Response: We are looking at the development of this area. The problem is that as headmen we do not have a common vision and understanding.

Interviewer: I am referring to your future plans for your *lekgotla* specifically.

Response: We do not have plans due to lack of money.

Interviewer: If you could be given money, what will you do?

Response: If given money, we can build a creche.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I found it not too difficult. I understand that as a social worker you need to reach out and find out people's views and feelings. I am also learning this type of work.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN D

- 1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa
- 1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Mashaa
- 1.3 **Age:** 1935 (+59)
- 1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *lekgotla*?

Response: I am the assistant to the headman.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: Could you tell me more about the history of this area.

Response: I am not familiar with the historical background of this area.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla*?

Response: I know it as *kgoro* which is a place where we (men) discuss problems and decide what we can do. Women are sometimes called to get their opinions.

Interviewer: When was this *lekgotla* established?

Response: It has been in existence for a long time. We do not know when because we found it when we were born.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about.

Response: Elderly people.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: We act as mediators between the Chief and our constituency. We convey instructions from the Chief.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: The installation of water pipes and the negotiations for the provision of electricity.

Interviewer: What have you learnt?

Response: I have learnt to pass judgement when there is a dispute between two people. By merely looking at them, I can see the guilty party.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*.

Response: Sometimes we do get silly letters which does not have the Chief's approval.

Interviewer: What are other problems except ones you have mentioned?

Response: We do have difficult problems. There are people who do not want to pay.

Interviewer: Pay what?

Response: They pay annual fees in order to enable *lekgotla* to have money.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: No problems. They should inform us about what they are doing through letters approved of by the Chief. If it is not approved, it means I am discussing lies.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: No, it should not continue this way. I think Whites had women as headmen long time ago eg. Helen Suzman. I think women can play a vital role in *makgotla*. For instance, if a woman wants a divorce and the issue is handled by a woman, she can be persuaded to change her decision.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*.

Response: Women should be brought into the leadership. For instance, they (Nationalist Government) only banned Mandela and leave Winnie because she is her own Chief. If we could organise women, we may end up having someone who has leadership qualities.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: There won't be any problems because there is a woman who is a Chief, i.e. Makoma Modjadji.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: I do not think these small *makgotla* will have a role to play in the new South Africa. We have elected a new government and we are looking forward for it to deliver services.

Interviewer: If I understand you correctly, are you saying there is no role for *makgotla*?

Response: No, these are traditional structures and they will continue to exist.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for your *lekgotla*?

Response: We do not have money. If we had money we could address the shortage of water.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: You were asking me something lively. I enjoyed it despite the fact that we did not make prior arrangements to see each other.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN E

- 1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa
- 1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Mabeba No 1
- 1.3 **Age:** 46
- 1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position/function within *makgotla*?

Response: I am the headman.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *makgotla*?

Response: I became the headman in April after I came back from the Reef.

Interviewer: Who was in charge before you became the headman?

Response: It's my uncle.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and which persons were involved in the establishment of this area?

Response: I do not know.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla*?

Response: I will say it is a gathering of people from Mabeba.

Interviewer: When was *makgotla* established in your area?

Response: When I grew up, I found it in existence.

Interviewer: Why was *makgotla* established?

Response: It was established to help each other during funerals.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: It is my grandfather. I do not know him, but he was Mabeba.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: We have done nothing significant towards the development of this area except to help political organisations like ANC financially.

Interviewer: Are there no other services that you have rendered to the community?

Response: We made a joint effort with other *makgotla* to build a school.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: I am not in a position to tell you since I only became full time involved this year.

Interviewer: How big an effect would you say your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life?

Response: So far, the effect has been minimal.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: We experience problems when a person living in this area/zone who is not affiliated to our *lekgotla* has passed away. Under such circumstances people are not willing to help the person.

Interviewer: Why do you think these problems exist?

Response: Lack of co-operation.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: Political organisations have approached us on several occasions and we are working quite well with them.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: They have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla* because they (men) are available. If I am not available my mother could be in charge but she cannot handle problems with us.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes, it is right.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: It will be difficult to accept women because of the belief that they should not be involved in *makgotla*.

Interviewer: Do you think it is right that women should not be involved?

Response: I do not think it is right. I feel women should be brought into the leadership especially because I am given guidance by my mother.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: I do not foresee any role *makgotla* can play except be supportive to political organisations.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for your *lekgotla*?

Response: We do not have any future plans.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I did not have problems with the interview. I have enjoyed it.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN F

- 1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa
- 1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Monenyane
- 1.3 **Age:** 1955 (+ 40)
- 1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position/function within *makgotla*?

Response: Headman.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in this *lekgotla*?

Response: 1981.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When how and which persons were involved in the establishment of this area?

Response: This area was established long time ago by our grandfathers.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *makgotla*?

Response: *Makgotla* is a collection of people who represents the community.

Interviewer: When was *makgotla* established in this area?

Response: It has long been established.

Interviewer: Why was *makgotla* established?

Response: It was established to help each other during funerals.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: Grandparents.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: It has built a house where equipments are being kept and it is also being used to hold meetings. Furthermore, it has built a school with six classrooms and we are intending to build a pre-school.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: Building of a school.

Interviewer: How big an effect would you say your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life?

Response: I have learnt that people who belong to this *makgotla* are co-operative and tolerant of each other.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: There are people who does not want to belong to *makgotla*.

Interviewer: Why do you think these problems exist?

Response: Lack of commitment in community issues is the cause of this problem.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: We work well with other organisations. We have a close relationship with African National Congress (ANC). For instance, on Sunday we are going to a Civic meeting to talk about water and electricity.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: I think women should play a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Women are members of the community as well. That era of saying "if a nation is led by a woman, it will be in the dark belong to the past". Women should be leaders of tomorrow.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: I do not think there could be problems. For instance, a woman becomes the headman if her son is still young. This goes to show you that a woman can lead if a man is not there.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: If I looked at the new South Africa, I think *makgotla* could play a main role in this area. This could be possible if they work hand in hand with tribal authority.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: We are concerned about matriculants. They intend allowing matriculants to have access to the building so that they could use it for study purposes.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: This interview gave me courage. It made me realise that there are other people who appreciate the work that we have done. It also helps me to think about other things that I did pay attention to.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN G

- 1.1 Area of operation: Ramokgopa
- 1.2 Name of Lekgotla: Madiehe
- 1.3 Age: 64
- 1.4 Gender: Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *lekgotla*?

Response: I am the headman.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *makgotla*?

Response: 1964.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and by whom was this area established?

Response: I do not know the history of this area.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *makgotla*?

Response: Thus where people meet to discuss community issues.

Interviewer: When was *lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: It's long time.

Interviewer: Why was *lekgotla* established?

Response: It was established to restore and maintain law and order in this area.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: I do not know.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: It helps the community.

Interviewer: How?

Response: The community has certain tasks to be carried out and *makgotla* assists it.

Interviewer: Could you give me an example of tasks that were carried out by your *lekgotla*?

Response: We were influenced in the formation of Zones in this area. They were formed as a result of our refusal to pay money to tribal authority which we did not know how it was being used. Consequently other *makgotla* took the decision not to pay.

Interviewer: What other services does your *lekgotla* provide?

Response: We are involved in allocation of sites either for residential or business purposes.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*.

Response: The response is not clear on tape.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area.

Response: I'm proud of the co-operation that exists within my *lekgotla*.

Interviewer: What have you learnt from your involvement in *makgotla* in your area?

Response: It has given me another perspective to view life.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: The problem that we have is to know income and expenditure of the tribal authority.

Interviewer: Why do you think these problems exist?

Response: Dishonesty on the part of leadership (Tribal authority).

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: We work well with other organisations.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: I think there will be time when women will be brought into the leadership. I am looking forward to that day.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: It will be more useful to make efforts to bring women into the leadership because women are more competent than men. Men are partial when resolving disputes.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: There are several *makgotla* in this area, and they rarely meet to develop a common vision and the role they can play in the new South Africa.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *lekgotla* in your area?

Response: We intend to continue developing the community.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I may take it that you wanted to develop more understanding of how *makgotla* operates. I do not see problems with that.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN H

1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa

1.2 **Name of Lekgotla:** Raphaswana

1.3 **Age:** 1935 (+60)

1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *lekgotla*?

Response: I am the headman.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *lekgotla*?

Response: 1989.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and by whom was the area established?

Response: When I grew up I found that this area has been established. I do not know much about the history of this area.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *makgotla*?

Response: It is a grouping of people.

Interviewer: When was *lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: Our *lekgotla* is a sub-structure of Raphasha which has been in existence for a long time.

Interviewer: Why was *lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: In every zone, there should be a *lekgotla* and hence the need to establish this *lekgotla*.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: There are no services rendered due to the Chief. The Chief is against the Civic Organisation and ANC because they are demanding that financial books should be audited.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of your *lekgotla* in this area?

Response: After the elections, the ANC came to us and asked for money to throw a celebration party. We did not behave like others, but gave them R200. This was highly appreciated. The other major achievements is the involvement of women because we have realised that majority of them are single. They are now part and parcel of the structure.

Interviewer: What have you learnt from your involvement in *makgotla*?

Response: I have learnt not to accept lies and be impartial when settling disputes.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*

Response: Shortage of water.

Interviewer: Shortage of water is a problem for the entire community. I want to know problems that you experience in your *lekgotla*?

Response: Lack of co-operation and understanding about the Civic Organisation.

Interviewer: Why do you think these problems exist?

Response: My involvement in the Civic Organisation.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: No problems.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: No, I do not think it should continue this way. Nowadays, we have entered a new era and we should get rid of apartheid mentality. It is not difficult to have a woman as the headman.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes, if we do not make efforts to bring women into the leadership, it implies that we are oppressive.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: I do not see any problem. Women have the same IQ as men.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: It does have a role to play. For instance, we have allowed our women to be members of the Women's Coalition that has been established recently.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: Yes, it plans to extend their building where meetings are being held. They also have intention to increase the money they give out when somebody has passed away.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I did not experience any problems. The questions that you have asked me are related to the current debate about democracy.

2. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN I

1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa

1.2 **Name of *Lekgotla*:** Mannyua

1.3 **Age:** ± 66

1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *lekgotla*?

Response: I am the acting headman. The person who is supposed to be the headman is still young.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *lekgotla*?

Response: Ever since I started working and it is quite a long time.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and which persons were involved in the establishment of this area?

Response: I do not have knowledge about the historical facts of the area.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla/makgotla*?

Response: It is a meeting of people with a common purpose.

Interviewer: When was *lekgotla* established in your area?

Response: Long time ago.

Interviewer: Why was *lekgotla* established?

Response: It has been established to help each other and to provide guidance where necessary.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: The elderly people. I do not know them.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: It has a burial society and it is also involved in settlement of disputes.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *lekgotla* in this area?

Response: We are proud to have established a burial society that helps one during funerals.

Interviewer: What have you learnt from your involvement in *makgotla*?

Response: I have learnt how to settle disputes.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: We do not have problems now but we had problems when we establish a burial society. Members disagreed on where the building should be erected. This was so because membership is scattered all over the area.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: We have never encountered problems with other organisations.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: Yes, I think it should continue this way.

Interviewer: Why?

Response: It is because of our tradition. We are not supposed to be led by women.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: In this new era, I think if women could be brought into the leadership it will be more helpful. This is on condition that we do not follow the old saying that "if we are led by a woman she will lead us into darkness".

Interviewer: Seeing that you accept that a woman should play a vital role in the leadership of *makgotla*, do you think efforts should be taken to bring them more closer?

Response: Yes, efforts should be taken. For instance, the Venda people allows women to be a headman if the person (headman to be) is still young.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: *Makgotla* have a role to play? If you look around this area you will realise that rivers are dry and possible reasons have been put forward for this.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: I do not know because members will decide. I am afraid to say it plans to do this, only to find that it is my intention.

Interviewer: What plan do you as a leader have that you want to put forward to the members?

Response: I think this *lekgotla* should be more involved in negotiating for installation of more water pipes.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I have understood our conversation and I think it can come up with something that can help.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN J

- 1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa
- 1.2 **Name of *Lekgotla*:** Joel
- 1.3 **Age:** 1918
- 1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position/function within *lekgotla*?

Response: My function is to convey messages from the Chief to my constituency.

Interviewer: Who is the headman?

Response: I am the assistant.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *lekgotla*?

Response: It is about 2 years.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and which persons were involved in the establishment of this area?

Response: I do not have knowledge about the history of this area. The people who will know are those from the Chief's kraal.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla/makgotla*?

Response: It is a place where people discuss issues of community interest.

Interviewer: When was *makgotla* established in your area?

Response: When I grew up, I found this *lekgotla* in existence.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: The elderly people.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: There are no services being provided. What we do is to get news from the Chief.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: It has done nothing.

Interviewer: How does it help its members?

Response: It is involved in site allocation.

Interviewer: Are there no other services that you render?

Response: No.

Interviewer: What have you learnt from your involvement in *makgotla*?

Response: I did not learn anything. When I grew up, I just found men being involved in *makgotla*.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: The problems that we had we managed to deal with them. Initially, we did not have accomodation where we can hold meetings, but now we have a building.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: When we discuss issues pertaining to *lekgotla*, we do not talk about other organisations.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: Yes, ever since we were born we have never seen a woman as a headman.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: There will never be a woman being a headman.

Interviewer: If your *lekgotla* decides to have a woman, what issues could arise?

Response: This will never happen.

Interviewer: Why?

Response: We have never been ruled by a woman.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: I do not want to answer that question because we only take issues/messages from the Chief.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: We want to be involved in negotiating for installation of water pipes. There is shortage of water in this area.

Interviewer: What plan do you as a leader have that you want to put forward to the members?

Response: I think this *lekgotla* should be more involved in negotiating for installation of more water pipes.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I understood it well.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN K

1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa

1.2 **Name of *Lekgotla*:** Mokomene

1.3 **Age:** 63

1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *makgotla*?

Response: I am the most senior person to the Chief.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *makgotla*?

Response: Do you want my involvement here or in Johannesburg.

Interviewer: Both

Response: I was installed as the representative of this area in Johannesburg in 1968.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: I am going to ask you questions about Ramokgopa. When, how and which persons were involved in the establishment of this area?

Response: I may not know the year, but I know that this area belongs to VhaVenda. When we came into this area, we chased them away. I think I should give our origin. We (Batlokwa) comes from Tlokweg next to Swartrogens. We were together with Batlokwa from QwaQwa and Botswana. When they left that place, they were young men who met ladies along the way. Amongst these ladies, there was a lady named Mosima from the Royal House. Their first place where they landed was Mokgotlio and then Bodupe. The Chief (Mr Khunoane) head the following children - Rapakoane, Manthata, Tlhabola, Mabeba, Matome and Monyemorake.

They then settled at a place called Maihanwe before settling at Mabjaneng-GaPhasha. Their Chief was Tsherane. He had a son, Kgwadu. Kgwadu had sons - Molamo, Letshwene and Morwakgwadu. After the death of Kgwadu, his children/sons were fighting over the Chieftainship. Fortunately, the other two Molamo and Letshwene died. Mabeba (Machaka) and Matome (Ramokgopa) were fighting each other. They decided to recide in two different areas. Matome decided to stay in an area named Rashalala which later became known as Ramokgopa.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla*?

Response: I am not sure whether should I say *lekgotla* is kgoro or pitso because *lekgotla* is a bigger think. I will say *lekgotla* is a meeting convened by the Chief.

Interviewer: When was *makgotla* established in your area?

Response: Established when this area was established.

Interviewer: Why was *makgotla* established?

Response: They came into existence because each area had a headman in order to assist the Chief in ruling this area.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: I do not really know who played a major role.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: They are the ears and eyes of the Chief. Anything that goes wrong should be reported to the Chief or headman.

Interviewer: Could you tell me about the development of zones in this area? Who were behind this development?

Response: I do not know whose idea it was, but due to lack of schools, particularly the primary schools, we adopted a model that we have seen working in GaMachaka. Thus how the zones came into being. We realised that if money collected from the community to build schools is taken to the Chief, it may not materialise. Hence, we divided the area into zones so that each zone can look into its educational needs.

Interviewer: These zones are closely associated with *makgotla*. What role have they played thus far?

Response: All the zones with the exception of zone 5 have built a school.

Interviewer: What do you think are the problems experienced by zone 5?

Response: There is a lot of misunderstanding in the Royal House.

Interviewer: How big an effect would you say your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life?

Response: One thing that I have learnt is that people must be involved in whatever issues that affects them.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: There is no oneness amongst *makgotla*. I have been observing the developments, but it appears that there are people who are selfish who are not looking at the interests of the community. I do not want to quote names but there are many amongst us who are destabilising this area.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: There are problems. For instance, there is a problem between the Civic Organisation and the Chief and the blame is always placed upon my shoulders.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: It should not continue this way because we are in the process of establishing a non-sexist South Africa. I might just add to say there are women who are more competent than men.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: There is still a lot of education to be done to the conservatives. For example, another man was puzzled by the fact that I have allowed my girl to bring her boyfriend to the house. This men di dnot understand that I am a modern man.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: Yes, that has been my intention and I have tried it. The other day when we had a meeting, I insisted that when we elect delegates, women should also be involved.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: They could play a bigger role. We could elect representative from these *makgotla* to form a Council in order to make this process inclusive.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?

Response: I think for broader governmental committees, we could elect people from zones. This is to avoid a situation where we just elect somebody from a particular *lekgotla* not being competent but because he/she is available.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: Very interesting, informative and educative. If we could get two or three people doing this kind of research, I think we could go a step ahead. This is what we need. I am sure that after doing this research, you will come back to find out whether things are happening because we do not want people to collect information and disappear.

Thank you.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

HEADMAN L

1.1 **Area of operation:** Ramokgopa

1.2 **Name of *Lekgotla*:** Makoetja

1.3 **Age:** 1935 (60)

1.4 **Gender:** Male

Interviewer: What is your position within *lekgotla*?

Response: Any problem that arises here, I am the first person to be contacted. In other words I am the headman.

Interviewer: How long have you been involved in *lekgotla*?

Response: Ever since I started working.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA (RAMOKGOPA)

Interviewer: When, how and which persons were involved in the establishment of the area?

Response: When this area was established, I was not born yet. I was made to understand that the area was established in 1958. that is what I know.

FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: What is the difference between *lekgotla* and *kgoro*?

Response: There is no difference.

Interviewer: What is *lekgotla*?

Response: *Lekgotla* is *kgoro*.

Interviewer: When was *makgotla* established in your area?

Response: It has been established long time ago.

Interviewer: Why was *lekgotla* established?

Response: It was to bring people of this area together.

Interviewer: Who played the major role in bringing this about?

Response: Makoetja.

Interviewer: What kind of services does *lekgotla* provide?

Response: Nothing. We are not allowed to do anything without permission of the Chief.

Interviewer: What services are offered to your members?

Response: There is a burial society and we are also involved in settlement of disputes.

Interviewer: What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in your area?

Response: The establishment of a soccer field for our children.

Interviewer: What kind of problems do you experience in *makgotla*?

Response: There are no problems.

Interviewer: Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

Response: We have never experienced problems with other organisations.

Interviewer: Up until now, men have played a main role in the leadership of *makgotla*. Do you think this should continue this way?

Response: Yes, ever since I was born I have never seen a woman being a headman.

Interviewer: Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*?

Response: That issue needs the attention of the Chief. The other option could be to let women to establish their own *lekgotla*.

Interviewer: If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: *Makgotla* belongs to men.

Interviewer: Lets assume that your *lekgotla* has decided to have a woman as their leader, what kind of issues could arise?

Response: It will be rejected.

Interviewer: How does *makgotla* fit in with the new South Africa? Does it have a role to play?

Response: That will be decided jointly by *makgotla* and the Chief.

Interviewer: If the Chief grants you authority to decide, what role do you want to play?

Response: Together with other *makgotla* we have built schools, and I think we can continue doing so.

Interviewer: Are there any future plans for your *lekgotla*?

Response: There is nothing we can do alone unless we plan jointly with the Chief.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I did not enjoy it because it needs my personal opinions and I cannot decide for *lekgotla*.

Interviewer: Will it be wrong if you as the leader put forward suggestions to your *lekgotla* for future plans?

Response: There is nothing wrong. For instance, a creche is in the pipeline. We have realised we can do it alone.

CONSUMERS OF SERVICE

CONSUMER 1

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1.1 Age: 42

1.2 Gender: Female

2. FOCUS ON *MAKGOTLA*

Interviewer: Which *lekgotla* do you belong to?

Response: National Women's Coalition

Interviewer (clarity): I am not referring to such organisations but *kgoro* as it is commonly known in the area.

Response: Ramoroko.

Interviewer: What do you know about *makgotla*?

Response: What I know about *lekgotla* is that it is a meeting of people.

Interviewer: What is the purpose of such a meeting?

Response: To discuss issues that affects the community.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?

Response: It represents the interests of the community. If there is anything that people want, then *lekgotla* will take it to the Chief.

Interviewer: What services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: It is involved in sites allocation, water electricity, employment and fundraising.

Interviewer: Which services do you use?

Response: I have got a site through *lekgotla*. I am also using water that was made possible by *makgotla*. There are also negotiating for the installation of electricity.

Interviewer: How do you think this service could be improved?

Response: All the people both poor and rich should have access to clean water. Efforts should be made to achieve this.

Interviewer: What do you perceive as a major weakness of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: *Makgotla* discriminates on the basis of status one has in the community. For instance, if you are respected you are given immediate attention if you need help. There is also selfishness amongst *makgotla* members.

Interviewer: What do you see as a strength of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: It has built schools, encouraged people to put up businesses, negotiates for more residential land, and has the capacity to deal with crime effectively, eg. dagga and finally it is influential in the decisions that the Chief could take.

Interviewer: Describe how *makgotla* developed the people in your area.

Response: It can help if there could be unity amongst *makgotla*.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role *makgotla* has in the new South Africa?

Response: I do not think *makgotla* could play a role if they do not change their attitude. They are always involved in power struggle. If they continue to follow the saying that "You should not challenge what the Chief has said" I do not see them having any role in the new South Africa.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I think this interview needs a person who is knowledgeable and since I have just begun to start doing things, you will identify a lot of weaknesses in my response.

Interviewer: (Clarity) This interview does not have wrong or right answers. It relies on your opinions and views regarding *makgotla*.

Response: If you give me assurance that there is no right or wrong then I have got hop that whoever is going to listen to this interview will realise that we need help.

CONSUMER 2

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1.1 Age: 39

1.2 Gender: Female

2. FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: Which *lekgotla* do you belong to?

Response: Joel

Interviewer: What do you know about *makgotla*?

Response: It is a group of people who are able to build schools, creches and to work together.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?

Response: Is to develop the community.

Interviewer: What services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: To build schools and pre-schools.

Interviewer: Which services do you use?

Response: School. (The respondent is a teacher at a school built by *makgotla*).

Interviewer: How do you think this service should be improved?

Response: Services will improve if the government assist us.

Interviewer: What do you perceive as a major weakness of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: Meetings are poorly attended. There is also a delay when there is a need to contribute financially.

Interviewer: What do you see as a strength of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: They have built schools and thus development. The government has failed to built schools. In the past, there were no pre-schools but today these are available due to the efforts of *makgotla*..

Interviewer: Describe how *makgotla* developed the people in your area.

Response: The development that is there is not satisfactory.

Interviewer: How can *makgotla* help in the Reconstruction and Development Programme?

Response: I do not think they can stand on their own.

Interviewer: (Clarity) I am referring to all of them.

Response: If they could continue building schools with cooking facilities this could create employment.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla* has in the new South Africa?

Response: I do not see any role that they can play in the new South Africa.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: The way I see it, you wanted to assess my knowledge about *makgotla*.

Interviewer: How did you feel about this interview?

Response: I appreciate it.

CONSUMER 3

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1.1 **Age:** 30

1.2 **Gender:** Female

2. FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

Interviewer: Which *lekgotla* do you belong to?

Response: Mannyana

Interviewer: What do you know about *makgotla*?

Response: It is a collection of people who shares common interest and are involved in community issues.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?

Response: To develop the community.

Interviewer: What services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: Burial society, and helping each other during ceremonies.

Interviewer: Which services do you use?

Response: *Lekgotla* has helped me during a wedding party that we had at home.

Interviewer: How do you think this service should be improved?

Response: Most of the time, I find their rules to be discriminatory. The apartheid that is said to have been eradicated is still alive in *makgotla*. For instance, if a man impregnates a woman, he will use his influence in *makgotla* to oppress a woman. Eg. if this woman wants to join a burial society she will be expected to pay R800.

Interviewer: What do you perceive as a major weakness of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: Discriminatory practices, eg. people pay for tent annually, but if you have got a wedding party, you are still expected to pay again.

Ignorance amongst leaders. They are not aware of the extent to which poverty exists.

Interviewer: What do you see as a strength of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: I do not see any strength of *makgotla*. They do not know how they can improve the conditions of this area, eg. bring more services like water and electricity.

Interviewer: Describe how *makgotla* developed the people in your area.

Response: There is nothing they have done.

Interviewer: How can *makgotla* help in the Reconstruction and Development Programme?

Response: They can help provided they are informed about what RDP is. They are still in the dark.

Interviewer: If they were educated about RDP, what role do you think they can play?

Response: They can help to develop the community, eg. Road construction. We have had 16 deaths due to bad roads. They should be involved in campaigns against alcohol abuse amongst youth. This will help the community unlike concentrating only on a burial society.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I found it helpful. Most of the questions that you have asked have enlightened me about the role I can play. For instance, educating *makgotla* about what RDP is, what role they should play and how to make them more representative.

CONSUMER 4

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

- 1.1 Age: 20
1.2 Gender: Male

2. FOCUS ON *MAKGOTLA*

Interviewer: Which *lekgotla* does your parents belong to?

Response: *Lekgotla?*

Interviewer: Yes, I am referring to what is commonly known as kgoro in this area.

Response: Manny.

Interviewer: What do you know about *makgotla*?

Response: *Makgotla* is a structure that is involved in dispute settlement.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?

Response: To help each other.

Interviewer: What services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: If one is a member of a certain *lekgotla*, then you will get assistance, eg. during funerals or wedding ceremonies.

Interviewer: Which services do you use?

Response: *Lekgotla* has helped during the funeral at home.

Interviewer: How do you think these services should be improved?

Response: The services are helpful, but they should move towards using modern equipment, eg. use generator instead of using spade to dig the grave.

Interviewer: What do you perceive as a major weakness of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: Drunkenness - Some people go to a meeting being drunk. I do not think they can discuss issues constructively.

Interviewer: What other weaknesses have you identified?

Response: I cannot think of any since I am not yet directly involved.

Interviewer: Do you think efforts should be made to bring youth into *makgotla*?

Response: Yes.

Interviewer: For what reasons?

Response: *Makgotla* assists members and since youth are not members they are not able to be assisted by *makgotla* timeously.

Interviewer: What role do you think youth can play in *makgotla*?

Response: Youth can bring young ideas, eg. to dig a grave people use spades and this takes time. Youth can suggest that we should get a compressor.

Interviewer: What do you see as a strength of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: Its strength lies in co-operation that exists within *makgotla*, eg. One *lekgotla* might have more than one member to be buried, and due to co-operation they will manage to deal with it.

Interviewer: Describe how *makgotla* developed the people in your area.

Response: It has helped people who had problems.

Interviewer: What kind of problems?

Response: If a child is fighting with the parents, failure to pay fees and other problems affecting the community.

Interviewer: How can *makgotla* help in the Reconstruction and the Development Programme?

Response: It can help in job-creation. For instance, during funerals, whites do not go and dig the grave, they have employed people to do it and we can also do that.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla* has in the new South Africa?

Response: It can help to encourage youth not to deviate from this tradition of belonging to *lekgotla*.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: It has enlightened me and it will help me to contribute to what people are doing.

CONSUMER 5

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1.1 Age: 56

1.2 Gender: Male

2. FOCUS ON *MAKGOTLA*

Interviewer: Which *lekgotla* do you belong to?

Response: I belong to different *makgotla*. Although I have to burial societies, my *lekgotla* is Mabeba no.1.

Interviewer: What is the difference between kgoro and *lekgotla*?

Response: Kgoro is a building/place where we meet and *lekgotla* is a group of people who talks about issues that affects them.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?

Response: Settlement of disputes.

Interviewer: What services does *makgotla* provide?

Response: Funeral services - It gives money, bake cakes and perform other duties.

Interviewer: Which services do you use?

Response: None.

Interviewer: How do you think this service should be improved?

Response: If they are within the laws of this country, their services could be improved. For instance, management of *makgotla* needs education.

Interviewer: You have identified lack of training/management amongst leaders as a weakness. What other weakness have you identified?

Response: Headmen have insufficient political knowledge and hence do not accept people who are politically minded.

Interviewer: What do you see as a strength of *makgotla* in this area?

Response: They could be a strong force for change if they are given appropriate training.

Interviewer: As a civic leader, describe the relationship between Civic Organisation and *makgotla*.

Response: The relationship is strained because of lack of knowledge about the Civic movement. People have been wrongly influenced to believe that Civic Organisation is only found in the townships and hence they are reluctant to accept a civic organisation in this village.

Interviewer: How can *makgotla* help in the Reconstruction and Development Programme?

Response: They can help a lot provided they are given training. They should be educated about what the Civic Organisation is, RDP, what is the Interim Constitution, and what does it say etc. *Makgotla* collects tribal levies and if this could combine with what the government will give us, it can do something.

Interviewer: What do you think is the role of *makgotla* has in the new South Africa?

Response: *Makgotla* can educate people about issues like RDP.

Interviewer: How did you experience this interview?

Response: I find it very much worthwhile. Interviews like these will help to bring a common understanding amongst residents. *Makgotla* should understand that other organisations are there to help the people and not to overthrow the Chief. This interview will also help in improving the relationship between community tribal leadership and individuals as well.

APPENDIX 2**SUMMARY OF THE FINDING FROM COMMUNITY MEETINGS****1. INTRODUCTION**

Two community meetings were held in Ramokgopa. One was exclusively for women, i.e. the Women's Coalition Group. It was vitally important for the researcher to get the views and opinions of women about *makgotla* since they are not included in the highest decision-making hierarchy of *makgotla*. This meeting was well attended. There were \pm 60 women from all sections of the community who belong to different *makgotla*. The other meeting was organised through the assistance of the Civic Organisation. It had a wide representation ranging from political organisations, headmen, Women's Coalition and youth.

Discussions took the format of workshops and the following issues/topics were discussed.

2. PURPOSE OF THE MEETINGS

- 2.1 To get opinions and views about *makgotla*.
- 2.2 To raise consciousness about *makgotla* in the community.
- 2.3 To evaluate effective of *makgotla* as a structure involved in community development.
- 2.4 To assess the role that people envisage for *makgotla* in the new South Africa.

3. NAMES OF MAKGOTLA IN THE AREA

Ramoroko	Mokgawa
Marupu	Mannya
Chewe	Jewel
Mabula	Ramoroka
Mabeba X 2	Sedupe
Makwetja	Monenyane
Maila	
Thoka	
Madiehe	
Natloga	

In each meeting, the following procedure was used: Participants were divided into five groups to discuss one of the purposes outlined in 2 above. A plenary session from the group was pooled together.

4. WHY DOES MAKGOTLA EXIST?

- To ensure that every member of the community participates in community issues.
- To protect customs and values in the community
- To promote community development
- To deal with problems that threaten the stability of the family as well as the community.

5. SERVICES RENDERED BY MAKGOTLA

They are involved in the following:

- Site allocation
- Settlement of disputes
- Burial societies
- Community development such as building schools and helping soccer clubs.

6. SUCCESSSES OF MAKGOTLA

People indicated that *makgotla* have achieved much through all the services they offer. However, they pointed out that the building of schools and pre-schools as well as the establishment of soccer clubs were the major achievements.

7. WEAKNESSES (AREAS OF CONCERN)

- Non -participation or minimum participation of women
- High membership fees
- Unequal treatment of men and women
- Conservative headmen

8. ROLE OF MAKGOTLA IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

They anticipate an active role for *makgotla* in this new era. They perceive the building of pre-schools, installation of more water pipes, settlement of disputes as some of the initiatives that *makgotla* should continue to develop in the future.

There were, however, those who felt that the role of *makgotla* will be usurped by the introduction of the democratically elected government structures.

In conclusion, the researcher found that most of the issues that were raised came out during the individual interviews and hence did not see any need to write these findings in depth.

APPENDIX 3**RESEARCH: MAKGOTLA: A VEHICLE FOR DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES?**

A study conducted by Andries Mphoto Mangokwana in fulfillment of MSocSc (Social Planning and Administration) at the University of Cape Town.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH:

1. To collect information about *makgotla* in rural communities.
2. To gain deeper understanding of how *makgotla* are structured, how they operate and the services they render.
3. To raise consciousness about *makgotla* in the community.
4. To document the nature of services they render.
5. To carry out the research with full respect for confidentiality and the wishes of headmen.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HEADMEN/KEY MEMBERS

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

- 1.1 Area of operation
- 1.2 Age
- 1.3 Gender

- 2. What is your position/function within *makgotla*?
- 3. How long have you been involved in *makgotla*?

4. Historical Background of the area (Ramokgopa)

- 4.1 When was the area established? By whom?
- 4.2 Which persons were involved?

5. Focus on *makgotla*

- 5.1 What are *makgotla*?
- 5.2 When were *makgotla* established in your area/zone?
- 5.3 Why were *makgotla* established?
- 5.4 Who played the major role in bringing this about?
- 5.5 What kind of services do *makgotla* provide?
- 5.6 What would you say are the major achievements of *makgotla* in this area?
- 5.7 How big an effect would you say your involvement in *makgotla* has on your personal life?
- 5.8 What kind of problems do you experience with *makgotla*?
- 5.9 Why do you think these problems exist?
- 5.10 Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

- 5.11 Up until now men have played a major role in the leadership of *makgotla*.
Do you think this should continue this way?
- 5.12 If yes, give your reasons.
- 5.13 If no, motivate your answer.
- 5.14 Do you think that women should be brought into the leadership of *makgotla*? Motivate your answer.
- 5.15 If women were brought into the leadership, what kind of issues could arise?
- 5.16 How do *makgotla* fit in with the New South Africa? Do they have a role to play?
- 5.17 Are there any future plans for the *makgotla* in your area?
- 5.18 How did you experience this interview?

APPENDIX 4**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CONSUMERS OF SERVICE****1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA**

- 1.1 Age
- 1.2 Gender

2. FOCUS ON MAKGOTLA

- 2.1 Which *lekgotla* do you belong to?
- 2.2 What do you know about *makgotla*?
- 2.3 What do you think is the role of *makgotla*?
- 2.4 What services do *makgotla* provide?
- 2.5 Which services do you use?
- 2.6 How do you think these services should be improved?
- 2.7 What do you perceive as a major weakness of *makgotla* in this area?
- 2.9 Describe how *makgotla* developed the people in your area?
- 2.10 How can *makgotla* help in the Reconstruction and Development Programme?

2.11 What do you think is the role *makgotla* have in the new South Africa?

2.12 How did you experience this interview?

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