CONTESTING BOUNDARIES: A CASE OF MUNICIPAL DEMARCATION DISPUTES IN VUWANI VHEMBE DISTRICT, LIMPOPO PROVINCE

By

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DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G5.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise/dissertation/thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

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DATE: ----20/11/2020------------------------
DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my mother Nomusa Doris Khowa for her support/encouragement and to my late grandmother Mrs Lihlo Elsie Khowa. May her soul continue to rest in peace.
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The research study in Vuwani Vhembe district sought to investigate demarcation disputes, the relationship between service delivery and demarcation disputes. The study further investigates the role of municipal demarcation board and local government adherence to sound governance principles and the causes of the demarcation dispute in Vuwani. The study additionally examines the conceptions and misconceptions, their impact on the current demarcation disputes in Vuwani. It further intended to establish the role and involvement of Vuwani stakeholders such as traditional structures/leaders, civil unions, community members etc. in the processes of demarcating Vuwani. “What is the cause of Vuwani community member’s rejection of the re-demarcation, which is said to correct the past spatial injustices and promote municipal sizing, thus enabling better performance in service provision by municipalities?”

The study employed a mixed-method involving the use of both quantitative (mini-survey) and qualitative (use of in-depth, semi structures interviews and focus group discussions).

Research findings suggest that re-demarcation is a sensitive aspect/process in South Africa, mainly due to the past Apartheid era. There was forceful removal of people from their land supported by Apartheid legislation such as the Native Land Act 1913, Group Act 1950, Native Resettlement Act 1954 etc. Thus, fears of the past Apartheid system cloud any attempt to correct spatial injustices of the country. The new democratic South African government, therefore, needs to be cautious in its acts to correct the spatial injustices, thus adhering to sound governance principles. Findings reveal that several misconceptions and lack of adherence of good governance principles by the Municipal Demarcation Board and Local government have, to some extent, fueled the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Municipal performance in the rendering of service delivery has a major impact and
contributes to the community’s acceptance or rejection of demarcation/ amalgamations. The study further reveals that in Vuwani municipal performance with the establishment of the new Collins Chabane municipality has been clouded by fear of the unknown as this form of “demarcation of establishing a new municipality” altogether is relatively new. Rural land authority, the role of traditional leaders, ethnicity ties have all been found to have contributed to the disputes in Vuwani. Limpopo Province is home to three ethnic groups, namely, vaVhenda, baPedi and xiTsonga. The study findings have presented traits of tribalism as contributing to on-going demarcation disputes in Vuwani.

KEYWORDS
Re-demarcation/ demarcation, Good governance, Municipal performance, Social contract theory, Conflict theory, Relative deprivation theory, Traditional leadership, Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), Local government
Map of Vuwani
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Determination of municipal boundaries remains a critical process in successfully transforming local government. Municipal re-demarcation is the starting point in ensuring transformation and the development of South African communities, mainly rural communities or areas as it sets structural conditions within which transformation can be initiated. The South African Constitution Section 152 outlines the envisaged objectives of a new democratic South Africa, further placing much emphasis on the restructuring and re-drawing of the South African boundaries. The constitution acknowledges that re-drawing of municipal and provincial boundaries is the starting point in ensuring a democratic South Africa (Bekink, 2006).

The drawing of a new municipal boundary is a sensitive issue in South Africa since the period of colonialism and apartheid left immense challenges on the boundaries of the country (Nabudere, 2000). The Apartheid government and its segregation laws that aimed at segregating communities into ethnic groups had largely affected the spatial patterns of South Africa. According to Griggs (1998), the South African post-apartheid government after the 1994 elections had to make drastic alterations aimed at re-drawing new provincial and municipal boundaries. This entailed transformation from the old apartheid four provinces to nine new provinces to ensure that the previously disadvantaged people of South Africa have access to land, power, and services. The constitution cautions for a more structured and sensitive approach in the determination of these boundaries as they have acute effects that are political,
financial and social. Re-adjustment of municipal boundaries assists municipalities in ensuring their effectiveness in catering to their people. The constitution thus stipulates that municipal boundaries are essential as they determine the size and characteristic of the voting population. The demarcation of a municipal boundary correlates directly to its financial stability, infrastructure, development, service delivery and political outcomes. Thus, the determination of new boundaries, be it municipal or provincial boundaries, needs to be treated with caution and without bias.

Determination of boundaries also has financial implications as it can affect the potential income and expenditure of a municipality. Based on the decision, the size of the municipality can either increase or decrease; this, in turn, affects the provision of service delivery. Boundary demarcations can also affect the social cohesion of a community or area. Community members identify themselves within a boundary as they have certain customs and beliefs. Thus, community members may reject demarcations that have negative impacts on the effectiveness of the said municipal governance (Bekink, 2006).

South Africa has to date enjoyed twenty-six years of democracy; however, the past apartheid spatial inequalities still largely persist. Large numbers of the previously marginalised black people are still impoverished, almost half of all black people still reside in the former homelands, that is, Bantustans (Westaway, 2010). South Africa still has communities engulfed by poverty, communities living in a grim situation with inadequate infrastructure. This situation remains despite the efforts made by the government to address these challenges (Mbeki, 2006: 15). Mailia (2006: 10), states that before the 1994 political dispensation, former homelands and Bantustans were deprived of basic services as these homelands were said to run their administrations, and thus, this exerted pressure on the black communities who had little to no
resources to fend for themselves. The new democratic South Africa faced a difficult task to undo all the past injustices, and the first starting point was the establishment of the governance system. This arrangement paved a shift from the previous bureaucratic governance system to the establishment of the tripartite spheres of governance, that is, the establishment of National, Provincial and Local government. This structure sought to ensure the citizens of South Africa had power and a say in their development and the governance of the country. This, therefore, promoted public participation, ensuring that people have a voice to stimulate social cohesion and in the process, avoid conflict.

Over the years, different kinds of protests have been on the rise around the country. Most of the time, categorising these protests proves to be a challenge as mainly they are given the name ‘service delivery protests’. Motholo (2015) argues that there are different kinds of protests, and these vary between service delivery, demarcation, political, and tribalistic. Motholo (2015) further argues that some protests are a mixture and are interrelated in that demarcation disputes and service delivery protests have correlations. Demarcations influence and affect service delivery, whilst service delivery has a more significant influence on demarcation outcomes; thus, it becomes hard to categorise these disputes.

From 2015, the number of protests and riots has risen from all the corners of the country. For example, these strikes have mushroomed in KwaZulu Natal areas such as Harrismith, EThekwini, and so on; in the Free State province areas such as Philong and Bloemfontein; in Gauteng province in Dieplsoot, Alexandra, and Soweto; and the biggest one currently being in the Limpopo province in Vuwani Vhembe district. Raophala (2013) argues that service delivery and demarcation disputes mask these protests. Doreen (2017) further elaborates on Raophala’s point stating that the leading
causes of the demonstrations are municipal performances in terms of basic needs provision, and corruption (mainly government official mismanagement of resources and expenditure). The responsiveness timeframe of government and municipalities regarding citizen’s grievances is also the primary catalyst, as citizens grow tired of waiting upon a non-responsive government (Atkinson, 2007).

The post-apartheid democratic South African government inherited the spatial dispensation of the apartheid government, which has influenced service provision to the previously disadvantaged rural area. This scenario has left previously disadvantaged South African citizens with little to no access to basic services and resources such as land. Thus, the demarcation board has the mandate to resize and demarcate municipalities to ensure they are able and have enough resources to cater to the needs of their people.

Buccus, (2016) argues that in as much as a failure or poor service delivery is the primary catalyst for the on-going demarcation strikes, the problem however mainly lies in the lack of participatory community engagement in decision making by demarcating board when demarcation boundaries. He further argues that until government officials let go of the ideology or assumption that electoral polls give them the power to decide and act in a unilateral dictatorship top-down approach, the people will continue to be displeased. The argument is for government officials to acknowledge that citizens are an integral part of decision-making and failure to incorporate their views will forever result in dismantled social cohesion (Buccus, 2016).

In line with Buccus’s (2016) argument, Mathoho raises a central question concerning public participation and good governance, primarily, adherence of the local government and demarcation board when demarcating. He argues that they seem to be a high number of demarcation disputes over the year, yet the demarcation board
is adamant that they follow all the necessary procedures in line with sound governance principles. If this is true, therefore, who are the people striking and rejecting demarcations? (Mathoho, 2013: 03).

In 2015 the then Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan, and the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) chairperson announced the reduction and changes to borders of several municipalities, reducing South African municipalities from 278 to 257. Provinces such as Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape, Free State, and KwaZulu Natal were to be affected by these structural boundary changes. The merges were expected to reduce administration costs and free up resources for services delivered in line with the 2016 local government election.

Vuwani is located in the Limpopo province that is home to three ethnic groups, namely Pedi, Tsonga and the Venda. In July 2015, the MDB announced the envisaged amalgamation of Malamulela, Tshikonelo, Mulenzhe, Piet-boy, and Khakhanwa (which is under Thulamela Municipality) and Masia, Mashau, Vyeboom, Tshino, Davhana, Tshimbupfe, Ramukhuba, Masakona (which is under Makhado Municipality) to form one new municipality (SABC 2016). This form of amalgamation is unique as re-demarcation mostly involved merges from one municipality to another or from one province to another. Riots ascended in Vuwani as community members rejected the municipal demarcation board decision, resulting in extensive damage to government and private property.

Mathoho argues that demarcation in provinces such as Limpopo that is home to different ethnic groups has the potential of igniting tribal disputes, which have far more effect than service delivery protests in hindering effective processes of demarcation.
(Mathoho 2013). Therefore, there is need to follow necessary precautions to ensure a smooth process of re-demarcation.

The study thus sought to examine Vuwani community perceptions on demarcations, and the demarcation disputes that erupted in this community. In so doing, the study sought to understand the conceptions and misconception in the process of demarcating these communities. The study further sought to examine a causal relationship between municipal performance and demarcation disputes. The central question being why the communities were against demarcations, meant to readjust and re-draw the past injustices of the country?

1.2 Background of the study

This section explores the historic transition of government in South Africa with much emphasis drawn to the local government sphere. In so doing, this section creates an understanding of re-demarcation and the issues encompassing this concept in the new democratic South Africa. The first section analyses a historical overview of the local government. It seeks to understand the local government sphere in the apartheid era and the process of apartheid boundary allocation together with the segregation policies adopted by the then apartheid government. This section also highlights discussions and discourses around demarcation, its functions, and its impact.

Secondly, the sub-section draws attention to the transition phase of government and the establishment of the three spheres of government in South Africa. It also reviews the aim and challenges of transformation. The section analyses the local government structures after the apartheid era. Re-adjustment of spatial boundaries has been a focal point for the new democratic government, to ensure efficient, and effective
municipal performance mainly in the provision of basic services to disadvantaged rural communities in South Africa. Re-demarcation, however, has experienced several challenges, many of which are a result of the apartheid era; therefore, we must examine the steps that the new democratic South Africa has undergone to address these past injustices.

The study examined the link between service delivery provision/satisfaction and demarcation protests. Many a time demarcation disputes are clouded by service delivery protests, as community members refuse amalgamations or merge with municipalities deemed as underperforming or who have failed to address the community’s needs. There was a need, therefore, to examine municipal performance, service delivery protests and its correlation to demarcation disputes.

1.3. Historical overview of local government

This subsection provides an overview of local government. The subsection explores impacts of apartheid boundary policies and legislation on the landscape of South Africa and the government to resolve the consequent disputes. This section intends to show the link between historic apartheid boundaries and the need for creating new South African boundaries.

Several studies have been undertaken on boundaries and demarcation disputes (Fitzgerald & Durant, 1980; Griggs, 1995; Griggs, 2000; Khan, 2001; Sutcliffe, 2002; Singrum, 2002; Giraut & Maharaj, 2002; McEwan, 2002; Mathekga, 2006; Lootvoet, 2006; Nyalunga, 2006; De Visser, 2009; Mavungu, 2011; Khumalo, 2011; Pieterse & Van Donk, 2012; Sutcliffe, 2012; Mathoho, 2013; Tyabazayo, 2013; Nxumalo & Whittal, 2013; Ras, 2014; Ncube & Vacu, 2015/6; Moloi, 2016; Buccus, 2016). The debate amongst these scholars relates to provincial or cross-boundaries and
municipal boundaries regarding amalgamations of municipalities or districts. Debates mainly seek to understand the community’s rejection of cross-boundary and municipal amalgamation demarcations.

Singarum (2002), in his work on the demarcation process of the Ntuli Tribal Authority in KwaZulu-Natal, sought to examine communities’ understanding and perceptions of re-demarcation. Singarum (2002) concludes that people had little knowledge about the re-demarcation process and calls for more educational awareness of demarcation, its processes, and purpose in the new democratic South Africa. Griggs (2000) contends that there is a need for the deeper level of structural integration accompanied by democratic management and more scientific attention to boundaries. In his works, Griggs (2000) calls for a better understanding/research of demarcation and the processes of implementation. Griggs further argues that demarcations are a sensitive issue where there is a need for examination of political, social and economic aspects in the implementation phase. Mavungu (2011), in his works, tries to explain provincial boundary disputes in post-apartheid South Africa and argues that political dynamics are a significant contributor to boundary demarcations. Giraut et al. (2002) are of the view that post-apartheid demarcations are an essential tool in correcting spatial injustices of the past and restructuring local government in line with the new democratic South Africa. Tyabazayo (2013) examines the boundary disputes of Matatiele and avers that resolution mechanisms and reconciliation programs for boundary demarcation disputes need to be undertaken, as the demarcation framework does not make provision for resolutions. Khumalo (2011) argues that the major challenge of demarcation is the splitting of rural communities between two municipalities or two district municipalities, which affect issues of authority and service provision, creating power struggles.
To understand the need for and hype around re-demarcation of boundaries in Africa and particularly in South Africa, it is critical to trace this debate back to the effects of colonialism in Africa and apartheid-era South Africa. The colonial government in Africa ill-treated and made black people inferior; thus, several policies were implemented, which ensured that the white people dominate and strip black people of all power. These included policies such as the Group Areas Act that was the critical piece of apartheid legislation that carried the mandate of the then colonial government. This Group Areas Act succeeded in ensuring that the government moved black people to Bantustans, and in the process, the Act ensured division of ethnic groups (Group Areas Act, 1950). According to Mathoho (2015), segregation of black people by ethnic groups gave birth to tribalism in South Africa.

According to Moloi (2016), the apartheid government did not only divide races (black and white) but also managed to create divisions amongst black people. This phenomenon is apparent when one looks at the South African landscape as some provinces belong to a particular tribe or group of people; distinct ethnic groups belong to or dominate different provinces.

The Limpopo province is unique in South Africa as it is home to several ethnic groups that is baPedi, xiTsonga, and vhaVenda speaking people. Municipal boundaries in Limpopo province are inclusive of two or more ethnic groups as is the case in the Vhembe district (Buhlunngu et al., 2007). Mathoho (2013) argues that in situations where one municipality has more than one ethnic group, tribalism comes into play. South Africa is a diverse country, home to many ethnic groups; tribalism becomes a domain and is highly influenced by the scarcity of resource as ethnic groups compete for resources. Race and ethnic groups become foregrounded as people seek to associate with their own in issues of cultural identity and leadership.
Moloi (2016) warns of a new form of a pandemic that he argues could have a far worse implication than that of apartheid. Moloi argues that South Africa is a country that is good in dressing wounds rather than healing them. He argues that the false notion or beliefs that after 1994 we became one without properly healing under the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC) did more harm as the wounds of the past were not addressed but covered. Thus, he argues that the turmoil in the country streams from this behaviour of covering up issues instead of healing them. Tribalism seems to be sneaking in as history depicts that each tribe has its connection and cultural identity that rejects other groups, which thus creates tension and can lead to conflict (Moloi, 2013: 01).

The Group Areas Act facilitated the spatial segregation process, thus moving black people to Homelands and Bantustans, thereby enabling the “own management for own” areas principle and the pass law system. The aim was to relieve the then colonial government of the administrative and financial burden of black areas – Homelands and Bantustans – thus avoiding developing and providing services to black people. The government entrusted the traditional leaders with running and ruling the Homelands; however, their powers relied mainly upon and were to a more considerable extent influenced by, the colonial government (Rugege, 2002). This resulted in some traditional leaders serving the mandate and being spies of the colonial government. Thus, the structure of traditional leaders was tempered, resulting in the people not trusting the loyalties and traditional authorities (Group Area Act online, 2016). This act removed responsibility for townships from white municipalities. Bantustans were neglected, and black people lived in impoverished conditions with no service delivery (Group Areas Act, 1950).
Since 1994, the South African local government sphere underwent three transition phases. In 1994–1995 the pre-interim stage was introduced. This was a phase of local government elections and the appointment of councillors. In 1995–1996, the interim phase of the interim constitution came in to effect (Powell, 2012). In this phase, the country witnessed the process of power-sharing from opposing political parties as a form of ushering development and a prosperous South Africa (Cameron, 1996a: 19–39; Cloete, 1995). The final constitution was negotiated, later certified and signed in December 1996. It came into effect on the 4th of February 1997. The changes were critical in the formation of the local government by giving each sphere freedom of interdependence, interrelatedness, and distinctiveness (Cameron, 1996: 19-39; Cloete, 1995).

Several aspects, such as technological, political, economic and ideological changes, influence the reformation and structuring of the local government sphere. These aspects have great power in modifying spatial patterns, development, and inequalities (Razin, 2000: 7). This is the case in South Africa, where the de-racialisation and territorial reorganisation of the local government sphere has experienced many challenges.

In understanding and transforming local government, amendments had to be put in place to readdress the effects of the past, as policies of segregation and the Group Areas Act had separated South African people; displacing black people (Traditional Leadership Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003). Concisely, this section forms a basis for understanding the current conditions or challenges of governance by assessing the historic apartheid policies that had dire consequences in the structures of government in South Africa. Legislation overview presented in this study aimed to
address aspects of the country’s past injustices, mainly in disadvantaged rural communities.

1.4 Local government after the Apartheid era

This subsection discusses the local government structures and the transition of local government after the apartheid era. Evolution of apartheid structures has consequences on the demarcation disputes and service delivery protests. The gap between suburban areas and rural areas in terms of service delivery and economic development is vast and quite visible. Previously disadvantaged areas are still battling for the provision of services or development, while areas in towns and cities seem to enjoy a broad diversification of benefits. This anomaly is evident as the country’s wealth remains in the hands of the few, and the gap between the haves and the have-nots increases daily (Keeley, 2015).

The dawn of political independence across all of the African countries was highly anticipated as it promised the advent of greater things to come, the birth of a new promised land. Much focus had to be placed on readdressing the boundary structures of South Africa that the apartheid government had marked. The new democratic South Africa’s principal task was the dissolution of the former homelands (Transvaal, Bophuthatswana, Natal, Ciskei, and Transkei) and the formation of the nine-province that we know today (South African History Online, 2017).

This dissolution of former homelands was essential as before 1994 frameworks that governed public sectors were centralised; thus, this resulted in non-transparent, bureaucratic, unresponsive, non-accountable risk-averse public services. This centralised form of government created spaces that abused power and led to corruption (Department of Public Service and Administration, 2012).
The post-apartheid, democratic South African government therefore needed a reformed governance system geared towards transformation to address the past legacy of apartheid. Government systems had to be modernised, efficient, effective, accountable and people-centered. Development of the three spheres of government was an essential tool to ensure accountability and provision of needs to the people of South Africa. A prominent sphere of governance that seeks to address this provision of services is mainly the local government. Mawhood (1993) argues in favour of the development of the local government sphere. He states that a political system is complete and democratic when it has a form of governance that is rooted and in tune with the needs of the people. Thus, the local government sphere is fundamental when it works at the ground level close to the community, especially previously disadvantaged rural communities.

Three pieces of legislation have been prominent in attempts at transforming government systems. The RSA Constitution of 1996 is the first document that clarifies the roles and responsibilities of local government municipalities. The constitution sets out the initial stages towards addressing past inequalities by creating new spheres of governance that are inter-related, inter-dependent and distinctive. The South African Constitution of 1996, envisaged a democratic South Africa and argued that the first step to achieving transformation is by re-adjusting and re-drawing the spatial frameworks. The constitution thus makes provision for establishing an independent body of authority tasked with re-drawing the spatial boundaries of South Africa, ushering the birth of the municipal demarcation board (MDB) (RSA Constitution, 1996).
The Demarcation Act 27, 1998 is an act that sought to anchor the proposition of Section 155 (3) (b) of the Constitution. The Demarcation Act establishes the municipal demarcation board. The Act provides for establishing a board tasked with demarcating the boundaries of South Africa. The board, through proper research, identifies borders that need demarcation, and follow the appropriate processes in determining the said areas.

The Demarcation Act further stipulates the roles and responsibilities of the municipal demarcation board documented under Section 24 and 25 of the Act. The municipal demarcation board has the responsibility to set out the criteria and factors for areas that need to be delimited. Demarcation is to assist municipalities in fulfilling their constitutional obligations by ensuring the establishment of proper and sizable municipality boundaries that cater to the needs of the people. Monare (2010) states that the purpose of the Demarcation Act is to guide and re-draw boundaries, thus promoting accountability, equitable, sustainable communities.

The Municipal Structures Act 117 of (2003) prolongs the agenda stipulated by the Constitutional provisions as it defines the categories and types of municipalities. Monare (2010) argues that amalgamations of municipal boundaries are of great importance as they create an environment to which voters can exercise their fundamental right and provision of service delivery. He further argues that delimitation of boundaries and municipalities needs to take into account the issue of size as municipalities need to have sizes proportional to their ability to cater to the people.

In summary, this section addressed the transformation process of the local government sphere, with much emphasis on the legislation that is the stepping-stone in correcting past injustices. The section further traced the development of municipal
demarcation board and examined its roles and responsibilities in addressing South Africa spatial landscapes.

This argument is carried on at a broader spectrum in chapter four of the study, providing a road map and transition of government, local government sphere in South Africa and further looks into the challenges and the importance of demarcations.

1.5 Impact of service delivery on demarcation

This subsection analyses the relationship between service delivery provision protests and demarcation disputes. The section further explores satisfactory and unsatisfactory levels of service delivery provisions to communities and the impact on demarcation; it also traces the effects of demarcation on municipal performance regarding the rendering of services to their communities.

Riots or protests have been on the rise in South Africa. They have been clouded mainly by service delivery protests as community members express their dissatisfaction with municipal performances in catering to the needs of the disadvantaged people of South Africa. The municipal performance and satisfactory levels of community members with provisions of basic services have highly impacted the municipal demarcation board. Community acceptance or rejection of mergers or amalgamation is influenced mainly by community perceptions of municipal performance and provision of services. In areas such as Khutsong, Matatiele, etc. the primary rejection of demarcation was solely on how service delivery would be affected by amalgamating of municipalities and provinces.

Provision of basic needs is the sole mandate of the South African government in correcting the past injustices of the colonial government. The colonial government had neglected black communities/homelands, depriving them of any services. Thus, the
new democratic South African government sought to correct all the injustices of the past with the principal mandate to provide basic needs to all the previously disadvantaged communities of South Africa, mainly in rural areas and townships. Over the years, violent protests have erupted in different communities of South Africa, from Diepsloot in Johannesburg where 3000 protesters marched demanding delivery of basic needs, to places in the Free State province such as Harrismith where residents rejected re-demarcation of the Maluti-a-Phofung Municipality. One of the main reasons being the lack of service delivery and communication breakdown between residents, councillors and the municipality. Community members of Phumelela Municipality in the northern Free State as they accused the municipal manager, the mayor and the ward councillors of poor service delivery and nepotism. The protests soon escalated to other parts of the country as communities expressed their dissatisfaction with municipalities regarding service delivery (Buhlungu et al., 2007).

In the Western Cape community, members of Mitchells Plain protested against poor service delivery by erecting burning hurdles. In KwaZulu-Natal, eThekwini informal settlement community members protested, demanding delivery of houses and better living conditions. These protests quickly spread out to other provinces. In Mpumalanga, angry community members took to the streets, demanding the resignation of the municipal manager reciting corruption and inadequate provision of service delivery. People of Secunda in Embalenhle Township protested against nepotism and poor service delivery. The protests soon erupted in the Eastern Cape, in Uitenhage, where angry community members took to the streets protesting against corrupt ward councillors. All the above protests were against poor municipal performance, which leads to lack or poorer service delivery to the communities (Dlamini, 2004)
Soon a new form of protest took form shifting from service delivery to demarcation disputes. Communities affected by re-demarcation from one province to another or from one municipality to another expressed their dissatisfaction. Protests against demarcation have been on the rise in South Africa. These protests date back to 1999; in the case of Durban eThekwini Municipality as the demarcation process was heavily contested mainly by the traditional authority who believed that demarcation was nothing but a strategy to strip them of their powers (Goodenough, 2004).

In 1994, “The former Transvaal Province was dismantled and divided into four provinces; areas from Bushbuckridge to Hazyview were to be included in the Limpopo province. This decision was undertaken based on the fact that most of the Bushbuckridge area had been part of three separate Bantustans (Gazankulu, Lebowa, and KaNgwane) (Bushbuckridge Local Municipality 2009)”.

The citizens of Bushbuckridge rejected this amalgamation of the area to the Limpopo Province demanding incorporation to Mpumalanga Province instead. The fear of marginalisation and tribalism by residents led community members to argue that Limpopo Province seemed to struggle with the provision of basic needs for the existing population, how then would they be able to provide for them as well. In September 2005, the community of Matatiele protested, rejecting amalgamation into the Eastern Cape Province, demanding that the town remain part of Kwa-Zulu Natal. One of the reasons for opposing this move was that residents believed Kwa-Zulu Natal would be more effective in serving their interests. Residents further argued that the Eastern Cape had failed in service delivery, hence their refusal to be associated with such a province (The Star, 2009.) Khutsong in Merafong Municipality soon joined in the protest against re-demarcation, as residents of Khutsong were against the move from Gauteng to North West Province. Residents stated that the North West Province was
very deprived and poor, arguing that the province had in the past failed to cater to the needs of its people. Therefore, they refused to be trapped in the same situation (City Press, 05.03.06; Mail & Guardian, 17-23.02.06).

In 2016, ten years after the incidents in Matatiele and Khutsong, rejection of municipal demarcation continued in South Africa. For instance, there were recent spills in Thlokwe and Vuwani where protests against the MDB took place. In July 2015, the MDB announced it envisaged the amalgamation of Malamulela, Tshikonelo, Mulenzhe, Piet-boy, and Khakhanwa (which is under Thulamela Municipality) and Masia, Mashau, Vyeboom, Tshino, Davhana, Tshimbupfe, Ramukhuba, Masakona (which is under Makhado Municipality) to form one municipality (SABC 2016). Community members in Vuwani rejected this coalition, which resulted in riots, demolishing and burning of government properties and schools, with traditional leaders at the forefront, arguing against re-demarcation.

This section has created a link between municipal performance, service delivery, and demarcation disputes. In many cases, these protests are categorised as one, which creates confusion. Therefore, it is essential to understand these protests clearly. The section further sought to highlight contributing factors to the prevalence of demarcation disputes.

1.6 Motivation

The study aims to augment existing literature about local government municipal demarcation processes by tracing demarcation disputes back to municipal performance and show the link between municipal performance, service delivery provision, and demarcation disputes. It aims to establish the impact of local government re-demarcation on municipal performance and service delivery. It also
attempts to provide a better understanding of the conflicts surrounding municipality re-demarcation and their causes.

The focus allows for the accumulation of evidence and a better understanding of re-demarcation and its impact on local government. The findings of the study contribute to shaping and informing policy on municipal demarcation and local government. Knowledge gained from the study can be useful for policymakers to develop policies conducive to assisting the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government in facilitating demarcations.

The study thus contributes to the body of knowledge of local government by assessing principles of good governance. Understanding of these effects goes a long way towards influencing the administration of the re-demarcation processes, resolving and avoiding disputes, which have in the past led to violent protests. This understanding, in turn, will ensure the improved performance of local municipalities, and subsequently, improve service delivery.

1.7 Problem statement

Since 1994, the post-apartheid South African government had a mandate to re-draw and readjust past apartheid boundaries. This development saw the formation of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), drawn from three prominent pieces of legislation that is the Republic of South Africa Constitution of 1996, the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 2003, and the Demarcation Act 27 of 1998.

The Municipal Demarcation Board is a structure mandated to re-draw the spatial boundaries of South Africa. The aim is to readdress the spatial inequalities or imbalances of the then colonial government (Municipal Demarcation Act No 27 of 1998). Griggs (1998) states that the new democratic South African government has
the mandate to ensure equality for all, but mostly the previously disadvantaged black people and rural communities. He further argues that the starting point in securing a prosperous South Africa for all is to do away with the post-apartheid governance legacy, thus, starting with re-drawing of the spatial landscape of the country. The Republic of South Africa Constitution supported by many other legislations paves a way to address the issue of the spatial landscape. It further advocates for an independent structure tasked with re-demarcation of the country’s boundaries, thus the formation of the Municipal Demarcation Board.

The people of South Africa rejected the first attempt to re-draw provincial and municipal boundaries (such as Bushbuckridge) resulting in riots and protests. Khumalo (2011) argues that the primary catalyst of these disputes was mainly the process taken. For instance, in many cases, communities were split over two municipalities, while others over two district municipalities and even two provinces (Khumalo, 2011). In 2015 the then Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan and the MDB chairperson announced the reduction and changes to borders of several municipalities, reducing South African municipalities from 278 to 257. Provinces such as the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo were to be affected by these structural boundary changes. The mergers were expected to reduce administration costs and free up resources for services delivered in line with the 2016 local government election.

The Vuwani area in the Vhembe district of Limpopo Province was one community targeted for the then proposed boundary changes. In July 2015, the MDB announced that it envisaged the amalgamation of Malamulela, Tshikonelo, Mulenzhe, Piet-boy, and Khakhanwa (under Thulamela Municipality) and Masia, Mashau, Vyeboom,
Tshino, Davhana, Tshimbupfe, Ramukhuba, Masakona (under Makhado Municipality) to form one municipality (SABC 2016).

The municipal authorities went ahead with the envisaged amalgamation, claiming that it had consulted relevant stakeholders. They claimed that it had reached an agreement to amalgamate the targeted areas. They also stressed that all stakeholders were on board with the said amalgamations. However, in 2016, the country experienced community uprisings against the planned operationalisation of the amalgamation. This resulted in the inevitable conflict between municipal authorities, the Municipal Demarcation Board, traditional authorities and the community member of Vuwani. The Vuwani community embarked upon demonstrations as they expressed their rejection of the amalgamation, resulting in the looting, burning, and destruction of government and private property.

This study, therefore, sought to understand the mystery of this conflict. Questions around why communities were against demarcations set to correct the past injustices of apartheid spatial planning in South Africa are addressed. The study further investigates the perception of the people of Vuwani of the reasoning behind the rejection of the planned demarcations as well as contributing factors to the rejection and dispute, particularly municipal demarcation. The study moreover examines the perception of the Vuwani Vhembe community after the move and implementation of the Collins Chabane municipalities, in so doing, exploring whether the community remained firm against the demarcation or whether they reconsidered.

1.8 Research Objectives

1. To assess the factors of re-demarcation disputes in the Vuwani Vhembe district.
2. To investigate conceptions concerning municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district.

3. To investigate misconceptions between communities and municipal demarcation board concerning re-demarcation of Vuwani Vhembe district.

4. To establish MDB compliance with good governance principles when re-demarcating municipalities in Vuwani Vhembe district.

5. To determine the link between service delivery satisfaction and municipal re-demarcation dispute in Vuwani.

1.9 Research Questions guiding the study

1.9.1 Main question

What is the nature of contestation in municipal re-demarcation in the Vuwani Vhembe District?

Sub-questions

1. What are the factors contributing to municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani area of Vhembe district?

2. What are the conceptions concerning municipal re-demarcation by communities and MDB?

3. What are the misconceptions concerning municipal re-demarcation by communities and MDB, “is there a third force”?

4. What is MDB compliance strategies to good governance principles in re-demarcating Vuwani?

5. Is there a correlation between municipal demarcation disputes and service delivery provision in Vuwani?
1.10 Re-demarcation disputes and methodology

The interest in this study developed when I was conducting my Master’s research project, which looked at the “Power struggles between traditional leaders and ward councillors in rural communities”. One of the findings of the study was around demarcations, that is, the duality in governance over traditional communities. Most of the demarcations in rural areas cut across communities, forcing ward councillors to head communities falling under two chieftaincies. This results in confusion, power struggles and conflict between traditional leaders and ward councillors. This experience then spiked my interest to look at and study demarcation, its purpose and process. At the time I read about the issue of demarcation, disputes erupted such as those in Matatiele, and the more violent ones in Vuwani.

While reading up on demarcations, I recognised that most of the research conducted thus far uses one methodology, that is, either the qualitative or quantitative methodology. This recognition then gave my research the edge whereby I could tackle demarcation disputes using a mixed-method approach, ensuring coverage of all aspects of shortcomings of using one methodology. I further observed from my reading that most demarcations involved a move from one province to another, called provincial demarcations and municipal demarcations that mainly affected the merge or amalgamation of one town with another or to another district. The Vuwani form of demarcation was thus relatively new as it involved the formation of a new municipality, moving parts of Malamulele and Vuwani communities to form a new municipality called the Collins Chabane Municipality.

Ncube and Vacu (2016) published their findings on the financial expense of amalgamations or demarcation, while Fleischmann (1986) examined the implications
of consolidations/demarcations, Vojnovic (2000) employed a case study to explore the impact of demarcations. Kushner et al. (2003) examined the perceptions of people on demarcations in Ontario using a quantitative approach. What is interesting in the latter study is that surveys were conducted in urban areas. Yet, implementation of the demarcations was mainly in rural areas, thus creating conflicting findings with rural personnel arguing that their voices were silenced yet they were the most affected by the said demarcations. McKay, (2004) studied possible solutions to the demarcation disputes, and the findings of his study revealed that demarcations were not the same, hence arguing that they should be treated differently and with caution as they have the potential to dismantle communities.

Savitch and Vogel (2004) sought to test the hypothesis that amalgamations promote equity, efficiency and accountability. Findings revealed, however, that the above statement was false, arguing that the amalgamations reduce efficiency and increase the costs associated with the transition. Dollery et al. (2007) used a qualitative method in examining the impact of amalgamations. Due to the use of in-depth questions, which are one on one discussions and take time to conduct, the study population was relatively small, raising arguments in terms of generalisation of the findings.

Hanes and Wikstrom (2010) used a cross-sectional study of five Swedish municipalities which looks at the impact of municipal amalgamation on population growth and income growth. Most of these studies were conducted abroad and focused on the consequences, perceptions of municipal or provincial demarcations. Very few studies focus on demarcations implemented to form a new municipality, as these were mainly conducted abroad. Vuwani demarcations informed the formation of a new municipality. This type of demarcation is new in South Africa, hence largely enticing
the researcher into studying this type of demarcation by mainly focusing on the perceptions of Vuwani people and the nature of the disputes (see also 4.6).

The study uses a mixed-method approach adopted from the sociology school of thought. The mixed-method approach aims to understand municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district and the link between municipal demarcation disputes and service delivery provided therein. A qualitative research design is the primary data gathering method employed to answer questions 1 to 4.

A qualitative research design permits the study to explore with more in-depth scrutiny the factors of municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district. A quantitative research design was employed to answer question 5 since this question:

a) Allows for a broader understanding of the link between municipal demarcation disputes and service delivery in Vuwani and

b) Creates space for the generation of measurable and quantifiable data concerning the relationships between service delivery protests and municipal demarcation disputes and vice versa.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hills (2019), defines sociology as an exciting and illuminating field of study that analyses and explains important matters in our personal lives, our communities, and the world. At the personal level, sociology investigates the social causes and consequences of such things as romantic love, racial and gender identity, family conflict, deviant behavior, aging, and religious faith. At the societal level, sociology examines and explains matters like crime and law, poverty and wealth, prejudice and discrimination, schools and education, business firms, urban community, and social movements. At the global
level, sociology studies such phenomena as population growth and migration, war and peace, and economic development.

The study uses a political sociology and developmental social change approach. Political sociology is a branch of the sociology discipline that deals with the “sociological analysis phenomena ranging from the State and civil society to the family, investigating topics such as citizenship, social movements, and the sources of social power”. Scholars such as Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber are viewed as founding fathers of sociology (Phillips, 1991); (Sassatelli, 2011).

As previously noted, most of the recent researchers who have done work around demarcations focus on provincial and municipal boundaries. This entails amalgamation of towns from different provinces or from one municipality to another, such as the case of Bushbuckridge, Matatiele etc. The demarcation implemented in Vuwani is new as it entails the foundation of a new municipality, with parts of Vuwani and Malamulele communities demarcated and joined together under the newfound municipal name, Collins Chabane. Limpopo Province is a unique province as it is home to three ethnic groups that is vaVhenda, baPedi and xiTsonga, with Vuwani area being home to vaVhenda and Malamulele to xiTsonga people. Such demarcation is new in South Africa, which calls for better understanding, knowledge and research as it has the potential to inflame tribal disputes.

The reason for undertaking this research from a political and development sociology perspective is to remain faithful to issues of development and the politics of land in Africa, specifically South Africa. This approach allowed the researcher to trace the arguments of land, democracy and boundary contestations in Africa, tracing it back from the effects of Colonialism and Apartheid.
1.11 Outline of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter two presents the research design and methodology that underpins the study. The chapter provides an overview of the positivist and interpretative philosophy adopted in the study. The chapter also discusses the mixed-method approach, and in so doing, the chapter discusses the quantitative and qualitative methods, their strengths and weaknesses. It advocates for the use of a mixed-method approach to ensure reliability and validity of the study findings. It further discusses data collection instruments used, the data analysis techniques and ethical considerations. The chapter paints a clear picture of the process followed in data collection and data analysis of the study, taking the reader to a systematic process of data collection and challenges encountered by the researcher in compiling the study.

Chapter three furnishes theoretical debates on land, local government, municipal performance, service delivery, and demarcation. In so doing, the chapter highlights the link between these concepts and the effects they have on each other’s outcomes. The main argument of the chapter is that demarcation disputes constitute a significant result of municipal performance, provision of services to communities and satisfaction level of communities with municipal performance, service delivery, and citizen participation. The chapter, therefore, investigates this interconnection between municipal performance, service delivery, citizen participation, and demarcation disputes, thereby highlighting arguments and debates raised by other scholars who write in this area of study.

In chapter four, the focus is on reviewing related literature, mainly tracing the historical overview of land and local government sphere in South Africa. In so doing, the chapter
seeks to highlight the argument that the current challenges of demarcation are the result of colonialisation and apartheid-era effects on landscapes of the country. This chapter is organised in a linear process indicating how the transaction of the land took form in South Africa, leading to the need for demarcation which seeks to re-draw and re-adjust the past land inequalities in South Africa.

Chapter five explores and evaluates policies, acts, and procedures which have been introduced by the government to govern and regulate local municipalities in service provision and re-demarcation on the country’s boundaries. This chapter further evaluates how these policies, acts, and procedures, negatively and positively affect the practice of re-drawing of rural communities. The chapter explores the relations between the local government, the traditional houses and their role in the development of rural communities. It further examines the role of the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Chapter six is interlinked with chapter five as it seeks to examine the concept of good governance in local government and municipal demarcation. It does so by firstly examining the policies set in place to govern local government and their procedures regarding public participation and provision of services to their citizens. The sound governance principles are discussed in relation to amalgamations or demarcations of the South African rural boundaries and specifically in the demarcation of the Vuwani area. In so doing, this chapter seeks to examine the adherence to good governance principles of local government and the Municipal Demarcation Board in demarcating Vuwani.

Chapters seven and eight present and discuss the findings and the conclusion of the research paper. The chapter is based on the informants’ discussions and suggestions and the researcher's opinion of the findings. This chapter further highlights the gap
and contradictions identified in the research process. Last, the researcher puts forward her proposals and recommendation for the current municipal re-demarcation challenges and possible solutions.

1.12 Summary

This chapter has fore-grounded the work of this thesis and further given the background for the need to conduct the study. The study acknowledges that much research on demarcation has been done. Still, the contention in this chapter has been that most of the work has concentrated more on border amalgamation or amalgamations of joint municipalities. There has been less work done recently on demarcations resulting in the formation of new municipalities as is seen in the current study area that culminated in the formation of the Collins Chabane municipality. As an aspiring academic educated in subjects of demarcation and land issues, I have observed the major dilemma between demarcations and service delivery or municipal performance. This research is an attempt to acknowledge that now is the time to seek possible solutions to the ongoing challenges in re-demarcation. The research methodology presented in the next chapter is from a social scientific point of view that enhances the aims and objectives as pointed out in the objectives of this study.
CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the selected research methodology and approach to achieve the main objectives of this study. This chapter provides an overview of the research design, approach, and methodology. The chapter further provides an overview of the positivist and interpretative philosophy adopted in the study. This particular study is anchored on the mixed-method, which uses both a quantitative and qualitative approach. The use of a mixed-method approach allows the researcher to counter-effect the strengths and weaknesses of both techniques, thus ensuring the validity and reliability of the study findings. Data collection, challenges, data analysis, and ethical consideration are discussed and presented.

2.2 Research paradigms

A paradigm is a belief system or worldview that guides investigations (Guba and Lincoln 1994:105). Neuman (2011: 94) defines a paradigm as a system of reasoning. A paradigm is thus a set of beliefs that guides the work of Social Sciences in analysing various situations. A paradigm, therefore, influences how we think, interpret, and bring meanings to realities and how we define our daily experiences (Morgan, 2007). Hanson et al. (2005), argue that a paradigm informs how we know and what we know; it is the nature of reality. This particular study employed a mixed-method approach informed by two schools of thought, namely, the positivist and interpretive paradigm.
2.2.1 Positivism

The positivist school of thought founded by scholars such as Auguste Comte in the nineteenth century argues that scientists can study society using numerical scientific methods. McLaughin and Muncie (2001) further support this argument stating that the scientific techniques employed in the natural sciences can be applied to understand, explain, predict and give meaning to social behaviours.

The positivist school of thought uses measurements and causal relationships to understand phenomena. This approach believes in measurable and quantifiable results, arguing that it is more accurate in terms of reliability and validity. Welman et al. (2009: 6) argue in support of this school and state that the laws of the positivist school of thought can be applied to the social sciences discipline to explain the causes of observations and thus can measure behaviour. Positivist research works with observable social realities to produce findings that can be generalised, just like in the natural sciences. This school of thought argues that an objective reality exists and this can be established outside of personal experiences (Remenyi et al., 1998: 32; Saunders et al., 2000: 85; Riege, 2003: 77; Neuman, 2006: 82; Babbie & Mouton, 2008: 23; Saunders et al., 2009: 113;Muijs, 2011: 4).

Positivism argues that it is possible in the social sciences to adopt a non-attractive, neutral, distant and detached position (Morris, 2006:3). Morris (2006) further contends that applying the positivist research technique enables the research to be objective, unbiased and to make independent and fair interpretations of the findings. Druckman (2005: 5) states that positivism, therefore, adopts quantifiable measures and analysis of data in understanding the social world.
From the above debates amongst scholars, it is evident that the positivist school of thought advocates for measurable scientific empirical evidence as it claims that knowledge can only be proven using quantifiable findings. The positivist school moreover argues that human behaviour is controlled, passive and can be determined by the external environment. Therefore, this school of thought states that human behaviour can be measured using scientific measurable numerical evidence, thereby rejecting any form of measurements or research that deviates from this notion. Walsham (1995b) argues that positivism maintains that scientific knowledge consists of facts.

The positivist paradigm, however, does not appeal to all fields. Some of the scholars rejected its notion that facts can only be obtained through numerical measurements, as this raises some questionable assumptions. Scholars such as Henning et al. (2004: 17); Rubin and Babbie (2010: 15); Babbie (2010: 41), Lincoln (2011a: 8), Denzin (2011) reject the assumption of positivist social scientists who argue that social reality can be explained in terms of measurement because people always act rationally. Babbie (2010: 41) contends that people do not always react rationally. She further argues that people explain, respond and interpret certain things differently, thus boxing them under one assumption is incorrect. This scholar advocates for an interpretive examination of the study as this goes beyond numerical measurement of social phenomena, allowing researchers to gain an in-depth understanding of social realities, and the meaning attached to social reactions.

It is for this particular reason that the study employs both the positivist and the interpretative schools of thoughts as data collection techniques.
The interpretivism paradigm is also known as the phenomenological approach. The roots of this paradigm date back to the work of Max Weber 1864–1920 and Wilhelm Dilthey 1833–1911. The interpretative paradigm argues that there are two fundamental schools of science, that is, the natural sciences supported by the positivist school of thought, and the human sciences school supported by the interpretative paradigm. This paradigm argues that human beings are social beings who continuously try to make sense of their surroundings. Thus, it is a constant process of interpretation, giving meaning, justifying, defining and rationalising their daily actions.

This approach aims to understand people’s behaviours and perceptions (Babbie and Mouth, 2005: 28). According to scholars such as De Vos et al. (2011b: 8) and Neuman (2011: 101), the roots of interpretivism can be traced back to Max Weber (1864–1920) and Wilhelm Dilthey’s (1833–1911) work. Dilthey argues that human beings constantly attempt to make sense of their worlds and in so doing, they continuously interpret, create, give meaning, define, justify and rationalise their daily actions. The interpretive school of thought argues that there are no right or wrong methods, theories or measurements of the social world (Walsham, 1993). This school, therefore, advocates for an interpretative method that allows people to give meaning to their actions and reaction to their everyday lives (Gephart, 1999). The interpretive school argues that societies are complex and, therefore, cannot be boxed into one method, hence disputing the assumptions brought forward by the positivist paradigm.
Scholars such as Fouche and Schurnnik (2011: 309); Willis (2002: 6); and Gephart (1999: 5) came forth and rejected the assumptions that social realities could be researched using natural sciences principles. Interpretivism believes that matters of social sciences are fundamentally different from those of the natural sciences; therefore, there is a need for a different methodology in explaining and understanding the social world. Schwandt (2007: 314–317) argues that social world realities should be interpreted from the lived experiences of the people themselves. The only way to achieve this is through in-depth narrative use of open-ended questioning, allowing people to express themselves and their emotions, meanings, and understandings. The use of natural sciences principles cannot achieve this.

Wisker (2008) argues that there are three basic principles of interpretivism. He states that this paradigm assumes that the social world is constructed by meanings that people attach to their experiences. Therefore, the meanings and explanations influence their behaviour. He further argues that research is part of the observation, and thus, it is driven by interests (Wisker, 2008: 69; Blumberg et al., 2011: 17). Interpretivism’s paradigm argues that it is impossible to assume objective observation as humans attach different meaning to their social realities and experiences. Livesey (2011: 4) argues that the social world is constantly changing as each day brings new experiences and meanings in understanding the social world; we need to view it from the experiences of individuals. Thus, the interpretivism paradigm uses a meaning-orientated methodology, which relies mainly on individual experiences (Reeves et al., 2002: 32). The interpretive researcher, therefore, does not predefine dependent and independent variables but focuses on the full scope of the human sense-making process (Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994).
This study employed the positivist and interpretive paradigm as part of the mixed-method approach adopted in data collection. In so doing, the study addressed issues of reliability and validity and counters shortfalls of both paradigms. Using both paradigms through a mixed-method approach provides the researcher with rich quantifiable and interpretative data. Four of the research questions of the study were answered by the use of a qualitative method using in-depth face-to-face discussions, in line with the interpretative school of thought. The researcher gave participants opportunities to express themselves and clarify their answers using probing skills.

The researcher used probing skills, which allowed for an in-depth form of a conversation between the researcher and participants. Question five of the study employed the quantitative approach in line with the positivist school, allowing for measurable findings. A structured questionnaire was administered, ensuring standardized measure. The following sections further elaborate this approach and how the data was collected, citing all the challenges encountered in the process. Table 1 below provides the assumptions of the positivist and interpretivism paradigm, in so doing, providing a clear understanding of both paradigms.

Table 1 Assumptions of the two main paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Philosophical assumption</th>
<th>Positivistic paradigm</th>
<th>Interpretivist paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ontological assumption</td>
<td>Reality is objective</td>
<td>Reality is subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(form and nature of reality)</td>
<td>There is one reality</td>
<td>There are multiple realities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemological assumption; what constitutes valid knowledge</td>
<td>The researcher is objective</td>
<td>The researcher is subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The researcher is distant from what phenomena are studied.</td>
<td>Researcher interacts with that being researched.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Axiological assumption; the roles of values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The researcher is independent of phenomena under study</th>
<th>The researcher acknowledges that the research is subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The results are unbiased and value free</td>
<td>The findings are biased and value-laden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rhetorical assumption; the language of research.

| Researcher writes in a formal style, and uses the passive voice, accepts quantitative words and set definitions. | Researcher writes in an informal style, and uses personal voice, accepts qualitative terms and limited definitions. |

Methodological assumption; the process of research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process is deductive, study of cause and effect with a static design (categories are isolated beforehand).</th>
<th>Process is inductive, study of simultaneous mutual shaping of factors with an emerging design (Categories are identified during the process).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research is context-free</td>
<td>Research is context-bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalizations lead to prediction, explanation and understanding.</td>
<td>Patterns and or theories are developed from understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results are accurate and reliable through validity and reliability</td>
<td>Finding are accurate and reliable through verification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Creswell (1994: 5)

Given the differences between the two main paradigms highlighted in the table above, Creswell (2014) cautions that researchers must consider carefully the philosophical assumption that underpins positivism and interpretivism to determine whether their orientation is broadly positivist or interpretivist. However, mixed-method research uses both approaches in a single study.

2.3 Research design

A research design is a plan of action highlighting the process of conducting the study; thus, it needs to be precise, clear and straightforward to the reader (Opie, 2004: 74).
Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: 69), state that a research design is a scientific research plan that points out the direction of the study from the first to the last step. He further argues that research design guides the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation of findings. A research design outlines the systematic details and the process of data collection and data analysis. It answers the question of how the research site was selected, the selection of participants and their number and how the data was collected and analysed (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 17).

Research design helps the researcher to plan and implement in a way that ensures that the implementation of the study is appropriate and can have accurate results/findings (Bruns et al., 2001: 223). This study employs a mixed-method approach, which is the use of quantitative and qualitative research design. This tactic allows the researcher to gather quantifiable and interpretative finding, thus adding to the reliability and validity of the study. The research design is essential as it provides direction that the investigation has to follow in terms of data collection, from whom and how it will be collected. These questions were vital as they gave the form and direction of the study.

2.3.1 Mixed method approach

Mixed method approach is a new school of thought; many scholars have attempted to define this approach. According to Tashakkori et al. (2007: 4), the mixed-method approach allows the researcher to collect and analyze data using both positivist and interpretative paradigms. Thus the methods work to strengthen each other’s weaknesses. Creswell, in his article on understanding the mixed-method approach, seeks to unpack the steps on conducting mixed-method research in so doing he
provides what he terms a packed definition of mixed-method approach. He further argues that mixed-method research is not a method but a design embodied by empirical assumptions and methods of inquiry (Creswell, 2006: 5). Creswell, therefore, defines mixed-method research as a methodology that involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of collection and analysis of data using the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approach in many phases in the research process.

Hesse-Biber (2010) echoes the same thought as Creswell as he states that mixed-method research design is essential as it addresses issues of reliability and validity. Thus, the use of qualitative and quantitative designs in a study addresses the shortfall and the weaknesses of one approach over the another. The scholars that use mixed-method research design highly recommend it as a tool to address the challenges previously encountered in research.

Creswell points out the advantages of mixed-method research design (Creswell, 2006: 9–10). These are:

i. Mixed method research design allows the mitigation of the weaknesses of the quantitative and qualitative approach. The assumption here is that quantitative approach alone is not essential as it is only interested in numerical findings; thus, it fails to understand the context that people draw their actions and conclusions. The qualitative approach alone is inadequate due to its subjective interpretations and difficulty in generalising its finding to a larger group.

ii. Mixed method research allows for more scrutiny to the research problem as the use of numerical measurements, and in-depth interpretive provide the
study with rich findings. These findings are thus more reliable and valid than findings of a single approach.

iii. Mixed method research design allows the researcher to look at the question using different techniques to collect findings.

iv. Mixed methods research design encourages the use of multiple worldviews or paradigm rather than the restriction to a particular paradigm based on the approach used. This design also encourages broader thinking of paradigms that might encompass both qualitative and quantitative research approach.

v. Mixed method research design is practical as the researcher can use all techniques and methods possible to address a research problem.

Hesse-Biber further breaks down Creswell’s benefits of using mixed-methods research design/approach. Greene et al. (1989), as cited in Hesse-Biber (2016: 3—4) states the following benefits:

i. **Triangulation**: that is the use of both quantitative and qualitative approach.

ii. **Complementarity**: mixed-method design allows the researcher to gain in-depth scrutiny of the research problem and clarification of given research findings.

iii. **Development**: mixed-method assists development as findings from one approach can shape the interview guide or questions for another approach, thereby ensuring reliable, valid, fruitful knowledge and understanding of the research problem.

iv. **Initiation**: in some cases, data collected via a mixed-method approach can contradict each other. The development of a new study, therefore, adds new insight to the research problem.
v. **Expansion**: mixed-method research design at times opens the researcher to other related findings or elements in the study. Expansion can be of paramount importance and have some direct correlations to the research and the results of the study.

Various scholars have conflicting assumptions, perspectives of mixed-method research design. Creswell (2007), examines these perspectives regarding the role and importance of adopting the mixed-method approach in a study, and he concludes that there are four perspectives worth unpacking. These are the method perspective – this perspective views mixed-method design as a technique that uses different strategies in its research methodology process. The mixed-method approach is a distinct methodology that integrates aspects of the process of the research such as worldview, questions, methods and influences or conclusions. The third is the paradigm perspective, which focuses on the different worldviews and seeks to identify one, which correlates with mixed-method research design. The fourth perspective looks at the mixed-method as a set of rules and procedures to consider in implementing and use of combined research design that is qualitative and quantitative.

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 14), argue that the goal of mixed-method design is not aimed at replacing or discrediting the use of either approach but seeks to minimize the weaknesses of each technique. Nau (1995: 1) argues that by blending the methods of quantitative and qualitative design, we seek to contribute and strengthen the methodology thus aiding to the findings of the study.

The mixed-method approach in the study was of supreme importance, as it allowed the researcher the advantage of the positivist and interpretive techniques. Mixed method approach allowed the researcher to gain a broader range of interests, to understand the concept demarcation fully. This approach allowed for the generation
of deeper and more comprehensive insight into the municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani. The study sought to assess municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani and the link between service delivery satisfaction and municipal performance. Thus, this approach allowed for the statistical analysis of satisfaction levels and municipal performance among the Vuwani community members while also allowing for in-depth interpretations and perspectives of the community towards demarcation and its procedures. As mentioned above the mixed-method approach was essential in responding to the five main questions anchoring the study.

The researcher conducted face to face interviews with key informants that consisted of the traditional houses and ward councillors in Vuwani, the local government officials who were the driving force in the demarcations. The municipal demarcation board was also interviewed as part of the key informants. Focus group discussions were held, which consisted of the civil unions that had formed in Vuwani, primarily the Pro-Makhado union. The findings of the key informants shaped the quantitative structured questionnaires administered to the community members of Vuwani. A larger portion of the study was conducted via the qualitative approach; as elaborated further below.

### 2.3.2 Qualitative approach

A qualitative approach is a method adopted from the interpretive school of thought that argues for an in-depth examination of people’s social worlds using open-ended questions, allowing participants to elaborate on their experiences. The qualitative research approach has gained much respect over the years. It promised a shift from the natural sciences research techniques, arguing that the social realities cannot be
analyzed through the natural science scope as people attach meaning and perceptions that influence their attitude and behaviours.

Garry Shank (2002: 5) defines qualitative research as a systematic plan that employs research principles and rules in understanding social realities and people's behaviours. Shank further argues that scholars from the social sciences reject the principles of the natural sciences of research grounded on numerical measurements. Thus, the social sciences adopted the qualitative approach, which argues that when studying the social world and social realities, it is embedded in the meanings, experiences, and meanings that people attach to their daily lives. Additionally, Lincoln and Guba (2000) argue that qualitative research involves the interpretative analysis, which involves in-depth face-to-face, one on one discussion and observations. Creswell et al. (2003) argue that qualitative research explores and understands a central phenomenon that is under investigation.

Qualitative approaches focus on phenomena that occur in natural settings (real world). This method, unlike the quantitative method that uses figures to understand people’s reactions or emotions, finds meaning in understanding people’s reactions or emotions, attitudes, motivations, values, and perceptions (Singleton et al., 1993: 91). The advantages of using qualitative research for this study include the following, as stated by Conger (1998: 3)

i. Research directs its own course; thus it is flexible,

ii. The qualitative approach allows for exploring of sensitive factors, as it allows for one on one discussions,

iii. The research is not rigid.
According to Bryman et al. (1998), the following are the advantages of using qualitative research study:

i. Allows for narrative explanations and understanding as to numerical finding,
ii. Allows the research to follow up and probe, thus creating new knowledge,
iii. Is more relevant and interested in research.

The study aimed to understand municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani; thus, the research investigates the misconceptions and influences of the stated conflicts. The qualitative approach allowed the researcher to gain insight into the concept.

By using the qualitative approach, the researcher gained an understanding of how participants interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meanings they attribute to their experiences. The qualitative approach largely influenced data collection in this study by answering questions 1 to 4. A qualitative research design permitted the study to explore factors of municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district.

2.3.3 Quantitative approach

The quantitative approach was defined by Leedy (1993) as a research method adopted by the positivist school of thought advocating for the use of numbers and measurable systematic ways of investigating phenomena. The scholar further states that it deals with causal relationships within quantifiable variables.

Punch and Punch (2003) define a quantitative approach as research that involves formal objective information gathering about the social world using measurement tools such as statistics. The approach examined the cause and effect, correlations and test
hypothesis. The quantitative approach seeks to confirm or reject a hypothesis tested. The method involves the use of statistics to describe findings and make judgments about a research problem. The quantitative approach is used mainly in the natural sciences as it seeks to measure systematic control of the influences of the theoretical variables.

The quantitative approach seeks to:

i. Standardise data collection on a range of variables

ii. provide a causal relationship between variables

iii. Prove or disprove a hypothesis

A quantitative approach adopted in the study sought to explore the causal relationship between municipal performance and demarcation disputes in response to question 5. This question allows for a broader understanding of the link between municipal demarcation disputes and service delivery in Vuwani. The quantitative approach created space for the generation of measurable and quantifiable data concerning the various relationships between service delivery protests and municipal demarcation disputes and vice versa. The researcher targeted, with the use of the simple random sampling discussed in details below, the affected community members of Vuwani at the forefront challenging the demarcation using a structured questionnaire. Access to the community was easy since the researcher had research assistance in the form of students from the University of Venda. The University of Venda has done research work within the Vuwani community and has close relations with the community. This worked in favour of the researcher in accessing the community.
2.4 The research site

Vuwani District Municipality was established under the regulations of the Municipal Structured Act, 1998. It is one of the six successors of the now-defunct Northern District Council, and comprises four local municipalities, namely, Makhado, Musina, Mutale, and Thulamela. The Vhembe District Municipality lies in the far north of the Limpopo Province and shares borders with Capricorn, Mopane, Bohlabela district municipalities in the southern, eastern and northern directions respectively (Vhembe Voice, 2004: 44).

Thohoyandou is the political capital and hub of economic activities for the Vhembe District Municipality. The other major towns are Makhado, Musina, Tshilamba, Dzanani, Sibasa, Vuwani, Malamulele, Saselamane and Elim. The main languages spoken are Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Sepedi, English and Afrikaans (IOP Review Vhembe, 2005/6: 5).

In 2015 the then minister of finance, Minister Pravin Gordhan and the MDB chairperson, announced the reduction and changes to borders of several municipalities, reducing South African municipalities from 278 to 257. Vuwani Vhembe District was to be affected by the then proposed demarcations. As part of Vuwani and Malamulele communities were to be merged in the formation of a new municipality name the Collins Chabane municipality (SABC 2016).

2.5 Population and sample
2.5.1 Population

Pilot and Hungler (1999: 37) state that population is the aggregation of objectives, subjects or participants that conform to a set of specification. The population of the
study is the community of Vuwani. According to Banerjee and Chaudhury (2010), the research question and purpose of the study is the starting foundation in defining the population to be studied and thus advocate that the researcher must clearly outline and understand the mandate and purpose of the study, as this will determine the study population.

McMillan and Schumacher (2010), identify two categories of a population, that is, target population and accessible population. The target population are the people who meet the particular criterion specified for a research investigation. In contrast, the accessible population is smaller than the target population that a researcher is able to measure. The target population for this study was the community of Vuwani that is the community members; traditional houses, governmental, ward councillors, civil unions and private organization based in Vuwani. The accessible population, however, is the community members, inclusive of the traditional houses, the civic union structure, municipal demarcation board, and municipality. Within this accessible population, the research targeted personnel and departments engaged in the disputes and at the vanguard challenging the demarcation.

2.5.2 Sample and sampling procedure

A sample is defined as a small population of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole population (Banerjee and Chaudhury, 2010: 63). According to Luborsky and Rubinstein (2011), deciding upon a sample is mostly influenced by components of the system and the universe. Sampling is an essential aspect of the research plan, as the researcher needs to select participants. This takes a systematic approach of scaling down participants who will represent an entire population from the whole big population (Barbie, 1998: 164). Terre Blanche et
al. (2006: 105) state that sampling is a process of selecting participants from an entire population.

The sample provides data used as a basis for answering the research questions or testing of the hypothesis. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: 36) state the advantages of sampling as follows:

i. Gathering data on a sample is less time consuming;

ii. Gathering data on a sample is less costly since the costs of the researcher are proportional to the number of hours spent on data collection; and

iii. Sampling may be the only practicable method of data collection.

The study utilizes both probability and non-probability sampling. The sampling technique used was purposive and simple random sampling to enhance representation, replication, and generalization.

**Probability sampling** is defined as a sampling where each sample has an equal probability of being selected. In a probability sampling, every member of the population has a known chance of being included on a sample. A form of random selection is used where all probabilities can be assigned to each unit of a population objectively.

Probability sampling has its advantages and disadvantages. According to Alvi (2016: 13) the advantages and disadvantages of probability sampling are:

**Advantages:**

i. This sampling technique reduces the chance of systematic errors.

ii. The methods minimize the chance of sampling biases.

iii. A better representative sample is produced using probability-sampling techniques.

iv. Inferences drawn from the sample are generalizable to the population.
Disadvantages:

i. Techniques are time-consuming

ii. Techniques are expensive to carry out.

Non-probability sampling is the total opposite of probability sampling in the sense that no random selection of participants takes form in this sampling. This sampling is known as a judgment or non-random sampling, as participants are selected solely on the judgment of the investigator and their impact of the concept being studied. Therefore, non-probability sampling makes it possible to take a sample of the population, the element of which are infinite in numbers. This form of sampling is suitable for exploratory research, which intends to develop an understanding of a population. This form of sampling was ideal for this particular study as it sought to investigate municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani, targeting participants who were and still are affected by these disputes. Non-probability sampling has its advantages and disadvantages. According to Alvi (2016: 14), these advantages and disadvantages are:

Advantages:

i. It is cost-effective

ii. It is not highly technical

iii. It saves time, time management

Disadvantages:

i. The sample does not represent the whole population

ii. Due to this, the sample size is not significant, making generalization a challenge

iii. Sampling techniques prone to encounter some systematic errors.

The use of both these sampling techniques ensured the strengthening of each sampling disadvantages, ensuring the reliable and valid finding of the study. Within
the probability and non-probability samplings, two techniques were applied, that is, the random sampling and purposive sampling techniques.

2.5.2.1 Random Sampling

Because a mixed-method approach informed the study, it employed both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Data was collected via a quantitative research design informed by probability sampling. There are different probability random sampling techniques and these are simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, cluster sampling, multi-stage systematic sampling. The simple random sampling technique informed this particular study. According to Moore et al. (2006), simple random sampling is the selection of individuals from the total population, ensuring that every individual has an equal selection chance.

Showkat and Praveen (2017:4) assert that simple random sampling is the simplest form of selecting participants. In a simple random sampling, each member of the population has an equal probability of being selected. This form of random sampling is the best amongst probability sampling, as results obtained through this method have high external validity and generalizability as compared to other sample selections.

The study selected the community members who participated in the quantitative aspect through the probability sampling method. The total sample size was calculated using the online Raosoft sample calculator at http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html, allowing for a standard error of 5%, a confidence level of 95% and a response distribution of 50%. A minimum sample of 338 was thus suggested for the areas, however, due to time and financial constraints, the study aimed for 10% standard error, for which Raosoft suggests a minimum of 92 respondents for the study area.
2.5.2.2 Purposive sampling

According to Strydom (2005) in De Vos et al. (2005: 196), purposive sampling is the careful selecting of the research sample size based on the judgment of the researcher. The researcher selects his/her participants based on the need of the study, so they choose people they feel will contribute to the study (Strydom, 2005, in De Vos et al., 2005: 202). The study adopted a non-probability sampling technique; a form of sampling used in exploratory research or fieldwork research.

This particular study embraced the purposive sampling, as the researcher interviewed personnel affected by the demarcation disputes in Vuwani, and also those knowledgeable about the issues raised in the study (Denscombe, 2010: 25). Purposive sampling awarded the researcher a rich site for qualitative design principles. This form of sampling ensures that data is collected on relevant individuals (Gilbert, 2011: 25). The purposive sampling technique allowed the researcher to gather personnel with deep insight, who produced relevant data to the study.

Six (6) focus group discussions of 5 members each were conducted with the civil union and community members. Focus groups aim to address knowledgeable structures or personnel at the vanguard in challenging re-demarcation in the Vuwani area. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted. These included the traditional houses affected by demarcation in Vuwani, namely, Thovhele Masia, Thovhele Davhana, Thovhele Netshimbupfe, the Vha Venda King and the Vatshonga-Machangani royal house. Additionally, representatives of the municipal demarcation board and local government departments were included in the sample of targeted participants for the interviews.
2.6 Data collection

According to De Vos et al. (2012: 335), data collection is a process of gathering data, recording and compiling of field notes. Data collection is a process of technically applying research procedure in answering the research questions (O’Leary, 2010); (Walliman, 2011). According to Mouton (1996: 67), data collection involved applying measurements to investigate and answering or solving the research problem. Data collection can be through quantitative, qualitative or mixed-method approaches. The study utilized data obtained through both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative data collection techniques included focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. In conjunction, quantitative techniques – that is, a questionnaire – was distributed to community members of Vuwani.

2.7 Research instruments

Given (2008) and Creswell (2014) indicate that data collection using the qualitative and quantitative method can be done in various ways with a set of specific boundaries for the research. These include documents, structured interviews (in-depth), unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, observations, documents such as diaries and so forth. In the case of this study, qualitative findings were collected through the use of unstructured interviews (in-depth) and focus group discussions, allowing the research to communicate, get closer to the subjects as well as making them part of knowledge production. While quantitative data was collected, using structured interviews, this allowed the researcher to conduct closed-ended questions, thus providing measurable findings. Social science disciplines such as Anthropology and Sociology eminently use these data collection instruments.
2.7.1 In-depth interview Guide

In-depth interviews are defined as a qualitative research technique that involves the conducting of intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perceptions of a particular topic, idea, program, etc. (Boyce, 2006: 3). Pereira et al. (2016) further state that in-depth interviews are an open-ended orientated method that is well suited to describe the program process and outcomes. The goal of in-depth interviews is to explore deeper information and knowledge about a person’s thoughts and behaviours. In-depth interviews provide context to other data collection methods and offer a complete picture. Open-ended questions allow respondents freedom and an opportunity to elaborate.

In-depth interviews are a great tool of data collection; however, this has its shortfalls or disadvantages. These disadvantages are issues of bias; participants can provide biased information based on the level of involvement or beneficiary level in a program or idea. In-depth interviews are time-consuming as it takes time to conduct, transcribe and analyse data collected through interviews. Interviewers need to be trained in encouraging an open and relaxed environment that allows respondents to share their experiences, thoughts, etc. freely. Data collected through in-depth interviews are not generalizable due to the small sample sizes.

In-depth unstructured interviews as a data-collection method allowed the researcher to select pressing and essential issues to the study when discussing with the respondents. This allowed the researcher the freedom to phrase questions as she wished (see Gilbert 2011: 247). Smith (1995, in Rapley 2001: 316) advises that the questions have to be neutral and have to create an environment that encourages
participants to share, with the support of probing from the researcher. In-depth interviews are essential and vital as the researcher has a one-on-one, face-to-face discussion. Such observation requires skill from the researcher to create an environment that is supportive and comfortable. This method is best for sensitive and complex questions as the researcher can ask for clarity and also observe body language.

Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted with the traditional houses affected by demarcation in Vuwani, namely, Thovhele Masia, Thovhele Davhana, Thovhele Netshimbupfe, the Vha Venda King and the Vatshonga-Machangani royal house. Representatives of the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government departments in the Vhembe district municipality were included in the sample of those targeted for these interviews. The researcher faced challenges with key informants, mainly in setting up appointments. Most of the key informants were busy people who held high positions, making it challenging to find a suitable time for them. This challenge is further elaborated in subsequent sections.

### 2.7.2 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussion is a qualitative research data collection method that involves the gathering of people sharing a similar background or experiences to discuss a topic of interest. Focus group discussions encourage deliberations with other people and sharing of thoughts. Focus group discussions are an essential tool to yield a lot of information in a relatively short time. Focus group discussions assisted the researcher in gaining in-depth knowledge on the municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani.

Like other research data collection instruments, focus group discussions have their advantages and disadvantages. They allow for a free and open dialogue amongst
respondents, thus generating new information and ideas. Focus groups are not static, thus allowing the researcher to bring about change in order to facilitate the discussion. Focus group discussion enables respondents an opportunity to express themselves. Focus group discussions, however, have shortfalls, as some members may be shy and reluctant to express themselves. At times, conflict may arise as respondents share different views or perspectives about the topic, and the researcher needs to be trained well to allow a free environment (Baral, S. (2018).

Six focus group discussions of 5 members each were held with civic union members and community members. Focus groups aim to address structures or personnel who were or are at the forefront of challenging re-demarcation in the Vuwani area.

2.7.3 Structured interviews

Structured interviews are a product of the quantitative research design and are sometimes called standardized interviews. Quantitative design is mainly focused on numerical measurements; thus, they are rigid. Buckingham and Saunders (2004: 131) define structured interviews as rigid non-flexible interviews which involve low administration. This interview consists of closed-ended questions; the interviewer reads out the questions exactly as they appear in the interview guide. The structured interviews are easy to administrate, are cost-effective and do not take long to administer, allowing the researcher to gather bigger numbers. According to Quad (2016), structured interviews are different from survey questions. A survey is a questionnaire in which people write their answers to questions. In contrast, interviews involve asking people questions and recording their verbal response and typically have a higher response rate than surveys do.
2.7.3.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a data collection instrument. A questionnaire aims to collect facts of a said phenomenon. Consent is requested from the participant to participate in the study. Two types of questionnaires are closed-ended and open-ended questionnaires. Shiner and Newburn (1997) in Rapley, (2001: 306) state that open-ended questionnaires allow the respondents to express themselves and elaborate, this, in turn, affords the researcher to probe and seek clarity thus ensuring better understanding. This form of questionnaire allows the respondent to provide his or her meaning and interpretations.

Closed-ended questions restrict the respondents to yes or no answers and do not require elaboration or explanation. Foddy (1993, in Reja et al. 2003: 161) states that closed-ended questions are rigid and standardized and are opposite of open-ended questions. This form of questionnaire is in line with the quantitative research design, used for numeric measurable findings.

Open-ended questionnaires are associated with qualitative research design, while closed-ended questionnaires are quantitative research design techniques. Questionnaires in this study were in the form of quantitative research design that entailed closed-ended questions for collecting quantifiable and measurable data to determine the correlation between service delivery provision and satisfaction and the municipal demarcation disputes. The community members who participated in the quantitative aspect of the study were selected through the probability sampling method (discussed above on section 2.4.2.1).
2.7.4 Data collection process, timeframe and challenges.

Data collection for the study began in February 2019, and the researcher had allocated six months to complete data collection as per her timeframe, however, this process stretched up to the end of September 2019. The major challenge was the unavailability of key informants due to their busy schedules as most held important and higher positions. The officials were mostly in meetings and out of the office due to ongoing demarcation negotiations, trying to find solutions to disputes in Vuwani. This scenario, therefore, posed a challenge for the researcher, pushing the data collection timeframe to September.

The researcher further encountered a challenge in terms of entry. Demarcations and land issues are sensitive topics. Issues of identification and ethical clearance from the municipalities had to be granted to allow the researcher access. The researcher had to gain trust from the participants, being transparent regarding the purpose of the study and assuring participants of that confidentiality and that findings were to be used solely for academic purposes. Gaining trust was the biggest challenge. The community questioned the agenda of the researcher who was based in a different province and was of another tribe, thereby raising fears of conspiracy or being a spy. The researcher had to prove and assure the participants of the motives of the study.

As mentioned above, the researcher had the help of research assistants. These were postgraduate students at the University of Venda. The University of Venda (UNIVEN) has done some research work with the Vuwani community; thus, they have built relations with the community’s leadership structures and the community at large. This was helpful as the research assistants had insightful information about the
geographical setting of the community and understanding of the languages. This, therefore, made it easier for the researcher to access the community. On the first visit, the researcher met up with the leadership structures, that is, local government and the traditional houses. In traditional rural communities, a visitor needs to request permission and also have a meet and greet session with the leadership structure and elders of the community. This acts as a sign of respect and provides a form of security and connection. The researcher used a digital recorder for the qualitative data collection that is in-depth, with focus group discussions. They informed the participants and permission was granted, allowing the researcher to use the recording device. This was helpful in data analysis and transcription.

The researcher avoided asking the political affiliation of participants, especially ward councillors, as this was not the aim of the study. However, some participants felt the need to indicate their political affiliations out of their own accord. This is evident in the data presentation chapter, where the researcher highlights some participant’s political affiliations. The researcher saw it fit to present these finding mainly because they addressed the power dynamics and issues around voters’ numbers. The case of numbers is vital as literature argues that demarcations are in some instances implemented to dismantle voters’ numbers in favour of a particular political party. The researcher further presented the political affiliations of some participants mainly to show the conflicting perceptions and their arguments on the demarcation amongst the different present political parties in Vuwani Vhembe district.

2.8 Data analysis
De Vos et al. (2011: 397) defines data analysis as the use of narrative information in line with a theoretical framework and literature to support the finding of the study. Driven by the
insight of the theoretical framework derived from social contract theory, social conflict theory, and relative deprivation theory, themes were abstracted from in-depth interviews, focus groups and the questionnaires for analysis. The social contract theory and social conflict theory informed questions 2, 3 and 4, while the relative deprivation theory informed questions 1 and 5.

Research assistance was essential in the study as the sample size was vast; thus, the requirement of more helping hands. The research assistants were sourced from postgraduate students of the University of Venda and the University of Limpopo with the assistance of prospective academic staff.

For the qualitative research tool, the study used descriptive and interpretative analysis of the findings. This entailed in-depth scrutiny of the interview data, that is, analysis of interviews for common themes, coding and its links to the theoretical concepts guiding the study (Boeije, 2010: 5). Thematic analysis was used to identify the most critical issues raised in relation to the research objectives.

For statistical analysis, the study used the SPSS data system. Data was computed via Microsoft Excel software and subsequently analyzed through the use of SPSS. The study used inferential statistics, factor analysis, bivariate correlation, and chi-square as primary tools to find simple correlations and differences in means. Data analysis in the study was through reducing the volume of raw data, sifting important data, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating data findings (De Vos et al. 2012: 397; Bonilha 2012).

2.9 Validity and Reliability
Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies guided the research. Validity and reliability are areas of paramount importance in conducting research. Validity relates to issues of
honesty, effectiveness, and dependability of research findings. Merriam (1998: 202) states that validity looks at issues of trustworthiness of the study and whether the research achieves what it meant to. It places much emphasis on whether the research instruments measure what they purported to do.

Reliability mainly deals with issues of findings of the study, such as consistency. If the study was to be conducted again in the same place using the same research instrument, would it produce the same results (Nunan, 1999: 14)? Hair et al. (2006:3) state that reliability refers to an extent to which a variable is consistent in what it intends to measure. If reliability is not achieved, it becomes difficult to test the hypothesis of the study, especially in quantitative research design. The use of mixed-method research design in the study aimed to ensure and cover issues of validity and reliability. A consent form was issued to participants for signing, participants were informed of the purposes of the study, and that participation was voluntary. They could terminate at any point should they felt the need. The researcher shared the objectives and aims of the study with the participants to address misconceptions, especially since the study was conducted during the midst of demarcation disputes, making community members sceptical. Participants’ identity were protected through the use of pseudonyms.

2.10 Ethical clearance

Given that this study included human subjects and needed formal ethical approval, the Nelson Mandela University, where the degree was registered, issued the clearance. It was made sure that all processes related to the approval were adhered to. The ethical approval is attached at appendix (Appendix A and B).
2.11 Limitations of the study

The study was conducted at a time where demarcation disputes were under scrutiny from the media, public perceptions and other academic research studies. Many participants were hesitant to participate in the study for fears of being targeted, especially when it came to issues of violent protests in the area, which resulted in the torching of houses belonging to individuals, schools and government properties. Participants feared to speak out and acknowledge their participation in the violent protests lest the law prosecute them.

The other limitation was that participants were very emotional and had assumed that the study was conducted by the government to add salt to their burning wound, thus initially had refused to participate in the study. Participants cited that government officials were in their area and had conducted a study with the promise to resolve the demarcation disputes, however, they had since left with no word or possible initiative to resolve the ongoing conflicts. Because the study was situated in a rural area, the majority of the participants were older people. Because of colonialism and apartheid, most of our older people are illiterate. This posed some challenges to the data collection process.

The researcher also encountered challenges in setting up appointments with the local government and traditional authority houses, as most of the personnel attached to these departments were mostly busy. Hence, there were several cancellations of meeting appointments resulting in the delaying of the study. In this regard, the researcher also faced challenges with locating and setting appointments. This is because Vuwani demarcations are highly political, and respondents were hesitant and
wanted to understand the agenda of the study, with fears that the researcher was attached to a specific political party. Last, the researcher faced other limitations, such as a lack of resources, which included transport, particularly convenient transport from one community to another.

2.12 Delimitations of the study

Creswell (2014) refers to the delimitation of research as features that limit the scope and define the boundaries of the research that are under the control of the researcher (Creswell, 2014: 325). In this research, the focus was mainly on Vuwani community members who were affected by the demarcation and the formation of the Collins Chabane municipalities. The study was restricted by the boundaries of these communities and the leadership structures within the community. The study was further limited by the experiences and perception of the demarcation process, causes of disputes, attempts at resolving the conflicts and possible solutions mainly from the people’s perception in Vuwani community who had lived through this transition.

2.13 Summary

The chapter outlined the research plan adopted in the study. The study employs a mixed-method approach, thus highlighting the advantages of conducting a mixed-method approach. The study uses a quantitative approach, which provides scientific findings of the study. The quantitative approach alone was not sufficient as the study sought to comprehend further the perception that community members had concerning re-drawing of Vuwani boundaries, the views regarding the new Collins Chabane municipality and also the relation between the impact service delivery and demarcation. Therefore, the use of the qualitative approach provided meaningful
explanations towards the unfolding riots and rejection of municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani. The mixed-method approach provided rich empirical findings. Last, this chapter recognized and considered ethical procedures and limitations.
CHAPTER THREE
THEORISING LAND, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DEMARCATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is on theoretical debates on land, local government, municipal performance, service delivery, and demarcation. The chapter highlights the link between these concepts and the effects they have on each other’s outcomes. The main argument of the chapter is that demarcation disputes constitute a significant result of municipal performance; basic needs provision to communities, and satisfaction outcomes of communities with municipal performance, service delivery, and citizen participation. The chapter, therefore, examines this interconnection between the above concepts, highlighting arguments and debates raised by other scholars in this area of study.

The chapter starts by zooming in on the social contract theory in understanding the relationships between local government and citizens, and the importance of this relationship in building societal life. It further explores the social conflict theory to understand the dynamics within societies. The chapter also looks at relative deprivation theory to understand the cognitive behaviours, meanings, and interpretations of people in their situations, together with comparison behaviour that disadvantaged communities attach to their deprivation and lack. Territorial and social inclusion theories are discussed in the chapter, providing support to the three main theories anchoring the study. These three theories are discussed to carry the argument and offer a greater understanding of social realities.
3.2 Theories grounding the study

Over time, debates on local government have given rise to several theoretical perspectives, which aim at defining the nature of local government and demarcation disputes. Three main theories anchor this study: the social contract theory expounded by scholars such as Thomas Hobbes (1651: 31–54), social conflict theory expounded by scholars such as Engel (1999: 6–7) and Rhoodie (1991: 21), and the relative deprivation theory expounded by scholars such as Smith and Huo (2014: 232). The three theories are relevant for this study, as this study is focused on various concepts as noted above.

3.2.1 The Social Contract Theory

Thomas Hobbes founded social contract theory in 1651. Thomas Hobbes argued for the need for social order, a spirit of unity to overcome the challenges encountered. Elahi (2005), in his work on social contract theory, speaks of two prominent terms, that is, the “Pactum Union” and the “Pactum Subjection”. With these terms, he argues that people seek fortification of their being and belongings, thus the principles guiding societies in ensuring respect amongst each other and harmony. The structure of policies and rules are adopted, enabling freedom, safety and security, and harmonious environments.

The social contract is thus a philosophical one, where communities relinquish their power to a structure that will maintain and govern social orders ensuring protection and fair, equal treatment of all. In this process, the people relinquish their rights to the government to receive social order and protection. Social contract theory is the
rationale behind the historical notion of legitimate state authority (Essays UK, November 2013).

The social theory explains that the state is a reproductive institution, created by human beings and is maintained by a social contract between the two. This relationship needs consent from all parties involved. This theory gives effect to the formation of a government, highlighting that the government is made of individuals elected and trusted by the communities. Hence, the social contract between the government and the people. It emphasizes that the government must ensure stability and development for all the people. Transparency and accountability become the foundation of such a contract. Any changes or developments are to be communicated with the people at large to maintain peace and stability.

The social contract theory’s primary concern is the subject of genuine political power, which it considers to be a contractual commitment. It is significant for constitutionalism, which holds that in a majority rule government, political force and power are practised against the foundation of the contractual relationship between rulers and citizens. The significance lies in the way that it verifies that political power (i.e. local government municipalities) depends on the subjection, consent and deliberate demonstrations of individuals in return for advantages that political power ought to convey to society. Should such power not meet the necessities and commitments determined in the “agreement”, people have an option to choose another member or opposition to act on their behalf (Van der Waldt, 2012: 366–381). The use of this theory in the study sought to address municipal demarcation amalgamations and merging, understanding the social contract existing between local government and the people of Vuwani, and the relevance of this relation to the current challenges regarding sound governance principles in Vuwani.
Based on the social contract theory one would argue that the Vuwani local government and Municipal Demarcation Board that represents the state have a mandate to be transparent, accountable, and to communicate with communities of Vuwani regarding issues of demarcation. The theory thus argues that should the social contract be infringed and, should good governance principles such as transparency or accountability be neglected, disharmony and conflict ensue. In the case of Vuwani, violent protests are as a result of citizens feeling overlooked and neglected. In this study, social contract theory is useful to understand the roles and responsibilities of local government and the good government concept. However, this theory alone is insufficient to answer the pressing issues of local government demarcation and thus is applied parallel to the social conflict theory and the relative deprivation theory.

The Social Cohesion theory works together with the Social inclusion Theory. Mulunga and Yazdanifard (2014) in their work, looked at the relationship and differences between Social Cohesion and Social Inclusive theory, arguing that these theories are different. Hence the need to take them into account when studying development and how communities operate.

3.2.2 Social Inclusion Theory

Social inclusion theory augmented by scholars such as Pocock in 1957, reflected that processes of inclusion and exclusion were features of all hierarchies. Pocock felt that in general terms, the discussion of inclusion and exclusion fed into efforts to define what might be called a social ontology, or the way that the existence and social positioning of groups in a hierarchically structured society would be explained. Social inclusion theory is essential in this study as it sought to answer issues of participation and good governance in re-determination of rural municipal boundaries and in
understanding the recent rejection of demarcations. The research deliberates on some concepts of the theory, which are essential in the study.

Social inclusion theory acknowledges the role of all stakeholders in a region. It, therefore, advocates that for demarcation to serve its purpose, there is a need to include all stakeholders affected by demarcation. The argument is that the sharing of ideas and opinions increasingly favours deliberative and inclusionary processes to aid decision making of public affairs. This is essential in democracy as it encourages civic engagement and makes the work of public governance more responsive and legitimate (Bloomfield, 2001). This theory, therefore, supports the social cohesion theory in the study by arguing that demarcation disputes are a result of lack of inclusion during processes of demarcation of municipal boundaries.

3.2.3 Social Conflict Theory

In principle, conflict results from distorted interactions amongst two or more parties. This relationship becomes overt, resulting in unshared perceptions that lead to disputes. According to Deutsch (1993: 10) when views and goals change from a joint venture of people, creating inequality in terms of power where one group feels inferior, breeding room for conflict. According to Boulding (1963: 5), conflict is a form of competition amongst parties as one wishes to dominate another. Social conflict is the break of the social contract holding two parties, as one party seeks to advance at the expense of the other.

Caser (1967: 232) argues that the underlying causes of social conflict are factors such as scarcity of resources, issues of status and power, and change in values and principles. Social conflict incorporates a broad range of social occurrences such as class, religious, riots and communal conflicts, rebellions, revolutions, racial, civil
disorder, strikes, marches, demonstration, protest gatherings and the like (Oberschall, 1978: 1). This theory is essential in this study to comprehend the course of these demonstrations. It speaks to the research site engulfed with strikes, community protests against the amalgamation of their area or community.

It is, however, impossible to speak or write on social conflict without reference to the argument raised by Karl Marx regarding conflicts and social stratification. Karl Marx first introduced conflict theory in his workbook titled *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Karl Marx argues against the assumption that communities are a complex system, which strives for equilibrium, arguing that societies are a competitive playground as they consist of personnel and individuals competing for scarce resources. Karl Marx further contends that there are two social groups in any society, the ruling class and the subjective class. He argues that the ruling party has the power they exploit for their benefit, in the process oppressing the subjective class. This leads to conflicting interests between the two groups.

Engel (1999: 6–7), furthers this by arguing that the conflict theorists discard the hypothesis that societies are stable and have long-time standing agreements, and this is an illusion. Conflict theorists contend that societies are ever-changing, meaning that they are radical in their nature. The conflict theory holds that societies consist of those who retain wealth and power, and those who do not, and these groups will therefore always have different views, which will result in conflict (Dunleavy, 1991). This argument is grounded in a Marxist belief that conflict is always between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots.’ Dunleavy states that exploitation becomes a norm in these cases (ibid.).
According to Rhoodie (1991: 21), cited in Bradshaw (2008: 16), conflict mostly takes place where groups of people compete for scarce resources, be they positions of power, attractive land or recognition. This theory plays a vital role in examining, understanding and explaining the nature of social conflicts. In a country that has experienced colonialism, urbanization, industrialization, apartheid and the birth of democracy such as South Africa, this theory enhances an understanding and examination of the dynamics of social conflict. Issues around the land are complicated and contested in the new democratic South Africa as the country seeks to fix the past injustices and find its identity. Land – specifically rural land – is a contested sphere clouded by many forms of authority such as traditional authority. Traditional authority is a major sphere that still dominates and has control of rural land. Demarcation, therefore, becomes a sensitive issue as it taps on the power struggles of land between traditional authority, citizens and government, thus it acts as a catalyst to the ongoing conflict.

3.2.4 Relative Deprivation Theory

Pettigrew conducted relative deprivation (RD), founded by scholars such as Samuel Stouffer, whose study sought to explain reactions of American soldiers in (1949, 1950, 1962), and a further study in 2015. Relative deprivation theory argues that the inconsistencies in people reaction/behaviours are based on people need/want, meaning, interpretations attached to situations they encounter. This theory is grounded in the human development approach looking at capabilities and opportunities granted to people (Gurr, 1970: 87).

Gurr further argues that people are more likely to rebel when they lose hope of attaining values of which they feel deprived. Accordingly, Saleh (2011: 234) argues
that in areas or states where there are inequalities in the standard of living amongst some members of ethnic groups, where they have limited access to state resources such as wealth and land, conflict is bound to arise. Townsend (1970) defines relative deprivation as the absence of socially defined provisions resulting in social marginalization.

Asging (2018) tackles the issue of relative deprivation by examining the causes of this deprivation in his work in Kenya. Asingo concludes that the most significant concept in local government is citizen participation (2018). Citizen participation or political participation is viewed as a tool that provides citizens with an opportunity to express their views and challenges, awarding citizen a voice thus eliminating the feeling of deprivation (Verba et al., 1995: 1).

Relative deprivation has two broad forms, which are fraternalistic and egoistic forms. Fraternalistic deprivations take place at a group level as people compare themselves concerning ethnicity, religion, and so on, to another group in terms of fair treatment. (Taylor, 2002). Whilst egoistic deprivation takes place at an individual level where an individual compares themselves or their situation to others in the same condition and concludes that they are unfairly treated (Taylor, 2002; Walker & Smith, 2002). At the egoistic or individual level, there are two forms of deprivation, that is, intrapersonal and inter-personal deprivation. Intra-personal deprivation occurs when an individual compares their current situation to that of their previous situation. Interpersonal occurs when an individual compares their current situation to that of other people in the same situation as them.

Kendall (2010) argues that when comparison takes form and judgment is made that their situation is not similar and is unfair as to the other, relative deprivation takes place
Relative deprivation or comparison germinates a seed of dissatisfaction or discontent, resulting in grievances and in a change of behaviour in the form of protests or riots. Gurr argues that service delivery protest is a result of relative deprivation as communities view themselves in comparison to others and conclude that they are unfairly treated. He further argues that up until African states treat its people with equality in the provision of basic needs; protests will continue to be on the rise (Gurr, 1970).

Relative deprivation theory addresses the service delivery concept of the study. This theory argues that relative deprivation is a process of comparison and feelings of unfair treatment or underserving feelings. The theory further claims that people attach meanings and interpretations to their situation; this affects their behaviour resulting in physical demonstrations. Based on how the people perceive this unfairness or inequality, it may lead to protest and boycotts. These theories converge on that conflicts arise when the social contract within local government or municipality and the communities is dismantled. Disputes also occur when the community believes that the agenda of the local government is not for the “good of the people”. In this regard, people tend to view their conditions as unfair and thus react by disrupting social cohesion.

The relative deprivation theory resonates well with this study. In most demarcation disputes, service delivery is the leading cause of rejections of demarcations. Relative deprivation dispute thus provides the researcher with the relevant context in which to examine the role of service delivery provision on the acceptance or rejection of demarcations. Many riots have been on the rise regarding service delivery and based on this effect, communities/citizens either accept or reject amalgamations to municipalities or provinces viewed as slacking behind in the provision of basic needs.
This study, amongst other things, sought to comprehend and examine the extent to which the service delivery and the provision of basic needs influence rejections of demarcation in Vuwani.

Concisely, the municipal performance in the provision of essential services to the people is of paramount importance in keeping social cohesion intact within communities. Poor municipal performance and lack of adherence to good governance principles break down the social contract between local government and communities. This results in communities viewing themselves as disadvantaged in comparison to other communities under different municipal leadership. This also creates a notion of unfairness, which results in conflicts expressed through boycotts, riots, petitions, and so forth.

The following theories of territorial and social inclusion are discussed to support the three theories anchoring the study and to further the argument and provide an understanding of the dynamics of social realities.

3.2.5 Territoriality theory

Furthermore, the research looks into the territorial and inclusion theories in supporting the above guiding theories of the study. Territoriality is the primary cause of conflict. According to Hensel (1997), territoriality is an approach commonly used to study the conflict between disagreements amongst people and over some type of controversial issues. He further argues that resolving these issues depends mainly on how the oppositions decide to handle and sort their conflict, and whether or not it may lead to severe conflicts. Many issues can result in conflict and lead to more serious issues. Perspectives of territoriality argue that boundary issues are more noticeable and are
most likely to lead to war or riots because of the value they have within specific areas of jurisdiction (Vasquez, 1999, cited in Hensel, 1997).

Territoriality is defined as non-verbal communication amongst people who share the same space and possess ownership. These people share everyday things such as language, culture, ethics, religion, and moralities. Edward Soja (1971) further argues that territoriality can be behaviour that people residing in a spatial sphere identify with, and share common influences. In the context of this study, understanding the theory of territoriality is essential, to gain insight into the historical formation of marked boundaries, which can be territories marked according to specific criteria.

One can deem a territory as valuable if perhaps it has material things to which people feel entitled; and due to this, territories have been exposed to disputes as all people want to have a hold (Goertz and Diehl, 1992, cited in Hensel, 1997). Resources play a significant role in territorial disputes of land in Africa remaining the most valuable asset and the primary cause of conflict. The entity or religious groups, just like the land, play a significant role in territoriality. Contextually and most importantly, territories have tangible benefits that contribute to the power dynamics over a particular area as well as the security levels in their regard, and the autonomous state of being rooted in that territory (Murphy, 1990). In the case of the study area, Limpopo is home to three ethnic groups, namely, the Tsonga, Venda and Pedi people. The envisaged amalgamation targeted parts of Malamulele and part of Vuwani communities in forming a new municipality. On ethnicity, this merger was to join two ethnic groups, the Tsonga and Venda people into one municipality. It resulted in riots as each party refused this collaboration.
Territories, which are otherwise expressed in the form of boundaries, realistically on the natural ground or through social construction, encourage and discourage connections between community members (Perkmann, 2005). They are hindrances and windows of opportunity that entail different availability in basic needs or resources and have spatial or non-spatial qualities (Paasi, 1999). The theory of territoriality is said to be applicable in understanding demarcation disputes mainly in the northern and eastern parts of Africa. In Kisanga village in Tanzania, boundary disputes, which can also be called territorial disputes, had manifested because of land tenure insecurities. McCall (2003) further argues that the source of boundary disputes in Kisanga was due to the lousy demarcation of boundaries that had ignored existing social boundaries. In many rural areas, most people mainly the old know their boundaries based on landmarks, and ignoring this was the major downfall of demarcation in Tanzania. Delaney and Leitner (1997) argue that territories and geographic scale reflect political spheres. Work from Smith (1992) on boundaries argues that demarcation or drawing of boundaries is mainly associated with political struggles.

Arguments have been that demarcations need to be appropriately planned with caution as territories have a social connection that brings people together in a society (Perkmann, 2005, cited in Anderson, 1999). According to Collinge (1999, cited in Perkman, 2005), territoriality is how spatial political relations are negotiated, where spatial distributions are produced as an outcome, for example in ‘nations’, ‘regions’, and localities. Likewise, ‘territoriality’ is a conceptual benchmark for making and putting into order social relations.

Contextually territories represent politics as a strategic and political action that underlies the evolution of territories (Steinberg, 1994: 4). It advocates that every visual
representation of a border should be expressed as the outcome of social struggles but not intentionally constructed.

Forms of social representation characterise territories with their domination focused within fixed spaces with various number or group of people (Perkmann 1999). The premise of territories is that they function as places of governance, where institutional organizations generate effects that are favourable to particular social vigour on different scales (Ray, 1998).

In turn, they provide institutionalized power as a foundation for social actors for whom (the control of) territory becomes a concrete benefit to them. From such a perspective, the issue of the extent of boundaries and their redetermination is very prevalent, because geographic boundaries and the institutional functions that govern them change the social and productive bases of boundaries and also change the resource position of boundaries and have an impact on the community as a whole (Perkman, 1999). The processes of re-determination and delimitation of boundaries have led, therefore, to social controversy as they significantly affect power, resource allocation and life chances of social groups organized at different levels (Perkmann, 2005).

3.4 Summary

The researcher has identified three scholarly fields that include Thomas Hobbes (1651: 31–54); Social Conflict Theory expounded by scholars such as Engel (1999: 6–7) and Rhodie (1991: 21); and the Relative Deprivation Theory expounded by scholars such as Smith and Huo (2014: 232). These theories are essential in the study as they address issues of social cohesion dynamics of rural communities regarding the conflict. Two supporting approaches have been identified in the study, which carry
the notion of the main theories. The Territoriality theory was used to unpack the issue of attachments that communal societies have and how underestimating such bonds can affect the demarcation process. The Social Inclusion Theory supports the social cohesion or contractual theory as it advocates for the inclusion of all stakeholders in issues that affect societal life, seeking to highlight the position of public participants in the demarcation of municipal boundaries.
CHAPTER FOUR
A ROAD MAP TO NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a broad background of the local government sphere in Africa, specifically South Africa, in comparison to Western countries. The study deems it imperative in tracing the history of the local government sphere, to understand the mandate of demarcations and their purpose. This chapter thus focuses on reviewing the literature, mainly outlining the historical overview of land and local government sphere in Africa, South Africa, and Western countries. In so doing, the chapter seeks to argue that the current challenges of demarcation are as the result of colonialization and apartheid-era effects on landscapes of the country. This chapter is organized linearly, indicating how the transaction of the land took form in South Africa, leading to the need for demarcation, which seeks to redraw and readjust the past land inequalities in South Africa. This chapter shows imperative to understand and acknowledge our history as a country to understand our future.

4.2 Historical overview of South Africa

Demarcation is defined as the act of creating and re-drawing of boundaries and spatial landscape. Demarcations are relatively new in South Africa and Africa as they were initiated after African countries gained control of their freedom after the colonial/apartheid era. The land discourse remains the most controversial aspect in Africa, mainly because of the historical consequences of colonialism. With 72 percent of the land in South Africa residing in the hands of white people, this is mostly due to the
obscure policies initiated by the post-colonial government such as the Group Act etc. (Government Audit, 2017)

The Native Land Act of 1913 was the first piece of legislation adopted by the colonial government that sought to strip black African people of their land in South Africa. The Native Land Act had implemented this process supported by other legislation aimed to carry its mandate of segregating and dividing while moving black South African people to Homelands or Bantustans thus stripping them of the freedom and right to land (Ntsebenza, 2007).

Several policies and legislations had been implemented at the time with the quest to strip black people of land, freedom and human rights. Thus, to understand demarcation, their hype, and popularity developed over the years, it is imperative to revisit the history of the land and its conflicts in South Africa and Africa as a whole. Briefly, the researcher focuses on the critical legislation implemented by the post-colonial government in its bid to gain control over Africa and her assets, resources, and minerals. The Native Land Act of 1913 was amended in 1936 to form the Native Land Act of 1936 that was more radical in implementing the objectives of the former Act.

The latter Act had initiated the divide and rule principle as it exacerbated the principle of the former Act, thus structuring the move of black Africans to reserves or homelands allocated seven percent of the land. This was achieved with the establishment of the South African Native Trust (SANT), which bought all the land in the reserves not yet owned by the government identified as “Black Spot”. The course was taken further by the initiation of the Pass laws which prohibited black people from entering white communities and cities thus ensuring the division of South African ethnic groups, implemented under the Group act of 1950 (Levin and Weiner, 1996: 92).
The effects of colonization and apartheid governance in South Africa have affected the country’s governance structures, traditional authority, and spatial planning. The colonial or Apartheid spatial planning effects are highly visible in South Africa as white South African people dominate the coastal and more developed areas in the country. At the same time, black South Africans are packed in far-away rural regions.

The colonial government highly impacted traditional authority and local government structures. Traditional authority in the past played a vital role as it represented the social organization aimed at protecting the society, their culture, customs, values and the land as fair dividers of land amongst its people (Beall, 2009). Traditional authority was the highest form of control to oversee settlements of its people. This structure of leadership, however, changed under colonial rule as its mandate changed from serving their people to being oppressors who carried out the notions and objectives of the oppressive colonial government. The colonial government achieved this shift with the implementation of the Black Administration Act of 1927 that restricted the roles of traditional leaders (Khunou, 2009).

After attaining freedom, the new democratic South African government had a huge mandate to undo all the past injustices as over 13 million black people were living in poverty, crowded in the former homelands or Bantustans, with no access to basic needs (Cousins, 1996; Hendricks, 1990; Lahif, 2000). Studies have identified South Africa as one of the unequal countries in terms of income, services, gender, location, race, and so on. (May, 2000: 2).

4.3 Transitions to democratic South Africa: Land allocation

Transition to the new democratic South Africa was one highly anticipated by many as it promised the dawn of new things to come, a promised land to many. This transition,
however, was met with many obstacles. At the forefront were the spatial inequalities and allocation of essential resources and re-distribution of land to the previously marginalised, disadvantaged people of South Africa. The struggle for land is one closely attached to South African people. The struggle in South Africa was mainly for the domination of the land. As quoted in (De Klerk, 1991: 50):

Our main focus is the land, we want our land back. The land is our basis; it is where we live, where we find out being, where we provide for our families, where we buried our loved ones. When we lost the land we lost our dignity, we lost who we are, as we could no longer practice our being. We were alienated from our land forced to work and be servants at the expense of a white man. Thus, we must now unite to gain control of the land of our identity.

The ANC government had a more significant task to ensure equal dissemination of land to the people of South Africa but mostly to the previously disadvantaged black people. The development of the Reconstruction Development Program was the first initiative by the ANC government in the restoration of land back to the people. The Reconstruction Development Program aimed to redress the past injustices as it recognized that many people lived below the poverty line and aimed at providing basic needs such as houses, water, medical services, and so on, to the people of South Africa (Turok, 1995: 305).

Land allocation or re-distribution was one of the core objectives of the program as it acknowledged that land was a vital tool for rural development (White paper on RDP, 1994). Because of this consciousness, the ANC government implemented the land reform programs, which sought to redistribute land to the people. Three strategies carried the mandate of the land reform program, namely, the restitution of land rights to the people previously stripped of their land; redistribution that aimed at availing land
to previously disadvantaged people; and finally, providing land tenure to people previously denied access (ANC Congress, 1994: 24).

4.3.1 Land Tenure

Land tenure is one of the strategies adopted under the land reform program aimed at securing land for the previously marginalized people in South Africa. This program targeted farmworkers, former farmworkers, labourer tenants, as well as sharecroppers. The policy sought to protect these workers of the land from forceful removal by the farmers as per the apartheid laws which enforced aggressive removal of farmworkers/labourers. Section 25 of the Constitution makes provision to protect people who labour the land and correctly returning the land to those who were previously insecure or forced to move due to racially discriminatory laws.

The government has gained much rural land. However, numerous attempts by the State to return this land to its lawful owners have seen many challenges, with traditional leaders at the forefront, arguing that land should be returned to their authorities as rightful custodians of rural land. The Communal Rights Act 2004, aimed at transferring ownership of rural land to local structures, and in most cases, to the Traditional Council in terms of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003. However, due to the past injustices as traditional leadership had been compromised by the colonial government, carrying out the white government's agenda, the structure of Traditional leaders lost accountability from the people of South Africa, mainly rural communities. This structure had lost its status and support in South Africa; hence, the notion of returning rural land under its administration was rejected and contested by rural communities, trade unions, human rights commission and land rights NGOs (Walker, 2003; Claassens, 2003).
Traditional leadership argued that land in rural areas belonged to traditional authority. It is contended that land under traditional leaders was forcefully away by the then colonial or apartheid government. Therefore, argued for the return of the land to them as lawful custodians. However, with the role and image of traditional leaders still impaired due to the effects of colonialism and apartheid, rural people are torn between traditional leaders being legal custodians of the land or the tenures being issued to households (Cousins, 2007). With such power struggles of land dating back to the colonial era, it is no mystery that rural land raised a lot of commotion. There is contestation on the re-demarcation of these rural lands, as there is still much resistance from different stakeholders who believe that the land belongs to them.

4.3.2 Restitution

Restitution is a process that sought to bring back or give back land to persons, descendants or community whose land was forcefully taken or who were forcefully removed from their land. This process awarded those affected or the community with an opportunity to apply for restitution, which took two forms - the return of land or a compensation claim for the land. The government opens a period where descendants and communities who lost their land after 19 June 1913 were able to claim by providing supporting documentation as evidence of their claims.

The 1913 cut-off date, which has been contested as it excludes potential land disposed of before 1913. However, the government raised concerns that leaving the cut-off date open would have created some challenges for the country. The White paper on the Land Policy of 1997 disputed these contestations, arguing that claims on ancestral land would create problems, complicating the legal-political unrevealing of such claims (White Paper, 1997).
Restitution further provides some challenges as the government had problems in the purchasing of the land as prices were excessively high in negotiation settlement claims. Issues around documentation in the claiming of rural land, challenges of deceitful claims, and competing claims on the same land are further challenges.

4.3.3 Redistribution

Redistribution is the process whereby the government attains land in the bid to redistribute it amongst the previously disadvantaged people and those who need it. The restitution program aims to provide people with land to improve their livelihoods, especially the rural poor, thus contributing to economic development (Van Zyl et al., 1996; Lipton, 1996; Deininger & May., 2000).

This policy sought to refer the impact of the Native Land Act of 1913 and 1936, which resulted in white people in South Africa attaining 87 percent of the land, leaving Black South Africans with 13 percent which was later reduced 7 percent of land in the former homelands. This was to aid the objectives of The Bill of Rights that advocates for equal access and distribution of land to all South African people. The Bill of Rights’ mandate is further approved and supported by the Republic of South Africa Constitution of 1996.

This bill initiated the willing buyer, willing seller approach supported by Section 25 of the Constitution that states that it is the duty and obligation of the state to create and foster conditions, which enable/allows citizens to gain access to land.

The willing buyer, willing seller system seems to have failed, as it did not yield the expected results. In 2018, the ANC government acknowledged this failure as the call to expropriate land without compensation emerged. The current South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, in his 2018 inauguration speech stated: “Returning the land to those who work it will contribute to South Africa’s economic growth”. Hence
the shift to the expropriation of land without compensation - a program the South African government embarked on in 2018.

With all these debates around the land, it is evident that the subject of land is a sensitive one in South Africa and that the new democratic South African government needs to be extra cautious. In understanding the demarcation of rural land and all the challenges encountered, it is essential to understand the land power struggles in South Africa fully. This study deems it necessary to trace back these land issues in highlighting these power struggles and the challenges that local government sphere encounters in redrawing and re-shaping the new democratic South Africa.

4.4 Decentralisation of Government in South Africa

Decentralisation is the process of shared authority and responsibilities in the public sector, where functions are transferred from the central to provincial and local government (Kaul, 2006: 3). The mandate of decentralisation was first proposed by the United Nations, defining it as a process where powers, resources, functions, and responsibilities are transferred from central down to the local government and other entities of government. This process aims at initiating a balance between claims of the periphery and the demands of the centre. The process ensures and enables the government to be responsive to the needs of its people, limiting responsive timeframe (United Nations, 2009).

Mawhood (1983: 18), in his definition of decentralization, recognises the importance of transferring powers, resources and functions from the central to the local government, creating sustainable and productive relations between the spheres of government. Decentralisation further distributes fiscal and administrative powers,
thereby improving efficiency and effectiveness of government in the provision of basic needs/public services (Devas and Delay, 2006).

Many scholars such as Schmidt (2003), Wunsch and Olouw (1995) agree with decentralization. They argue that centralization has acquired a lot of difficulties and stagnation in the provision of basic services. Wunsch and Olouw (1995) argue that centralized systems of government prove inefficient to tackle the complexity of the community’s demands. According to Johnston (2001), the larger and highly centralized bureaucracies proved to be incompetent and potentially unhelpful. Centralized systems of government are said to be rigid and lack information as to what the challenges experienced by the masses are, and what policies to implement (Ostrom, Schroeder and Wynne, 1993).

Arguments stress that centralized government lacks flexibility making it hard for valuable groups to access resources (Robinson et al., 2000). Decentralisation is thus widely accepted by many scholars as it allows for more transparency and promotes reactions to the demands and wishes of the people (Dillinger and Fay, 1999); (Osmani 2000; World Bank 2000); (Crook and Sverrison 2001).

In as much as there are scholars who are optimistic about decentralisation, there are scholars who are against this approach. Scholars such as Smith (1985) argue against decentralization, stating that it divides and threatens national unity and integration.

Smith further argues that decentralisation creates an assumption that goods and services are provided at the local level rather than at the national level, leading to impatience in the turnaround time of provision of services. Decentralisation is oligarchic; it is an illusion that all stakeholders at local level participate in their development, as reality is that the minority is in the process of decision making.
Therefore, the decentralisation argument is that it benefits the minority at the expense of the majority (World Bank 2000; Manor 1999; Makumbe 1998; Blair 1997). Makumbe (1998) argues that elected officials make final decisions for the masses, which therefore means that decentralisation can be a potential mechanism for the centralized government to control the public at the local level. Makumbe (1998), further argues that decentralisation can affect the quality of public services, which can be a result of a lack or shortage of appropriately skilled or qualified personnel. This argument is essential in understanding land demarcations facilitated by the Municipal Demarcation Board in partnership with the local government. From the above discourse, the study seeks to assert stakeholders’ participatory role in the local government aspects, particularly in the demarcation of rural communities.

There are different categories of decentralisation, including administrative, fiscal, and political decentralisation.

4.4.1 Administrative decentralisation

Administrative decentralisation is the process of transferring administrative powers in public services to government departments and local government municipalities. This process includes devolutions on policies in terms of decision-making authority (Falleti, 2005). Administrative decentralisation focuses mainly on the magnitude of central authority and management tasks transferred to local government.

Service delivery functions at the local government level can be contentious as this sphere of government is at grassroots, in touch with the people and positioned best to understand their challenges (Cohen and Peterson, 1999). Schneider (2006) states that administrative decentralisation is a process of permitting local government local
jurisdictions independence from central control. This dependence includes public policymaking, personnel control and public finances.

4.4.2 Fiscal decentralisation

Fiscal decentralisation is a process where central national government allocates a percentage of government expenditure to be managed, administered and executed by subnational spheres of government, that is, provincial and local government. The size and character of the subnational government determine the authorisation and percentage allocation (Schneider, 2006).

Schneider (2006) states that fiscal decentralisation is the portion of financial responsibility and financial management allocated to be authorised by the spheres of government in the allocation and distribution. This form of decentralisation encourages the participation of communities in decision-making. This assumption stems from the notion that because local government is closer to the people, it is thus able to liaise and communicate with the people better as compared to the national government. Therefore, the budgetary allocation and distribution to services is a joint venture of government and citizens of South Africa. Thus, the reasoning of municipalities in advertising and invitation of people to a municipal budgetary speech, which takes place yearly allowing people to sit in and make recommendations (Grindle, 2007).

4.4.3 Political decentralisation

Political decentralisation is a process through which centralised national government relinquishes some electoral power and authority to subnational government. It allows local government and their communities an opportunity to elect their representatives, also awarding representatives more influence in decision-making and implementation
of programs. In so doing, this form of decentralisation awards power and supports democratisation as it affords citizens and their representatives power to influence and implement policies (Falletti, 2005). It creates a process of free decision making and public participation, promoting democracy and sound governance principles. Political decentralisation in Vuwani would involve public participation of all stakeholders in the demarcation process and allow community members to elect their leaders in the process of demarcation.

Scholars who support political decentralisation argue that it brings the following benefits:

i. Allows elected representatives – who are aware of the challenges of their people – authority to implement better viable solutions, thus decision making in partnership with the people.

ii. Decision making at the lower level assists in a significant reduction on time taken in approval of decisions and reduction in the administrative costs.

iii. Political decentralisation allows marginalised communities to participate in governance processes.

iv. Political decentralisation leads to balanced regional development.

4.5 Tripartite spheres of government

The concept of decentralisation compelled the South African government to look at its strategies in terms of adherence to good governance principles, thus the rise of the tripartite spheres of government in South Africa. The fall of the colonial government and the emergence of democratic South African government created a form of government that ensured the development of the country and its people.
Cohen et al. (1999 342) support decentralization, stating that this policy ensures participatory development of the people and government, ensuring the creation of an efficient and responsive government, driven by a joint partnership.

The three spheres of government were formulated to improve efficiency and effectiveness of government in the provision of basic needs to previously disadvantaged communities and people of South Africa. The South African government adopted a sovereign federal state founded upon aspects such as human dignity, and rights for all, equality of its people, non-racial and non-sexist and upholding the supremacy of the Republic of South Africa Constitution.

Section one of the Constitution specifies objectives that aim to ensure a responsive, transparent and accountable government. Chapter three sets out guidelines on how the three spheres of government, that is national, provincial and local, are to work together, facilitating a system of cooperative governance. The Constitution further stipulates that spheres of government are interdependent, distinctive and interrelated in the sharing of power and responsibilities. Chapter three also states that the spheres should respect each other’s powers and responsibilities and cooperate in mutual trust and goodwill (section 41(1)).

Section 41(1) instructs that spheres of government to:

i. Support and assist each other

ii. Be transparent and in constant communication with their processes

iii. Be mindful of legal obligation in working together

iv. Follow procedure guided by its policies

v. Resolve problems immediately when they arise which seek to tamper with their relationship, objectives and goals.
4.6 Local government in South Africa

After 1994 the government structure transformed and underwent three transition phases (TLGFA, 2003: 41). The first transition phase was initiated between 1994 and 1995; this phase was named pre-interim as it was a period where local government elections and appointment took form. In 1995–96, the initiation of the interim phase saw the construction of the country’s constitution with shared powers and a joint venture between major political parties in the country (Cameron, 1996a). The final process entailed the adoption of the Constitution, which took place in December 1996 and came into effect on 4 February 1997. This transition process was profound and crucial to the local government sphere as the change gave rise to the decentralisation of government and formation of sub-national spheres, uplifting the local government sphere from subordination level to a significant sphere with its own powers (Cloete, 1995).

Razin (2000) argues that the restructuring of local government was highly influenced by political, economic, technological and ideological changes that sought to amend spatial patterns of development. This is the case in South Africa where de-racialization and territorial reorganization of local government represents a significant challenge. In transforming local government, amendments had to be put in place to readdress the effects of the past. Policies of segregation and the Group Areas Act had separated South African people, moving black people to Bantustans and rural areas. The new democratic government needed to address this challenge, thus the implementation of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003, which served to correct the injustice of the past inequalities.
The advent of colonization resulted in the seizure of influential and powerful institutions in African societies by the settler-colonial states. The traditional leadership institution was one of the institutions seized and manipulated by colonizers (TLGFA, 41: 2003).

The role of traditional leaders was tempered and weakened by the colonial and apartheid era. Many traditional leaders jumped ship and were no longer loyal and accountable to their people as they served the mandate of the colonial government (Rugege, 2002). Rugege (2002) further avers that because traditional leaders were in charge of the operation of homelands or Bantustans, they were more instrumental in perpetuating the agendas of the colonial government. Traditional leaders who were willing to co-operate and work with the colonial government were given more power in controlling the African communities to safeguard interests of the colonial and apartheid governments. This resulted in the traditional structure losing acceptability from their people.

Ntsebeza (2013) argues, however, that to assume that traditional leaders have lost all control or affection from the people of South Africa especially rural communities was one of the wrong assumptions of the new democratic South Africa. Many communities still liaise and view traditional authority as dominant in their communities.

This became the main challenge of the ANC government in 1994 as it had the obligation of either terminating the role of traditional leaders or developing a suitable strategy to incorporate them within the new institution of governance.

The ANC government opted to keep the structure of traditional authority but struggled to define their roles in line with the functions of ward councillors, thus creating an overlap between these institutions’ roles and responsibilities (Mavungu 2011).
This failure to define their roles complicated service delivery in rural areas as issues around leadership and rights of land became a daunting challenge as traditional leaders fought for their existence and their relevance within the local governance sphere/authority (Ntsebeza, 2003: 30).

4.7 Delimitation of boundaries in South Africa

The South African Constitution advocates for boundary demarcations and states that the resizing of municipalities is essential in ensuring that municipalities can cater to the needs of its people. The Constitution advocates for an independent body structure whose sole mandate is to resize/redraw the country’s boundaries, giving rise to the formation of the Municipal Demarcation Board. Chapter seven of the Constitution is the primary instrumental piece of legislation that seeks to address local government and simultaneously gives rise to the MDB.

Chapter seven stipulates the status of municipalities, their objectives, their roles, responsibilities and powers, categories, the electoral procedure of representatives, authorities governing local government and importantly, the sizes of municipalities. Section 155 of the Constitution takes on the duty of sizable effective municipalities which brought about the establishment of the MDB. It advocates for an independent structure whose mandate is to demarcate the spatial setting of provincial and municipal boundaries. The board is to re-adjust the unequal spatial landscape, ensuring equality and development for all South Africans.

Section 155 further establishes policies that should govern the MDB in its quest to readjust provincial and municipal boundaries, hence the instituting of the Demarcation Act. The Demarcation Act provides guidelines in appointment, roles, function, duties, powers, administration and operational procedures of the board. Section 24 and 25 of
the Act set out the criteria and guidelines for demarcations in terms of objectives and factors of demarcating outer boundaries. The main aim of municipal demarcations is to enable municipalities to serve better and fulfil their obligations, ensuring accountability in terms of service provision to their citizens (Monare, 2010).

4.7.1 Role of the Municipal Demarcation Board

The Municipal Demarcation Act stipulates the roles of the MDB supported by Chapter Seven of the Constitution. The functions of MDB are:

i. To act as an advisor in issues provided for by the Act in terms of demarcations;

ii. To demarcate provincial and municipal boundaries in South Africa in line with the principles of the Act.

iii. To consider the Act and Chapter Seven of the Constitution in terms of demarcation boundaries of South Africa. However, unless provided for by Section 26, the Board can demarcate boundaries in respect of a written indication by the MEC and municipalities affected and has no objections to demarcate.

The MDB, however, in line with good governance principles, is required to uphold transparency, by informing the country of said planned demarcation by publishing it in the Provincial Gazette. Thus if there is any rejection, a window period of 30 days is available for the public to submit a written objection. Based on the objection, the MDB may contemplate withdrawal of the demarcation, vary, or confirm demarcation, by publishing its final decision with reasons in the Provincial Gazette.
4.7.2 Process of re-demarcation

Figure 1 provides a detailed process of demarcation as supported by the Demarcations and Structures Act of 1998.

Figure 3: Process of Demarcation

Source: Williamson, M (2108) www.demarcation.org.za

There are three phases to re-demarcation as will be elaborated upon below.

4.7.2.1 Process prior to demarcation

During this period, the Municipal Demarcation Board requests demarcation; however, it does not make any decisions. In this period, the Municipal Demarcation Board tests the proposed request for demarcation by opening discussions for public participation.

In this phase:

i. MDB operates in two forms, either by request submitted from the board to demarcate a particular boundary. The board can also suggest demarcating an area;
ii. Once this process has been implemented, the MDB has to publish and propose the set demarcation to the public, and also inform stakeholders involved in the demarcation;

iii. The public and stakeholders are thus requested to input regarding the demarcation, and may submit their feedback for consideration;

iv. The MDB has the mandate to consider the public’s views;

v. After careful consideration the MDB has a responsibility to investigate thus holding public meetings and a formal investigation;

vi. In incidents where a request was submitted for demarcations, the requestor (that is municipalities or personnel) is required to submit information supporting the request.

4.7.2.2 Boundary re-demarcation decision-making period

After following the above steps and consultations finalised with the public, the Board may decide to accept or reject the boundary. The MDB may take legal action; however, it still has the mandate to consult the public to test the resolution again before finalising re-demarcation. Supported by Section 27, the Board may decide to make the final decision on the boundary delineation, and at this level, all public participations are closed.

4.7.2.3 Post boundary re-demarcation decision-making period

i. Once the MDB decides to demarcate, it should be able to provide reasons behind the approved demarcation to anyone who requests this information.

ii. The approved demarcation must be sent to the electoral commission for tabulation.
iii. The electoral commissioner is awarded an opportunity to express its views regarding the voters’ representation of the council or municipality involved in the boundary re-demarcation.

iv. The Minister of Finance is then informed about the demarcation.

v. The involved MEC then publishes the demarcation.

vi. Any legal procedures of the municipality involved in the boundary re-demarcation are then taken into consideration in ensuring a smooth process, guided by the Municipal Structures Act 1998.

vii. The demarcation is then scheduled or takes effect on the date when the next local elections commence or the next municipal financial year.

Against this procedure, the study sought to understand and discuss the municipal re-demarcation process of the Vuwani Vhembe areas, to understand the conceptions and misconceptions at play, and the effects behind the riots challenging re-demarcation or amalgamations.

4.8 Determination of boundaries and the Resistance to re-demarcations in South Africa

Delimitation of boundaries in South Africa has not been straightforward, as many proposed demarcations have been challenged. Provincial boundary demarcations have been challenged as boundaries overlapped with municipal boundaries extending to provincial boundaries. The adoption of the Cross-boundaries Municipalities Act of 2000 also proved inadequate in dealing with many demarcation issues, leading to the implementation of the Cross-boundaries Municipalities Repeal and Related Act of 2005. Despite all these implemented policies and legislations, demarcations are still much opposed by citizens and communities of South Africa.
Demarcations have faced a high rate of resistance from communities (Cameron, 1999). In some areas, local communities, such as Khutsong, were opposed to the demarcation, resulting in boycotts and damage to property.

4.8.1 The case of Durban

**Nature of dispute**

In 1999/2000, the demarcation process was heavily contested mainly by the traditional authority who believed that demarcation was nothing but a strategy to strip traditional leaders of their powers. Pillay (1999) states that traditional leaders were very concerned about losing their control to the local government, which became a pressing issue and stifled the demarcation procedures. The relevance of traditional leadership has been questioned as community members were torn apart as some people felt that traditional leadership was dominant in the new democratic South Africa, while others opposed this notion. The independence of the MDB was questioned, as traditional leaders felt that demarcation was a political strategy of the leading party to gain votes in areas in which they had little authority.

4.8.2 The case of Bushbuckridge

**Nature of dispute**

In 1994, the former Transvaal Province was dismantled and divided into four provinces. The area from Bushbuckridge to Hazyview was to be incorporated into Limpopo Province. This decision was undertaken because most of the Bushbuckridge area had been part of three separate Bantustans (Gazankulu, Lebowa, and KaNgwane) (Bushbuckridge Local Municipality, 2009).
The bigger sector of Bushbuckridge falls in parts of Gazankulu, incorporated into the Limpopo Province. Therefore the MDB felt it appropriate to include Bushbuckridge into the Limpopo Province. Communities of Bushbuckridge who demanded to be placed under the Mpumalanga Province rejected this move, arguing that their needs would not be catered for in the Limpopo Province as they were 300km from the capital city of Polokwane. Service delivery was the main dispute that resonated in the rejection of the amalgamation. The disagreements resulted in riots and further disputes in communities as a form of expressing their rejection of the amalgamation.

**Intervention and outcome**

Amid riots, four people lost their lives, and there was the destruction of schools and government property (Niehaus, 2005). The riots cost the economy 40 million rands (Griggs, 1998); (Narsiah and Maharaj, 1999). Eventually, in December 2005, the government decided to establish Bushbuckridge as a cross-boundary municipality, meaning that both the Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces would service it. With the dissolution of cross-boundary municipalities in South Africa, a decision was taken to incorporate Bushbuckridge back into Mpumalanga Province.

**4.8.3 The case of Matatiele**

**Nature of dispute**

In 2006, the Matatiele Municipality was moved from the Sisonke District Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal and incorporated into the Alfred Nzo District Municipality situated in the Eastern Cape Province. The re-demarcated Matatiele Local Municipality included the towns of Matatiele and Cedarville, the magisterial district of Maluti (which formerly fell under the Umzimvubu Local Municipality), and a rural district management area (which previously fell under the jurisdiction of the Alfred Nzo District Municipality).
Community members of Matatiele were not pleased with this move which resulted in riots, with the burning and demolishing of property, burning of tires, etc. (Mail & Guardian: 17 October 2008).

**Intervention and outcome**

Demarcation of Matatiele is still an issue, as the ANC government took a decision that Matatiele was to join the Eastern Cape and not Kwa-Zulu Natal. According to Mandla Galo (African Independent Congress),

> the ANC had promised to resolve the Matatiele issue, but nothing had materialized, they must go back to their national working committee to reject that decision which was taken by the ANC against the will of the people (News 24: 2016).

**4.8.4 The case of Khutsong**

**Nature of dispute**

In 2006, the entire Merafong City Local Municipality, which included Khutsong, was to be transferred from West Rand District Municipality in Gauteng Province to the Southern District Municipality in the North West Province. The residents of Khutsong objected to the transfer from wealthy Gauteng to the more impoverished North West, resulting in protests and riot demonstrations, which saw the destruction of government property, the bombing of ANC official homes and eventually the closing down of the municipality.
**Intervention and outcome**

Conflict in Khutsong lasted over three years, but the matter was later resolved with the help of the High Court. Khutsong was re-incorporated into the Gauteng Province with the amended Bill that returned Merafong (Khutsong) to Gauteng.

**4.8.5 The case of Vuwani**

In 2016, ten years after the incidents in Matatiele and Khutsong, South Africa still experienced the rejection of municipal demarcation in such as the Thlokwe and Vuwani through protests against the MDB. In July 2015, the MDB announced the proposed new demarcations of the municipalities and establishment of the new municipality which would include Malamulela, Vuwani, Tshikonelo, Mulenzhe, Piet-boy and Khakanwa (under Thulamela Municipality) and Masia, Mashau, Vyeboom, Tshino, Davhana, Tshimbupfe, Ramukhuba, Masakona (under Makhado Municipality) (SABC 2016). Community members in Vuwani rejected this coalition, and this resulted in riots, demolishing and destruction of government-owned properties, with traditional leaders at the forefront, arguing for their right to land and how this move would affect their authority.

These are but a few examples of demarcation and the challenges faced by the demarcation board. This resistance from communities, therefore, calls for a joint venture between MDB, government, and the citizens of South Africa towards a better understanding of demarcation and a way to educate the South African community about the concept of demarcation.
4.9 Summary

The chapter provided a historical overview of the transition phase of South Africa. This chapter acted as a road map of the transition phase of a new South Africa, which seeks to address all the past injustices. This is essential in understanding the concept of re-demarcation. One cannot discuss demarcation without understanding the concept of land and the values attached to the land by the South African people, especially rural communities.
CHAPTER FIVE

IS RE-DEMACRICATION A SOLUTION FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA?

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the link between local government or municipal performance and the reaction of community members towards demarcations. The chapter argues that rejection or acceptance of demarcation (be it provincial or municipal) is highly influenced by the community assumptions of the provincial government, local government and municipal performance in catering to its community service delivery needs. The chapter further considers international territorial or boundary demarcation disputes and examines African boundary demarcation disputes, scaling it down to the South African demarcation disputes. The chapter also examines the relationship between municipal performance, public participation, and demarcation disputes. In so doing, the chapter argues that much of the demarcation disputes are the result of municipal performance and service delivery provision.

5.2 International Boundary demarcation disputes

Cloete (1995: 13) in his works, tries to paints a picture of the African communities. He argues that South African cities are new in comparison to those in other continents such as Asia and Europe. He argues that the development of these cities in South Africa was through the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck (the coloniser) at the Cape of Good Hope on the 31st of December 1827. The colonisers implemented villages along the way administered by landdrost, heemraden and sherraden. From this Cloete seeks to
paint a picture of how communities in South Africa developed and how the British gained control.

From this, it is clear that there is need to re-demarcate the South African boundaries to correct the past inequalities. The researcher thus saw it fit to trace back the evolution of government with an emphasis on the colonial apartheid era in South Africa.

Binza (2005: 71–78), paints a clear picture in his work tracing the evolution of local government back from 1652 up to date. The change of local government in South Africa is as follows:

Table 2: Evolution of local government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVOLUTION OF SA's LOCAL PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch East Indian Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First British of the Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development during the Batavian government 1803–1806 in the Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second British occupation of the Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African local authorities under the 1961–1994 Republic of South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we talk of transition in South Africa, we generally refer to the last twenty-five years from apartheid to a non-racial democracy. However, the transition of the government sphere can be traced back to 1652 with the arrival of the colonisers in Africa, primarily South Africa. The journey of local government in South Africa is one fueled by a lot of trials and tribulations. Thus, in trying to re-shape and correct past boundary injustices, it is of paramount importance to track back and understand the history of boundaries and their development. This issue does not only relate to Africa but also to other countries in Asia and Europe. The reference assists in learning diverse forms of demarcation in the quest to re-draw and ensure the development of our communities. Many scholars have sought to study and analyse the connection between boundary demarcations and the outbreaks of war or disputes. Scholars such as John Vasquez have concluded, “If we want to avoid war or disputes we need to learn how to settle territorial/boundary disputes non-violently” (Vasquez, 1993: 307).

Demarcation is viewed as a sensitive matter politically as different stakeholders, such as government, traditional leaders, and civilians, have diverse interests. Thus, the new democratic government of South Africa in the quest to re-draw boundaries sought to incorporate all stakeholders being sensitive to issues of race, religion, social, cultural, linguistic identities and more.

Scholars identify common mistakes as leading to boundary demarcation disputes. Vasquez (1993) argues that the geographic or landscape setting of a place was the leading catalyst to demarcation conflicts, mainly in environments rich in resources, such as river streams, natural reserves or landmarks. Conflict over the watershed in Asia is a practical example of such disputes. The demarcation between Thailand and Cambodia, ushered by the French colonial authorities, positioned first by the Preah
Vihear temple on Thailand’s side and eventually on the Cambodian side, has created conflict as both countries want their share of the watershed.

In 1911, a conflict arose around the Sino-Russian over the Argun River, the primary catalyst being the inaccuracy in boundary drawings. In its border drawings, the Sino-Russian was fixed along the middle line of the river channel, however, in 1950 the old river ran dry resulting in a shift in the river stream, shifting the territory on the Russian side (Khemakorn, 2006). This shift raised boundary demarcation disputes which were only resolved in 2005. In Indonesia, many territorial boundary disputes (with inhabitants and neighbouring countries) have been observed, mainly around issues of ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups. This is because Indonesia is home to 300 ethnic groups with many different cultures and languages.

The other cause of disputes was the use of inconsistent or contradictory statements. Scholars trace this form of boundary conflict in the East and South China seas. The 56th article of the United Nations Convention of laws governing marine and sea/ocean outlines restrictions in the country’s establishment of its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which extends 200 nautical miles from the country’s coastline. This policy had overlap claims in semi-enclosed seas, leading to many conflicts between the East and Southeast regions of Asia.

The researcher argues that the major causes of boundary disputes are due to resource scarcity. With the steep increase in population, which exerts pressure on economic growth and increases the demand for resource provision, conflicts arise as communities, people and countries compete for the few resources available, breeding conflict. South China experienced this kind of battle. The South China Sea is one of the most extensive fishing grounds with rich biological diversity. This area has been
highly contested, resulting in several boundary disputes in several Chinese provinces, such as Hainan and Guangdong, Vietnam, and the Philippines (Khemakorn, 2006). A similar conflict exists in the Middle East over oil.

These territorial or boundary disputes are common in Africa as the scarcity of resources and poor service delivery result in many communities rejecting the redrawing of boundaries. It is against this background that this study sought to examine the causes and patterns of demarcation disputes such as in Vuwani.

5.3 Boundary demarcation/ delimitation in Africa

Africa has experienced its fair share of boundary disputes. Since they attained independence, the borders of African states inherited from colonial times have been a recurrent source of controversy, tension, conflict and even crisis between and within several African countries. In addressing this issue, the African Union has put in place some political and legal procedures that seek to address the question of boundaries in Africa.

These policies and legislation include:

i. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the originations of African Union was held in July 1964 in Cairo to adopt the principle of respect for existing boundaries to achieve national independence.

ii. The OAU 44th Council of Ministers was held in Ethiopia in July 1986 where the principle of a negotiated settlement of border disputes was established.

iii. The South African Assembly of Heads of State held in July 2002 concluded that there is a need for delamination of African boundaries for factors such as peace, economic, security and social progress.
iv. In an AU Assembly of Heads of State held in Addis Ababa in 2007, adoption of a policy of structural prevention of conflicts was implemented.

These policies and legislation were adopted due to the then increasing cases of boundary demarcation disputes between neighbouring countries in Africa. Colonial patterns in Africa, especially in the Eastern Africa region, reflect superimposition of physical, cultural, and socioeconomic discontinuities (Khadiagala, 2010:267). Most of the African borders were delimited around 1884 and 1910. In 1920, colonial powers attempted to demarcate Africa for their own personal gains (Khadiagala, 2010:267). The geographical boundary demarcations in the East Africa region followed a broad spectrum resulting in seventeen major boundaries stretching from Sudan to Tanzania, which are a product of the colonial treaties and agreements (Khadiagala, 2007). Several agreements drawn up by the colonial/British government were the cornerstone to the implementation of many borders in Africa, creating the lengthy ongoing boundary disputes between countries in Africa. According to (Osmani, 2000); (World Bank, 2000); (Khadiagala, 2010: 267), the Anglo-Italian protocol of 1891 had delimited boundaries in East Africa. Somaliland Ethiopia boundary was delimited in 1894, while the Kenya-Ethiopia boundary was delimited in 1901 with Kenya-Tanzania and Tanzania-Malawi border delimited in 1890. The coalition of Anglo-German agreement of 1910 delimited the borders of Uganda-Rwanda and Tanzania-Uganda. While the Anglo Belgian agreement of 1910 delimited the Uganda-Congo and Uganda-Rwanda borders and further delimited the Kenya-Uganda boundaries in 1886. The Miner-Orts agreement of 1919 delimited the Tanzania-Rwanda and Tanzania-Burundi borders; and the Anglo-Belgian agreement of 1915 delimited the Uganda-Sudan and Sudan-Congo borders (Khadiagala, 2010: 4).
As Kapil argues, that the boundary policies implemented under the colonial government have fueled the ongoing boundary disputes in Africa as they are boundaries that divided countries under two administration and governance. This, he argues, had dire consequences in terms of jurisdictional and political administration. Until these boundaries are readjusted, the ongoing conflict will persist in Africa as these boundaries act as constant reminders of the traumatic history of Africa (Kapil, 2002).

Most of these boundaries in East Africa were not delimited by Africans and therefore did not follow tradition-historical political processes. This scenario led to widespread notions of artificial and unnatural boundaries. With the fall of colonialism and the new post-colonial governance, several disputes erupted, and countries fought over territorial boundaries. These disputes were fueled by cultural difference, language, resource scarcity, and so forth. It was therefore apparent the need to redraw new territorial boundaries, and this became the mandate of the African Union (Khadiagala, 2010: 7).

Mucombo (2103), in his work, looked at the demarcation and maintenance of international boundaries of Mozambique. In his work Mucombo, traces the demarcation boundaries of Mozambique and established that the Republic of Mozambique has borders in the north, with Tanzania, which mostly follow the Rovuma River. In the west, it shares boundaries with five neighbouring countries, including the Republics of Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Transvaal Province), and the Kingdom of Swaziland. In the south, it has boundaries with the Republic of South Africa (Natal Province). Overall, Mozambique has 4,212 kilometres of the international border, including 2,685 kilometres on land, 1,205 kilometres in rivers, and 322 kilometres on lakes. The process of boundary demarcation was concluded by the early 1950s. In specific segments, this was carried out independently by separate teams,
resulting in differences and discrepancies in the final results and requiring both sides to take the mean results. Besides, some segments of the boundary lines were not demarcated with pillars or the pillars differentiated in the forms, types and dimensions. At present, natural causes such as large animals, including elephants, disturb the demarcated boundary. Also, some people are illegally occupying and cultivating lands on either side and are destroying and vandalising pillars for unknown motives. Delamination of these boundaries resulted in conflict between these neighbouring countries (Muombo, 2013).

The redrawing of these new boundaries, however, did not go as planned. Many communities and neighbouring countries rejected the new boundaries citing different reasons ranging from scrambling for resources, rejection of leadership, disagreement over land, political agenda over electoral rights and power and lack of service delivery provision. In South African literature on demarcation and local government politics, electoral violence is mainly associated with inter-party politics, poor governance, and general discontent from the people about government’s performance on issues related to service delivery. Demarcation disputes have been swamped by service delivery protests and local government or municipal performance, as community members reject or accept demarcations based on municipal performance. An example of this is the demarcation dispute in Matatiele where the community rejected the move from KwaZulu-Natal to the Eastern Cape Province, the performance of the Eastern Cape governance and local government in catering to the people of Eastern Cape needs being the primary reason.
5.4 The question of municipal performance, service delivery and its
effects on municipal demarcations
5.4.1 Municipal performance and service delivery provision

The Constitution of South Africa makes provision and provides principles to govern
the local government municipality in terms of providing basic needs to the people of
South Africa. The Constitution sets out guidelines to correct the past injustices mainly
in the unequal distribution of resources. It seeks to provide equal provision mostly to
the previously disadvantaged communities and people of South Africa. Section 152 of
the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa highlights the following objectives in
terms of municipal performance and provision of basic needs:

i. Local government municipality is to be democratic and transparent in its quest
to provide services to the people;

ii. Local municipalities need to create an environment that promotes social and
economic development;

iii. We must create environments that are safe and conducive for our people

iv. Community engagement is important, and communities need to be involved and
be agencies of their own development

v. Create sustainable environments (RSA, 1996).

The mandate of the Constitution is further carried through by the Municipal Systems
(Act 32 of 2000) in Chapter 8 of the Act. This Act seeks to strengthen the effects of
the Constitution regarding the role of municipalities as it states that:

i. The mandate of the municipality is to eradicate or alleviate poverty;

ii. Provision of basic needs to the people of South Africa;

iii. Create opportunities for development that is social and economic development;
The South African Constitution under Section 152(a) (b) requires that: Municipalities have a task to put in municipal place structures (that is administrative and financial) that will ensure it reaches its targets. Financial management is essential in ensuring that finances are used appropriately, are transparent, and the municipality is accountable to its people (Act 108 of 1996: 84). Municipal performance has been one of the major issues in South Africa as over the years concerns have been on the rise regarding municipal performance and service delivery provision. Managa (2012: 1) asserts that “Growing concern has been expressed about the government ability to deliver the public services that its people yearn for and are entitled to”.

Municipal performance is generally viewed from the financial perspective that the ability to generate revenue as provided for under the Division of Revenue Act no.5 of 2012. Revenue is essential in sustainability of municipalities and their ability to provide resources to their communities. Without income, the task of fulfilling the constitutional mandate becomes a challenge regarding municipal performance. Revenue allocation in local government is highly motivated by the size of the tax base of the metropolitan and the size of the municipality.

Makgetla (2004) argues that how legislation is structured disempowers municipalities, as their tax bases vary. This is because metropolitans are relatively larger than municipalities and therefore have larger tax bases. The same applies to municipalities in urban areas and those in rural areas. Metropolitan municipalities have more enormous tax base revenues as most of the community members are working, that is, the middle class and can pay rates; this is in comparison to rural municipalities, which are plugged by unemployment and poverty. Revenue is, therefore, of paramount importance for the municipalities to realize the developmental duties they have to generate income to enable them to deliver sustainable services to their communities.
Many research data produced indicate that local government municipalities are riddled with high backlogs of service delivery. Reported issues such as corruption, lack of administration, inadequate audits, and political discourses are high (Deloitte, 2010). Inadequate infrastructure, shortage of skilled personnel, is deemed as one of the many reasons why municipalities fall short in delivering resources to the people. Craythone thus argues that if a municipality fails to render its purpose or mandate, it needs to be stripped of its rights to exist (1997: 391).

The number of service delivery protests has been on the rise in South Africa, as community members have taken to the streets to express their grievances against local government and the state. Atkinson (2007); Hough (2008); Lochner et al. (2008); IDASA (2010); Managa (2012) argue that social reasons, poor governance, structural reasons, and systematic reasons, are amongst the causes of service delivery protests in local governments.

5.5 Impact of municipal performance (service delivery) on the demarcation

This subsection focuses on the relationship between service delivery and demarcation. Protests in South Africa have been clouded mainly by service delivery protests as community members express their dissatisfactory levels with municipal performances in catering for the needs of disadvantaged South Africans. Municipal performance and satisfactory levels of community members with provisions of basic services have highly inflicted the municipal demarcation board. Community acceptance or rejection of demarcation mergers or amalgamation have been mostly influenced by community perceptions of municipal performance and provision of services. In areas such as Khutsong and Matatiele, the main rejection of demarcation
was solely on how service delivery would be affected by the demarcating of municipalities or provinces.

Service delivery, therefore, plays a significant role in local government as the past colonial government had neglected black settlers, depriving them of any services. The new democratic government sought to correct all the injustices of the past and enable service delivery to all the disadvantaged communities, mainly in rural areas, and townships. Over the years, violent protests have erupted in different communities of South Africa. For instance, in Diepsloot, Johannesburg, 3000 protesters marched demanding delivery of basic needs. In places in the Free State Province such as Harrismith, residents rejected re-demarcation of the Maluti-a-Phofung Municipality, one of the main reasons being the lack of service delivery and communication breakdown between residences and councillors and municipality. Community members of Phumelela Municipality in the northern Free State soon followed with their protests. The community members accused the municipal manager, the mayor and the ward councillors of poor service delivery, nepotistic, etc. The protests soon escalated to other parts of the country as communities expressed their dissatisfactions with municipalities regarding service deliveries (Buhlungu et al., 2007).

In Cape Town, Mitchells Plain residents erected barricades that they then set alight in protest against poor quality and delivery of basic services. In Durban, community members in informal settlements protested demanding houses and services. In Delmas Mpumalanga, angry residents demanded the resignation of the municipal manager. People from Secunda in Embalenhle Township protested against nepotism and poor service delivery, and the protests soon erupted in the Eastern Cape. In Uitenhage, angry residents took to the street on 23 March 2005 protesting against
corrupt councillors. All the above protests were against poor municipal performance, which, it was argued, leads to poor service delivery the communities (Dlamini, 2004).

A new type of municipal protest soon took form as communities affected by redemarcation from one province to another or from one municipality to another expressed their dissatisfaction. Protests against demarcation have been on the rise in South Africa, dating back to 1999. In the case of Durban eThekwini Municipality, the demarcation process was heavily contested mainly by the traditional authority who believed that demarcation was nothing but a strategy to strip them of their powers (Goodenough, 2004). In 1994 the new democratic government dismantled the past homelands into the new nine provinces, starting with the amalgamation of Bushbuckridge into the Limpopo Province. However, soon after this announcement, the Bushbuckridge community members protested, rejecting the move and being adamant that they wanted to remain under the Mpumalanga province (Bushbuckridge Local Municipality 2009).

In September 2005, the community of Matatiele rejected the demarcation to the Eastern Cape Province resulting in protests. One of the reasons for opposing this move was that residents believed that KwaZulu-Natal better served their interests. Residents further argued that the Eastern Cape had failed in service delivery and they refused to be associated with the province (Local government briefing September 2005: 15). Khutsong in Merafong Municipality soon joined in the protest against redemarcation, and residents of Khutsong were against the move from Gauteng to North West Province. Residents stated that North West Province was very hungry and poor. Residents argued that the province had failed to cater for the needs of its people; therefore, refused to be trapped in the same situation (City Press, 05.03.06) (Mail & Guardian, 17–23.02.06).
In 2016, ten years after the incidents in Matatiele and Khutsong, rejection of municipal demarcation is still experienced in South Africa, such as the recent spills in Thlokwe and Vuwani protests against the MDB. In July 2015, the MDB announced that it envisaged the amalgamation of Malamulela, Tshikonelo, Mulenzhe, Piet-boy, and Khakhanwa (under Thulamela Municipality) and Masia, Mashau, Vyeboom, Tshino, Davhana, Tshimbupfe, Ramukhuba, Masakona (under Makhado Municipality) to form one municipality (SABC 2016). Community members in Vuwani rejected this coalition, which resulted in riots, demolishing and destroying of government properties and schools, with traditional leaders at the forefront arguing against re-demarcation.

This section creates a link between municipal performance, service delivery, and demarcation disputes. In many cases, these protests are categorised as one, creating confusion. It is essential to understand and make these protests distinct. This section also sought to highlight contributing factors to the current rise of demarcation disputes.

5.6 Impact of demarcation on municipal performance and service delivery

This relationship is interlinked as demarcations also have an impact on municipal performance. Over the past years, concerns have emerged on the effects of demarcations on municipal performance. Arguments have centred on the reconfiguration of the sizes of municipalities, numbers, the type of municipalities and how this affects municipal finance and financial performance. Processes of demarcation employed by the Municipal Demarcation Board have been rejected and questioned mainly on financial and administrative impacts of amalgamations on municipal performances (Ncube and Vacu, 2016). In a national assembly meeting held in 2013, the ANC expressed its concerns on the impact of demarcation on
municipalities’ performance. It concluded that the MDB must take into consideration the effects of demarcations on municipal financials and performance in line with the mandate of demarcation, which is to break racial barriers and ensure the provision of basic needs to the people.

The debates on demarcation involve those for and against consolidation. Those who are for consolidation argue that it improves the effectiveness and efficiency of local government in the delivery of services. These scholars contend that bigger is not necessarily better or cheaper (Slack et al., 2013). The discourse is against the argument of MDB that bigger municipalities are efficient and thus able to reap more benefits regarding economic and service provision. They assert that savings in administrative overheads result because duplications are eliminated and reduce the numbers of politicians and bureaucrats. In this way, service delivery increases and the costs per unit are lower.

Bigger municipalities are said to be better technically and financially as compared to smaller or fragmented ones in providing an array of services (Dollery et al., 2007; Slack et al., 2013). Scholars who argue against large municipalities state that efficiency is a challenge with bigger ones compared to small municipalities, as the latter are arguably more efficient and more responsive to the needs of their citizens and have more transparent accountability channels (Faguet, 2004). These scholars further argue that having smaller municipalities stimulates competition and also citizen participation is more vigorous with access to authority through public hearings, meetings, elections, and direct contact (Ncube et al., 2016).

However, evidence shows that impact of consolidation is mixed, as seen in a study compiled by Byrens and Dollery in 2002 and in 2006 and studies conducted by Boyne
reviewing research in the United Kingdom and the United States on economies of scale after mergers. The findings revealed that consolidation is associated with higher financial implications. At the same time, a study in Canada conducted by Kushner and Sigel (2005) found that amalgamations of local governments improved efficiency in some municipalities yet inefficiency in others.

As indicated by the case study below conducted around the world looking at the impacts of municipal amalgamation, compiled by Ncube and Vacu in their report (2015/2016), the effect of consolidation is evident. These case studies seek to highlight that boundary changes can have positive and negative fiscal consequences for municipalities. However, these findings vary based on the country’s contextual issue and methods of data collection.

Fleischmann (1986) conducted a study in the USA looking into the implications of consolidation. The study aimed at analyzing the impacts and benefits of the amalgamations or boundary changes implemented in the United States during that time. The boundary changes from the findings of the study showed significant improvement as a small amalgamated municipality gained improvement in terms of service delivery. The municipality also gained in terms of new tax revenues, which aided in the performance of the municipalities. Furthermore, there were social and political gains; thus, the researcher concluded that the mergers were beneficial.

In a study conducted by Vojnovic (2000) in Canada used a sample case study of five consolidated Canadian municipalities. The study sought to examine fiscal, bureaucratic specialization, administration, equality and accountability issues. The findings of the study revealed that demarcation and rearrangement of municipal boundaries did not lead to fiscal accountability. The study argues that using other
alternative means could ensure equity, thereby avoiding municipal demarcations which are costly. Dollery and Byrnes further advocate this (2006), for example. This study provides the best options and useful information about how to conduct municipal demarcations.

In a similar study by Kushner and Siegel (2003) in Canada, they sought to assess the perceptions, attitudes etc. of citizens regarding the amalgamation of three Ontario municipalities. The findings of the study indicate that little support was given before the implementation of municipal amalgamation; this, therefore, had adverse effects regarding citizen participation in the demarcation. Respondents also felt that the value of the services declined after amalgamation, indicating that the amalgamations did not achieve the expected efficiency outcomes or gains.

A study conducted by McKay (2004) in the UK sought to examine the assumption that amalgamations promote efficiency in the municipalities. The aim was to look at what possible solutions came from the people, which could ensure that amalgamations live up to their expectations. The findings suggested ways in which amalgamations could be conducted to ensure positive gains. Results revealed that amalgamations are not the same, thus do not take the same direction. Due to this factor, they need to be treated as unique, and differently for each amalgamation, as communities and municipalities are not the same. Transparency resonated, as clear communication and explicit agreement and shared information ensures that everyone understands the purpose of the amalgamation.

Savitch et al.’s (2004) study conducted in the USA sought to test the hypothesis that amalgamations promote equity, efficiency and accountability. Findings revealed, however, that the above statement was false arguing the amalgamations or mergers
reduce efficiency and increase the costs associated with the transition (for example, harmonizing employment conditions and wages). While cost savings are minimal, inequities continue and, accountability problems worsen.

Dollery et al. (2007) conducted a study in South Australia examining the impact of amalgamations to municipal financial performance. The researcher argues that the size of a municipality has many effects on its performance in terms of catering to the citizens’ needs and communities. Therefore, amalgamations can affect the performance of municipalities. The study finding revealed the correlation between size and performance, advocating for a strategic form of amalgamations of municipalities.

Forsyth (2010) conducted a similar study in the USA, and it sought to examine postcolonial boundary consolidation and their impacts on the economic development of the country. The study used time series regression analysis and the findings revealed significant adverse effects of municipal performance and economic development, mainly territorial development. The study concluded that consolidation of counties gives no efficiency gains.

Hanes and Wikström (2010) conducted a cross-sectional study in Sweden, of five Swedish municipalities, which looked at the impact of municipal amalgamation on population growth and income growth. The study revealed that while amalgamations had positive influences on population growth, there was no effect on economic growth or municipal income. In terms of population growth, the study revealed that amalgamation reduced depopulation and migration.

The studies conducted by Fritz (2011) in Germany and Reingewertz (2012) in Israel share the premise of defiance in the different approaches to examining how municipal amalgamations mainly influence fiscal outcomes. In Germany, the study revealed
positive impacts on debt per capita and expenditure per capita, and a negative impact on expenditure for administrative staff. In Israel, however, the study showed positive results as municipal expenditure decreased. Still, it did not affect municipal performance in terms of basic needs, thus concluding that amalgamation can have positive impacts on municipal performance if conducted consciously, supported by research and a better understanding of the communities.

Slack and Bird (2013) in Canada, looked at the different ways to restructure the formal governance of metropolitan areas, focusing on municipal mergers in Toronto. In assessing the impact of municipal amalgamation on local spending, the study used per household spending for four services (libraries, garbage collection, parks and recreation, and fire). The results indicate that municipal amalgamation in Toronto failed to solve any of the problems that the merged municipalities faced prior to amalgamation and that amalgamation had harmed citizen participation. It concluded that amalgamations had both positive and negative impacts and therefore needed to be administered with caution.

5.7 Municipal Demarcation in South Africa

The study conducted by Ncube and Vacu (2016) looked at the impact of demarcations on municipal performance. They conducted their research in four municipalities: the city Tshwane, Mtubatuba municipality, Matatiele municipality and Bushbuckridge municipality, to assess the impact of boundary changes on the fiscal performance of the municipalities.

5.7.1 City of Tshwane

The City of Tshwane is a category A municipality established in December 2000 following the combination of various municipalities and council. This happened after
the Minister of Provincial and Local government announced in May 2008 the incorporation of Metsweding district municipality, Nokeng Tsa Taemane municipality, and Kungwini municipality into the City of Tshwane. The purpose of this demarcation was said to speed up processes of service delivery, especially in smaller municipalities as they seemed to be struggling with tax revenue. The aim of their incorporation into the big city of Tshwane was that they would gain some benefits, together with their communities (Ncube and Vacu, 2016).

Findings or data indicated that the merger had far-reaching financial implications for the Tshwane municipality as the estimated transition costs were at R1.04 billion. In as much as the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs only provided R 20 million to the City of Tshwane, this resulted in major challenges, leaving the Tshwane municipality with a considerable deficit. In the process, the municipality had inherited an enormous debt from the small municipalities incorporated with it. The City of Tshwane also inherited a huge debt from the incorporated municipalities.

5.7.2 Mtubatuba Municipality

In 2011, the extension of municipal boundaries of Mtubatuba in KwaZulu-Natal included portions of Mpukunyoni Traditional Council. In the process extending the geographical land of Mtubatuba to 1970 km² and increasing the population from 44 953 people to 160 637 people. These boundary changes resulted in some significant expenditure changes as the budget of this municipality increased from R72 million to R85 million after one year of the re-demarcation. This resulted in massive backlogs, and municipal revenue also rose alongside the expenditure. Their revenue was, however, stagnant indicating that the demarcation process did not improve municipal revenue base.
5.7.3 Matatiele Municipality

In 2006, the Matatiele municipality was moved from Sisonke District Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal and incorporated into the Alfred Nzo District Municipality in the Eastern Cape. Before the merger, the municipality had a population of 597,211, which increased after demarcation to 663,271. Compared to the other case studies, a different story emerges from the Matatiele Municipality’s financial indicators. The municipality ran a deficit on its budget before the demarcation, and a surplus after the demarcation in 2006. A key factor explaining the surplus after 2006 was the limited capacity to spend, especially on capital expenditure. Total expenditures jumped from R41-million in 2005/6 to R83-million in 2006/7, driven mainly by increased personnel expenditure, as more people were hired to service the newly incorporated areas – the number of municipal employees grew by more than 100% (Ncube and Vacu, 2016).

5.7.4 Bushbuckridge Municipality

Bushbuckridge is a category B municipality whose boundaries changed in 2006. This municipality was incorporated into the Ehlanzeni District Municipality and received water and sanitation authority and service delivery functions. The finding indicates that demarcation, however, did result in significant changes to the municipality’s tax base. This transition led to considerable disruptions of service delivery, as shown by the expenditure. Before the demarcation (2003/04–2005/06), the municipality had been under-spending but, in the year of the demarcation and the following year, over-spent by 15% and 9%, respectively. However, within another two years, the municipality was again under-spending and has had surpluses of more than 50% since 2010/11 (Ncube and Vacu, 2016).
These are the few studies conducted in South Africa, which investigated the impact of re-demarcation on municipal fiscal performance and service delivery. Most of the research data focusing on the effects of demarcation on municipal performance are conducted abroad. The reason being that re-demarcation is new in Africa and still on a trial and error basis. Thus, the need for studies that seek to understand re-demarcations, types of re-demarcations, challenges, and advantages of re-demarcation in Africa.

5.8 Demarcation costs and alternatives to boundary changes

The central question is, who should pay for these demarcations, as they are expensive? Demarcations have financial implications for the municipalities affected. Thus Section 25 of the Municipal Demarcation Act cautions against impulsive behaviour in demarcations, stressing that this process should be free of any prejudice and must not be biased in its execution. The standard guiding principle is to ensure that all municipalities are financially viable and have the necessary administrative capacity. Although the consideration and prioritization of many factors can be difficult, diligence needs to be enforced regarding the financial implications of demarcation, which can affect the economic viability of demarcated municipalities. The following should be preconditions for any mergers:

Boundary demarcations are expensive and can have dire financial implications to the municipalities; therefore, there is a need for careful consideration. A thorough investigation needs to be ushered, directed at the risks of demarcations before the announcement of boundary changes, the findings should be made public. A due diligence exercise should be undertaken to isolate potential risks and single out
important issues and dynamics. Due diligence should, among other things, establish the following:

i. The financial situation of the affected municipalities; the number and remuneration of workers in the affected municipalities; the value and condition of assets; the debtors and creditors of the affected municipalities; and

ii. The existing contracts and other legal proceedings for all merging municipalities.

The costs of a merger should ideally consist of transitional (both direct and indirect) costs attributed only to the merger. Before taking a final decision to amalgamate, indicative costs or issues should be established, such as infrastructure costs, administrative costs and human resource costs. Table three below provides in detail all expenses that need to be considered before demarcation is implemented.

Table 3: infrastructure and administrative costs of municipal demarcations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infrastructure Costs</th>
<th>Administrative Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrating and consolidating programs</td>
<td>Rationalization of services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrading of data service</td>
<td>Change management costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair and maintenance</td>
<td>Attainment of skilled and technological advance human resources, financial and payroll systems; Harmonization of systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminating backlogs</td>
<td>Rationalization of fees and tax rates, harmonization of asset registers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rationalization of voters roll</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merge management, coordination and communication costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human resources costs</td>
<td>Debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonization of wages, salaries and allowance (wages are often set at the highest level paid by separate municipalities)</td>
<td>Debt servicing cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonization of human resources policies</td>
<td>Liabilities fiscal costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonization of councillor allowances</td>
<td>Revenues and Expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost associated with retraining and retooling workers</td>
<td>Irrecoverable consumer debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs associated with staff redeployment</td>
<td>Increase in expenditure due to wages and services rationalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retrenchment or staff layoff costs</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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5.9 Summary

This chapter explored the land question in South Africa and the challenges encountered, it further explored the transition phase to the new democratic government. The chapter outlined the history of land and spatial landscapes, contemporary South Africa, decentralisation of government, the need for local government, re-demarcation and the formation of the municipal demarcation board.

The chapter raised different debates and arguments from several scholars in a manner that highlighted the need for transition in South Africa and the various policies implemented, which seek to adjust and undo the past colonial/ apartheid effects to the boundaries and landscapes of the country. It viewed demarcation as a way of reshaping a country’s borders, ensuring efficient and effective municipal performance.

Concerns have been raised about the impact on the demarcation of municipal performance, municipal revenues, expenditures, tax bases, and liabilities. The impact of boundary changes on the financial and fiscal performance of municipalities becomes an area of concern. In this chapter, the author assessed the effects of demarcation on municipal performance by evaluating local and international case studies. Demarcation processes are costly, can be disruptive and distract from a
municipality’s core business. Thus, demarcations are delicate and careful planning needs to be conducted prior to implementation.
CHAPTER SIX
POLICIES, ACTS, AND PROCEDURES REGULATING LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL DEMARCATION BOARD (GOOD GOVERNANCE)

6.1 Introduction

The chapter explores and assesses Acts, policies, and procedures that govern the local government sphere in line with the principle of good governance. The concept of good governance has gained a lot of recognition over the years, with regards to leadership and management. This concept is viewed as a way forward to ensure a smooth transition to development, especially in developing countries. Within this context, this chapter seeks to examine the concept of good governance in local government and municipal demarcation by firstly examining the policies set in place to manage local government and their procedures regarding public participation and provision of services to their citizens. The good governance principles are discussed in relation to amalgamations or demarcations of the South African rural boundaries and specifically in the demarcation of the Vuwani area. This chapter further seeks to examine the adherence to good governance principles by local government and municipal demarcation board when re-demarcating Vuwani.

6.2 Adherence of government to good governance principles

The starting point when discussing adherence of government to sound governance principles is the definition of the term ‘good governance’ and its importance and relevance to government. Good governance is not a new term, but the idea has gained recognition over time. The concept of good governance gained recognition as the governance spheres seemed to lack a way of developing sustainable economic growth
across the world; hence, issues of principalities and accountability became of great concern. Experts of good governance aimed at re-shaping governance as a whole, doing away with factors associated with bad governance, factors that did not yield positive results. It is crucial that when we speak of good governance, a distinction is made as to what comprises bad governance. Scholars have argued that bad governance is characterized by factors such as mismanagement, lack of accountability, lack of transparency, corruption, and lack of respect for human rights, resulting in the underdevelopment of the people. Bad governance is thus viewed as the main contributor to the many ills that the world faces currently.

The World Bank and IMF structures were amongst the first to raise concerns that many countries lagged in terms of economic development despite having been eligible and awarded developmental financial loans. Weak government structures in the said countries’ structural adjustment programs initiated by the World Bank and IMF had failed.

The World Bank and IMF had acknowledged that there seem to be diverse views of good governance amongst the developing countries, as some considered good governance to be based on technical issues and the economy. In contrast, others understood it to be based on social and political aspirations. The World Bank and IMF viewed effectiveness, capacity, and efficiency as the former, while they viewed democracy, human rights, accountability, and responsiveness as elements of the latter. In the World Bank report published in 1989, the institution had sought answers as to why strategic adjustment policies had failed mainly in countries in Africa. Hence, they pointed at governance as the crisis that needed to be reviewed.
The main challenges were the following:

i. Government officials were found to have placed their own interests above those of their people, hindering aspects such as accountability and transparency.

ii. Illegal and non-qualifying personnel in leadership.

iii. Creation of personal relationship that did not serve the state.

iv. Issues of personal politics and benefactions.

Given this background, it was evident that a need for a new form of government was pressing, which gave rise to the concept of “good governance”. The concept ‘good governance’ was generally understood to make sound policies and management of resources. Good governance was interpreted and understood as the exercise of legal rights, aimed to achieve economic, cultural, and social objectives. The World Bank defined good governance in 1992 as a method of power practice in the management of economic and social resources of a country in line with development.

The then Secretary-General of the UN, Antonio Guterres defined good governance as the establishment of sound operational and liable, legitimate institutions in terms of administrative, politically fair to the citizens with transparent and public participation in all decisions ensuring empowerment and development in respect to human rights (Mohammed, 2017)

Manguella further defines good-governance as the practice of fair, efficient, effective, accountable and transparent governance respecting the rights of its people (Manguella, 2004). At the same time, Johnston defines good governance as competency matters in government in terms of resource distribution in a fair manner with equal treatment in respect of all its citizens (Johnston, 2017).
The above definitions all seek to define good governance and its characteristics. They share a common understanding, in that good governance relates to accountability, transparency, and respect for human rights. Good governance is participatory, effective and efficient amid equality for all. Therefore, the central question of this study is, to what extent did local government, together with MDB, adhere to the principles of good governance in demarcating the Vuwani Vhembe district?

6.3 Good governance principles

There are eight characteristics or principles of good governance, namely, human rights (the rule of law), participatory development (public participation), transparency, responsiveness, accountability, equity, effectiveness, and efficiency.

6.3.1 Human rights (Rule of law)

Good governance advocates for the respect of human rights. The principle stresses fair treatment and equality for all in the practice of governance. The principle emphasizes full participation of those viewed as a minority in all decision-making processes. It campaigns for an independent judiciary to facilitate issues of human rights (What is good governance? 2012). Shivute (2008) argues that the rule of law principle is of paramount importance since it is the ground base of government, especially in light of Africa which had been colonized and infringed upon for a long time. He further contends that the new democratic South Africa needs to take into account all the views of all stakeholders, mainly those previously marginalized. He also argues that the critical value of the state authority is to be legally practised within the constraints of applicable laws and procedures (Shivute, 2008: 213).
Law is defined as the existence of frameworks, policies, and regulations that govern society and is an important tool in the development of the country and its citizens. Law stipulates and defines what is right and wrong (Heywood, 2003: 301). According to Nzongola-Ntalana (1997: 14), the rule of law consists of regulation, equality, legal frameworks that ensure orderly processes of the social world. The rule of law is viewed as the crucial principle of good governance as it promotes the values and views of the Constitution and other legal policies of the country (Hussein, 2005: 10).

6.3.2 Public participation

Public participation is a concept that has gained popularity over the years. Participation is defined as involvement of people in the planning, implementation, and development of government at all level (Williams, 2009: 197). Participation is essential as it ensures accountability and transparency of government in rendering services. This principle ensures that people have a say in their own development and the direction of their development from the grassroots level to the highest point of the program. Participation needs to be meaningful; inviting people to a meeting yet prohibiting them from contributing meaningfully, or allowing people to participate but not considering their point, is not what public participation entails. People need to have a meaningful contribution to the planning and running of government or programs.

Over the years, the government operated on a top-down approach to development. Top-down development is defined as a dictatorship, as people are told what happens without their involvement. It is the assumption of knowing what people need without consulting them (Connell, 2014). This form of governance is not conducive to a developmental state, thus the need for the bottom-up approach. The bottom-up approach values the meaningful involvement of citizens. It views people as the sole
facilitators of their development. The argument is that the people themselves know what troubles them and they have possible solutions on how to overcome shocks in their livelihoods. This affords them the ability to ensure the human development approach that states that development needs to be for the people, of the people, and by the people (Friedman, 2006: 4). Nayak, 2014 argues that public participation minimizes issues of conflict as all people are involved and informed of the processes of governance.

In the sense of the current study, public participation argues that citizens and all stakeholders involved and affected by the demarcation of Vuwani need to form part of discussions and debates from the planning phase of demarcation. Public participation scholars argue that if they are correct and transparent, information and participation from stakeholders hinders the rise of conflicts and riots in local government and demarcation issues.

6.3.3 Transparency

Transparency means openness with decisions by following the law and making all information transparent. The argument is that government must be transparent to its citizens as information needs to be easily accessible to the people. This concept advocates for dialogue about social and economic issues affecting societies (Pope, 2007: 116). Ladi (2008) argues that to achieve transparency in the public sector, structures that promote honesty and openness need to be promoted together with practical internal and external measures that need to be applied (Ladi, 2008: 29). The author further argues that there should be the establishment of suitable measures which are easily accessible to the people to spread knowledge in realizing transparency. This, in turn, leads to people being informed and increases levels of
participation, leading to accountability in the provision of basic needs to the people. It uses the spirit of togetherness, limiting incidences of conflicts.

Government has an obligation as stipulated by the Constitution to inform citizens of procedures and processes of governance. In demarcation, the government has liability for communicating and providing information to community stakeholders proposed for amalgamations or mergers. Dialogues are to be held with intentions of knowledge sharing and participation. Debates about policies and future directions need to be made in collaboration with citizens to prevent chaos or misconceptions. The proceedings by local government and the Municipal Demarcation Board are to be transparent to the community members of Vuwani and all relevant stakeholders. Sittings such as “Khoro”, dialogues, and debates, need to be a norm prior to demarcation, ensuring the free flow of information on issues of why the area is to be demarcated, thereby allowing for all stakeholders to voice out their opinions and challenges.

6.3.4 Responsiveness

This principle enforces the efficiency of government with regards to challenges affecting their communities, such as service delivery; it speaks of the time it takes for the government to respond to the social ills experienced by societies (Prinsloo, (2013); Rondinelli and Cheeman, (2003:99-100). This principle advocates for stakeholder participation. Scholars such as Ncebenza, (2013) indicated that demarcations are sometimes rejected based on the record of accomplishment of municipalities to be merged. Therefore, adherence of municipalities to sound governance principles can improve the relations with citizens and their history of accomplishment, ensuring the
provision of service delivery. This, in turn, can improve demarcations acceptability by citizens, as municipalities perform well.

6.3.5 Accountability

William (2006) defines accountability as the form of responsibility in all spheres, from decision making to implementation, be it products or decision-making. The government needs to be accountable to its citizens, and all its actions regarding planning, administration, performance, and governance platforms need to be in place, where communities can have a question and answer process to facilitate clarity, transparency, and accountability (William, 2006). Accountability ensures that the government is in good standing with the people, thereby avoiding chances of conflict. Good governance provides a platform for local government to be held accountable for its performance in rendering basic needs to the people. This principle enforces the notion that government is answerable and has a liability to its citizens.

6.3.6 Equity

Equity ensures equality. For a society to prosper, it needs to respect the views of the marginalized groups; the old, children, women, rural poor people, and other members of the community, especially vulnerable groups who need to feel that they have a stake in the well-being of their society and must not be excluded from mainstream society.

Equity principles share the same analogy with the rule to law principle as they advocate for fairness and equality in the treatment of people or citizens. Given the history of Africa, South Africa is a perfect example of how black people were sidelined and were not treated equally compared to other ethnic groups. The relative deprivation theory
explains this phenomenon clearly as it argues that when people are not treated fairly or equal this creates a sense of betrayal and results in a change of behaviour resulting in protests or riots (Walker, 1984).

Given the history of colonization in Africa, there is a need to ensure equality. Policies and legislation are enforced that seek to promote human rights and equality for all. When citizens feel that their rights are infringed, they have a responsibility to challenge the government. The equality principle advocates for three standard principles that state that all citizens be viewed equally before the law, stressing the need for government to base their actions on well-defined legal authorities. The principle further advocates fairness and transparency in their procedures and prohibits corruption at all costs. The principle lastly advocates for information sharing that is transparent in its dealing and its policies allowing citizens to be at the forefront of any actions. The government can improve the participation of stakeholders in ensuring development, but the government cannot work in isolation (Prinsloo, 2013).

6.3.7 Effectiveness and efficiency

Effectiveness is defined as a process of adhering to set goals (Jones et al., 1996: 10). Effectiveness is goal orientated, referring to the achievement of set targets or goals. Government effectiveness ensures delivery of goods and resources to the citizens and based on this, the government either achieves or fails in its goals. The main question regarding efficiency and effectiveness is; has the government reached its set outcomes, or in other words, has it met its objectives and goals?

Cohen, 1993: 49 further states that defining effectiveness is a challenge, as there is no standard for all organizations as it varies based on different organizational types and goals. Gaertner et al. (2018) emphasize that effectiveness is not a representative
of organizations but an ongoing process ensuring that the organization delivers to its people or stakeholders. This can be done through a process of continuous evaluation of the organization’s program to vigilantly correct, ensuring that outcomes are reached.

6.4 Legislative framework for good governance by local government and Municipal Demarcation Board.

6.4.1 The Republic Constitution of South Africa Act 105, 1996

The dawn of political independence across all African countries was highly anticipated as it promised the beginning of more incredible things to come, the start of a new promised land. The new democratic government was expected to provide the key to total socio-economic development. The post-colonial government was tasked with transforming the structural and economic inequalities afflicting African citizens, due to past inequalities. The new democratic South African government sought to correct this past inequality mainly by land distribution. In addressing these inequalities, the South African government sought to re-arrange local government and reframe spatial dimensions of the country (Makwerere, 2015).

The Constitution, therefore, set its beginning stages in addressing the inequalities of the past by creating new tripartite spheres of government. Foundation of the tripartite spheres of government was supported by the notion that the government needed to closely work with the people and understand challenges faced by the citizens. The Constitution advocates that all spheres of government be distinct but share the common goal of developing and providing basic services to the people of South Africa. The Constitution governs all spheres of government, laws, and policies set out by the national parliament.
The Constitution further established that boundaries of South Africa need to be re-demarcated as they had represented the apartheid colonial era, thus the establishment of the MBD. The MBD is an independent body whose mandate is to redraw and re-adjust spatial landscapes of the country. It implemented the dismantlement of the then four provinces of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape. The foundation and roles and responsibilities of the MBD are highlighted in Chapter Seven of the Constitution. The sections below deal with MDB’s functions and seek to analyse the process and reasoning of development of this board.

Chapter 7 of the 1996 Constitution extensively defines the roles and responsibility of the local government sphere. Local government sphere is viewed as an essential and crucial form of government. Local government sphere is additionally considered as an agency for basic needs provision, as it is situated at the ground roots level, closer to the people. The Constitution highlights the forms and categories of municipalities, issues of power, responsibilities, and internal procedures in ensuring that local government and municipality adhere to their mandate and are viable structures of government.

At the forefront of all this development and change to facilitate democracy of the new dawn South Africa, demarcation gained its stand. In the discussion, a realization arose that the starting point was to adjust the past inequalities, starting with the issue of land allocation and re-drawing of boundaries, ensuring that municipalities are sizable, so they deliver on their mandate. The Constitution, therefore, centralized demarcations as a restructuring and reconstructive assignment to local government, marking the birth of demarcations in South Africa.
Good governance principles are paramount to ensure that the country does not repeat history but rather lives up to its expectations of a democratic, developmental South Africa for all that live in it. Section 195 of the Constitution provides bases of good governance as it stipulates that the following principles need to be taken into consideration. These principles are:

i. Ethical consideration of the local government
ii. Responsiveness and accountability in rendering services to the people
iii. Public participation to be at the forefront as people are agencies of their own development
iv. Fairness and equity
v. Transparency of all process of government
vi. Respect for human rights at all times

Local government and MDB thus have a mandate in line with the good governance principles to fulfil their constitutional roles and responsibilities to ensure good governance and the spirit of partnership. The bottom-up approach needs to be respected, as the Constitution and its preamble focus on people’s will.

6.4.2 Municipal Finance Management Act 2003 (Act 56 of 2003)

The Municipal Financial Management Act, 56 of 2003, is the most prominent legislation as it governs the financial processes of municipalities. This piece of legislation is important, as there has been a high incidence of corruption, and misuse of funds reported over time. This legislation issues directions and protocols on the use and supervision of municipal or local government finances, budget, its revenues, issues on audits and reports. The purpose of the Act is to ensure a decrease in wasteful expenditure of government and taxpayer’s funds.
The objectives of the acts pointed out in Chapter One of the Act are:

i. Transparency and accountability regarding municipal financial undertakings

ii. Ensure that financial assets of municipalities are managed appropriately

iii. Minimize or eradicate matters of corruption by monitoring financial aspects of municipalities/local government

iv. Proper documentation to be filed in line with supply chain management of financial matters

v. Proper channels of handling financial problems of municipalities.

The Act provides a detailed systematic process on the utilization of municipal finances, transparency being the key or mandate facilitated or promoted by this Act. Section 22 of the Act stipulates that annual budgets are to be made public and to be tabulated by all stakeholders, ensuring public participation, transparency, and accountability of local government municipalities. Section 102 of the Act implements strict guidelines on how to deal with issues of irregular, wasteful, fruitless expenditure by municipalities, and procedure to follow in ensuring punishment for those involved in this behaviour by law. The Act provides systematic guidelines on how municipalities can prevent issues of wasteful expenditure. In so doing, the Act emphasizes that municipalities are liable to the citizens of South Africa in creating a better future for all.

In light of the study, demarcations have been proven to be costly, thus the need for a well-communicated and workable plan with all stakeholders involved in ensuring that they yield the proposed outcomes. When not managed appropriately, demarcation can be costly, resulting in wasteful expenditure to the state, and leading to conflict as observed in places such as Matatiele.
6.4.5 Municipal Electoral Act 2000 (Act 27 of 2000)

The South African government prides itself on being a democratic developing state, ensuring that its people can exercise their human rights. This is so because South Africa had previously been engulfed by a dark cloud of colonialism and apartheid that stripped its people, mainly black people, of their rights. Scholars who write on development, such as Talcott Parsons and Faulkner Williams, argue that a country and its people are viewed as developed when they have and partake in all the different dimensions of development, that is, economic, political, human, territorial and sustainable development (Alkine, 2010). Political development had been infringed in South Africa, and African black people as a whole, making this policy or Act essentially seeks to award South African people a voice and electoral power or control of their vote.

South Africa is a democratic country, which means South African citizens elect their government structures and people to serve them. The electoral acts, therefore, seek to ensure that South Africa has this right and is practised accordingly. The municipal electoral Act of 2000, guides and regulates municipal elections and voting stations to ensure fairness in its processes.

6.4.6 Promotion of access to information Act 2000 (Act 2 of 2000)

This Act is grounded on the transparency principle of good governance. The assumption is that when there is access and shared knowledge of the dealings and operations of government with all stakeholders, there is less corruption and higher accountability adherence of government. The promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000 facilitates this mandate regarding transparency as it sets out guidelines and processes to be followed by the local government municipality in ensuring that there
are no infringements on human rights to knowledge and decision-making processes. The Act serves a more significant mandate initiated by the Constitution of South Africa, which clearly states that knowledge and information need to be shared and freely accessible to all stakeholders inclusive of the citizens of South Africa.

In regards to demarcation, processes and allocations by the MDB are to be shared freely amongst all stakeholders involved and affected by the said demarcation. This is to prevent misconceptions, which can manifest as conflicts, protests, and riots. Thus, when protests arise the main starting point in dealing with them is to understand and examine if all processes as initiated by the Constitution and Acts in terms of ensuring good governance have been followed.

The promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000 highlights several objectives. That is:

i. To carry out the mandate of the Constitution by ensuring access to all information held by the state or any official or personnel that can hinder and impinge on people’s rights.

ii. To establish guidelines on sharing of information but not impinging on any human rights of all stakeholders, thus ensuring voluntary mechanisms and procedures on obtaining information

iii. To promote social justice of public bodies in a quest to promote transparency as per the mandate of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

iv. To promote good governance principles of transparency, accountability, efficiency by the government and the people of South Africa.

With regards to the study area, local government and the Municipal Demarcation Board need to avail all information regarding areas to be merged or amalgamated to
communities affected before the initiation of the process. Communities involved need to fully understand the aim and intentions of demarcation and consent to it. Community meetings/“Khoro” must be held to iron out any conflicting matters.

6.4.7 Municipal Structures Act 117 of 2003

The Municipal Structures Act is a policy that seeks to ensure that municipalities can carry their mandate efficiently. The Act begins by allocating municipalities into different categories, which is essential as categories differ with executive power in carrying out the mandate of local government. Categories of municipalities also vary based on location and structure. The process of categorizing municipalities is essential mainly concerning the mandate of the MDB whose sole purpose is to re-draw the spatial landscape of the country and ensure that municipalities can cater for their people based on the resources they have.

The Municipal Structures Act identifies three categories of municipalities, namely, category A, B, and C. It further elaborates on the roles and responsibilities of these categories. Category A municipality is also named metropolitan municipalities. There are eight metropolitan municipalities in South Africa, and this form of a municipality has executive and legislative functions as it feeds to different cities or districts. This form of a municipality is similar to the consolidated city-country in America, which is made of mergers of cities to form a municipality.

A category B municipality shares municipal executive and legislative powers. It works under the leadership of a district as is divided between the district and local municipality. A Category C municipality has municipal executive and legislative powers in an area that it serves in. categorization of municipalities is essential as it gives
directions as to which forms of municipalities can be demarcated and qualify to have wards (Monare, 2010).

Municipal demarcation is essential in controlling the size of municipalities, to ensure that municipalities can cater to the needs of their communities. Demarcation aims to improve financial performance and to ensure the sustainability of municipalities. The question however is; does municipal demarcation achieve that which it seeks to?

6.4.8 Prevention and combat of corrupt activities Act, 12 of 2004 (Act 12 of 2004)

Corruption is a major challenge that has affected local government over the years leading to the restriction of adherence to good governance principles. Corruption takes form when officials put their interests above those of the people or citizens, resulting in misuse of finances. This is a dire problem in governance that results in failure to provide resources to the people. Thus, these Acts seek to strengthen policies in combating corruption in the government spheres. The Prevention and Combat of Corrupt Activities Act provides for the following:

i. that measures be put in place to prohibit corruption;

ii. that once corruption has happened those liable need to be prosecuted;

iii. ensures more regulations relating to tenders, allocation of contracts, financial misuse, and thus procedures of allocation should be followed;

iv. Accountability of certain personnel holding positions to report corruption.

The Act serves to prohibit officials from serving their interests at the expense of the people. This Act is essential in municipal demarcation as the policy, and the Constitution stipulate that the MDB should operate freely and independently from any influences and biases to ensure that it does not implicate itself. Stakeholders such as ward councillors and traditional leaders should at all times be introspective and ensure
that their agendas do not influence demarcation. In Vuwani, traditional leaders had challenged demarcation and stated that they were not involved in the planning, arguing that the demarcation was solely granted to carry specific agendas. This contention led to protests and riots.

6.5 Legislative framework for good governance by Municipal Demarcation Board

6.5.1 The Demarcation Act 27 of 1998

The Demarcation Act is the main piece of legislation that sets out the process and criteria that demarcation has to follow. The Act gave rise to the establishment of the MDB, outlining the roles, functions, and responsibilities of the Board. The Act further clarifies issues of power and operations of the Board with much emphasis on the harmonious delimitation of the South African boundaries. Under Section 155, the Act pinpoints the nomination and appointment of members of staff for the board, the roles of the chair and guiding principles of operation.

The Act under Section 25, further outlines the criteria and types of municipalities to be demarcated. It also stipulates the role of the MDB in identifying and supporting reasons for the delimitation of a municipality. The Act further highlights that demarcations must be democratic as the government is accountable to the local communities. It advocates for public participation as communities need to understand the purpose and benefits of said demarcations. Demarcations need to be informed by the good governance principles, as the sole mandate is to improve the provision of basic needs, ensuring that municipalities can provide to their people in terms of size and finances.
Demarcation should promote social and economic development, thereby creating sustainable environments (Monare, 2010).

Communication and sharing of information is the underlining principle as outlined by the good governance transparency principle. The MDB is liable to publish and circulate the notes of areas to be delineated and intentions behind the demarcation within 21 days before proceeding with said demarcation. This ensures that all stakeholders are informed and involved.

The Demarcation Act also outlines clearly the process for the determination or redetermination of municipal boundaries. Before determination of a municipal boundary, the Board must publish a notice in terms of Section 26 of the MDA in a newspaper circulating in the relevant areas. The notice has to state the Board’s intention and invite public participation by making written representations within 21 days.

6.6. Poor governance and its consequences

Inadequate or poor governance is viewed as the cause of all the social ills currently experienced in the world. Poor governance is directly the opposite of what constitutes good governance. It is associated with a lack of equality, transparency, accountability, corruption, and has no regard for the rule of law. Midjkan (2014) states that in the quest to reverse and prevent the implication of bad governance, the status quo has changed in support of measures of good governance in ensuring that we achieve development objectives. This, he argues, has been the new direction of management that countries share in the quest to end all social ills, making use of the resources we have (Midjkan, 2014).
The inefficiency of government over the years questions the root cause of challenges the country and continent faces. The World Bank evaluated developing countries after realising that the structural adjustment programs had failed. The major contributor was found to be a lack of transparency, corruption, unaccountability, and lack of leadership. Thus, the need for the enforcement of good governance principles (Owoye et al., 2009: 1).

Corruption has been the major crippling factor in ensuring compliance of government in most countries. Corruption is mostly linked to a lack of transparency and accountability. Rachel (2012) argues that bad governance uses authoritarianism, non-liberating stile, in so doing, infringes on people’s rights. A top-down approach enforces this form of management, which assumes that people cannot make their own decisions. It lacks clear a communication structure and is thus prone to corruption and government is not transparent and does not account to its people (Rachel, 2012).

Lack of sound governance principles such as accountability, participation, and transparency is detrimental to the processes of re-demarcation and can lead to riots and strikes. Therefore bad governance can contribute to social ills and a need for adherence to good-governance principles is indispensable for the development of the rural communities, government, and South Africa as a whole.

Poor leadership is also a significant contributor to bad governance. Leadership is the cornerstone of program development. The history of African countries shows a detrimental impact on the challenges with leadership that currently engulfs the African continent. Political and governance leadership is vital in government as the success and failure of a country are based on those who drive the views and notions. If the
administration is corrupt and uninformed, it filters to all structures of governance, crippling any innovation to move the country forward (Bogenschneider, 2016).

Service delivery is a major indicator of bad governance in Africa, with increasing riots as community members challenge the local government, expressing dissatisfaction regarding services rendered or lack of service delivery. According to Daleney (2007), fifteen social delivery protests take place daily in South Africa. Daleney further states that in a country that does not listen to the cries of its people, it leaves the communities with one form of communicating their grievances - violent demonstrations.

The Khutsong protest of 2005 is an example of service delivery dissatisfaction by the people of South Africa. Much of the demarcation disputes or rejections have service delivery as an underlying catalyst, as communities can either accept or reject demarcations to municipalities or provinces viewed as slacking behind in the provision of basic needs. The Khutsong community is a typical example of how community members rejected amalgamation to the North West province solely on the performance of the North West provincial government in catering to the needs of its people.

The community retaliated in a vicious demonstration to express disapproval of the said demarcation, protesting to remain with the Gauteng Province where access to basic needs seemed better. Many such protests have increased over the years, from the likes of Matatiele, Durban, Vuwani, and so forth. (Reddy, 2016: 189).

Reddy (2016: 13) poses a series of questions to unpack democracy and good governance concerning the demarcation process. He questions, “The promises of 1994, that is a constitutional democratic country founded on strong civil tradition, why then are South African society becoming so difficult to govern?”
6.7 Summary

The researcher has unpacked the concept of good governance and its implementation to local government and demarcation as a possible area to target in ensuring a smooth transition. This included issues of public participation, arguing that public involvement in decision-making yields a better understanding of the government process and intentions. The chapter highlighted policies that seek to ensure good governance in local government and demarcation processes. The argument that local government and the MDB need to follow and ensure compliance with the principles in catering and demarcating boundaries in South Africa.
CHAPTER SEVEN
FINDINGS AND DATA PRESENTATION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the data gathered during the research process on the demarcation disputes in Vuwani and the establishment of the Collins Chabane municipality. The Vuwani areas affected by the demarcation and the conflicts are Mashau, Masakona, Doli, Masia, Bungeni and Vyebom. For the purposes of this study, all these areas were grouped as Vuwani communities. The study employed a mixed-method approach, and the findings are mainly in two ways: by narratives which are thematic forms and address specific topics related to the research questions; by quantitative data presentation with the use of bar graphs and tabulations with descriptions to unpack the findings. Data presentation in this chapter adopts a collaborative format of both qualitative and quantitative data, presented simultaneously to back and support the conclusions. A discussion of data presentation of both quantitative and qualitative method follows below.

This study aims to examine demarcation disputes in Vuwani and their implications. In so doing, the study examines Vuwani residents’ perceptions of the Municipal Demarcation Board, the process of demarcation, and the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality. The following objectives accord the study:

1. To assess the factors of re-demarcation disputes in the Vuwani Vhembe district.
2. To investigate concepts concerning municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district.
3. To investigate misconceptions between communities and the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) concerning re-demarcation of Vuwani Vhembe district.

4. To establish MDB compliance with sound governance principles when re-demarcating municipalities in Vuwani Vhembe district.

5. To determine the link between service delivery satisfaction and municipal re-demarcation dispute in Vuwani.

Main question

What is the nature of contestation of municipal re-demarcation in the Vuwani Vhembe District?

Sub-questions

1. What are the factors contributing to municipal re-demarcation disputes in Vuwani area of Vhembe district?

2. What are the conceptions concerning municipal re-demarcation by communities and MDB?

3. What are the misconceptions concerning municipal re-demarcation by communities and MDB, “is there a third force”?

4. What are MDB compliance strategies to good governance principles in re-demarcating Vuwani?

5. What is the correlation between municipal demarcation disputes and service delivery provision in Vuwani?
7.2 Quantitative data presentation

Quantitative data presentation explains and presents statistical findings of this research. SPSS version 25 was used for analysis, and all tests were carried out at 5% level of significance. The researcher used descriptive statistics such as graphical tables, pie charts and bar-charts to aid the analysis of data and make the results more precise. First, the study made use of Cronbach’s alpha coefficient to test for the reliability of the research instrument. A descriptive approach, coupled with a non-parametric chi-square test of equal proportions was opted for, comparing the differences in the perception of respondents on various aspects of the research instrument. To present and discuss the results, the chapter begins with the presentation of the demographic and occupational distribution linking that information with the issues in question. The sections that follow examine the analysis and interpretation of data obtained from the respondents through the questionnaire.

7.2.1 Internal consistency

The study first presents the internal consistency of the data collection instruments. Cronbach’s alpha coefficient (Cronbach, 1951) was used to test for the reliability of the research instrument. A reliability of 0.70 or higher is regarded as appropriate (Dunn, Baguley, and Brunsden, 2013). Table 4 shows the reliability of each scale as it relates to the variable measured. The Cronbach’s alpha for the scales shows high-reliability coefficients for the research instrument.
The researcher felt it fit to first present the biographical data of the participants before presenting the findings of the study, highlighting the context of the participants and their biographic background.

7.3 Biographical data of respondents

Before a detailed analysis of the data was done, elemental distributions according to the study’s biographical profile was initially performed. A descriptive approach was used to describe the biographical and occupational variables (see Table 5 below).

### Table 4: Reliability analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Theoretical Variables</th>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Cronbach’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Re-Demarcation</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.736**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link between service delivery and re-demarcation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.744**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Performance</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.938**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Instrument</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0.725**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Significantly acceptable reliability
Table 5: Descriptive statistics for biographical variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>63.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>20 years and below</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 – 30 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 – 40 years</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 – 50 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 – 60 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<td>60+ years</td>
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<td>Primary education</td>
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<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Secondary education</td>
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<td>10.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric Degree</td>
<td>31.5 Post Matric Cert/Diploma</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Post degree qualification</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>14.1 Ethnicity Pedi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tshonga</td>
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<td>Venda</td>
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<td>38.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pensioner</td>
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<td>5.4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>This district</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>93.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Within this Province</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Different Province</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=92

A graphical presentation and description of the descriptive statistics of the biographical information is outlined below.
7.3.2 Percentage distribution by gender

Figure 2 depicts the gender of respondents. The majority of the respondents (63.0%, n = 58) were male, while females comprised 37.0% of the respondents (n = 34).

7.3.3 Percentage distribution by age

Figure 3 shows the distribution of respondents according to their age. The majority of the respondents (37.0%, n = 34) are in the 31 to 40 age group, while 23.9% (n = 22) are in the 21 to 30 age group and the 41 to 50 age group. Eleven respondents (12.0%) fall in the age category of 51 to 60 years, two (2.2%) are in the age group of 60 years and above whilst only one respondent falls in the 20 years and below age group.
7.3.4 Percentage distribution by educational qualification

Figure 4 illustrates the highest educational qualification categories of the respondents. The graph shows that most respondents (31.5%; n = 29) had a matric certificate as their highest qualification. Out of the 92 respondents, 17 respondents (18.5%) had a post-matric certificate or diploma as their highest qualification, while 16 respondents (17.4%) had a degree. Only four respondents (4.3%) had primary education as their highest qualification, while only three (3.3%) had no formal education. On the other hand, 13 (14.1%) respondents had a post-degree qualification as their highest educational qualification.
7.3.5 Percentage distribution by race

Figure 5 depicts the distribution of respondents according to their ethnicity within the organisation. Most of the respondents (55.4%, $n = 51$) are Tshongas followed by Vendas who constitute 39.1% ($n = 36$) of the sample. Tswanas constituted only 3.3% ($n = 3$) of the sample whilst Pedis were 2.2% ($n = 2$) of the sample.
7.3.6 Percentage distribution by marital status

Figure 6: Marital status distribution of respondents

Figure 6 shows the distribution of respondents in relation to their marital status. Most of the respondents (58.7%, n = 54) are single, 35.9% (n = 33) are married, 3.3% (n = 3) were widowed, while only 2.2% (n = 2) were divorced.

7.3.7 Percentage distribution by employment status

Figure 7 below shows that the majority of the respondents (51.1%, n = 47) are employed, while 38.0% (n = 35) are unemployed. Only five respondents (5.4%) are self-employed, while the same number (n = 5) of respondents are pensioners.
Figure 7: Employment status distribution of respondents

7.3.8 Percentage distribution by place of birth
Figure 8: Birthplace distribution of respondents

Figure 8 shows the distribution of respondents according to their birthplace.
Most of the respondents (93.5%, n = 86) were born in the sampled district. Those who were born in other districts within the same province were only 3 (3.3%). Those who were born in other provinces constituted 3.3% (n = 3) of the sample.

7.4 Qualitative data presentation (Themes)

Themes are defined as the process of identifying patterns within qualitative data. The researcher undergoes a systematic examination of the qualitative data, examining the similar reoccurring arguments raised by participants. The researcher highlights these recurring arguments and thus assigns them a theme (Braun et al., 2006). The themes identified from the qualitative data collected, and categories are presented. The study examined people’s perceptions in Vuwani on the process, motive, purpose, challenges, and solutions to the demarcation disputes.

Both quantitative and qualitative data findings are simultaneously presented as they support the results of the study.

7.4.1 Vuwani people’s perceptions and understanding of demarcations (purpose and role of municipal demarcation disputes)

The researcher began by ascertaining the participants’ understanding of municipal demarcations. This was important in the understanding of the conceptions and misconceptions of the demarcation dispute. Thus, the participants were asked about their knowledge of demarcation, the purpose, and role of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

The primary purpose of the question was to clarify participants' understanding of demarcation and link their level of knowledge to the reasoning associated with
challenging and rejection of demarcation. The question also seeks to assess the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government levels of adherence to good governance, processes followed in educating community members about demarcation, its purposes, and the Municipal Demarcation Board's role. Participants expressed that they had little understanding of demarcations and their objectives. Participants further elaborated that demarcations were a tool that government used to extract land from the people of South Africa. They also argued that the government targets rural communities as a form of stripping traditional leaders of their land rights in the name of re-drawing boundaries within South Africa. Participants discussed demarcations as a political agenda employed by the ruling party and its governance to dismantle districts with higher numbers of opposition parties to gain control and power of these areas.

The participants cited the following responses about their understanding of demarcation and its purpose:

An elderly woman in the focus group discussion stated:

We are based in a rural area, I am not educated… unless someone explains to me what demarcation is … I don't know. These people had to take that to consider that we are rural and uneducated, thus government should have explained and informed us. Our traditional leaders drive around the village and call us to Khoros, in Khoros we are told about things that concern our communities. If government wanted us to know about this demarcation then they had to do the same thing. If they had informed us maybe all this commotion would have not happened.
Community member:

Who is this Municipal Demarcation Board, and why are they tampering with our land and boundaries? We did not ask them and we do not even know what their purpose is, they came to Vuwani and disturbed our peace, we use to stay peaceful together with the people of Malamulele, Vuwani, and Thoyandou. We married and had good relations amongst ourselves, and then came government and all of this has changed…this government will do anything to strip black people and our traditional leaders of their powers and rights to land. We will not allow that… they should go take the land back from the White people but will they do that no… you know why, because they are scared of them so they look into us and want to take our land… we will never allow this.

A traditional leader responded:

I do have some understanding of what demarcation means and their purposes; however, we were not clear as to why our villages were being demarcated. No one came to tell us that we were being demarcated and reason why this demarcation was implemented. I heard from the radio and was very shock. I could not even call my village people together for a meeting because how do you inform people about a concept that you too do not understand well. My people were gonna fight with me; we just waited, believing that government and the Municipal Demarcation Board will call us in as leadership structure in Vuwani and explain the whole process of demarcation so that we can notify our people. This government disrespects us traditional leaders and feel they can walk over us.
In the same vein, traditional leaders of Vuwani expressed their lack of information or understanding about the purpose of demarcation and why their villages were to be demarcated. They asserted that, as a result, they could not inform the villagers about the proposed demarcation. Traditional leaders expressed that they had waited, hoping that the municipal demarcation board would call and tell them of the proposed demarcation, its purpose, and reasons why their areas were demarcated.

Quantitative findings on Table 6 support the above findings.

Table 6: understanding of demarcation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you agree with the following statements</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I understand what demarcation is</td>
<td>n = 37 (40.7%)</td>
<td>n = 34 (37.4%)</td>
<td>n = 16 (17.6%)</td>
<td>n = 4 (4.4%)</td>
<td>31.945</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 6, 37 (40.7%) people chose to disagree strongly, while 34 (37.4%) responded disagreeing with the statement “I understand what demarcation is.” 16 (17.6%) agreed, and 4 (4.4%) strongly agreed that they understood what demarcation was.

7.4.2 Reasons for the demarcation of Vuwani Vhembe district and foundation of Collins Chabane municipality (perceptions of Vuwani people)

The Municipal Demarcation Board, together with local government officials, were asked to provide reasons why Vuwani communities were targeted for demarcation. Accordingly, interviews and focus group discussions were also held with Vuwani community members to examine their understanding of why their communities were demarcated. The question sought to investigate reasons supporting the demarcation of Vuwani and the establishment of the Collins Chabane municipality. The purpose of
this question was to determine if both parties had the same understanding of the reasons supporting the demarcation.

From the findings, all parties, that is, the local government, Municipal Demarcation Board, and the Vuwani communities, share the same understanding. However, these reasons were challenged by the Vuwani communities as they rejected the demarcation. Participants voiced out that the demarcation resulted from the Malamulele Tsonga people who had written to the Municipal Demarcation Board requesting a new and separate municipality from the Vuwani Makhado municipality. Tsonga people were previously under the Makhado Municipality and felt that the municipality was too big and inadequate in satisfying all community needs. Participants explained that the Malamulele communities appealed to the Municipal Demarcation Board to create a new municipality. This appeal was then granted.

The local government and Municipal Demarcation Board stated:

The Malamulele people wrote to government and the municipal demarcation board requesting that a new municipality be established for their communities as they had voiced out that they are situated afar from the Makhado municipality and are not happy with the service offered by the Makhado municipality. Upon proper examination, it was clear that the Malamulele people had a valid case; the Makhado municipality had many communities under their administration; thus, this made it hard for the municipality to deliver proper services to its entire people. The Municipal Demarcation Board, together with government, saw it fit to establish a new municipality. The proposed name for this municipality was Collins Chabane in memorial of Collins Chabane, who is the late South African minister of public service and administration, born in Ikundu village in what was then the
Northern Transvaal district that is now the Limpopo province. However, because the communities of Malamulele had smaller numbers of inhabitants, it was then proposed that parts of Vuwani communities join communities in Malamulele to form the new Collins Chabane municipality.

Traditional leader:

This thing began in the year 2001 when the Malamulele and Thoyandou municipality were combined. Since then, there have been cries, especially by the Malamulele communities who expressed that they were not happy about the service delivery of Makhado. They then approached the Municipal Demarcation Board, saying they want their municipality. From what I know, the MDB had stated that Malamulele people could not have their municipality, as it would be too small.

Community member from Malamulele:

We wanted our municipality because the Makhado municipality did not care about us. They help their people; we do not even know why the Malamulele and Thoyandou municipalities were joint in the first place because this merged affected us, people of Malamulele, we were suffering, and therefore we wrote to the MDB requesting our municipality.

Community member from Vuwani:

All I know is that the people of Malamulele approached the MDB requesting that they want to move, this I got to here when the new Collins Chabane Municipality was founded; it was the first time I heard that they wrote to the MDB and requested a municipality, and we were never informed. However, this I heard from other
people around our village, there was no formal communication by our government and the municipal demarcation board as to why are they demarcating our area.

The quantitative findings of the questionnaire share some sentiments of what the Municipal Demarcation Board should consider when demarcation or planning areas to demarcate. Participants argue that they should be valid reasons for determining areas and suggest the following:

7.4.3 Perceptions of Vuwani communities of the proposed reasons for demarcation and establishing of Collins Chabane municipality

Participants – that is, community members, civil unions, and traditional leaders – were asked to express their views regarding the reasons brought forth for demarcating their communities. The question sought to examine if participants accepted and validated the provided reasoning for the demarcation.

The majority of Vuwani Vhembe district community members expressed dissatisfaction with the reasons provided as justification for demarcating their areas. Vuwani participants said that if Malamulele communities had applied for demarcation, only their communities should be demarcated and not the Vuwani regions that had not applied nor requested the demarcation. Participants expressed their frustrations with the Municipal Demarcation Board for including the Vuwani communities in the demarcation process instead of only Malamulele communities. Thus, participants said that this was the main reason why the disputes erupted. Vuwani communities narrate that had the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government explained why Vuwani communities had to be merged with Malamulele communities in forming this new municipality, things would have taken a positive direction. However, participants stressed that due to lack of proper communication and consultation for the delimitation
without their knowledge, they reject the reasons brought forth for demarcating their area.

Vuwani communities argue that the Municipal Demarcation Board did not undertake consultations as per standard protocol. They contend that the Municipal Demarcation Board was meant to conduct thorough consultations with both Vuwani and Malamulele community members. The MDB was to table the outcomes of these consultations, and proposals of the joint merger of some communities in Vuwani and Malamulele to form a new municipality.

Participants elaborated as evidenced by one community member in Vuwani:

We did not ask for any demarcation; there is no democracy in this country. How can a few people decide on something that would affect all of us, establishment of this new Collins Chabane municipality has not improved anything but have made things worst How did they decide to join our communities' in Vuwani to this madness is puzzling; should they have demarcated the Malamulele people alone as they had applied for this demarcation. They dragged us into this mess, and now we are suffering.

The following is a record from a focus group discussion:

The government, together with that Municipal Demarcation Board, were just under pressure by the people of Malamulele; they agreed on the demands of the Malamulele people without starting valid reason, and unfortunately, for them, they breaded a war zone.
They should not have included us in this madness...If they wanted to give Malamulele communities their municipality than do so but do not include communities that did not ask for this demarcation nonsense!

Dissatisfaction was also expressed by some people based in Malamulele who argued that as much as they supported the demarcation, they would, however, want to know the reasons and processes based on which demarcation was approved.

The Malamulele participants explained that when they applied for demarcation, it was not to inconvenience the Vuwani people, but wanted a new municipality for their region. They further argued that it was the Municipal Demarcation Board that later decided to join some communities of Vuwani and Malamulele to this merger, even though this was not the envisaged amalgamation with Malamulele. This development created tensions for the two communities, with Malamulele accused of causing problems for Vuwani.

Community members in Malamulele focus group discussions stated:

I don’t even know the reasons for demarcating and establishment of this new Collins Chabane municipality; how will I know when I only found out on the media that they were demarcating our area, worse I am based in Malamulele; I should have at least known…

We applied for the demarcation and submitted a proposal for only Malamulele communities to de demarcated and for the establishment of a new municipality. It was the Municipal Demarcation Board who proposed that some Vuwani communities be included in the merge/amalgamation… Vuwani people now see us as the main causers of the problem and the disputes… there is now pointing of fingers amongst us.
We did indeed apply for the demarcation as Malamulele people, the Municipal Demarcation Board together with government argued that Malamulele is made of small communities/inhabitants; thus they cannot demarcate us alone but will include some parts of Vuwani, the municipal demarcation board then is or was liable to inform the Vuwani people about this. Now I do not know what happened, but Vuwani people say they were never consulted… we the Malamulele people now look like bad people and Vuwani people hate us.

Quantitative data sought to examine and investigate people’s perception in Vuwani on what the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board should consider in demarcating municipal borders in South Africa but especially in determining Vuwani Vhembe district, which is a rural municipality.

Government cannot just wake up and decide to demarcate our land and communities; they need to be cautious; there are a lot of factors to consider. We have lived amongst our people for years; we are like a family; thus, we don’t want to be separated or demarcated. This is our land…this is exactly what the apartheid government did, and we lost our land and who we were.

Table 7 provides the quantitative findings of elements that the municipal demarcation board should consider when demarcating/amalgamating communities and municipalities.

Table 7: What the demarcation board should consider when demarcating a municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of the following should the demarcation board consider when demarcating a municipality?</th>
<th>(%) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 The ethnicity of the people in the towns/Villages involved</td>
<td>73 (79.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The financial capabilities of the municipality</td>
<td>68 (73.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The level of service delivery in the municipality</td>
<td>70 (76.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of the respondents reported that the board should consider the ethnicity of the people in the towns/villages involved (n = 73; 79.3%), the financial capabilities of the municipality (n = 68; 73.9%), and the level of service delivery in the municipality (n = 70; 76.1%) are essential items that the demarcation board should consider when demarcating a municipality. The majority of the respondents regarded the poverty thresholds of the municipalities involved (n = 34; 37.0%), the outstanding disputes among the ethnic groups in the municipality (n = 29; 31.5%) and obtaining first-hand information on the inhabitants’ priorities (n = 18; 19.6%) as not essential items that the demarcation board should consider when demarcating a municipality.

7.4.4 Reasons of Vuwani residents for refusing inclusion of their communities to the newly established Collins Chabane municipality

Participants have enacted several reasons why they refuse the inclusion of their communities to the Collins Chabane municipality. The primary resonating reason being that they had not requested the move; therefore, they should not be affected by it. Participants also expressed fear of the unknown, arguing that they feared the type of treatment they would experience/receive under the Collins Chabane municipality. They were not willing to gamble their fate, arguing that it was better the devil they knew (referring to Makhado municipality) than the unknown one (referring to Collins Chabane municipality). Participants also expressed fear of being led by Tsonga people. They reckoned that since the Tsongas had requested for the municipality established in Malamulele geographical setting, the Tsonga people would have more
power over the municipality, thus disadvantaging them as Venda people. This argument creates a sense of tribalism, as both tribes fear being controlled by another.

Respondents further voiced fear for their socio-economical access to aspects such as employment and tender processes. They were concerned that if the municipality were to be controlled by Tsonga people, the bias would be prevalent in job and tender bids allocation. For this, they refused to subject themselves to such discrimination. In Vuwani, participants further argued that the municipality was new and still had to establish itself in terms of getting efficient staff, find its feet and prove itself as a municipality in terms of proper management of its budget and provision of services delivery. Participants expressed that they could not wait for such a process, and they were better off with an established Makhado Municipality, experienced in governance issues.

Most participants stated that the government and Municipal Demarcation Board were biased in their processes against the people from Vuwani, and instead favoured Malamulele. They were convinced that the MDB had no much respect or care for their communities as Malamulele had benefited at their expense. For these reasons, they rejected the demarcation process and all its outcomes.

Some of the participants from the focus groups expressed themselves as follows:

Focus group discussion: FGD 1, P 5

My sister, it better to be with the Makhado municipality; we don’t know how things will go with the new municipality, and this creates a notion of fear…better the devil we know then the unknown, with that am saying we are fine with the Makhado municipality as we know how they operate …
FGD1, P11:

The Collins Chabane municipality is situated in Malamulele; people who are hired and working in the municipality are Tsonga people. They provide for their own people as they are currently doing, we are sidelined as Venda people, we are not hired, we have no service delivery, no project or tender are awarded to us. They are given to their own people… this is why we want to go back to Makhado and leave these people alone to do their own things…we do not want to be with the Collins Chabane municipality.

FGD 2, P7:

Why did the Municipal demarcation board reverse the decision they took in 2001? If they can reserve their decision of merging Malamulele to Makhado municipality and give them their own municipality, then they have to reverse the decision they took of amalgamating us to Collins Chabane municipality. We will not stop until they do that… this Municipal Demarcation Board and government must treat us all the same… are they trying to say people who deserve respect are only Malamulele people, and they don’t care about us, Vuwani people?

7.4.5 Processes followed in the demarcation of Vuwani Vhembe district

The above theme highlighted participants’ concerns with the procedures followed by the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government. Therefore, this question sought to examine participants’ perception of the process followed by the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government in demarcation their areas.

Participants expressed a lack of adherence to sound governance principles by the Municipal Demarcation Board, as they argued that there was a lack of transparency.
They maintained that there was no proper communication by both the Municipal Demarcation Board and the local government offices. Participants stated that they only heard about the proposed demarcation via media, through radio, when it was announced that Vuwani was up for re-demarcation. The participants further expressed their shock and dismay on the news of the approval of the demarcation while they were uninformed.

Community members stated that they had communicated seeking clarity from their leaders – that is, traditional houses – however, to their surprise, traditional leaders were also in the dark. Participants argued that demarcating Vuwani was unjust and had infringed on their rights, thus bridging the good governance rule of law principle. They also expressed their dismay when they found out that the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board followed proper procedures with the Malamulele communities as they held consultations and meetings. Based on the above, the Vuwani communities were convinced that this amalgamation should not be approved. They called for its rejection and reversal. Moreover, participants argued that the government had a mandate to listen to their citizens and treat all of them fairly. An elderly man in one of the focus group discussions argued thus “we elected and voted for this government yet they do as they please,” implying that if the government and the municipal demarcation board did not fix the mess they had created in Vuwani, people would cease to vote and support the ANC government.

Some of the participants stated the following:

FGD2, P3:

Good governance, do they know what that is… I do not think so… they were never followed… the municipality was established without the Vuwani communities’
knowledge, and the fact that they had no communication with the Vuwani community is sickening... to show you that they had double standards, they quickly established it even when we contested this move.

Traditional leader:

These people run government/ municipalities as they wish; they sided with the Tsonga people and finalized the whole demarcation process without informing us Vuwani communities, I am sure they will benefit from the corrupt demarcation they implemented. We were never informed as traditional leaders based in Vuwani. I was also shocked when I heard from media that we were being demarcated… that is disrespect, this government doesn’t care nor respect traditional leadership, and they forget that traditional leaders are the rightful custodians of rural land… this is our forefathers’ land… we will fight for it.

FGD1, P9:

We called a meeting when this whole thing started with the government and Municipal Demarcation Board, but government together with the Municipal Demarcation Board did not pitch… so you tell me, were right processes followed? My answer is no, that Demarcation Board is corrupted just like its government. They just wanted to demarcate our area without us knowing, unfortunately, their devious plan didn’t pass because we heard from the media, we called them, and they didn’t come … no meetings or consultations were held with our Vuwani communities… they went ahead and demarcated our area… we will fight this until they move us back to Makhado municipality.

The people of Vuwani questioned the communities involved and participating in the process of demarcating their communities. Who majority indicated they were not
involved in the planning and implementation processes of the demarcation. Vuwani community members questioned the adherence to good governance principles by the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government. Table 8 provides the quantitative findings regarding adherence to good governance principles and the level of involvement in the demarcation process by Vuwani community members.

Table 8: Vuwani community members’ involvement in the demarcating process of their communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was part of the discussion proposing demarcation of Vuwani</td>
<td>18 (20.0%)</td>
<td>34 (37.8%)</td>
<td>27 (30.0%)</td>
<td>11 (12.2%)</td>
<td>13.556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDB together with municipality consulted and explained the process of demarcation to the community members</td>
<td>14 (15.4%)</td>
<td>36 (39.6%)</td>
<td>24 (26.4%)</td>
<td>17 (18.7%)</td>
<td>12.604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDB followed all the good governance principles when demarcating Vuwani</td>
<td>10 (11.1%)</td>
<td>37 (41.1%)</td>
<td>23 (25.6%)</td>
<td>20 (21.7%)</td>
<td>16.578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community had an opportunity to voice out their concerns about demarcating Vuwani</td>
<td>13 (14.3%)</td>
<td>37 (40.7%)</td>
<td>22 (24.2%)</td>
<td>19 (20.9%)</td>
<td>13.747</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows a summary of the findings. There is a strong indication from the data gathered that the respondents differed in how they responded to the items on re-demarcation. Results indicate that the respondents tend to differ in the way they perceive being part of the discussion on the demarcation of Vuwani (Chi-square = 13.556; p = 0.004). There were mixed feelings on whether MDB together with the municipality consulted and explained the process of demarcation to the community members (Chi-square = 12.604; p = 0.006). This was also the case when respondents differed on their perception of whether the MDB followed all the good governance principles when demarcating Vuwani (Chi-square = 16.578; p = 0.001). Mixed
responses were also noted on whether the community had an opportunity to voice out their concerns about demarcating Vuwani (Chi-square = 13.747; p = 0.003).

7.4.6 Stakeholders involvement: Traditional leaders

Public participation is a crucial concept when dealing with communities, especially in demarcation procedures. Participation is one of the main principles of good governance that advocates for the involvement of all stakeholders in the demarcation process. The stakeholders in Vuwani include community members, traditional houses, youth forums, civil societies, and so forth. They should be involved in demarcating the areas. The traditional leadership structure in Vuwani is the primary stakeholder detrimental to the success and failure of demarcation.

When asked about their involvement and participation in the demarcation process of Vuwani communities, the traditional leaders stated that they were not involved in the demarcation of Vuwani. They claimed that they found out about the proposed demarcation via media. Traditional leaders in Vuwani express their dissatisfaction with the process undertaken in the demarcation of the area. The traditional leaders further reported that they were not informed as valuable stakeholders within the rural communities of Vuwani. Additionally, traditional leaders of Vuwani voiced being undermined by the municipal demarcation board and government. Traditional leaders expressed that when they eventually heard of the demarcation, their alignment was with the community members.

Traditional leaders stated that their role was in challenging the demarcation. They had done this by having a meeting with the community members where an agreement was
reached that as traditional houses, they were to write an objection report and submit it to the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Participants did not believe that their traditional leaders were not consulted, thinking they may be hiding the truth of the matter. However, they believed they saw the action taken by their leaders in challenging the then proposed demarcation. Participants further expressed their anger and frustration, arguing that the Municipal Demarcation Board and government disrespected their leadership structure in Vuwani, while traditional leaders based in Malamulele were fully involved from the planning to the implementation of the demarcation. Participants thus stated that the Municipal Demarcation Board and government were biased and unfair in handling demarcation in Vuwani.

Some of the participants stated as follows:

A traditional leader in Vuwani:

We were not involved in the processes of demarcating Vuwani. I am one of the traditional leaders in Vuwani. Can you imagine finding out on the news that your community is to be demarcated? My people – that is, the community members – came to me to try and confirm these news, and I felt so embarrassed because I myself did not know what was happening. I looked like an incompetent leader amongst my people. When we, as traditional leaders of Vuwani together with eventually, after conducting some research, were able to piece information as to what was happening… we conducted and Khoro and meet with community members to plan a way forward to challenge this demarcation. We then compiled a proposal of objections, which we submitted to the municipal demarcation board with the hope that they will listen and have a meeting with our people to clarify
what was happening… to our surprise government and traditional leaders did not
do as we hoped but instead proceeded with their planning.

Community member:

We were all not involved in the demarcation process; they did not even inform our
traditional leaders. At some point, we thought that our traditional leaders were
lying to us when they said they knew nothing about the then proposed
demarcation. We later found out that indeed they were in the dark just like us. The
traditional leader called a meeting, in that meeting, we raised our reasons as to
why we rejected the demarcation, with lack of consultation being the main reason.
A proposal of our objections was submitted, but nothing happened… so in short,
no our traditional leaders were not involved.

A traditional leader in Malamulele:

I was involved in the planning and the ongoing re-demarcation; in fact, traditional
leaders of Malamulele were involved from the start to the end of the demarcation
process. Local government officials and Municipal Demarcation Board personnel
visited our communities and help meetings with us.

7.4.7 Causes of demarcation disputes in Vuwani

7.4.7.1 Lack of Communication/ transparency

Participants were asked to elaborate on their perception of the prominent causes of
the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. They named and elaborated on a few aspects
and the leading causes of the demarcation disputes in the Vuwani Vhembe district.
These causes include a lack of communication. Participants view communication as
the primary contributor. The majority of the participants expressed that had government together with the municipal demarcation board communicated their mandate and justifiable reasons for demarcating Vuwani, disputes would have been prevented. Stakeholders such as traditional leaders, youth forums, and civil unions voice out that they were not part of the said demarcation process, stating that most of them heard over the media about the proposed demarcations in their area.

Participants argued as follows:

FGD, civil union:

No one communicated with us; they (MDB) did as they please. After all, they are the government and have the power to decide over our lives. When they did not consult us, that meant they were hiding something from us. Why would they communicate with stakeholders of Malamulele communities yet don’t do the same with us? Are we not also affected by this demarcation like the areas of Malamulele, or they don’t care about us? …my sister, I tell you they are hiding something these people I don’t trust them… best they move us back to Makhado municipality.

Traditional leader:

This is our land… our ancestors’ land; the government cannot just walk in and dictate that they are redrawing our boundaries without communicating with us.

7.4.7.2 Political agendas

Participants argued that there’s more to the protests in Vuwani than that which appeared on the surface. Participants expressed that political agendas aided the ongoing demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Participants further argued that political
interests highly influenced the foundation and establishment of demarcating Vuwani. Participants narrated that previously, Vuwani had high numbers of ANC supporters. However, over the years, the ANC party started losing its numbers, mainly because of the establishment of other political parties such as the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters. Thus, participants concluded that the ANC supporters started jumping ship for many reasons, such as unfulfilled promises and inadequate municipal performance in terms of service delivery and implementation of projects. Participants also perceived that after the foundation of these new political parties in the province, people in the Vuwani community joined them, bringing the numbers of ANC supporters down. Additionally, participants believed that the decision to demarcate Vuwani was a tactic by the ruling party to regain political power in Vuwani.

An EFF supporter backed the above view by arguing that the ANC government was threatened by the high number of supporters that the EFF party had been gaining in Limpopo, hence the implementation of the demarcation process. Participants are of the view that this is why proper procedures were not followed in demarcating Vuwani, as the plan was to deceive Vuwani people/communities.

A DA supporter further elaborated that the ANC government realized that they were losing numbers drastically, thus the process of demarcating Vuwani. One of the resonating causes was that personal political interests were at play in the process—the reasons to demarcate Vuwani communities was for individuals seeking to gain at the expense of the people.

Participants made the following observations on the delimitation processes in Vuwani:

FGD1, P13:
The membership of the EFF has grown and picked up a lot over the past few years in Vuwani. This intimidated the ANC government as they were and are slowly losing political power and control of the area, and because they are sneaky, they decided to demarcate Vuwani and divide our people. That is why they did not inform us because they knew we were goanna challenge this unprecedented demarcation. It was a “quick-quick” thing as they sort to bully our people. Remember this demarcation was instilled just in preparation for the local government elections… they knew they were gonna lose Vuwani because they have not been delivery proper services to our people… all they know is to give each other projects and tenders while our people are suffering.

7.4.7.3 Lack of public participation and adherence to the rule of law

Participants argued that there was a lack of public participation in the process of demarcation in Vuwani, as they only learnt about it in the media. They stated that Malamulele communities held countless meetings and consultations with government and the Municipal Demarcation Board, but the process was different for the Vuwani communities. Participants argued that issues of tribe, lineage and ethnic ties needed to be taken into consideration when demarcating. Participants, therefore, felt that the frontiers of demarcation (that is the Municipal Demarcation Board) should have worked closely with traditional leaders, mainly in the demarcation of rural communities.

Participants argued that their rights were infringed upon as per the South African Constitution, and participatory community development literature, which argues against the top-down approach – that is, the dictatorship form of government that does not inform the people in decision making on issues that affect them.
Some of the participants argued as follows below.

Traditional leader 2:

They can't come here and disrespect us traditional leaders and our people, and think we will accept what they say if they wanted this demarcation of theirs to pass… they should have communicated with the leadership structures. We are here to pass the message to the people and also sit in meetings and discuss matters that affect our communities. We heard they had numerous meetings and consultations with the Malamulele traditional houses and the people; they should have done the same with us… is it Malamulele only that was demarcated? NO, we were also demarcated, so why not inform us and have the same meetings with us?

Participants have argued that many sound governance principles were omitted in the demarcation of the Vuwani area. These omissions have a significant impact and effect on the demarcation disputes in the area. Table 9 provides quantitative findings looking at the causes of the demarcation disputes in Vuwani.

Traditional leader 2:

No, we never participated; we never played any role except to object thus submitting our objections. When we heard of the demarcation via media, we decided to meet as people of Vuwani, compiled, and submitted or objections of the Collins Chabane municipality.

Community member made the following remarks:

The government and the Municipal Demarcation Board actually infringed upon our rights as Vuwani people. We are the inhabitants of Vuwani; thus we decide
on what must happen especially on such a big issue that had eventually affected our lives... how could they not have consultations with us... how can they just dictate... we have rights, and we are not gonna be bullied by this government... where is the democracy they spoke about.

FGD1, P11:

No stakeholders meetings were held with us remember we were not invited when the decision was made about this new municipality. It was a shock to all of us in Vuwani, and this whole thing made us feel undermined and not being taken seriously... the government was also involved, and they were aware of the division they had created amongst the Malamulele and Vuwani communities however they decided to turn a blind eye.

Quantitative questionnaires conducted with Vuwani participants revealed people’s perceptions of what they viewed as the major causes of the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Table 9 provides quantitative findings of the five reasons for demarcation disputes as per the perception of the people of Vuwani.

Table 9: Cause of demarcation disputes in the municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of the following are likely to cause demarcation disputes in this municipality?</th>
<th>(%) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Demarcating land without consultation</td>
<td>76 (82.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Demarcating without recourse to tribe, lineage or ethnic ties</td>
<td>65 (70.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Demarcating that attaches town to poor municipality</td>
<td>34 (37.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Demarcation that detaches us from our ancestral home or land</td>
<td>23 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Demarcation that deny us of service delivery</td>
<td>30 (32.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Sample: 92. (%) Yes is the percentage of respondents who agreed that the respective item is likely to cause demarcation disputes in the municipality.

When respondents were asked to indicate what was likely to cause demarcation disputes in the Municipality (see Table 9), most indicated that demarcating land without
consultation (n = 76; 82.6%); and demarcating without recourse to tribe, lineage or ethnic ties (n = 65; 70.7%) to be the most likely cause of demarcation disputes in the municipality. Only a few reported that demarcating that attaches town to a poor municipality (n = 34; 37.0%); demarcation that detaches them from ancestral home or land (n = 23; 25.0%) and demarcation that deny them of service delivery (n = 30; 32.6%).

7.4.7.4 Tribalism as an underlying catalyst for challenging re-demarcation in Vuwani Vhembe district

The concept of tribalism has been persistent in Vuwani. The major reason for challenging demarcation and the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality, according to some communities, was mainly tribal rivalry, as Malamulele Tsonga people did not want to be under the leadership of the Venda people. These arguments state that Malamulele communities were underdeveloped with inadequate provision of basic needs under Makhado Municipality (Venda leadership), due to tribal and ethnic rivalries. Participants in Vuwani have argued that this assumption is false and seeks to belittle their objections to the demarcation process.

Participants argue that Limpopo Province, mainly Vuwani, is home to different ethnic groups that have lived peacefully amongst each other. They argued against tribalism being the underlying agenda against the rejection of Vuwani demarcation. They reasoned that the primary catalyst to the demarcation disputes were the procedures followed by the municipal demarcation board. Participants argued that those in charge did not follow good governance, the constitution and the demarcation Act strategies that seek to govern the process of demarcation, infringing on people’s rights resulting in the protests that had been observed.
However, some participants argued that when Malamulele communities were included or merged to Makhado, they disapproved of the merger and challenged it ever since its implementation, mainly because they did not want to be part of a municipality that was headed by Vendas. These participants, therefore, argued that when the Malamulele people displayed tribalistic tendencies, the government was quiet and bowed down to the Malamulele Tsonga people and awarded them the Collins Chabane municipality. The participants argue that when the Vuwani Venda people followed in the same steps as the Tsonga people in refusing the demarcation as they also feared to be part of a municipality headed by Tsonga people, they were however labelled as being tribalistic.

The respondents further contended that just like the Tsonga people who had refused the merger for their reasons, they too were not tribalistic because they had the same fears and claims as that of the Malamulele Tsonga people when they refused and argued against the merger to Vuwani. One of the participants argued that whether the government with the Municipal Demarcation Board chose to belittle their arguments and package them under tribalism, they did not care as all they wanted was to be reinstated back to Makhado Municipality. Participants argue as recorded below.

FGD2, P15:

The government is very quick to say what is happening here is the bases of tribalism because they want to disregard the effects and the mess they have created here. We are not tribalistic… everyone knows that the Limpopo Province is home to many different tribes… we have the Tsongas, Venda’s, Pedi, etc. and we have lived together over the years peacefully… we have shared ceremonies,
have married amongst each other with no problem... and now after so many years, the government says we are tribalistic.

FGD1, P7:

They are the people who introduced that behaviour amongst us... when they decided to favour the Tsonga people at the expense of other tribes... they created room for tribalism. Moreover, just to make things clear we are not fighting the Tsonga people, but we are fighting the government and its Municipal Demarcation Board, for coming here and demarcating our land without proper consultations with the people.

FGD1, P1:

This is amazing because if they say we are tribalistic as Vuwani people because we do not want to be part of a municipality that is headed and controlled by Tsonga people, then they must say the same of the Tsonga Malamulele people. This is the reason why they also disapproved of their merge to Makhado municipality and requested their own municipality; they did not want to be part of a municipality headed by Venda Vuwani people. When Tsonga Malamulele people refused to be part of us, the government said nothing about tribalism yet when we do the same; they are quick to say we are tribalistic. You see my sister just as I said there is no equality in this thing, the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board are not fair in their dealings and process of demarcation. They cannot take sides, they need to be neutral at all time... but in this case of our demarcation, even a baby can see that they favoured the Malamulele people.
7.4.7.5 Municipal performance/ service delivery

Participants argued that the government needed to focus on the performance of municipalities to render services to their people. They argued that, had the Makhado municipalities been doing well in the provision of basic needs, the amalgamation that took place in 2001 of Malamulele and Vuwani to Makhado Municipality would not have taken place. Additionally, participants argued that the amalgamation of these municipalities and the poor performance of Makhado Municipality in providing basic services to Malamulele and Vuwani communities acted as a catalyst. Moreover, Malamulele communities expressed that the Makhado Municipality did not cater for their needs as they slacked behind in the provision of basic needs and this led to their request for a new municipality from the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Participants thus stated that the government should ensure that municipalities were efficient in their provision of basic needs to their people. Participants further argued that much of the concerns from the Vuwani communities with the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality was that it would take from the little budget that Makhado Municipality had access to, making matters worse for their communities in terms of service provision. Participants added that the Collins Chabane Municipality would have to take time in establishing itself as a viable municipality and in the meantime delay in the provision of service for the communities under this municipal administration.

The participants advised the Municipal Demarcation Board to look beyond just demarcation of the land but also consider issues of service delivery, the financial capability of the municipality, and the poverty threshold of municipalities. But mainly to consider how these demarcations affect inhabitants who reside in these areas. Hence, the following observations from participants.
FGD 2, P1:

No one wants to join a municipality that does not cater to its people’s needs. We want to be excluded from this municipality, as much as we want to go back to Makhado Municipality; it also has its challenges with provision of services. However, we were better off there; we do not want to be part of Collins Chabane Municipality with the fear that they would sideline us and cater to the Tsonga people. In addition, because the municipality is relatively new, it would take time for it to establish itself and to get things up and working… we do not have the time nor patience to wait in limbo with our fate dangling in between… we just want to move back to Makhado.

FGD1, P 16:

I am telling you, we have not received any basic services. Our area is poor no electricity, clean water, etc., it is such a shameful situation, and we say we have a municipality. With the establishment of Collins Chabane Municipality, things turned from bad to worse… projects have been paused… nothing has moved since we want the municipal demarcation board to come back and tell us again what was the aims and benefits of establishing this new municipality. This is why we still reject this new municipality because it made things worse for us.

Table 10 depicts evidence from the respondents that there is lack of service delivery in the areas, clinics/Hospitals (n = 66; 71.7%), electricity/energy (n = 66; 71.7%) and schools/employment opportunities (n = 70; 76.1%) are service deliveries mostly needed in the municipality. A fair number (n = 59; 64.1%) indicated that roads and transportation are service deliveries mostly needed by the municipal residents. Liquid
and solid waste management (n = 19; 20.7%), as well as food, market/trade and poverty alleviation projects (n = 27; 29.3%), were not regarded as service deliveries that are mostly needed by the majority of the respondents.

Table 10: Service deliveries mostly needed by the municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of these service deliveries are mostly needed by this municipality?</th>
<th>(%) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Clinics/Hospitals</td>
<td>66 (71.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Electricity/Energy</td>
<td>66 (71.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Schools/Employment opportunities</td>
<td>70 (76.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Water and Sanitation</td>
<td>76 (82.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Roads and Transportation</td>
<td>59 (64.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Liquid and Solid waste Management</td>
<td>19 (20.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Food, market/Trade, Poverty alleviation projects</td>
<td>27 (29.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Sample: 92. (%) Yes is the percentage of respondents who agreed that the respective item is a service delivery that is mostly needed by the municipality.

The study sought to examine the link between service delivery and demarcations; this was achieved by scrutinizing the correlation between how a municipal is perceived regarding the provision of services and the willingness for amalgamation.
Table 11: Non-parametric Chi-square results on the perception of respondents on the reasoning link between service delivery and re-demarcation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you agree with the following statements?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have valid reasons for rejecting the proposed re-demarcation of</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.333</td>
<td>0.343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To what extent are you concerned about service delivery affects the</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.400</td>
<td>0.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judgement of re-demarcation in Vuwani</td>
<td>(24.4%)</td>
<td>(17.8%)</td>
<td>(24.4%)</td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My worry was that the new proposed municipality will not cater to my needs</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.281</td>
<td>0.516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(29.2%)</td>
<td>(28.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel demarcation will affect municipal performance especially provision</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.549</td>
<td>0.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of basic services to our communities</td>
<td>(20.9%)</td>
<td>(20.9%)</td>
<td>(25.3%)</td>
<td>(33.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As far as service delivery is concerned, do you believe that residents’</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.341</td>
<td>0.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rejection of amalgamation is the driving force</td>
<td>(22.0%)</td>
<td>(24.2%)</td>
<td>(34.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=92, Statistically significant differences (* p < .05). Statements were rated on a 4-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

4.341 0.227

The study noted the statistically significant differences on responses to the various items measuring the link between service delivery and re-demarcation on the improvement of basic needs provision or services under the Collins Chabane Municipality (Chi-square = 21.556; p = <0.0001), and provision of basic needs services has deteriorated under the Collins Chabane Municipality (Chi-square = 26.582; p = <0.0001). The rest on the items were not significantly different. However, to detect whether there were statistically significant differences between those who generally agreed (agree or strongly agree) and those who disagreed (disagree or strongly disagree), the 4-Likert scale was collapsed to a 2-point Likert scale.
Table 12: Non-parametric Chi-square results on the perception of respondents on the reasoning link between service delivery and re-demarcation using the collapsed scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Do you agree with the following statements?</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I have valid reasons for rejecting the proposed re-demarcation of Vuwani</td>
<td>38 (42.2%)</td>
<td>52 (57.8%)</td>
<td>2.178</td>
<td>0.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>To what extent are you concerned about service delivery affects the judgement of re-demarcation in Vuwani?</td>
<td>44 (48.9%)</td>
<td>46 (51.1%)</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>My worry was that the new proposed Municipality will not cater to my needs</td>
<td>38 (42.7%)</td>
<td>51 (57.3%)</td>
<td>1.899</td>
<td>0.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I feel demarcation will affect municipal performance especially provision of basic services to our communities</td>
<td>42 (46.2%)</td>
<td>49 (53.8%)</td>
<td>0.538</td>
<td>0.463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>As far as service delivery is concerned, do you believe that residents' rejection of amalgamation is the driving force?</td>
<td>40 (44.0%)</td>
<td>51 (56.0%)</td>
<td>1.330</td>
<td>0.249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=92, Statistically significant differences (* p < .05).

A Chi-square test was used to test for equal proportions, and the results of the findings are presented in Table 12. The findings reveal that there is statistically significant evidence to conclude that the majority of the respondents agreed that services delivery was and is the major contributor in demarcation, as many agree that they take into consideration how the demarcations affect service delivery.

Figure 9: Perceptions of respondents on the reasoning link between service delivery and re-demarcation using the collapsed scale
7.5 Steps followed by communities to present their concerns and challenging the municipal demarcation board

7.5.1 Compiling a grievance/objection proposal

Participants expressed that they underwent many steps in challenging and voicing their concerns about the demarcation of their areas. Participants state that when they finally heard about the then proposed demarcation of their place, the traditional leaders and other civil unions in the community convened a meeting with the community members.

The plan was to inform and take a collaborative stand with the people. Participants further stated that one of the outcomes of the meeting was to draft a proposal, tabling all the reasons for and objections to the proposed demarcation. The proposal was compiled and submitted to the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Moreover, participants acknowledged the assistance of the traditional houses as they were the people tasked with the drafting and submission of the objection proposal. Additionally, participants narrated that the request was submitted to the Municipal Demarcation Board with the hope of convening a meeting to discuss these grievances. Participants argued that they waited patiently for a response and surprisingly, they never heard from the government or the Municipal Demarcation Board.

Participants articulated that they had exhausted all protocols of appealing to the Municipal Demarcation Board. They mobilized and challenged the demarcation process, stating that a resolution from their meeting was that they protest against the demarcation. Participants responded as cited below.
Traditional leader:

We compiled a grievances report and submitted it to the Municipal Demarcation Board and the executive selected to oversee the demarcation process. Our hope was that they would have a chance to hear and come consult with the communities so we can all work together and come up with an agreement that was going to be suitable for all... we expected the decision to be taken in partnership with all stakeholders involved, but this did not happen.

FGD1, P17:

I am part of the Pro-Makhado task team; we had exhausted all aspects in dealing with government and the Municipal Demarcation Board. We wrote to them, requested a meeting and no one listened, we submitted a proposal of objection stating reasons why we as Vuwani communities were against the planned demarcation… but no one cared to listen or respond. The only option that we had was to mobilize community members and demonstrate. The option left was to protest, this is the only language our government listens to, the plan was not to be violent but because the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board took time to respond to the people’s needs this led to the protests being violent in their nature.

FGD2, P2:

The violent protests we justify, if the government refuses to listen to the people and do as they feel, then we will strike and be violent as communities. It's the only language they listen to, protests got out of hand resulting in the damages to government property, but who could blame the communities, they were angered by the system of governance that refused to listen to them.
7.5.2 Court interdict

Participants asserted that the Municipal Demarcation Board and the government did not comply or respond to the proposal of grievances submitted by the affected stakeholders of Vuwani Vhembe district. Traditional leadership, together with the civil unions in Vuwani decided to consult and fight demarcation by applying for a court interdict “court of law”. Thus, an application was made and submitted by Masai traditional council requesting and pleading that the decision to demarcate Vuwani be set aside while this matter was being resolved. Participants further elaborated that however the application was later dismissed by the Limpopo High Court, granting the Municipal Demarcation Board access to go ahead with demarcation.

The participants told of how they expected the government and the Premier's Office to act - as mediators to resolve the issue affecting Vuwani people; however, participants argued that this was not the case. They alleged that a task team appointed to resolve the demarcation disputes in Vuwani had not been effective.

Those interviewed additionally stated that nothing had changed since the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality. Most believed that they had exhausted all attempts to resolve the demarcation issue amicably. They had written a proposal and even approached a court of law; however, all these failed. Hence, they felt there was only one option to stop the process of re-demarcating Vuwani. This led to a resolution by Vuwani communities to embark on a shutdown until local government elections had passed. One participant argued as can be seen below.

FGD1, P16:

We did everything in our power to challenge re-demarcation; all we wanted was to be involved in the whole process of demarcating out communities. We tried
writing an objection proposal; when that failed, we approached the court of law; however, we lost. What option was left besides protesting... the government came to Vuwani, a task team from the Premier's Office was appointed, which they said they will work with us to resolve this matter... but nothing came out of that instead they went ahead and implemented the Collins Chabane Municipality.

7.5.3 Total shutdown/ protest

Participants shared the common analogy that the strike was the only way they were able to get attention from the government and the whole of South Africa. However, participants believe that this violent protest could have been prevented, arguing that the protests were meant to be a peaceful march by the Vuwani people. Additionally, participants stated that the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board took time to acknowledge the march. This angered people, resulting in the violent protest, burning down schools, properties and the shutdown of businesses.

Participants further indicated that protests got out of hand, as the intention was not to destroy and burn properties. However, the turn of the demonstrations into being violent was as a result of government and the Municipal Demarcation Board taking time to come and consult with Vuwani communities. Participants further elaborated that instead of government coming to the people, they sent police offices and the SANDF to attack them, resulting in the damage and outbreak of violent protests.

FGD1, P10:

The whole thing started in 2015, and it is still ongoing, Vuwani shut down in 2016, and this took three months and cost the community a lot... it was the worst shutdown in South Africa. We used protests to show our frustration and feelings
of betrayal. We, however, do not approve of the burning of government property and schools that took place as this kind of behaviour takes us back to our past as a nation… the schools that we burnt were helping our children; however, government together with the Municipal Demarcation Board probed this reaction.

FGD2, P3:

The damage to property and schools was totally bad, and we condemn this kind of behaviour; however government is also responsible for what happened here. Instead of government and Municipal Demarcation Board coming and talking to the people they send the police and SANDF to come shoot at us… this is why Vuwani people reacted as they did.

The quantitative findings support the above qualitative results as presented in the table below. Table 13 indicates that a fair number of respondents reported have embarked in burning of schools/properties (n = 46; 50.5%), violent protest/demonstrations (n = 56; 61.5%), boycotting of national events e.g. elections (n = 41; 45.6%) and instituting court actions (n = 44; 48.4%) in protesting municipal demarcation. Only a few reported to have resorted to dialogue/consensus (n = 25; 27.5%).

Table 13: Actions embarked on to protest municipal demarcation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of the following did you embark on to protest municipal demarcation?</th>
<th>(%) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Burning of schools/properties</td>
<td>46 (50.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Violent protest/demonstrations</td>
<td>56 (61.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Boycott of national events e.g. elections</td>
<td>41 (45.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Institute court actions</td>
<td>44 (48.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Resort to dialogue/consensus</td>
<td>25 (27.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Sample: 92. (%) Yes is the percentage of respondents who agreed that the respective item is something that the respondent embarked on to protest municipal demarcation.
7.6 Reviews of Collins Chabane municipal performance

The study sought to examine the municipal performance of the newly founded municipality that is the Collins Chabane Municipality and the Makhado Municipality. The researcher acknowledges that the Collins Chabane Municipality is relatively new, established on 3 August 2016. However, the researcher felt the performance of the municipality could be examined as it had been in existence for three years. The main concerns were its performance in catering to the needs of both the Malamulele and Vuwani communities.

Participants of the Malamulele communities remained hopeful that the municipality would cater to their needs, albeit the process had been slow. Malamulele communities fully understood that the municipality was in a period of establishing itself. However, the Vuwani communities under the Collins Chabane Municipality stated that they had not received any services and accused the municipality of only catering to the needs of the Tsonga people.

Vuwani participants also acknowledged that the Makhado municipality was lagging in the provision of service delivery. They contended that both municipalities had to ensure that they catered for the needs of its people. Participants were of the view that when these municipalities did well in the provision of services, perhaps people’s opinions and hearts could change about the demarcation. Some of the traditional leaders in Malamulele said:

They are trying their best to provide services, but their mandate is not clear for now because the disputes are still present as Vuwani people are still challenging the establishment of this municipality, there is no peace for now… we should give them time to prove themselves as a municipality.
FGD2, P5:

No service means that the municipality is not doing what they supposed to do; they are not delivering, so they are not living up to their expectation. Am telling you even now we have not received any basic service delivery; our area is still poor… Nothing has changed, they are the same as the rest of the municipality and underperforming… This municipality is only catering to the Tsonga people.

Table 14 presents the summary of how respondents viewed the performance in Collins Chabane Municipality. Most respondents disagreed that the Collins Chabane Municipality met the basic needs of communities it serves (n = 59; 67.8%; Chi-square = 11.046; p = 0.001) and also that Collins Chabane employees were not capacitated to enhance their skills and accelerate services (n = 59; 65.6%; Chi-square = 8.711; p = 0.003). In general, there is statistically significant evidence that the respondents are not satisfied with Collins Chabane municipal service delivery (Chi-square = 7.511; p = 0.006) and that they do not have access to all their needs (Chi-square = 5.378; p = 0.020). Figure 14 shows the graphical summary of these findings.

Table 14: Non-parametric Chi-square results on the perception of respondents on Municipal performance using the collapsed scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Do you agree with the following statements</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality is doing well to address service delivery backlogs</td>
<td>68 (75.6%)</td>
<td>22 (24.4%)</td>
<td>23.511</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality has employed skilled, competent and experienced people</td>
<td>66 (74.2%)</td>
<td>23 (25.8%)</td>
<td>20.775</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ward councillors play an effective role in improving service delivery</td>
<td>64 (71.1%)</td>
<td>26 (28.9%)</td>
<td>16.044</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Traditional houses, authority is involved the running by Collins Chabane Municipality</td>
<td>67 (74.4%)</td>
<td>23 (25.6%)</td>
<td>21.511</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality responds quickly to residents service related complains</td>
<td>57 (63.3%)</td>
<td>33 (36.7%)</td>
<td>6.400</td>
<td>0.011*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Local councillors communicate regularly with community in their respective wards</td>
<td>65 (72.2%)</td>
<td>25 (27.8%)</td>
<td>17.778</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Some local councillors hinder implementation of projects which are not in their wards</td>
<td>40 (44.4%)</td>
<td>50 (55.6%)</td>
<td>1.111</td>
<td>0.292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality meets the basic needs of communities it serves</td>
<td>59 (67.8%)</td>
<td>28 (32.2%)</td>
<td>11.046</td>
<td>0.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Collins Chabane employees are capiticated to enhance their skills and accelerate services</td>
<td>59 (65.6%)</td>
<td>31 (34.3%)</td>
<td>8.711</td>
<td>0.003*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I am happy with local councillors’ roles in my local community</td>
<td>63 (70.0%)</td>
<td>27 (30.0%)</td>
<td>14.400</td>
<td>0.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I am satisfied with Collins Chabane municipal service delivery</td>
<td>58 (64.4%)</td>
<td>32 (35.6%)</td>
<td>7.511</td>
<td>0.006*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>We have access to all our needs</td>
<td>56 (62.2%)</td>
<td>34 (37.8%)</td>
<td>5.378</td>
<td>0.020*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=92, Statistically significant differences (* p < .05).

7.7 Perception of Vuwani Vhembe communities on the establishment of Collins Chabane Municipality

Many participants in Vuwani argued that the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality had severely impacted on the performance of the Makhado Municipality. Participants assumed that the budget of Collins Chabane Municipality deducted a portion from the Makhado Municipality's budget and argued that already Makhado Municipality was failing with the budget, exacerbated by the budget reduction to fend for Collins Chabane Municipality. Cited below are the reactions of some of the participants.
FGD1, P2:

A number of projects have been on hold, we as Makhado had a plan to build a road called Siefo road that was allocated 8 million. However, some of the areas happened to fall under the demarcation of Collins Chabane Municipality thus the road never happened… also the Vuwani stadium project under Makhado Municipality has stopped because all the money is given to Collins Chabane Municipality.

FGD2, P5:

We are still suffering; we still have gravel roads, no transportation… we still haven't seen any positive effects or contribution of this municipality… Vuwani people don't want any services from a municipality they did not vote for or want in the first place… however, Malamulele people are the ones benefiting and getting jobs.

FGD2, P2:

The situation is worse in Vuwani that is why the community wants to be taken back to Makhado Municipality. Life was better with the Makhado Municipality. Am telling you, my sister, we are not getting any service delivery, the community of Vuwani is not getting any services.
7.8 Change of heart from Vuwani Vhembe district regarding the establishment of Collins Chabane Municipality

Participants stated that they had not changed their minds regarding the demarcation and establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality. They still advocated for the dismantling of the Collins Chabane Municipality, arguing that they wanted to be back under the leadership of Makhado Municipality. In Vuwani, people claimed that since they had neither requested nor participated in the demarcation discussions, they should not have been affected; but only the Malamulele community must be demarcated. Thus, participants demanded that their communities be reinstated under the Makhado Municipality; otherwise, there would be no peace nor development in Vuwani.
Traditional leader:

This Municipal Demarcation Board together government must review their decision and take us Vuwani communities back to Makhado Municipality… we did not ask for any demarcation, and if they don’t do this… I tell you there will be no peace.

FGD1, P4:

They need to move us back to Makhado Municipality; they must only keep communities in Malamulele in this new municipality of theirs… after all, it was the Malamulele people who asked for demarcation… Vuwani community we don’t want this move, even in future we will not consent to it.

7.9 Possible solutions for implementing demarcations (by the participants)

The study also sought to examine possible solutions proposed by the Vuwani community members to end the disputes and facilitate the development in their communities, focusing on both the working relations of Collins Chabane and Makhado municipalities. This question aimed to gather what the Vuwani community believed could be the solution. These solutions could be communicated to the Municipal Demarcation Board and government and hopefully assist in guiding attempts and communication of how to end ongoing disputes. Several possible solutions have been proposed by the participants on how the conflicts could be solved and how to prevent more demarcation disputes in future.
7.9.1 Communication

Participants were of the view that government, together with the Municipal Demarcation Board, should go back to the communities and apologise before resolving the demarcation disputes. Participants stated that only then would the community start working with government and the Municipal Demarcation Board. They further maintained that as long as the authorities viewed and painted them as aggressive, tribalistic and people who did not want to listen, there would be no change or peace in Vuwani. Additionally, participants stressed that communication was the only critical aspect to resolve ongoing disputes.

Traditional leader:

Proper communication, listening to everyone’s objectives and not run the government as if they are running a spaza shop. Lack of communication ruined the whole process of demarcation as you can see… They should just come and listen to the people… we have been waiting for the Municipal Demarcation Board to come and talk to us, Vuwani people… We need peace and provision of basic needs.

7.9.2 Re-drawing of Vuwani boundaries

Participants noted that the process of demarcating Vuwani had many personal interferences as people had their motives. Participants further argued that the political parties had their agendas to fulfil, thus the rushed approach to delineate Vuwani to serve those political interests. Participants also asserted that the ANC government rushed the demarcation process of Vuwani to gain more control of the district and gain vote power in support of the CR17 campaign and the 2016 local government elections.
Moreover, participants argued that the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board favoured the Tsonga people and dared to include Vuwani communities in this mess. Participants, therefore, called for a fresh start in demarcating Vuwani with all steps and processes appropriately followed by all parties involved. They threatened that if the authorities did not do this, there would be no peace. Finally, participants argued that the only solution was to move Vuwani communities back to Makhado Municipality.

FGD1, P2:

Vuwani people are very angry and demand that the whole demarcation process is restarted; they must be no personal agendas or motives; all the needs of the people and communities must be taken into consideration.

FGD2, P14:

They should allow Vuwani communities to go back to the Makhado Municipality. To be honest, Vuwani communities are not willing to listen to anything coming from the new Collins Chabane Municipality… the only way is to reverse everything and start the whole process afresh and follow the correct procedure and only then we will be willing to cooperate and have a proper agreement that will not affect the people of Vuwani.

7.9.3 Public participation

Much of the data reveals that there was a lack of communication and participation, leading to disputes. Participation is thus viewed as a dominating principle when dealing with communities and re-drawing the spatial settings of the country. Participants cautioned the Municipal Demarcation Board and the government to encourage
community participation and not neglect their people. Vuwani communities further called for their involvement from the planning stage right through to implementation of the demarcations, including the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality as had been done with Malamulele people.

According to the people in Vuwani, their inclusion in the process could have helped avoid conflicts. Hence, they called for a new start to the demarcation process of Vuwani, ensuring the involvement of all stakeholders. Participants further argued that when they approached the court, they initially wanted the demarcation process to be paused, to allow the local government elections to pass while resuming consultations. Delaying the process, they believed, would have ensured that there were no personal agendas around the demarcation and corrected all the wrong approach through negotiations.

FGD1, 13:

The engagement is ongoing with the local municipality. They must not come and dictate what they want to be done, they must involve the people of Vuwani, and in this way, and they will be no division between the Shangaan and Vendas. We need to solve this problem and also put the needs of communities ahead… They need to rethink and start considering Vuwani as an area that has humans, involve us in these discussions.

7.9.4 New leadership

Participants were of the view that for a solution to be possible, the starting point was electing new leaders and drivers for the re-demarcation procedures. They expressed their distrust with the current leaders. The latter were at the forefront of demarcation.
The community, therefore, threatened that if leadership were not changed, there would be no solution, since the assumption was that the then administration was already corrupt and failed the process. The traditional leadership structure seemed to be trusted by the Vuwani people, as they interpreted their exclusion as an insult by the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board of their leaders.

FGD, Pro-Makhado:

Solution, my sister, starts with electing new leaders. The current leaders of demarcation in Vuwani Vhembe district are corrupt and are the major reason why we are in this situation... they cannot be part of the solution, so we need new leader... in that leadership, they must include or traditional houses... these are the people who have our best interests at heart.

We have our leadership structure, youth forums, civil unions, and traditional houses... these are the people we trust and know they are fighting for use; therefore they need to be involved in these discussions... Municipal Demarcation Board rejected these structures... they undermined our leaders, and we had to fight back.

Table 15: Actions to be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of the following will you suggest should be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes?</th>
<th>(%) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Consultation/consensus building</td>
<td>71 (78.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Fair distribution of service delivery</td>
<td>75 (82.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Resolving all disputes surrounding demarcation</td>
<td>48 (52.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Seriously considering ethnic/tribal ties before embarking on demarcation</td>
<td>35 (38.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Giving full attention to inhabitants’ priorities.</td>
<td>26 (28.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Sample: 92. (%) Yes is the percentage of respondents who agreed that the respective item is something that the respondent suggests should be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes.
In Table 15 above it can be seen that the actions that most respondents felt should be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes were consultation/consensus-building (n = 71; 78.0%) and fair distribution of service delivery (n = 75; 82.4%). A fair number reported resolving all disputes surrounding demarcation (n = 48; 52.7%) and seriously considering ethnic or tribal ties before embarking on demarcation (n = 35; 38.5%) as actions to be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes. A few reported that giving full attention to inhabitants’ priorities (n = 26; 28.6%) would be an appropriate action to be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes.

7.10 Summary

In the first theme, an understanding of the concept of demarcation, its purpose and the roles of the Municipal Demarcation Board, I found that stakeholders or participants in Vuwani had little understanding or knowledge on the meaning of boundary demarcations and the role of the Municipal Demarcation Board. Understanding these concepts was essential to anchor subsequent discussions, as it shaped and gave a clear understanding of the primary cause of the demarcation disputes. When people do not fully understand, they tend to dismiss or challenge things, especially as demarcation presses on the significant crucial land debate in South Africa.

Themes two, three and four sought to examine reasoning in the implementation and purposing of the demarcation and establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality. This theme is essential as it correlates to people’s understanding and acceptance of the reasons provided by the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board. These themes highlight the crux of the disputes as communities elaborate and reject the provided reasons for demarcating Vuwani. Participants further elaborated as to why
they refused and further challenged the demarcation and the establishment of the new Collins Chabane Municipality.

Themes five, six and seven were concerned with the processes followed by the Municipal Demarcation Board in demarcating Vuwani and establishing the Collins Chabane Municipality. During data gathering, the researcher observed that there were many militating factors, which influenced the outcomes of this demarcation. The participants cited irregularities in the Vuwani demarcation processes, as well as a lack of involvement or public participation, as causes of the demarcation disputes.

The chapter discussed steps followed by Vuwani communities in lodging complaints and their rejections of the demarcation under theme eight. This was essential as it allowed the researcher to explore processes followed and their outcomes by mainly examining what led to the violent protests and further assessing communities’ views of the demonstrations and reasons for supporting these riots.

Themes nine and ten were essential as they sought to examine the relationship between municipal performance in terms of rendering services to their people and their influence in the acceptance or rejection of demarcations. The themes further sought to assess the performance of the Collins Chabane Municipality in understanding why Vuwani was still so persistent on relocating back to Makhado after three years of its establishment. The assumption here was that had Collins Chabane Municipality been satisfactory in providing resources to its communities, both Malamulele and Vuwani, perhaps there would have been a change of heart from the opposing communities of Vuwani.

Theme eleven sought to review possible solutions by the people of Vuwani, in terms of what they believed could be done to restore peace and see an end to the ongoing
demarcation disputes as it hinders the development of their communities. Perhaps these solutions could be implemented or reviewed by the Municipal Demarcation Board to ensure an end to the conflicts.
CHAPTER EIGHT
DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is an interpretation and discussion of the study findings presented in chapter seven. This chapter encompasses the interpretation and discussions of the qualitative and quantitative data, presenting manageable themes, theories, methods, and concepts. This particular endeavour centres on the research questions guiding the study, seeking to unpack the contested municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani, and the foundation of the new Collins Chabane Municipality, and looking at the daunting issues resulting in disputes. Data were analysed and discussed using themes derived from the previous data presentation chapter.

8.2 Summary of key findings

The first research question sought to understand the factors that have contributed to the municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district. The following is a summary of the findings in this regard:

- The findings of this study revealed several factors that contributed to the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Lack of understanding of demarcations and their purpose together with the role of the municipal demarcation board had significant effects on the outcomes of demarcation in Vuwani. The findings indicate that majority of the community members had no understanding of demarcation and demonstrate a lack of transparency by the municipal demarcation board and local government in informing and ironing out the demarcations and their purpose and further for the delimitations in Vuwani.
The findings further reveal that lack of knowledge and understanding of demarcations, their purpose and why Vuwani was proposed for demarcation, misconceptions amongst the people of Vuwani were enacted. “This is a tactic of this government, they want to take our land from us”. Vuwani community members expressed that they had not requested the demarcation, thus puzzled as to why their communities were demarcated.

The findings further reveal that a lack of good governance principles from the municipal demarcation board and local government had contributed to the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Lack of transparency in terms of information sharing from the planning to the implementation phase with the affected community created notions of conflict. Vuwani community members accused authorities of lack of adherence to equality as meetings were held with Malamulele communities, but not so with Vuwani communities.

Lack of stakeholders' involvement, namely, the traditional authority/leaders and the civil unions, had contributed to the demarcation disputes. Findings in chapter seven reveal that traditional authority in Vuwani had no understanding of the purpose and reasons for demarcating their communities. As a result, the Vuwani community tabled in court challenges to the process of demarcation. The fact that the Republic of South Africa Constitution only speaks of roles of traditional leaders under customary law has contributing effects to the issues of land, and re-demarcation processes, not only is Vuwani but throughout South Africa. Demarcation disputes, to a certain extent, present a tug-of-war between government (ward councillor and traditional leadership structure) as both view themselves as custodians of rural land.

The Limpopo Province is unique in the sense that it is home to three ethnic groups, the vaVhenda, baPedi and xiTsonga people; thus, tribalistic factors tend to cloud issues of land demarcations in Vuwani. Findings indicate that there seem to be tribalistic factors contributing to the rejection of the Vuwani demarcation. This form of demarcation saw
the foundation of the Collins Chabane Municipality, situated in the Malamulele community that is dominated by xiTsonga people. The Vuwani people, who mostly are vaVhendas, expressed fear of being under a municipality dominated by xiTsongas. However, to outrightly package the Vuwani demarcation disputes as tribal disputes as much of social media, news (media), articles and newspapers have done. Doing so would be an incorrect assumption as many underlying factors contributed to Vuwani demarcation disputes.

- Political agendas had contributory effects on Vuwani demarcation. Findings reveal that Vuwani community members and opposition political parties argued that the process of re-demarcating Vuwani was a tactic by the ANC government to win voters’ power and their domination in Vuwani, which EFF had taken control over. The Vuwani community questioned reasons for rushing the process of demarcating Vuwani and argued, pointing to the 2017 local government elections and a game of power by the ruling party.

- Findings indicate that the proposed name of the newly established municipality had contributing effects to the rejection of the Vuwani demarcations. The municipality was named after the late Collins Chabane, who was born and bred in Xikundu village in Malamulele. Minister Collins Chabane at the time of passing in 2015, was South African Minister of Public Service and Administration. As a form of tribute to him, the government named the new municipality, which included communities from Malamulele and part of Vuwani community. Because of this, Vuwani community members contest that the naming and the geographical establishment of this new municipality is clearly pioneered for the Malamulele communities. Hence the fear that Malamulele community would overpower Vuwani communities and subdue their voices and needs.
The second and third research question investigated the conceptions and misconception of municipal demarcation board and the quest by Vuwani community members to understand if third forces were contributing to the disputes.

- The findings reveal that due to a lack of transparency and adherence to good governance principles by the municipal demarcation board and local the government, many misconceptions fueled the demarcation dispute. As a result of the country’s past effects on land by the Apartheid government which saw forceful removal of South Africans from their land, mainly Blacks. South African people have since been fearful and sceptical of any dealings that seek to temper with land and boundaries. In the same way, re-demarcation has not been well accepted mostly in rural communities/areas. Re-demarcation and its processes thus need to be implemented with caution. Findings reveal that Vuwani communities viewed the demarcation process as a tactic by the government to strip them of their rights to land forcefully. Traditional leaders expressed concern on the proposed and implemented demarcation, fearing that it robbed them of their rights as custodians of rural land and the process of re-demarcation was a blinkered approach similar to that of the Apartheid government.

- The findings further reveal misconceptions of favouritism by the government in favour of the Malamulele xiTsonga people as the Vuwani community revealed a lack of knowledge of the purpose and reasons for demarcating their community. This has since created a notion and a reef between the Vuwani and Malamulele people, resulting in the pointing of fingers and blame to Malamulele people. Findings reveal that the Vuwani community believes the government imposed the demarcation on their communities to please and win the favour of the Malamulele communities. The Vuwani communities argue that they had not applied for any demarcation of their communities and were happy as part of the Makhado Municipality, thus feel it is unfair that they are affected by demarcations.
requested by the Malamulele communities. Vuwani communities therefore strongly felt that only those communities that had asked for the demarcation should be affected and not impose the demarcations on their communities.

- The naming of the new municipality has resulted in too many misconceptions for the Vuwani people. The new municipality has been questioned for being named Collins Chabane, a late Minister of public service and administration who was born and bred in Xikundu Malamulele community. Thus Vuwani community members argue that this is a clear indication that the municipality is pioneered for the Malamulele communities. The lack of contribution and care of the Vuwani communities/people would be exacerbated.

The fourth research question investigates municipal demarcation board compliance to good governance principles in re-demarcating Vuwani. The findings were as follows:

- Findings reveal that lack of consultation (transparency) seems to be the major catalyst to the rejection of the demarcation by Vuwani communities. Participants argued that they were never informed, no meetings were held, they heard about the demarcation on media. In contrast, meetings were held with the Malamulele communities, preparing them for the demarcation. The promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000, grounded on the transparency good governance principle shows that when there is access and shared knowledge of the dealings and operations of government with all stakeholders, there is less corruption and higher accountability adherence by government.

- Findings further revealed that the authorities infringed the rule of law and equality principle as consultations were with Malamulele communities on the demarcation process. However, in Vuwani participants argued that there were no consultations conducted. Participants pointed out that they submitted an objection proposal with the
Municipal Demarcation Board and summoned it to appear before the Vuwani community stakeholders. However, the MDB had not visited the area, proving a lack of accountability and responsiveness from the MDB. The relative deprivation theory explains this phenomenon clearly as it argues that when people are not treated fairly or equally, it creates a sense of betrayal and results in a change of behaviour resulting in protests or riots (Walker, 1984).

The research findings illustrate that the violence or protest of demarcation was primarily due to misconceptions, which were due to a lack of information. Thus, the study argues that had all good governance principles been followed accordingly, much of the disputes could have been prevented. These principles include transparency in informing all stakeholders involved or affected by the demarcation, reasons for the demarcation and benefits together with the processes of the proposed demarcation. However, when stakeholders involved are in the dark, they turn to make their assumptions which are mostly misinformed, leading to the rejection of proposed initiatives. Monare (2010) supports this notion by arguing that much of Africa’s problems in governance are due to bad management, which he defines as the opposite of good governance. Where there is no information sharing, people serve their interests; there is corruption and so forth.

The fifth research question investigated a relationship between municipal demarcation disputes and the provision of service delivery in Vuwani. The inquiry looked at the role, and lack of provision of services and municipal demarcations and its contribution to the outcomes of acceptance or rejection of re-demarcation. The findings were as follow:

- The findings reveal that there seems to be a link/relationship between community perception of municipal performance in terms of service provision and community’s acceptance and rejection of demarcations. The findings indicate that much of the Vuwani
communities’ concerns are the fear of the unknown in terms of service provision with the proposed move and foundation of the new Collins Chabane Municipality. Service delivery in Vuwani is the primary catalyst for the rejection of the demarcation as members narrated that the process of founding and implementing this new municipality would have dire effects on their needs and service delivery. Hence, they affirmed that they were better off with the Makhado municipality.

- The findings further indicated that Vuwani community members were not happy with the Collins Chabane Municipality’s performance in the rendering of services and demanded to be reinstated back to the Makhado Municipality. They highlighted factors of favouritism in the operations of the Collins Chabane Municipality. The Vuwani community members stated that the majority of the people employed in the municipality were from Malamulele and xiTsonga people. Participants further argued that service delivery by the Collins Chabane Municipality seemed to target Malamulele communities leaving Vuwani communities with no service delivery.

These key findings can be reduced to five statements:

1. Vuwani communities’ perception of demarcations, the role of municipal demarcation board and purpose/reasons for demarcating Vuwani communities. Vuwani community’s knowledge of demarcations is essential as this has impacts on the outcomes and the rejection of demarcations in the area.

2. Adherence to good governance principles by the municipal demarcation board and local government in demarcating Vuwani communities. The roles of stakeholders’ involvement that is traditional authority/leadership, community members, civil unions and political parties.
3. Tribalism has been positively highlighted by many media platforms, such as the news (media), articles, newspapers etc. It is of paramount importance to address these claims that assert that much of what is presented as demarcation dispute in Vuwani is mainly tribal disputes.

4. Political agendas and politically motivated/influenced demarcation of Vuwani

5. Municipal performance in the rendering of service delivery of the Collins Chabane municipality and its effects on Vuwani communities’ rejections of demarcations.


The discussion that follows in the subsequent section in this research is based on these findings.

8.2 Discussion of findings

The study is informed by three theoretical frameworks that are the social contract, the social conflict and the relative deprivation theories. The social contract theory emphasises the subject of genuine political power that it considers to be a contractual commitment. It is significant for constitutionalism that holds that in a majority rule government, political force and power are practised against the foundation of the contractual relationship between rulers and citizens. This theory advocates for the spirit of shared power within communities between the governance structure and the community at large, thus advocating for good governance between all stakeholders sharing a common goal (Van der Waldt, 2012: 366–381). The social contract theory argues that the social contract within the stakeholder of the community ensures long term stability. The theory further argues that once the form of a contract or constitution
is tampered with, the social contract within communities breaks, which results in conflict.

The social conflict theory, on the other hand, rejects the assumptions and notion of long term social stability. The theory argues that societies are under constant change as values change between stakeholders, thus creating room for conflict (Engel, 1999: 6–7). The conflict theory holds that societies are made of those who possess wealth and power and those who do not, and these groups will therefore always have different views, which will result in conflict (Dunleavy, 1991).

The relative deprivation theory, on the other hand, asserts and supports the above theories, arguing that once one social contract is dismantled when community stakeholders share different views, conflict arises. The relative deprivation theory argues that there is a state of comparison between individuals and the people around them; thus, they conclude that their own state is unfair and undeserved. The theory further argues that when people compare themselves to those close to them based on what they deserve and conclude that they are not treated fairly, this then changes their emotions, behaviour and physical health. Based on how the people perceive this unfairness or inequality, it may lead to protest, boycotts, and so forth (Saleh, 2011: 234).

Within the scope of the above theories guiding the study, coupled with the data from the research field, the researcher provides a discussion on the nature of demarcation disputes, conceptions and misconceptions to the conflict.

The present research found that participants had little knowledge and understanding of demarcation and the role of the municipal demarcation board. Thus, participants viewed demarcations negatively as a process sought to strip people and traditional
leaders of their land and power. To illustrate this, in sub-section 7.4.1 and Table 6, respondents in the study showed a significant lack of understanding of demarcations, the role of the municipal demarcation board and reasons for demarcating Vuwani. 40.7% of respondents strongly disagreed, with 37.4% disagreeing in “understanding of demarcation”.

What these findings imply is that majority of the Vuwani community members had little to non-understanding of demarcations. Limpopo is a rural province and home to many elderly people. Statistical findings of the study revealed that large numbers of the participants in the survey were older people with mainly primary and secondary education, as illustrated in Figure 3 and 4. Given the history of South Africa, regarding colonialism and apartheid, many black people were denied education with some going through Bantu education. This is outlined by Beall (2009), who looks at the effects of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. In her findings, she argues that education has been one of the largely affected spheres resulting in a high number of illiterate, old, black people (Beall, 2009; Khunou, 2009). Most of the older people in South Africa cannot read according to Stats SA 2017. Thus, when dealing with rural communities, special information-sharing platforms should be sensitive in this regard and find viable strategies.

Singarum (2002) in his work looking at the demarcation process of the Ntuli Tribal Authority in KwaZulu Natal sought to examine communities’ understanding and perceptions of re-demarcation. In his findings, the author elaborated that people had little knowledge about the re-demarcation process and called for more educational awareness of demarcation, its operations, and purpose in the new democratic South Africa. Griggs (2000) identifies a need for a deeper level of structural integration accompanied by democratic management and more scientific attention to boundaries.
The findings further revealed that because of high numbers of the elderly and illiterate, Vuwani community members rely on their traditional leaders in the form of “Khoro” “community meetings” for information sharing. However, findings of the study indicate that traditional leaders reported having little knowledge and understanding of demarcations and the role of the Municipal Demarcation Board. This, therefore, raises questions on what steps the local government and municipal demarcation board followed to ensure that Vuwani communities were informed and made knowledgeable of the demarcation and the role of the MDB prior to demarcation. Respondents stated that they were not informed as they only heard of the proposed demarcations on the media.

Makumbe (1998) argues that elected officials have a mandate to decentralise information and not make final decisions for the masses. He further argues that a centralized form of government is not transparent and holds control over the public at a local level, breeding misconceptions that in turn, breed conflict. Makumbe further urges implementers, policy-makers, and researchers to be transparent in dealing with rural communities as they are sensitive. Therefore, there is a need to follow a proper structure and communicate a precise description of the objectives, aims and the mandate of demarcation to avoid misconceptions.

Colin Williams (2015) concurs with Makumbe’s argument stating that public participation in post-apartheid South Africa seems to be an illusion. It seems community participation is mainly spectator politics where ordinary people have mostly become endorsers of the pre-designed planning of programs. They are often objects of administrative manipulation in a space where the state views itself as the bureaucratic expert summoned to “ensure a better life for all”.
The roles of the Municipal Demarcation Board are stipulated by the Republic of South African Constitution of 1996 together with the Demarcation Act, 1998. These are as follows:

i. The MDB is required to act as an adviser in issues provided for by the Act in terms of demarcations.

ii. The Board is required to demarcate provincial and municipal boundaries in South Africa in line with the principles of the Act.

iii. The Board is required to consider the Act and Chapter Seven of the Constitution in terms of demarcation boundaries of South Africa, however, unless provided for by Section 26, the Board can demarcate boundaries in respect of a written indication by the MEC and municipalities affected and has no objections to demarcate.

The Municipal Demarcation Board works in line with or guided by the good governance principles, which advocate for transparency. Thus the MDB has to inform the country, or affected communities of planned demarcations by publishing in the Provincial Gazette, allowing 30 days for observing any rejections or objections submitted. The findings mainly from the level of understanding of demarcation and the role of the Municipal Demarcation Board raises the concern of the processes followed by the Municipal Demarcation Board in complying with the good governance principle of transparency.

The findings of the study reveal that there is a shared common understanding of the reasons given for demarcating Vuwani. Participants narrated that demarcation was a result of the request by the Malamulele communities who were previously under the administration of Makhado Municipality, who wished for a new standalone municipality.
as they felt not catered for under Makhado. Sub-section 7.4.2. illustrates the findings that reveal that Malamulele communities were far from the Makhado Municipality and as such, their needs in terms of service delivery were not catered to.

The Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998, guided by policies and principles of the Municipal Demarcation Board, allows for people or communities to write in and request demarcation of areas they feel are problematic especially in catering to service delivery. Therefore, this raised the question for the researcher as to why participants of Vuwani were challenging the demarcation if they then knew and understood reasons this demarcation was implemented. The researcher thus sought to examine the validity of the reasons given for demarcation from the participants’ perceptions.

Findings illustrated in sub-section 7.4.3 revealed that community and participants of Vuwani expressed that the reasons for demarcation were not shared properly by the Demarcation Board, arguing that no consultation/Khoro were held in Vuwani. Findings further revealed that the Vuwani community heard of the planned demarcation through media reports, thus claimed that they were never informed together with their traditional leadership structures. It appears that the community had gone searching for reasons for demarcation and later told that the demarcation was as a result of the request from Malamulele. The community there wanted a new municipality, which was named the Collins Chabane Municipality.

Monare (2010) argues that communication or sharing of information is the underlining principle for demarcations. The scholar further states that the MDB is liable to publish and circulate the notice of areas to be delimited and intentions behind the demarcation within 21 days before proceeding with said demarcation, ensuring that all stakeholders are informed and involved.
The Demarcation Act also clearly outlines the process for the determination or redetermination of municipal boundaries. Before the determination of a municipal boundary, the Board must publish a notice in terms of Section 26 of the MDA in a newspaper circulating in the relevant areas. The notice has to state the Board’s intention and invite public participation by making written representations within 21 days.

**Reasons for demarcation**

The findings reveal that reasons for demarcating Vuwani were rejected by Vuwani community members who argued that since Malamulele communities had applied for demarcation, their communities should not be affected. Thus, participants were puzzled as to why Vuwani communities who had not applied for demarcation were affected (see sub-section 7.4.4). Findings from the Municipal Demarcation Board and local government officials, state that upon investigating the request submitted by the Malamulele communities, it was clear that the Malamulele community had a valid point. Their communities were situated on distant outskirts of the Makhado Municipality, which had a huge load to cater to all its people. Therefore, there was a need to establish a solution to this challenge by founding a new municipality. The only challenge to this request was that the Malamulele community and its inhabitants were small, thus the proposition to include some of the Vuwani communities. Scholars such as Vasquez (1993) argue that many common mistakes can be identified as leading to boundary demarcation disputes. He further argues that no matter how valid the reason for the demarcation, if communities and other relevant stakeholders are not consulted, this will undoubtedly affect the demarcation.
Raseala et al. (2017) argue that the mandate of demarcations is to improve municipality functionality and economic viability, as the government contends that demarcations are necessary to address the challenges of financial non-viability. However, Raseala argues that for demarcations to be viable and essential there is a need for the government to practice consulting. This can be done by involving the public in agenda-setting, decision-making and policy-forming activities of government or civil organizations and institutions responsible for policy development as public participation is of fundamental importance to resolve demarcation disputes.

A lot of literature has been published on the importance of good governance in government practices. Good governance is defined as the practice of fair, efficient, effective, accountable and transparent management and respecting the rights of people (Manguella, 2004). Johnston (2017) defines good governance as competency matters in government in terms of resource distribution in a fair manner with equal treatment in respect of all its citizens.

According to Makwerere (2015), good governance principles are paramount to ensure that the country does not repeat history but live up to its expectations of a democratic, developmental South Africa for all that live in it. Section 195 of the Constitution provides bases of good governance as it stipulates that certain principles need to be taken into consideration. These principles are ethical consideration of the local government, responsiveness and accountability in rendering services to the people, public participation to be at the forefront as people are agencies of their own development, fairness and equity, transparency of all process of government, and respect for human rights at all times.
Local government and the Municipal Demarcation Board thus have a mandate in line with the good governance principles to fulfil their roles and responsibilities as laid out by the Constitution to ensure good governance and engender a spirit of partnership. The bottom-up approach needs to be respected, as the people’s will is focal to the Constitution and its preamble.

Findings of the study reveal a lack of adherence to sound governance principles by the municipal demarcation board and local government in the processes of demarcating Vuwani as illustrated in sub-section 7.4.5. Findings indicate the exclusion of the Vuwani communities from the planning up to the implementation phase of the demarcation. Lack of consultations and transparency have acted as a catalyst and contributor to the rejection of the demarcation in Vuwani. The promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000, grounded on the transparency good governance principle stated that when there is access and shared knowledge of the dealings and operations of government with all stakeholders, there is less corruption and higher accountability adherence of government.

Table 8 illustrated quantitative findings to adherence and Vuwani communities’ involvement in the processes of demarcation of their communities. Mixed feelings were reported when asked whether MDB together with municipality consulted and explained the process of demarcation to the community members. The participants’ findings reveal that communities were not part of the planning and consultation meeting of the demarcations. After finding out about the proposed Vuwani demarcation, they joined the discussions and later embarked on actions to reject and voice their dissatisfaction of the demarcations. The relative deprivation theory explains this phenomenon clearly as it argues that when people are not treated fairly or equal, it creates a sense of
betrayal and results in a change in behaviour resulting in protests or riots (Walker, 1984).

The research findings illustrate that the violence or protest of demarcation was primarily due to misconceptions, which were due to a lack of information. Thus, the study argues that had all good governance principles been followed accordingly, much of the disputes could have been prevented. These principles include transparency in informing all stakeholders involved or affected by the demarcation, reasons for the demarcation and benefits together with the processes of the proposed demarcation. However, when stakeholders involved are in the dark, they turn to make their assumptions which are mostly misinformed, leading to the rejection of proposed initiatives. Monare (2010) supports this notion by arguing that much of Africa’s problems in governance are due to bad management, which he defines as the opposite of good governance. Where there is no information sharing, people serve their interests; there is corruption and so forth.

The relative deprivation theory argues that when sound governance principles are omitted, it leads to conflict. The theory further states that comparison becomes the norm as people feel that their suffering is unjust. This then leads to a change of behaviour. Findings revealed that Vuwani communities had sought to challenge the demarcation as they had compiled an objection proposal and submitted it to the Municipal Demarcation Board. The community later approached the court to apply for an interdict to halt the demarcation process until all matters had been resolved; however, this interdict was later dismissed by the court. When all these attempts had failed, as the findings reveal, the community turned to protests and boycotts.
The conflict theory thus supports this, arguing that communities are in constant rivalry as there are those with the power and who have control. Those with no power live to challenge that which they view as being unjust. Therefore, most demarcation disputes are because of power and a lack of adherence to good governance principles by the government, as highlighted in cases such as Matatiele, Kutshong and so forth.

Stakeholder involvement in the demarcation of Vuwani has been questioned as findings illustrated by sub-section 7.4.6 reveal a lack of participation by the traditional leadership structure, which are very dominant in Vuwani. Despite the history and implications of the structure of traditional leaders, of being manipulated by the past apartheid government, turning them against their people to serve the mandates of the colonial government, after 1994, with the establishment of the new democratic South Africa, the ANC government had to decide on either dismantling or reinstating the structure of traditional leadership (Ntsebenza, 2013). Findings of the study reveal that the traditional leadership structure is of paramount importance, and the Vuwani communities highly respect them. Neglecting this structure is a significant contributor to the disputes. Findings depict that the Vuwani community mostly associated with traditional authority and viewed them as their leaders. All community communication goes via their traditional leader.

Findings additionally revealed that traditional leaders of Vuwani consider themselves as rulers of their people and their land and thus express that the government and Municipal Demarcation Board had undermined them as leaders by not including them in the discussions, planning and implementation of Vuwani demarcation. Findings further revealed that traditional leaders were at the forefront in challenging the demarcation; thus, they had compiled an objection document which challenged the
demarcation, which was submitted to the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board.

The study findings also reveal that community members were in dismay by the sidelining of their traditional leaders. Ntsebenza (2013) argues that the structure of traditional leaders is dominant as rural South African people align mostly with traditional leaders and acknowledge them as their structure of governance. Ntsebenza further argues that in demarcating rural land, traditional leadership structures must be at the forefront and included in all discussions as a form of winning the people in ensuring that they understand and see the importance and need of the demarcation.

Media reports, news and some literature around the demarcation disputes of Vuwani had labelled and raised issues of tribalism as being dominant and the cause of rejection of the demarcation. This is because the new Collins Chabane Municipality is situated in an area dominated by Tsonga people. Findings presented in sub-section 7.4.7.4 reveal that there are two sides to this concept. On the one side, the results indicate that Vuwani communities/people are indeed fearful of being under the leadership of Tsonga people in terms of provision of basic needs, together with employment, tender bids and so forth. However, the Vuwani community argues that the application for demarcation by the Malamulele communities was tribalistic in its nature. The Malamulele communities refused to be under the leadership of Venda people, as the Makhado Municipality is geographically in an area dominated by Venda people. The argument, therefore, is that it is not only the Venda people who depict signs of tribalism but the Tsonga people as well.

Moloi (2016) warns of a new form of a pandemic, which he argues could have a far worse implication that that of apartheid. Moloi argues that South Africa is a country
good in dressing a wound rather than healing it. Furthermore, he cautions that if we don’t address the wounds of the past, we could have a problem at hand. Tribalism seems to be sneaking in as history shows that each tribe has its connection and cultural identity that rejects other groups, creating tension that can lead to conflict (Moloi, 2016: 01).

Buhlunhu et al. (2007) highlight this by arguing that in provinces where different ethnic groups are found, caution needs to be taken. Mathoho (2013) further contends that in situations where more than one ethnic group is affiliated with one municipality, tribalism comes to play. Because South Africa is a diverse country that is home to many ethnic groups, tribalism is a domain influenced highly by the scarcity of resources as people, or ethnic groups compete for resources. Race and ethnic groups are at the forefront as people seek to associate with one another in issues of cultural identity and leadership.

On the other hand, findings of the study revealed that packaging the disputes in Vuwani as being purely tribalistic would be unjust. Results indicated that while there are indeed elements of tribalism within the conflicts, however, Limpopo Province is home to many ethnic groups who have lived amongst each other for years. The findings further revealed that in as much as tribalism can or is at play, the primary underlying factor is lack of good governance principles in terms of transparency and consultation. Essential service delivery is the catalyst to the disputes as Limpopo province lags in the provision of services, with communities competing and scraping for the few existing resources. Managa (2012: 2) supports this, stating, “Growing concern has been expressed about the government ability to deliver the public services that its people yearn for and are entitled to”.

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The study findings reveal that political agendas seem to have influenced the processes, reasons and the speedy demarcation of Vuwani communities. In subsection 7.4.7.2, respondents state that the process of demarcating Vuwani was quick, overlooking the many grievances brought forth by the Traditional leaders, civil unions and the people of Vuwani, mainly because it was a political move. The findings revealed that demarcation of Vuwani communities was a political agenda by the ruling party to gain back control of Vuwani which it had since lost to opposing parties. Thus to win over Vuwani the voters numbers had to cut moving mainly communities with high opposing voters number to the newly established Collins Chabane Municipality. Respondents believed that the 2016 local government elections highly influenced this quick move to demarcate Vuwani.

The Vuwani community members have questioned the name of the new municipality as findings of the study reveal many concerns and misconception regarding the then and now instated name of the new municipality, named the Collins Chabane Municipality. Respondents argue that it is clear that this new municipality in its implementation was targeted for the Malamulele communities/people as Vuwani people were not consulted in the naming of the municipality. Respondents further argue that the municipality is named after Collins Chabane the late Minister of public service and administration who was born and bred in Xikundu a village in Malamulele. Thus respondents concluding that this is a municipality for Malamulele xiTsonga people and therefore biased towards the Vuwani vaVhenda people.

Vuwani communities narrate that several steps had been followed in their bid to stop the demarcation process. Findings of the study indicated some steps and actions followed by the Vuwani community in their quest of rejecting the demarcation. Respondents indicate that upon the realization that their communities were up for
demarcation. Fueled mainly by the unjust process of the municipal demarcation board and local government, the community through the help of traditional leaders and civil unions compiled a grievances report submitted to the municipal demarcation board. As illustrated in sub-section 7.5.1, the community narrated that they hoped that the municipal demarcation board would pose the process of demarcating their areas and start conversations with the Vuwani people; however, this was not the case.

Findings further revealed that a court interdict was filed by the traditional houses in Vuwani, later dismissed in court in favour of the municipal demarcation board. As illustrated in sub-section 7.5.2 after this, Vuwani communities embarked on a total shut down which saw protests/riots that resulted in damage to government and private properties, burning and damaging of schools etc. Respondents argue that this was the only option they knew the government would listen to. They, however, acknowledge that the protests plans were initially meant to be peaceful but quickly turned violent. The community laid the blame on the slow response of government and municipal demarcation board. Sub-section 7.5.3. illustrates this point.

8.2.8 Collins Chabane municipal performance/ service delivery

Municipal performance in rendering service has been labelled as the primary cause of concern about the demarcation by the Vuwani community. The fear of the unknown, and how the Collins Chabane Municipality caters to the needs of the people and the process of establishing and ensuring that the municipality is productive has been questioned and argued that it would delay access to service delivery. Findings of the study revealed that municipal performance is a significant contributor to the acceptance or rejection of demarcations. Participants stated that they were not willing to be amalgamated to an under-performing municipality or to a relatively new
municipality such as the Collins Chabane Municipality as illustrated by sub-section 7.4.7.5.

Findings reveal fears of the participants being under the administration of the new municipality as it would take time for it to function properly and accordingly. The participants questioned the service delivery performance of the municipality, arguing that their communities could not wait longer as they were already suffering. Thus, they feel that joining the new Collins Chabane Municipality would make things worse. Ncube et al. (2016) affirm this arguing that processes of demarcation employed by the municipal demarcation board had rejected/questioned financial and administrative impacts of amalgamations on municipal performances (Ncube et al., 2016).

The municipal performance had been the major contributor to the rejection of both municipal and provincial demarcation. Areas such as Matatiele had also rejected amalgamation from the KwaZulu Natal province to the Eastern Cape as they argued that the Eastern Cape Province would not take care of their needs as it was disadvantaged and lagged in providing for its people. Towns such as Kutsong rejected being moved from the Gauteng Province to the North West, stating that they were better off with the Gauteng Province than with the North West Province perceived as lagging in service delivery (Buhlungu et al., 2007).

Findings of the study further revealed dissatisfaction of the Vuwani communities under the Collins Chabane Municipality, as illustrated in Table 14, Figure 10. The arguments show that little development or change had been facilitated as communities were lagging in terms of provision of basic needs. An advisor allocated to the Collins Chabane Municipality as per the 2018 provincial speech budget yielded promising results, with the municipality ranking amongst the best in the province in terms of the
2016/17 MIG expenditure and 2016/17 audit opinion. The question, therefore, is which communities received benefits when the community members of Collins Chabane Municipality argue that they have not seen much improvement in terms of service delivery.

Findings further revealed that the Vuwani community wanted to move back under the Makhado Municipality where they were better off in terms of service provision. Acknowledging that while Makhado Municipality did have its challenges, “better the devil they know than this new hyped municipality” supported/illustrated in Figure 10.

In a national assembly meeting in 2013, the ANC expressed its concerns on the impact of demarcation on municipal performance. It concluded that the MDB must take into consideration the effects of demarcations on municipal financials and performance in line with the mandate of demarcation, to break racial barriers and ensure the provision of basic needs to the people.

While much literature has been published on the effects and impacts of demarcations, some scholars advocate for demarcations while others argue against them. However, evidence shows that the effects of consolidation are mixed as indicated in a study compiled by Byrnes and Dollery in 2002 and in 2006 and studies conducted by Boyne (1992) reviewing research in the United Kingdom and the United States on economies of scale after merges. The findings revealed that consolidation is associated with higher financial implications, while a study in Canada conducted by Kushner and Sigel (2005) found that amalgamations of local governments improved efficiency in some municipalities while inefficiency in others. A study conducted by Ncube et al. (2016) concludes that demarcations or amalgamations have financial implications.
Respondents proposed solutions or techniques that the municipal demarcation can deploy in resolving the demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Respondents believe that the starting point is through communication, as illustrated by section 7.9.

Findings revealed that Vuwani community believed that the starting point towards resolving the disputes was communication. Government and the Municipal Demarcation Board are to revert to the Vuwani and Malamulele communities, apologise and start discussions afresh. Findings revealed that Vuwani communities believed or were of the view that they were undermined by the structures of governance demarcating their area. Hence, felt they were owed an apology and redrawing or planning of the demarcation with all stakeholders involved.

Findings further revealed that Vuwani community was of the view that the boundaries for demarcation needed to be re-drawn. They believed a lot of corruption as feeding of personal agenda was at the forefront. Findings revealed that the Vuwani community believed that the rush in establishing the Collins Chabane Municipality was in support of the CR17 campaign and the local government elections of 2016, allowing the ANC government to gain power and control of the Limpopo Province. The study also showed that the Vuwani community called for redrawing of the municipality, as they believed that the process was biased in favour of the Tsonga people. This is evidenced by the little to non-adherence to the good governance principles infringing on the rights of Vuwani people. Findings further revealed that the Vuwani community wanted to be moved back to the Makhado Municipality, arguing that they had not requested the demarcation but the Malamulele communities had, thus they could not suffer for the benefit of Malamulele communities.
Much of the data reveals that there was lack of communication and participation, leading to the emergence of disputes. Participation is a dominating principle when dealing with communities and re-drawing the spatial settings of the country. Vuwani communities caution that the Municipal Demarcation Board and government must encourage community participation and not neglect people. Community members of Vuwani lamented that they should have been involved from the planning stage right through to implementation of the demarcations and the establishment of the Collins Chabane Municipality as it was the case with the Malamulele people. Had this been done, they argued, disputes would have been avoided. The Vuwani community called for restarting of the demarcation process, ensuring that all stakeholders are involved. They further stated that when they approached the court, they initially wanted the demarcation process to be placed on hold. This would have allowed the local government elections to pass and the resumption of negotiations. For them, this could have ensured that there were no personal agendas driving the demarcation process. To correct all the mistakes that had taken place, allowing time for talks, consultations and negotiations would suffice.

Findings additionally revealed that Vuwani communities were calling for new leadership to resolve the demarcation disputes in their areas. Vuwani communities were of the view that for a solution to be possible the starting point was to elect new leaders and drivers for the re-demarcation. The Vuwani community expressed their distrust with the current leaders who were at the forefront of demarcation. They threatened that if the leadership were not changed, finding solutions would be a challenge. The assumption is that the current leadership was already corrupt and had failed the process; therefore, they could not be part of the solution. The Vuwani community seemed to trust the traditional leadership structure. They interpreted the
non-involvement and neglect of their traditional houses as an insult by the government and the Municipal Demarcation Board of their leaders.

8.3 Deduction from the findings

The following lessons can be deduced from the findings:

i. Determination and re-adjustment of the communal land boundaries need to be treated with caution. The effects of the Apartheid government in the forceful removal of people from their lands have had dire effects, rendering South African people fearful and sceptical of any talks that speak to land. Proper structure, adherence to good governance principles is essential and a must as it would prevent misconceptions, conflicts to land and the many demarcation disputes that have been on the rise over the past years as shown in chapter four (literature) and chapter seven (findings).

ii. The roles and responsibilities of traditional leadership structures need to be revisited and clearly articulated to prevent the clashes between ward councillors and traditional leaders. The Republic of South Africa Constitution 1998, is vague in its quest to unpack the roles of traditional leaders. It only states that they have the rights to practice under customary law. Customary law is broad. The Constitution needs to be clear as to what roles traditional leaders play under customary law and further clarify their role in communal/rural land. At the forefront of demarcation disputes, there is the traditional leadership structure that challenges demarcations and its effects on the land. Thus, traditional leadership structure needs to be relooked and further be incorporated in the processes of redrawing the spatial settings of South Africa.
iii. Municipal performance and service delivery is the primary catalyst to the outcomes and acceptance of demarcations by the people of South Africa. Based on the perception of the province or municipality in providing services to its people, communities reject or accept demarcations. Much of what is viewed as demarcation disputes has much bearing on service delivery protests. Thus the performance of municipalities is essential and needs improvement if we are to develop and readjust the past land injustices.

iv. The municipal demarcation board, as per the roles stipulated by the Republic of South Africa Constitution, has the mandate to be just when demarcating boundaries of South Africa, as shown in chapter 4. The Constitution, and the Demarcation Act, 1998 state that MDB is a standalone structure free from any influences and is to be guided by extensive research and adherence to proper arrangements that seek to promote good governance in their quest to re-draw the country’s spatial settings. Findings in chapter seven revealed a degree of political influence in the process and duration of demarcation in Vuwani. Issues of voter’s numbers in-line with the 2016 local government elections have been raised, questioning the motives of the MDB.
8.4 CONCLUSION, CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND NOTES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.4.1 Recommendations

Various stakeholders forwarded recommendations and suggestions emanating from the research findings and conclusions, for consideration to mitigate factors of the demarcation disputes. The idea is that demarcations can be conducted in a sound manner that allows stakeholder involvement and ensures that demarcation processes are smooth with no conflicts. The concern was that over the years, the country had observed many violent demarcation disputes, causing a lot of damages. Thus, more needs to be done in ensuring that we see less of this behaviour.

The recommendations that follow could assist the South African government, especially local government and the Municipal Demarcation Board, in demarcating and re-drawing the country’s spatial boundaries. The following recommendations are presented.

8.4.1 Further research on demarcations

The first suggestion is that further research ought to be carried out, a recommendation made by the informants in this study. Research can be the starting point to gain more insight into demarcations and their benefits in Africa, especially in South Africa.

Informants are of the view that for demarcations to work and serve their purpose in South Africa, there is a need to do away with all the westernized ideologies and understand demarcation from an African perspective. The recommendation is that a better understanding of the types of demarcation, especially the relatively new kind of
demarcation initiated in Vuwani that considers the foundation of a new municipality. All these require more research and conservative treatment. Such recommendations need special attention from authorities, as they are the suggestions by the people concerned. Academics and the research community can investigate ways in which such proposals could be turned into reality to end the problems associated with demarcations.

8.4.2 Compliance to good governance principles

The need for government and the Municipal Demarcation Board’s adherence to good governance principles is of paramount importance. In the case of Vuwani, much of the demarcation disputes had to do with the commitment to good governance principles. Lack of transparency, communication, responsiveness, equality and so on, led to the consequences of disputes in Vuwani. The Republic of South Africa Constitution of 1996, Demarcation Act of 1998 stipulate processes with an emphasis on sound governance principles for demarcating and redrawing of the spatial boundaries of the country, thus these need to be observed at all times. Demarcation disputes have cost the country a lot, as they are violent, with the damaging of state properties, looting and so forth.

8.4.3 Policy

A relook at the policy, mainly on the roles and responsibilities of traditional leaders and that of ward councillors, is essential in curbing the power struggles between these structures of leadership. As it stands, the Constitution defines the role of traditional leaders under customary law that is not clear, allowing confusion between these structures (South Africa, 1996: 65). The policy further needs to be ironed out to guide
the Municipal Demarcation Board and ensure that this board operates independently under no political influence in ensuring that the board is fair at all times.

8.4.4 Educating South African communities about demarcations

Findings of the study revealed a lack of understanding of what demarcation is, its purpose and that of the Municipal Demarcation Board. Much work needs to be done to educate communities, especially rural communities, about demarcation, to ensure that fewer misconceptions surface in the process. Lack of understanding breeds room for misconceptions that hinder projects, especially demarcations as with the case in Vuwani. The land is a sensitive matter especially in rural communities of South Africa, due to the history of the nation. Thus, caution needs to be exercised when re-drawing the spatial boundaries of the country.

8.4.5 Municipal performance/ service delivery

Municipal performance is the major contributor to demarcation disputes. Lack of resources or provision of resources has left South African people fighting over the little that is available. Several provinces and municipalities have been deemed unfit, and underperform in providing resources to their people. Amalgamations in such regions or municipalities are highly rejected with communities refusing mergers with these towns, provinces and municipalities. These, therefore, emerge as demarcation disputes while in fact, they are service delivery disputes.

The Municipal Demarcation Board, together with government, should settle the issues of Vuwani demarcation outside the court, ensuring not much damage is enacted again between these parties. The Municipal Demarcation Board needs to assure Vuwani
people that the authorities would deliver services to them regardless of their tribe. The Municipal Demarcation Board needs to convince the Vuwani people of the benefits of being under the Collins Chabane Municipality and assure them that they would not be prejudiced for belonging to a particular tribe, and assure them that their businesses will not be affected. It is vital to sit down with the community, iron out all misconceptions, and find a workable solution for all parties.

8.5 Suggestions for further research

Based on the research findings, areas that need further research are recommended as follows:

i. Research on the financial constraints of demarcation of municipalities and provinces in South Africa, as little has been published on this aspect.

ii. Research on challenges that the Municipal Demarcation Board encounters in re-drawing spatial boundaries. This can shed light on how to improve or better demarcate South African boundaries.

iii. Research on the effects of demarcating rural communities, as these are complex.

8.6 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher provided a discussion of the research findings as well as a summary of the study on municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe district. It offered a synthesis of the results and conclusions in line with the research questions that guided the study. The study established that many misconceptions have affected the demarcation process of Vuwani, coupled with a lack of adherence to good governance principles. The link between municipal performance and demarcation
disputes was established by arguing that perception on how a municipality performs in terms of service delivery affects communities’ reactions on demarcations. The study, therefore, advocated for better practice when demarcating and re-drawing spatial boundaries of the country. The Municipal Demarcation Board has to comply with the good governance principles and legislations or policies guiding the Board in ensuring smooth nonviolent demarcations in future. The study further highlights possible solutions as per suggestions of respondents on how to resolve the ongoing demarcation disputes in Vuwani. Open dialogues with the Vuwani community are essential to get to the root cause and start the healing process. It is, therefore, the desire of the researcher that the recommendations suggested in the study help resolve the demarcation disputes in Vuwani, but also shed light on issues and possible solutions when demarcating South African boundaries.
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The Social Conflict Theory Sociology Essay, 5 December 2016


Legislation:

Black Administration Act No. 38 of 1927


Demarcation Act No 27 of 1998

Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950.

Local Government Transition Act, no. 209 of 1993

Municipal Structures Act, no. 117 of 1998

Municipal Systems Act, no. 32 of 2000

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Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936.

Promotion of access to information Act 2 of 2000


APPENDIX A
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

A Case of municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe District (Limpopo Province: South Africa)

**Brief Outline of the Research Project**

The continent of Africa has experienced many imprints of colonialism and a major factor was boundary demarcation (Nabudere, 2000). South Africa has experienced its own footprint of colonialism under the banner of apartheid. The Apartheid government and its segregation laws which aimed at segregating communities into ethnic groups had largely impacted the spatial patterns of South Africa. According to Griggs, the South African post-apartheid government after the 1994 elections had to make drastic alterations aimed at redrawing a new metropolitan and a municipal boundary in the country, transforming four old provinces into nine new ones, and allow previously restricted people more access to land and power (Griggs, 1998).

22 years after the transition to democracy the spatial inequalities built up under apartheid largely persist. Almost half of all Africans still reside in former homeland areas, that is the impoverished rural areas where Africans were legal citizens under apartheid. Over the years different kinds of protests have been on the rise around the country. Categorizing these protests most of the time proves to be a challenge as mainly they are given the name ‘service delivery protests’. In reality, these protests vary from one another as they include service delivery, tribalism politics, and demarcation protests while some are a mixture of all (Motholo, 2015). In the year 2005, numerous towns saw mass demonstrations, protests, marches, petitions, and violent confrontations. From Harrismith in KwaZulu-Natal, Phulong in the Free State and
Diepsloot in Gauteng, to Bolobedu, Morapalala, and Vuwani in Limpopo, numerous service delivery, and demarcation protests have been undertaken by communities (Raophala, 2013: 1). Doreen (2007), argues that there are three main causes of the mass protests that have been on the rise in South Africa over the years. These influences are municipal ineffectiveness in service delivery, the poor responsiveness of municipalities to citizen’s grievances, and the conspicuous consumption entailed by a culture of self-enrichment on the part of municipal councillors and staff (Atkinson, 2007). The democratic South African government has inherited the spatial dispensation of the past apartheid government which has impacted service provision to the previously disadvantaged rural area. This has left South African citizens with limited resources and the Demarcation Board is left to feel the brunt of citizens’ anger.

This study, therefore, aims at asserting the foundations of municipal demarcation disputes and impact of service delivery in re-demarcating the Limpopo province with a particular focus on the Vuwani community. It aims to examine the correlation between municipal performance, service delivery provision, demarcation disputes, and the participatory role of stakeholders in demarcating the Vuwani area.

**Your involvement**

For this study to be fruitful, it requires participants who are invested and affected by the municipal re-demarcation and the uprise in disputes challenges re-demarcations. I would, therefore, like to invite you to be a participant in the study (interview). The interview would be at a time and in a setting of your choosing and is expected to last no more than one hour, but may take more (or less) time depending on the willingness of each participant. Questions will focus on your understanding, experiences of redemarcation disputes, particularly in Vuwani Vhembe District. You may be asked to
answer some follow-up questions post-interview, these can be asked and answered via email or phone.

**Confidentiality**

Participants will remain anonymous through the use of pseudonyms. However, please inform the researcher if you are comfortable to be partially identified (e.g. age, ethnicity/nationality, occupation, marital status, level of participation). This information is helpful to allow the researcher to contextualize the insights provided during the interviews. Please note that all information collected will only be used for research purposes, journal publications, and conference presentations. Content in this interview will be held with the utmost confidentiality and will not be distributed to anyone else besides the supervisor at the university. After the data has been analyzed you will receive a summary. If you are interested in greater detail, I can forward an electronic (PDF) copy.

**Participants’ Rights**

As a participant, you have the following rights:

- Refuse to answer whole or part of any particular question asked of you during the interview process.

- Seek further information about the study or voice any concerns you may have during the course of your participation to either myself or my chief supervisor.

- Be given access to your individual transcript and to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.

Participants are requested to provide a physical address on the Participant Details form so that a copy of the interview transcript can be forwarded to the participant. You
are encouraged to read over the transcript and amend, delete or add any comments you see fit.

**Contacting the Researcher**

If you have any questions or concerns about the project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either me the researcher or my supervisor, Professor Luvuyo Ntombana with the details below.

**Researcher:**  
Thandeka Khowa  
Nelson Mandela University  
Tkhowa@ufh.ac.za or T.khowa@yahoo.com

**Supervisor:**  
Professor Luvuyo Ntombana  
Nelson Mandela University  
Department of Sociology, Anthropology (incorporating History)  
Faculty of Arts  
Nelson Mandela University  
Luvuyo.ntombana2@mandela.ac.za
The purpose of this form is to ensure that the participant is recorded for ethical validity HOWEVER:

- The participant will not be revealed in any way that may prejudice him/her in whatever way.
- The recording of this consent form will not correlate to the interview responses since the response will be used in data mining, aggregation, and disaggregation.

### A. RESEARCHER’S DETAILS

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<td>Principal investigator</td>
<td>Thandeka Khowa</td>
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### B. PARTICIPANTS STATEMENT/ DECLARATION

B.1 HEREBY CONFIRM AS FOLLOWS:

I, the participant, was invited to participate in the above-mentioned research project that is being undertaken by:
B.2 THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME, THE PARTICIPANT:

| 2. 1 | Aim: | The aim of this study is to understand the nature of municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani Vhembe District. |
| 2. 2 | Procedures: | I understand the purpose of the research and that my participation therein is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any point. I also understand that my identity will remain anonymous. |
| 2. 3 | Risks: | None |
| 2. 4 | Possible benefits: | The study will contribute to shaping and inform policy on municipal demarcation and local government. Knowledge gained from the study will be useful for policymakers to develop policies that will be conducive to assisting the municipal demarcation board and local government in facilitating demarcation |
| 2. 5 | Confidentiality: | My identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description or scientific publications by the investigator. |
| 2. 6 | Access to findings: | A final copy of the study will be made available to the participating public institutions. |
| 2. 6 | Voluntary participation / refusal / discontinuation: | My participation is voluntary |
| | | My decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect my present or future care/employment/lifestyle |

| Initial | YES | NO |
| | TRUE | FALSE |
3. **THE INFORMATION ABOVE WAS EXPLAINED TO ME/THE PARTICIPANT BY:**

in Tsong English Pedi Venda

I was given the opportunity to ask questions of clarity and all these questions were answered satisfaction

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5. Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to myself.

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**B.3 I HEREBY VOLUNTARILY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ABOVEMENTIONED PROJECT:**

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Statement by or on behalf of Investigator(s)

I, Thandeka Khowa declare that:

1. I have explained the information given in this document to (name of participant) and / or his / her representative (name of representative).

2. He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions.

3. This conversation was conducted in Tsonga, English, Pedi, and Venda.

4. I have detached Section D and handed it to the participant.

Signed at confirmed on 20

Signature of interviewer: [signature]

Signature of witness: [signature]

Full name of witness: [name]

Important Message to Patient/Representative of Participant

Dear respondent thank you for your participation. Should you, at any time during the study require any further clarity or information please contact the researcher as per the information below:

Researcher: Thandeka Khowa

Telephone number: 073 978 3484
APPENDIX C

Interview Particulars

Hello. My name is Thandeka Khowa. I am a Doctoral student at Nelson Mandela University. I am conducting research about municipal re-demarcation disputes looking at the link between demarcation disputes and service delivery provision. I would like your participation in the study. The interview will take between 30–45 minutes. Please note that all information collected will only be used for research purposes and will not appear on any other publication unless agreed to. Everything in this interview will be held with the utmost confidentiality and will not be distributed with anyone else besides my supervisor at the university. Your participation is voluntary and you are allowed to discontinue the interview at any point. With that said, I hope you will agree to participate as your views are important.

Participant Details

Name (Pseudonym):
Age:
Current contact details:
Ethnicity/Nationality:
Occupation:

In-depth questions for MDB and Municipality

1. Please explain the process of demarcation in Vuwani?
2. What was the motive behind this form of re-demarcation in Vuwani? (Q4)
3. What processes did you follow in preparation for the demarcation? (Q4)
4. Where stakeholders in Vuwani informed of the proposed municipal redemarcation? (Q4)
5. What was the role of stakeholders in the re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q1, Q4)
6. Has there been a lack of good governance in the process of re-demarcating Vuwani? (Q4)
7. How has the said re-demarcation affect the administration of the Malamulela, Makhado and the new Collins Chabane municipalities? (Q5)
8. How has the re-demarcation of municipal boundaries affect the day to day running of the municipalities? (Q5)
9. Now that the Collins Chabane municipality has been formulated, what are the reactions of the community members and are you aware of communities concerns around re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q2, Q3)
10. What are the views and response from your office over the concerns of the communities with regards to municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q2, Q3)
11. Do you believe the municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani could have been better handled? (Q1, Q4)
12. What was the involvement of traditional authorities during the re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q4)
13. Did the municipal re-demarcation, in general, affect the authority of traditional leaders? (Q4, Q5)
14. What frameworks do you have in place to address or find suitable alternatives to the current demarcation discourse? (Q2, Q3, Q4)
15. What solutions may be possible to address the current dispute around municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q1, Q4)
16. How has the formulation of Collins Chabane municipality affected provision on basic services to the communities? (Q5)
17. Has the formulation of the new Collins Chabane municipality live up to its expectations, please elaborate? (Q5)

In-depth interviews with Traditional Leaders

1. Please explain the process of demarcating Vuwani?
2. Explain your grievances with the re-demarcation process of Vuwani (Q2, Q3)
   3. Have you raised these grievances before? (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4)
4. What are your expectations for raising these grievances?
5. Were you involved in the planning prior to demarcating Vuwani? (Q1, Q4) 6. What is the involvement of traditional authority in the demarcation process? (Q4)
7. Has there been a lack of good governance in the process of demarcating Vuwani? (Q4)
8. How has the formation of the new Collins Chabane municipality affected the authority of the traditional leaders? (Q1 Q4)
9. What steps have been taken to resolve this issue by your office, government, MDB? (Q1, Q4)
10. What solutions may be possible to the current disputes of municipal redemarcation in Vuwani? (Q1, Q4)
11. Now that the Collins Chabane municipality has there been any change of views regarding its process and impact? (Q2, Q3, Q4)
12. How has the new municipality affected the provision of basic services to the communities involved? (Q5)

**Focus group discussions**

1. Explain the process of re-demarcating Vuwani?
2. What steps were followed and were you part of the process? (Q4)
3. What were the steps taken by MDB in ensuring the re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q4)
4. Explain your grievances with the demarcation process? (Q1, Q2, Q3)
5. What is your take on the disputes and violent outbreaks in Vuwani? (Q1, Q2, Q3)
6. Do you believe this was the best way to communicate your grievances against the demarcation of Vuwani? (Q4)
7. What are the concerns and views expressed by the communities with regards to the municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q1, Q2, Q3)
8. What steps were or are being taken by you to address the disputes? (Q4)
9. What outcomes do you expect to receive? (Q4)
10. Why in your view, local residents have used illegitimate means (violence) to voice their opposition? (Q1)

11. To what extent residents concern about service delivery and development affects their judgment on municipal re-demarcation of Vuwani? (Q5)

12. As far as service delivery is concerned, do you think residents rejection of amalgamations id the driving force? (Q5)

13. What has been the nature of engagement interaction amongst stakeholders involved? (Q4)

14. Now that the Collins Chabane municipality has been founded, is there any change of heart regarding it? (Q2, Q3)

15. Have there been any changes in the administration of the Collins Chabane municipality in comparison to other municipalities? (Q2, Q3, Q4, Q5)

16. Is there any significant change be it good or bad in the provision of basic needs/services to the communities under Collins Chabane administration? (Q4)
Hello. My name is Thandeka Khowa. I am a Doctoral student at Nelson Mandela University. I am conducting research about municipal re-demarcation disputes looking at the link between demarcation disputes and service delivery provision. I would like your participation in the study. The interview will take between 30–45 minutes. Please note that all information collected will only be used for research purposes and will not appear on any other publication unless agreed to. Everything in this interview will be held with the utmost confidentiality and will not be distributed with anyone else besides my supervisor at the university. Your participation is totally voluntary and you are allowed to discontinue the interview at any point. With that said, I hope you will agree to participate as your views are important.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE:**

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**Employment:**

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**Where were you born?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This District</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different District in Province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In another Province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside South Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section B (Q1, Q2, Q3)

2. Community members’ perception of municipal demarcation

2.1 To what extent do you agree that municipality demarcation is important?
Please mark X where appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>NEUTRAL</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the municipality’s reasons for demarcation?
Please mark X where appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>NEUTRAL</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Which of the following are likely to cause demarcation disputes in this municipality?
Please indicate all possible responses with X.

Demarcating land without consultation
Demarcating without recourse to tribe, lineage or ethnic ties
Demarcating that attaches town to a poor municipality
Demarcation that detaches us from our ancestral home or land
Demarcation that denies us of service delivery
Others (Specify)

2.4 How will you rate the level of service delivery in the Vuwani municipality?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>VERY POOR</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>POOR</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>NEUTRAL</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>VERY GOOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Which of these service deliveries are mostly needed by this municipality?

Please indicate all possible responses with X.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clinics/Hospitals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electricity/Energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools/Employment opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and Transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid and Solid Waste Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, market/Trade, Poverty alleviation projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which of the following should the demarcation board consider when demarcating a municipality?

Please indicate all possible responses with X.

| The ethnicity of the people in the towns/Villages involved |  
| The financial capabilities of the municipality            |  
| The level of service delivery in the municipality         |  
| The poverty thresholds of the municipalities involved    |  
| The outstanding disputes among the ethnic groups in the municipality |  
| Obtain first-hand information on the inhabitants’ priorities. |  
| Others (specify)                                         |  

To what extent do you agree that violent protest results in underdevelopment?

Please mark X where appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which of the following did you embark on to protest municipal demarcation?

Please indicate all possible responses with X.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burning of schools/properties</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent Protest/demonstrations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycott of national events eg. elections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute court actions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resort to Dialogue/consensus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which of the following will you suggest should be adopted to prevent municipal demarcation disputes?

Please indicate all possible responses with X.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consultation/consensus building</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fair distribution of service delivery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolving all disputes surrounding demarcation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seriously considering ethnic/tribal ties before embarking on the demarcation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving full attention to inhabitants’ priorities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section c: Questionnaire on municipal performance, service delivery provision and demarcation disputes (Q4, Q5)

Next to each statement, please tick the option that most closely resembles your opinion.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, and 4= strongly agree

Re-Demarcation

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
I understand what demarcation is

Reasoning  link between service delivery and re-demarcation (Q5)

I understand what municipal re-demarcation is

I have valid reasons for rejecting the proposed re-demarcation of Vuwani

To what extent are you” concerned about service delivery or development affects the judgment of re-demarcation in Vuwani

My worry was that the new proposed municipality will not cater to my needs.

I feel demarcation will affect municipal performance especially the provision of basic services to our communities
As far as service delivery is concerned, do you believe that residents’ rejection of amalgamation is the driving force 1 2 3 4

I still believe the formation of Collins Chabane Municipality should be rejected 1 2 3 4

Provision of basic needs/ services has improved under the Collins Chabane Municipality 1 2 3 4

Provision of basic needs services has deteriorated under the Collins Chabane Municipality 1 2 3 4

I still reject the Collins Chabane Municipality based on service provision and meeting basic needs. 1 2 3 4

I believe I was better under my previous municipality then under Collins Chabane Municipality 1 2 3 4

**Municipal performance**

Collins Chabane Municipality is doing well to address service delivery backlogs 1 2 3 4

Collins Chabane Municipality has employed skilled, competent and experienced people 1 2 3 4

Ward councilors play an effective role in improving service delivery 1 2 3 4

Traditional houses, authority is involved the running and administration by Collins Chabane Municipality 1 2 3 4

Collins Chabane Municipality responds quickly to residents service-related complains 1 2 3 4

Local councilors communicate regularly with the community in their respective wards 1 2 3 4
Some local councilors hinder the implementation of projects which are not in their wards.

Collins Chabane Municipality meets the basic needs of communities it serves.

Collins Chabane Municipality employees are well capacitated to enhance their skills and accelerate services.

I am happy with local councilors roles in my local community.

I am satisfied with Collins Chabane municipal service delivery.

We have access to all our needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some local councilors hinder the implementation of projects which are not in their wards</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality meets the basic needs of communities it serves</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins Chabane Municipality employees are well capacitated to enhance their skills and accelerate services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am happy with local councilors roles in my local community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am satisfied with Collins Chabane municipal service delivery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have access to all our needs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dear Ms Khowa

RE: APPLICATION FOR ETHICS CLEARANCE APPROVED TITLE:
CONTESTING BOUNDARIES: A CASE OF MUNICIPAL DEMARCATION DISPUTES IN VUWANI VHEMBE DISTRICT, LIMPOPO PROVINCE: SOUTH AFRICA

Your above-entitled application for ethics clearance was considered by the Faculty Postgraduate Studies Committee meeting (FPGSC) of the Faculty of Arts.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the committee. Kindly note that this approval remains subject to the necessary formal permission being granted by gatekeepers relevant to your study.

Your Ethics clearance reference number is H/18/ART/SA-005, and is valid for three years, from 23 July 2018 – 17 July 2021. Please inform the FPGSC, via your supervisor, if any changes (particularly in the methodology) occur during this time. An annual affirmation to the effect that the protocols used are still those for which approval was granted, will be required from you. You will be reminded timeously of this responsibility.

We wish you well with the project. Yours sincerely

Mrs N Mngonyama FACULTY ADMINISTRATOR
24 Hill Street  
University of Fort Hare  
East London  
5200  

20 November 2020  

RE: Professional Editing of a PhD Thesis  
This is to certify that I have edited Thandeka Khowa’s (Student Number 219828784) PhD thesis titled: Contesting Boundaries: A Case of Municipal Demarcation Disputes in Vuwani Vhembe District, Limpopo Province.  
Due diligence in suggesting changes to language, grammar and structure, was taken in the editing process of the document.  
I hope everything is in order. Should there be anything to assist with, please let me know.  

Kind Regards,  

Dr Francis Sibanda  
Tel: 043 704 7201  
Cell: 082 642 6170  
Email: fraesibb@gmail.com