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Lake Research

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

A Report on Focus Groups in South Africa

March 1997



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**Appendix One: South Africa Discussion Guide
(November-December 1996)**

**Appendix Two: Eastern Cape Discussion Guide
(November-December 1996)**

Methodology

- **This analysis is based on 18 focus group discussions conducted in South Africa in November and December 1996. At least one group was conducted in each of South Africa's nine provinces. The groups were conducted in local languages and translated into English.**
- **Participants in the groups were community leaders and activists, including local prominent citizens who have a strong impact on opinions in their communities. Each group included a mix of different types of community leaders, including local elected officials, political party officials, labor leaders, school principals, representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), clergy and scholars. All but one group consisted of both men and women.**
- **The research was conducted by Lake Research (U.S.) in collaboration with Research Surveys (South Africa) for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. Lake Research was responsible for advising on methodology, developing discussion guides, observing as many groups as possible and analyzing the results. Research Surveys was responsible for organizing and convening the groups, and recording writing of the discussion guide and transcribing the discussions. In addition, Janni Hofmeyr and Susan Booysen participated in translating the analysis of the groups.**
- **In addition to the 18 groups conducted among community leaders, four additional groups were conducted in the Eastern Cape province. These groups focused on the role of traditional leaders. They were conducted among citizens who are not community leaders, including women in Whittlesea, men in Lady Frere, women in Nqamakwe, and men in Peddie.**
- **A chart summarizing the composition of each group follows.**

Location	Race	Gender	Description of Area
Gauteng			
Johannesburg	White	unknown	Northern Suburbs (Rosebank, Sandton, Illovo)
Johannesburg	Black	3 men, 4 women	Metro Johannesburg (Yeoville, Hillbrow, Berea)
Johannesburg	Black	5 men, 3 women	East Rand (Vosloorus, Daveyton, Thokoza)
Pretoria	Mixed	6 men, 3 women	Metro Pretoria (all civil servants)
KwaZulu/Natal			
Empangeni	Black	3 men, 7 women	IFP supporters
Edendale	Black	5 men, 5 women	ANC supporters (Georgetown)
Durban	Indian	10 men	North Coast
Durban	Mixed	8 men, 3 women	Metro Durban
Western Cape			
Cape Town	Coloured/Asian	8 men, 2 women	Mitchell's Plain, Blue Downs, Vanguard, Atholone
Cape Town	Black	6 men, 4 women	Langa, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu
Grabouw	Coloured	8 men, 3 women	Rural areas and towns
Free State			
Bloemfontein	White	5 men, 3 women	50 km radius from the city
Bloemfontein	Black	7 men, 3 women	
Northern Province			
Pietersburg	White	4 men, 1 woman	50 km radius from the city
Northern Cape			
Kimberley	Black	unknown	50 km radius from the city
North West Province			
Mmabatho	Black	unknown	50 km radius from the city
Mpumalanga			
Neispruit	Black	8 men, 4 women	50 km radius from the city
Eastern Cape			
Port Elizabeth	Black	6 men, 1 woman	50 km radius from the city
Eastern Cape (grassroots)			
Whittlesea	Black	Women	Rural Xhosa village
Lady Frere	Black	11 men	Rural Xhosa village
Peddie	Black	Men	Rural Xhosa village
Nqamakwe	Black	10 women	Rural Xhosa village

Overview

- **The Mood:** The community leaders participating in our groups combined frustration with the pace of change and disappointment in broken promises with a fundamental belief that the country is moving in the right direction and that change takes time. They are struggling to address severe problems faced by their communities – including unemployment, education, housing, crime and health care delivery – but they see some progress, and the advent of democracy and civil rights continues to be a powerful and emotional force.
- **The Constitution:** The Constitution has already achieved enormous legitimacy and permanence. These community leaders believe the Constitution is an essential document – an expression of common principles and a protection of their rights – and they generally praise the constitution-making process as inclusive. Already, they see the Constitution as a permanent document that should not be casually altered. This means that constitutional implementation is a strong justification for reforms. The most frequent criticism of the Constitution is that it grants too many rights, and is therefore to blame for rising crime and social disintegration.
- A number of community leaders expressed concern that the Constitution – the ultimate democratic document – is not well understood by the people for whom it serves as supreme law. A concern with the lack of democratic education was widely expressed, and better civic training is a widely shared goal.
- **The Government:** Community leaders have distinct views of each sphere of government. From national government, they expect direction, planning and the distribution of resources. From local government, they expect implementation. It is the job of local government to communicate with people at the grassroots and to deliver. Where local government is successful, it is praised. Where it fails, it is harshly criticized.

- Provincial government, however, remains ill-defined. It is seen as “stuck in the middle” with no clear direction and no resources. It is consequently the most widely criticized, and the source of most of the stories we heard about waste and mismanagement.
- Corruption is viewed as a serious problem, but not as the most serious problem South Africa faces. In fact, discussions about corruption emerged spontaneously (that is, without moderator prompting) in only six of the eighteen discussion groups. In general, community leaders believe that significant government corruption exists in the new South Africa, but that it is probably no worse than it was in the old regime. The difference is that corruption is visible now, when before it was hidden.
- **Political Parties:** Community leaders see political parties as necessary and important institutions. Parties give people a voice, they represent freedom of expression and freedom of association, and -- particularly for leaders in the townships -- they are instrumental in problem-solving and in delivering services.
- Long-term ANC dominance is generally seen as inevitable. While opinions about this are mixed, virtually no one participating in our research challenged this as fundamentally unfair or illegitimate. At the same time, there is wide agreement that competition between parties is important and that there must be opposition parties.
- However, while opposition is important, having too many political parties is bad. Too many parties leads to wasting resources on fringe groups, it leads to less effective government, and it is less stable, often leading to political violence. In the end, the most widely held view is that, theoretically, two or three strong parties is the optimal number.
- Most of these community leaders believe that the political parties should be free to raise their money in any way they want. However, there is wide support for requiring parties to disclose their fundraising practices as well as how they spend their money. For many of these leaders, disclosure is closely linked to transparency and accountability. Disclosure of how money is raised ensures transparency, disclosure of how money is spent ensures accountability, and these community leaders believe that transparency and accountability must be among the highest priorities of the new South Africa.

- **Opinion is divided over the idea of government financing of the parties. Those who support the idea have two main arguments: First, funding the political parties is a necessary part of the transition to democracy because it ensures that there is competition and opposition. Second, public funding of political parties will make the parties more effective – it would help parties keep in closer touch with communities because they would be able to establish local constituency offices, and it would help parties provide more services because funding would bring more resources into the communities.**

- **Those who oppose financing have three kinds of reasons: it would divert funds away from other critical needs (this is the most powerful argument against financing), it would undermine genuine competitive democracy by weakening some parties and artificially creating others, and it would lead to corruption.**

- **Framing a persuasive argument in favor of government funding requires attention to the following themes:**
 - 1) **that the purpose of funding is to increase competition and communication with the grassroots;**

 - 2) **that the amount of money involved is modest, and will not detract from other budgets;**

 - 3) **that government funding will not replace private funding and the need for independent party-building;**

 - 4) **that strict criteria will be set to determine eligibility for funds; and,**

 - 5) **that guidelines will be set to ensure that parties are accountable for how the money is spent.**

- In addition, asserting that public funding is specified in the Constitution gains support and legitimacy for the idea.
- **Traditional Leaders:** The mood among the participants (ordinary citizens) in the rural Eastern Cape groups was far more negative than the groups among community leaders, and bordered on angry. Problems are severe, little is improving, and the new government is distant and unresponsive. These residents have little contact or communication from any sphere of elected government – national government is remote and has failed to keep its promises, provincial government is corrupt, and local elected councillors are invisible.
- Because elected government does not help them, these Eastern Cape residents look elsewhere for leadership, advocacy and problem-solving. Some look to the ANC, some look to SANCO, and many – with the exception of the younger men – look to traditional leaders. In short, traditional leaders are filling a vacuum of elected leadership. Where traditional leaders continue to be effective local problem-solvers, they remain important. Where they are ineffective, they are not important.
- Support for traditional leaders is thus less about maintaining tradition and more about problem-solving. Eastern Cape residents want traditional leaders to have a say in government because they believe that these leaders are closest to the people, best understand their needs, and can best solve their problems. Traditional leaders have played a functional role for them, and it is therefore easy to envision others assuming their function. If local elected officials were to become effective advocates and problem-solvers, it is quite likely that support for traditional leaders would largely evaporate.

The Mood and Issue Concerns

- Across race and party lines, the mood of South African community leaders is characterized by ambivalence. Many local and community leaders are impatient, disappointed, frustrated, and nervous about the future. At the same time, they also believe they must be patient and that the country is moving in the right direction. This patience is not to be confused with disengagement or passivity. Rather, it is a conscious choice, rooted in a belief that change takes time. As a participant in Nelspruit said, *"[South Africa] is going in the correct direction. We are going through a transitional period and all transitional periods have teething problems. We talk of the economy, unemployment and many other disappointments. These are indeed teething problems and I do hope that we will overcome them, we just need to be patient and persistent in working hard to achieving proper democracy."*
- Community leaders point to two reasons that their country is moving in the right direction: the advent of democracy and civil liberties, and signs of genuine efforts (albeit often insufficient) on things like housing and education. First, democracy and civil freedom continues to be central to leaders' feelings about their country, and they remain emotionally attached to the election, and to the democracy and freedom it brought. Second, despite continuing and severe problems, many observe that some progress has been made, pointing to new housing, expanded infrastructure, and desegregated schools. *"We are doing very well,"* said a black leader in Kimberley. *"You can actually see things like houses. Look at the electricity. Look at the clinics now. We must admit all races. So there [are] actually tangible, measurable changes."*
- These reasons for hope are tempered by great nervousness and uncertainty, as well as disappointment that many promises have not been kept. Too little has changed. Too much remains the same. Expectations were extremely high when the ANC and President Mandela took office. Now these expectations have been tinted by disappointment that change has been too slow. As a black leader in Cape Town explained, *"We had high expectations but all of a sudden we're doubtful. We don't know if we're coming or going."*

- In general, community leaders of all races and provinces expressed the kind of ambivalence described here, feeling reasons for hope and reasons for discouragement simultaneously. However, we heard the greatest optimism from some of the black leaders, and the greatest pessimism from some of the white leaders. In Pietersburg, for example (where participants were disproportionately professionals and National Party members), participants described their mood as “unsure about the future,” and they described South Africa as “a boiling pot of uncertainty.” One participant said with frustration, *“We are the country in the world with the biggest potential. We are the land in the country that has the most mineral wealth... We are a country with the best human calibre. We are turning to chaos.”*
- Jobs, crime, education, housing and health care were the specific problem areas raised most often in the discussion groups. A struggling economy and high unemployment is particularly central to community leaders’ fears and anxieties – particularly black leaders. These leaders believe that responsibility for the economy lies primarily with the national government, and they are mixed in their assessment of the government’s efforts on this front. Some criticize the government harshly for failing to develop a coherent plan; others give the government credit for at least making strong efforts.
- Education and housing are issues where progress, or the absence of progress, is easy to judge. Education is a source of worries and complaints, but also of positive feelings. While many see the schools as “deplorable,” the desegregation brought by the end of apartheid represents a dramatic, visible and critical change. Housing is also an issue where leaders feel it is easy to visibly judge progress. Thus, where housing is under construction, it is cited as a reason the country is moving in the “right direction.” Where housing is not being built quickly enough, it is cited as an example of broken promises.
- Many are worried about access to health care. Clinic overcrowding and provincial budget cutbacks are making access to health care an empty promise, and this is a source of some of the sharpest feelings of disappointment.

- Crime is a major issue. Leaders complain vociferously that law enforcement has no teeth and that criminals are coddled; criminals have too many rights, and the death penalty is illegal. Crime is a unique issue for two reasons. First, it is one area that leaders clearly believe is not moving in the right direction; rather, the situation is worsening. Second, unlike other issues, crime is seen as a constitutional issue, and it is one of the few sources of criticism of the Constitution. That the Constitution is soft on criminals is as plain as day to many community leaders. *"I would say the Constitution is rotten; it does not protect the innocent but the criminals,"* said a participant in Empangeni. A participant in Cape Town agreed: *"I think our Constitution has many flaws which need to be rectified. You find a murderer after killing someone, claiming he has rights to sleep in a bed and watch TV. Our Constitution tried to accommodate everyone, even wrong ones."*
- In the end, these community leaders evaluate all proposals and problems in the context of their very tangible priorities, and their frustration at the magnitude of problems, poor service delivery and lack of funds. They are skeptical of any proposals for change that do not bear some relevance to solving these kinds of problems.

The Constitution

- The new South African Constitution has remarkable levels of legitimacy among these community leaders and, for the most part, opinions about the Constitution are positive, if vague. There is a high sense of pride and ownership in the Constitution.
- One reason for the Constitution's early legitimacy is that the Constitution is a potent symbol of the new democracy where all people's rights are guaranteed. Thus, it has great emotional significance for these community leaders. For the first time, people have guaranteed rights and freedoms, and this, perhaps, is more important than anything: *"For the first time I have a right to express myself. I have the right to go against it and if they do not accept it, then I must accept it that my rights are not accepted. I feel that is democracy to me,"* said a participant in Kimberley.
- Another reason for the Constitution's early legitimacy is that many community leaders viewed the constitutional development process as inclusive. A participant in Durban said: *"I think what is so important is that this is a legitimate Constitution. In the drafting of the final Constitution, there were two million public submissions. People had the opportunity to be involved and consequently, they can own it. I think South Africans can say, 'Well, this is our Constitution. We had a part.'" Similarly, a participant in the Pietersburg group, perhaps the angriest white group, said, "I think under [the] circumstances it is a very good product that came together after a long discussion." A black Port Elizabeth leader said, "I would say that the new Constitution is something that everybody participated in because people's voices are there."*
- One consequence of the Constitution's early legitimacy is that community leaders already have a sense of permanence about their Constitution. It is not something to casually alter or discard. Although the Constitution is young, it is already viewed as a permanent document that should be altered only with great care and seriousness. Moreover, it is not simply ANC partisans who believe the Constitution is legitimate. An IFP Empangeni participant explained, *"It should be followed. It should not be amended simply to suit somebody's interests. Once this is done, it is no longer a constitution. It is drawn by people who are fighting. As a result, when it is taken through to constitutional courts, it fails."*

- Although knowledge of specific constitutional provisions varies widely, all agree that the Constitution is of critical importance. For these community leaders, the purpose of a constitution is to provide a common set of rules while protecting differences in a diverse society. It does this in three ways: first, by setting down a common set of principles on which there is agreement; second, by formally protecting individual rights and freedoms; and, third, by establishing boundaries and setting limits – on both government and individual behavior.
- First, the Constitution represents agreement and a common will. Many of these leaders believe that having common principles formalized in a written constitution is particularly important in a nation as diverse as South Africa. *“A constitution is vital and crucial,”* said a black participant in Cape Town, *“especially when you rule people who are different and who are in different categories.”*
- Second, the Constitution guarantees everyone their rights, their legal equality and their say. If a constitution is a statement of agreement, it is also a protection of disagreement, and the Constitution’s protection of individual rights and freedoms is central to its purpose. It puts government and law enforcement on the side of the people, not against them. *“For the first time I have a right to express myself,”* said a participant in Kimberley. A Pietersburg participant said, *“For the first time we have the law behind us. For the first time you can take the government to court.”* *“I think it protects every individual in this country,”* said a North Coast Indian participant.
- Third, the Constitution sets boundaries -- both around what the government can do, and around what other people can do. Not surprising, community leaders in South Africa have a very acute sense of what a government can do unbridled. Thus, the Constitution's role in setting boundaries and limits on the government is central to its role. In addition, many of these leaders are not only nervous about government trampling their rights and freedoms, they are also nervous about other South Africans. *“Without the Constitution, we will be lawless,”* said an East Rand leader. *“If there is no constitution,”* said a participant in Edendale, *“people would do things anyhow, they would have no limitations, nothing would guide them or control them. People need to know where to stop in anything they do. There should be a direction.”*

- Leaders' most frequent criticism of the new Constitution is that it provides too many rights, and is therefore to blame for rising crime and social disintegration. Some leaders, primarily somewhat older, feel that the Constitution has gone too far in giving people freedom to do what they want, and the result is that it does not go far enough in ensuring freedom from harm by others. *"Too many rights have been attached to the Constitution,"* said a black woman in Johannesburg. A participant in Empangeni said, *"The new Constitution caters for a lot of rights. If you look at how undisciplined and unrespectful people are today, you begin to wonder where the Constitution is leading us to."* What is the result of a constitution that gives "too many rights?" Crime.
- A number of community leaders expressed concern that the Constitution – the ultimate democratic document – is not well understood by the people for whom it serves as supreme law. For example, a black Cape Town participant said, *"I wish it could be simplified, especially for the sake of the man in the street. Our people don't know or rather understand their rights."* Indeed, a concern with the lack of democratic education was expressed in many of the groups, and better civic training is a widely shared goal. Leaders worry that people at the grassroots level do not know enough about the Constitution, and that this will slow the advance of democracy and progress.

Government

- Community leaders have a fairly clear view of what they expect from national and local government. From national government, they expect direction, planning and the distribution of resources. From local government, they expect implementation. Provincial government, however, remains ill-defined.
- These community leaders have strong views of their local governments, which they expect to be in close touch with the grassroots and to deliver visible results. As a black participant in Johannesburg put it, *"People that are at local levels are closer to the people. They are the people who must deliver."* A Kimberley leader agreed: *"Local government is there to actually come up with the goods. To deliver the goods."* Results, therefore, count. South Africans are increasingly looking for real results and accountability as they move from the revolution to a functional democracy. Particularly at the local level, not only must government listen, it must respond and deliver.
- Where local governments have succeeded in this, they are praised. Where local governments have fallen short, criticisms are harsh. An Indian participant in KwaZulu/Natal said, *"When you come to an Indian area, we have nothing from the local government."* A white participant in Johannesburg complained, *"I have the feeling there isn't really delivery on service. It is a year now after the election and things just got worse."* A black Edendale participant said, *"Services are very poor, we do not see what they have done. In town streets are terribly dirty, traders are just anywhere and everywhere, to move around in town is becoming more and more difficult."*
- Community leaders are mixed in their assessment of national government. On one hand, most credit the national government with doing a reasonably good job in setting national policy. On the other hand, they criticize the national government for failing to provide the resources necessary to implement that policy.

- The provincial governments are subject to the strongest criticisms, and are a source of complaint virtually everywhere. Most of these community leaders see provincial government as lacking a defined role, having neither a mandate to set direction nor the resources for implementation. Their lack of definition also makes provincial leaders look particularly political. They are seen as a waste of money, and most of the horror stories about government waste concern provincial governments.
- In the rural Eastern Cape discussions, it was clear that traditional leaders continue to play an important role. Many of the participants in our groups rely on traditional leaders to be advocates for their communities and to help solve real problems. This reliance, however, is rooted in the problem-solving role that traditional leaders continue to play, rather than in intrinsic emotional commitment to traditional leaders. These Eastern Cape participants have little contact with elected government, and neither national, provincial nor local elected officials offer the direct assistance in problem-solving they want. Thus, attachment to traditional leaders seems primarily functional, and likely to disappear if the elected government can assume their function.
- For all spheres of government – national, provincial and local – community leaders have two general critiques: First, they believe that government does not communicate or consult enough with the grassroots. This is a broad critique about the flow of information both up and down the chain, and it includes criticisms of all spheres of government. These community leaders do not believe that enough information flows down from the national government, and they do not believe that the grassroots has a voice that is heard at higher levels. Second, a set of complaints heard most often from white leaders is that all spheres of government has replaced too many experienced people with inexperienced people. Other community leaders, including many ANC leaders, also recognize the lack of experience in the government and see it as a problem, but they see it as inevitable and recognize that the learning curve is steep for new government officials. As a coloured participant in Cape Town said, *"People that are sitting at [the] national level right now... they don't have the 40 years experience that our previous government had... it is going to take them a hell of a long time to get their act together. One can understand... that is going to take time. I am going to say -- let us give them time."*

- Community leaders in South Africa view government corruption as a serious problem, but most do not view it as the *most* serious problem they face. As one black Johannesburg leader said, "*Corruption should be looked at with a critical eye, but we should not concentrate on it.*" Indeed, discussions about corruption emerged spontaneously (that is, without moderator prompting) in only six of the eighteen leadership groups. Notably, in each of these six groups, the issues raised by participants were either corruption at the provincial level or in police departments. Corruption at the national level, while viewed as serious, was not a topic that emerged on its own.
- Once the topic was raised, most participants expressed great unhappiness with the level of corruption. It disappoints them because they expected better; they see it as hypocritical from a government that has pledged equality and democracy; they worry about following the path of other African nations; they are angry about the waste of scarce resources; and, they are frustrated that it makes it harder to govern. They are cynical about politicians who were once part of the revolution but have already become corrupted.
- At the same time, most participants agreed with two basic premises: that significant government corruption exists in the new South Africa, but that it is probably no worse than it was in the old regime. The difference, most agree, is that corruption is visible now, when before it was hidden. The key, many told us, is the new transparency. In fact, in virtually all the groups there was a faintly positive perception that the fact that they are aware of corruption, means that the government has become much more transparent about it. Thus, the silver lining in publicity about corruption lies in the chance for the government to take a public stand against corruption. Any government which does so will gain support. The critical link is to the concepts of accountability and transparency. A Durban leader in the racially mixed group made this connection explicitly: "*I just want to say that there is great accountability and transparency in this Constitution. And it's one of these positive aspects, which mean: that corruption is uncovered much more easily.*"

Political Parties

- Most community leaders believe that political parties are a necessary and important institution, and that they play an important role in democracy. Generally, they point to three reasons that political parties are important:
 - First, parties are an important way to give people a voice in the political process, and to allow the expression of divergent opinions. *"People's views are represented through different parties,"* said a black Empangeni leader. *"Unlike in the old government where one party was dictating."*
 - Second, political parties represent freedom of expression and freedom of association. *"I think this is basically freedom of choice,"* said a white Bloemfontein leader. Not surprisingly, with the 1994 elections recent history, parties remain an important symbol of freedom and democratic transformation to South Africans.
 - Third, for many leaders, particularly leaders in the townships, political parties are instrumental in problem-solving and in delivering services. Some leaders even see parties as a legitimate provider of jobs and as "providing the goods for the broader community," as stated by a Durban leader in a racially mixed group.
- Long-term ANC dominance is generally seen as inevitable. While opinions about this are mixed, virtually no one participating in our research challenged this as fundamentally unfair or illegitimate. In fact, many believe that ANC dominance is justified during this time of transition, during a time that *"we are in the infant stages,"* as a Kimberley black leader put it. For example, one Durban leader in a racially mixed group suggested *"that if we did not have a strong party with more than fifty percent of the overall vote, it would lead at this stage to a feeling of instability."* At the same time, of course, while community leaders from parties other than the ANC largely accepted ANC dominance as inevitable, they also often expressed frustration that their voices are not always heard. *"Big parties don't worry about small parties. They don't listen to them. They disregard them and degrade them,"* said a Cape Town black leader.

- Although most accept long-term ANC dominance, most also agree that competition between parties is important and that there must be opposition parties. For most of these community leaders, competition between political parties is a central part of the definition of democracy:
 - First, competition produces better government, because the best solutions will emerge when there is a free market of ideas. Community leaders have a strong sense that the political parties represent distinct philosophies and opinions, and that a strong and competitive marketplace of ideas will produce the best government. *"The wider the political ideas are spread,"* said a black Kimberley leader, *"the better decisions will be made."*
 - Second, competition prevents abuse and dictatorship, because it provides checks and balances on the ruling party. An Edendale leader, for example, said that *"it is good that there is more than one party so that the ruling party is kept challenged and jerked up. If it starts to serve its own interests the other parties challenge it."*
 - While opposition is important, having too many political parties is bad. First, a profusion of parties leads to wasting resources of fringe groups that do not represent real constituencies. Second, systems that have many parties tend to be less effective. *"The disadvantage of a multiparty state is that there are disputes and disagreements which retard and delay progress,"* said an black Edendale participant. Third, too many parties is less stable, and leads to political violence. *"Having so many strong political parties... will take us back to political struggle,"* said a black East Rand leader: *"If we have many political parties... [it] will create a confusion and... conflict."* (Not surprisingly, the discussion of party political competition in KwaZulu/Natal was especially colored by their ongoing experience with inter-party violence.) In the end, the most widely held view is that, theoretically, two or three strong parties is the optimal number.

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Focus Groups in the Rural Eastern Cape South Africa

March 1997

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Methodology

From 1 to 4 December, NDI conducted survey research in the rural Eastern Cape province. This survey research consisted of four focus group discussions with men in Peddie and Lady Frere and women in Whittlesea and Nqamakwe. A focus group is a discussion consisting of a moderator who follows a discussion guide in an effort to solicit the input of eight to ten participants on a particular topic. In the groups in the rural Eastern Cape, participants were a mix of lower-tier community leaders (people involved in community projects, small business, sport and educational organizations) and ordinary community members. A total of 42 people participated in the four focus groups.

NDI contracted with two professional research firms to conduct this project. Lake Research, a U.S. company, developed the discussion guides and conducted the analysis; Research Surveys, a South African company, organized and convened the groups. In addition, staff of the Committee Section of the Eastern Cape Legislature chose the sights for the groups and observed the groups. Susan Booysen, a South African academic, participated in all four groups and assisted Lake Research in the analysis.

The research was at the request of Speaker Nkwinti to ascertain the opinions of people in rural communities about the role of traditional authorities in government. Attached to the report is the discussion guide used in the groups. This report presents the findings of the research.

Summary

The mood here is one of disaffection and frustration. Problems are severe, little seems to be improving, and the new elected government seems distant and unresponsive. Indeed, these residents have little contact or communication from any level of elected government, and their views of government therefore tend to be critical: national government is remote and has failed to keep its promises, provincial government is corrupt, and local elected councillors are invisible.

In the absence of an elected government that addresses their needs, these rural Eastern Cape residents look elsewhere for leadership, advocacy and problem-solving. Some look to the ANC, some look to SANCO, and many continue to look to traditional leaders. Of the four groups, three supported a continued role for traditional leaders in local decision-making, with the older women most strongly supportive. Only the group of younger men tended to reject traditional leaders.

The reason traditional leaders continue to play an important role for these communities is that traditional leaders remain the most accessible, the most visible, and the most likely to actively work to solve problems. At the same time, attachment to traditional leaders seems much more functional than cultural, and it does not represent a rejection of local elected government. On the contrary, these residents of the rural Eastern Cape province seem open to elected government, but elected government does not yet respond to their needs.

In addition, many recognize that, to a large degree, traditional leaders have already been shut out. Many also have a sense that traditional leaders can be dishonest and corrupt. Local elected government, however, has not yet stepped in, and the result is a vacuum of leadership -- traditional leaders are prevented from being effective, but elected leaders do not yet seem like an adequate replacement. The conclusion drawn by most of these participants, therefore, is that traditional leaders should have a joint role, together with elected leaders.

The Mood and Issue Concerns

Despite positive feelings about newfound liberties in the new South Africa, rural Eastern Cape residents in these four discussion groups feel fairly negative about the direction of the country. Indeed, many qualify their happiness about the liberalizing changes South Africa has experienced. A Nqamakwe woman said, *"The new South Africa brought me a lot of difficulties."* A Lady Frere man said, *"We are free only in name but not by deeds."* *"Apartheid is not gone,"* said a Peddie participant.

They feel particularly negative about the way things are going in their local communities. While some recognize some improvement in services (for example, the arrival of electricity in some places), they are disappointed that change has not happened as quickly as they would like, and many believe that there has been no change at all or that things have even gotten worse. *"We do not see any improvement in the problems that we have,"* said a woman in Whittlesea. A man in Peddie lamented, *"South Africa is not yet what we want."* Rural Eastern Cape residents are facing a deluge of problems and do not see realistic prospects for change. While the community leaders in earlier discussion groups held around the country also expressed many negative sentiments, it is clear that rural Eastern Cape residents feel much more strongly than leaders that there are major problems which are not being addressed.

Although a number of participants acknowledge that there have been some improvements, poor service delivery are a fundamental problem in the rural Eastern Cape province, and complaints about health care, water and electricity were strong. *"We still do not have clinics, even medication here, we also want them,"* said a Lady Frere man. *"I don't see any improvements with regards to electricity,"* said a Whittlesea woman. *"We still have no toilets,"* said another Whittlesea woman.

Unemployment is also a major problem, and many believe that this problem has gotten worse. *"Mandela took over, we lost jobs,"* said a man in Lady Frere. *"There is no work in the new South Africa,"* said a Whittlesea woman. *"In the previous government we used to be able to find work."* Moreover, many believe that the newly-elected government has done little to address their economic problems. As a man in Peddie complained, *"Lots of people are unemployed; the government is not creating job opportunities."*

Crime is another problem that many believe has gotten worse. *"The crime rate has gone up,"* said a Nqamakwe woman. *"The only thing that I see in this new South Africa, is the crime rate,"* said a woman in Whittlesea. A man in Peddie noted that *"violence and crime is stopping prospective investors to lift the economy up."* Rural Eastern Cape residents also believe that there are not enough schools, and many teachers are not getting paid. *"We still do not have schools,"* said a woman in Whittlesea. *"There are pre-schools and they've been there for five years, but teachers have never had a cent,"* said a Nqamakwe woman.

Government

Rural Eastern Cape residents are disappointed with elected government at every level – national, provincial and local. Much of this disappointment is a result of having little or no contact with government. For most, their experience with “government” is limited to their contact with administrative authorities – the magistrates and the police being central. Moreover, the links to these authorities tend to be SANCO and traditional leaders, and not elected leaders.

In general, participants in these groups are unhappy with government because they have great needs and believe that the government is doing little or nothing to help them. They have two major critiques of government. First, government fails to communicate with, listen to, and consult with the people. *“I don't understand this government,”* said a Nqamakwe woman, *“because it says it's a people's government, but now they don't do what we want.”* Second, government does not keep its promises. During the elections they heard many promises, but since the elections very few of them have come to fruition.

National Government. The national government is remote and distant for these rural Eastern Cape residents – something only “seen on TV.” In addition, they see few tangible results which the national government has brought them, and many of their feelings toward the national government are consequently negative. Like community leaders, they criticize the national government for failing to communicate and consult with the local level. *“MPs only came once,”* said a Nqamakwe woman. *“They don't know anything, they don't know what is happening.”* *“You are never given feedback from the national government,”* said a Peddie man. The participants in our groups also complained that the national government has failed to keep its promises. *“We tell them about these problems and they promise to take care of them, but we don't get any solutions,”* said a woman in Nqamakwe. These negative feelings, however, are moderated by a continued commitment to the new democracy and freedom.

Provincial Government. Like community leaders here, residents of the rural Eastern Cape province believe that their provincial government is particularly corrupt. *"They are very corrupt,"* said a Peddie man. A Nqamakwe woman said, *"In the New South Africa there is money, but it doesn't come to people; they steal it... maybe, for an example, the pension money. We're told that it disappeared."* Residents also believe that Eastern Cape's provincial government is particularly poor. A Peddie man complained, *"Housing projects have gone off the ground in other provinces but not in the Eastern Cape. Townships are upgraded in other provinces except ours."*

Local Government. Rural Eastern Cape residents have a more mixed view of local government. Many say that local government, like the provincial and national governments, does not get things done, and they detect "no difference at all" since the local elections. The main reason for criticisms is that local elected officials seem just as remote as elected officials at other levels. These residents have little or no contact with local councillors, and are uncertain how to seek them out and find them. *"I don't know these local councillors,"* said a Whittlesea woman. *"I do not even know the people who are called councillors. After all if there is a person who calls him/herself [councillor], you must know that person. We do not see them."*

Many of the participants in these groups also have the perceptions that local elected officials do not understand or represent rural areas. *"They don't care about us on the ground,"* said a Lady Frere man. A Nqamakwe woman said, *"They don't have any idea about what you want, because you'll find that it's a person from Matatiela who is trying to help you."* *"Our councillors are working in the cities, but those in the rural areas I'm not sure about them,"* said another.

Importantly, those who tend to have more positive assessments of local government tend to be those who have had more contact with local elected officials. For example, a Nqamakwe woman with more positive views was also familiar with the local councillor: *"The councillor who has been working is Mr. Koloji who was already trying to help with blue cards. He's the person who helped a lot of people who couldn't get their monies."* More contact and closer communication from local elected leaders is clearly key to establishing legitimacy and assuming a strong role.

Other Sources of Leadership

In the absence of elected officials who are responsive to their needs and who are close to their communities, these rural Eastern Cape residents look elsewhere for leadership. Some look toward the ANC, some look toward SANCO, and some toward traditional leaders. In each community, residents seemed to look toward at least one of these for an advocacy role. However, these intermediaries with government are not consistently or effectively making the necessary link between the people and their government. The result is that many feel quite disempowered; not only are the elected leaders not directly accessible, but those most likely to provide a link to elected government (that is, SANCO and traditional leaders), are also often ineffective.

Wherever residents look for leadership, however, they are seeking similar things: local leaders with close knowledge of their communities and their problems, and who actively work to solve those problems.

The ANC. A handful of participants in these groups were activists in the ANC, and these activists tend to look to the party for leadership. Their demands, however, have little to do with liberation or ideology; rather, they look to the ANC to help solve the very real problems they face. A Lady Frere man said, *"I have seen the ANC really takes care of our real basic needs. Even the police came in to talk to warring factions. Even when the old government said people couldn't occupy certain areas, the ANC said the people should. Even the farms, and some own them just because of the ANC."* A similar view was expressed by many community leaders in groups held around the country, who also look to political parties to play a direct role in service delivery.

SANCO. In the absence of responsive local elected government, many of these rural Eastern Cape residents also rely on SANCO to address and solve the problems they face. A Peddie man said, *"They are the community representatives. When a need arises, and when we have problems, we go to SANCO."* A Whittlesea woman said, *"Sometimes you see a person doing something wrong... When we solve it we call the organization [SANCO] to solve it."* Again, the focus is on hands-on problem-solving. This means that where people are unhappy with SANCO, it is because it fails at problem-solving: *"SANCO does not solve these problems here in this province. When there is crime we go to the police we get help from the police. SANCO does nothing, but we do report to them."* A Whittlesea participant said, *"SANCO is now the leaders,"* but added, *"There is nothing that SANCO can do."* Some people complain about SANCO. The Nqamakwe group complained that SANCO does not respect them. The Lady Frere group was most positive toward SANCO: *"SANCO is impartial, and it comes to the people."*

Traditional Leaders

Most of the participants in these groups favor a continued role for traditional leaders, with three of the four groups agreeing that traditional leaders should have a real say in decisions. Consistent with other research we have seen, the women¹ in the discussion groups expressed the greatest support for traditional leaders, while the younger men were least supportive. The Peddie discussion group, which was comprised primarily of younger men, was the one group that rejected a continued role for traditional leaders. Overall, when pushed to tell whether they would like traditional leaders to continue to play a role in local decision-making, most participants said yes, favoring some kind of joint role with elected leadership.

Importantly, support for traditional leaders is less about maintaining tradition than it is about solving problems. Those who want traditional leaders to have a say in government believe that these leaders continue to be closest to the people, best understand their needs, and can best solve their problems. As a Nqamakwe woman said, *"The government up there must not make decisions about us because we cannot even go up to them and voice our complaints. But with our chiefs we can walk up to them by foot and voice our complaints. We can go to the chief and say we want this and that and he would take it further."* Traditional leaders also understand the special issues facing rural communities. *"Councillors don't know how we live in the rural areas, most of them are from the cities, even those in Parliament,"* said another Nqamakwe woman. *"[Councillors] don't know anything about the rural areas, so they need Chiefs to help them."*

¹Other research suggests that it is older women who are particularly supportive of traditional leaders.

In short, a continued role for traditional leaders is all about accessibility and results. For some, traditional leaders continue to be more accessible and to deliver more than elected government. The attachment to traditional leaders is thus a functional attachment, more than a cultural or historical attachment. One sign of this is the reaction of these discussion participants to an argument that traditional leaders should only play a cultural role, while the government should make all decisions when it comes to the law. Most participants rejected this argument, either wanting traditional leaders to play a central decision-making role in all areas, or little role at all. Cultural history and ritual is not nearly so important as jobs, water, and clinics.

It is also important to also note that the attachment to traditional leaders does not imply a rejection of local elected government. These rural Eastern Cape residents are open to local elected government, and, should local councillors become more visible and more accessible, it is likely that the participants in these groups would be more willing to rely on them.

There are two other reasons that support for traditional leaders may diminish. First, many of these rural Eastern Cape residents already see traditional leaders as rapidly losing the ability to be effective. Traditional leaders have been shut out, they say. A Whittlesea woman said, *"These chiefs and traditional leaders are sitting down and not doing anything because they been made redundant, so we cannot take our things to people who have been made redundant. Before we used be able to take over problems to them."* Said another, *"Traditional leaders resemble a person who has been locked up in the bedroom, and the rest of the people are in the dining room. So it is not easy to feel the pain that is felt by traditional leaders, because you don't even see them. When you see them, you see them in town doing groceries with their families, and they go back home."* The result, said a Peddie man, is that *"they are no longer important."*

Second, traditional leaders are not seen as any more honest or trustworthy than any other kinds of leaders. Among the young men especially, but in every group, participants told stories of bribery and corruption among traditional leaders. *"Traditional leaders are expensive,"* they said. *"You have to bribe all the way with a sheep, cow, et cetera."* In only one group (Nqamakwe) did participants stress that their chief was not corrupt.

In the end, most participants conclude that they would like a joint role for both traditional leaders and elected leaders. For some, traditional leaders continue to be the closest to their communities and most effective in addressing their problems, but they simultaneously see movement away from traditional leaders as perhaps inexorable. The Chief is *"no longer ruling us,"* said a Nqamakwe woman. A Whittlesea woman said, *"These chiefs and traditional leaders are sitting down and not doing anything because they have been made redundant."* The more local elected government can fill the current vacuum in responsiveness and problem-solving, the easier this transition may be. *"We ruled the chiefs out,"* said a Peddie man. *"Councillors could reach us if they held meetings with us."*

Appendix One

**South Africa Discussion Guide
(November-December 1996)**

DISCUSSION GUIDES
South Africa
National Democratic Institute
November-December 1996

I. STANDARD INTRODUCTIONS

- A.** Introduce yourself.
- B.** Explain what a focus group is --
1. A discussion, a conversation.
 2. No right or wrong answers, just ideas and opinions.
 3. Feel free to disagree with other people in the group.
 4. Everyone should participate, because everyone's opinion is important.
- C.** Explain the purpose of the group --
1. To better understand how local leaders are feeling about the direction of the country.
 2. Sponsored by the University of the Western Cape and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), which is not associated with the government or any political party.
- D.** Explain tape recorder --
1. So I can listen later and take notes.
 2. Names will not be used; everything is confidential.
- E.** Explain presence of others --
1. Visitors from the U.S. who are independent researchers working with NDI on this project to give them a different perspective.
 2. Translator.
- F.** Have participants introduce themselves.

II. MOOD

- A.** If you had to use one word or phrase to describe your feelings about South Africa these days, what word or phrase would you use? [DISCUSS.]
- B.** South Africa had its first elections in 1994 when everyone was able to vote. Since then, what has changed?

1. What has changed for the better?
2. What has changed for the worse?
3. What has disappointed you?
4. Of all the changes that have taken place, what has surprised you the most? Has anything been different than you expected? [PROBE good and bad.]
5. Have changes been too fast or too slow?
6. Generally speaking, what is your feeling about the way things are going in South Africa? Is the country going in the right direction, or is the country off on the wrong track?
7. Who is better off in the new South Africa?
8. Who is worse off in the new South Africa?
9. Why does it work that way?

III. THE GOVERNMENT

Now I want to talk about three levels of government -- national, provincial and local.

- A. How is the national government doing?
 1. When you think about the national government, what are they doing right? Is there anything they are doing a good job on?
 2. What is the government doing poorly? Is there anything they are doing a bad job on?
 3. What are the main problems that you would like the government to address?
 4. What should the government's priorities be?

5. Is there anything the government is doing that you think should not be a priority? That they should spend less time on?
- B. How is the provincial government doing?
1. When you think about the provincial government, what are they doing right? What are they doing that you'd like to see continue?
 2. What is the provincial government doing poorly?
 3. What problems would you like the provincial government to address?
 4. How does the provincial government in this province compare to other provincial governments in South Africa? What's better? What's worse?
- C. How is your local government doing?
1. When you think about the local government, what are they doing right?
 2. What is the local government doing poorly?
 3. Recently, there were local elections. Since then, have things been going in the right direction or on the wrong track?
 4. How often do you see your local councillors?
 5. What problems, if any, do you take to your local councillors?
- D. Which seems to be best at solving problems -- the national government, the provincial government or the local government?
- E. What comes to mind when I say "political parties"? What is the first thing that comes to your mind?
1. What's good about political parties?

2. What's bad about political parties? [PROBE: What worries you?]

3. Do political parties do anything important in your community, or not really?

F. What comes to mind when you think about corruption in the government?

1. Is corruption much of a problem? Why? Why not?

2. What kinds of corruption do you see, if any? [Probe: specific examples]

a. Have you heard or read anything about:

(1) Sarafina HANDCOUNT

(a) Was this a big deal, or not really?

(2) Holamisa HANDCOUNT

(a) Was this a big deal, or not really?

(3) Saul Kerzner HANDCOUNT

(a) Was this a big deal, or not really?

3. What causes corruption in the government?

4. How do things compare to the way things were in the previous government under the National Party? Do you think there's more corruption? Less corruption? About the same?

IV. DEMOCRACY/CONSTITUTION

A. What comes to mind when I say the word "democracy?" What is a democracy?

1. What is a democracy?

2. Is South Africa a democracy?
3. How do you feel about that?
4. What are the key things that make South Africa a democracy?
5. What are the threats to democracy in South Africa?

B. What comes to mind when I say "South Africa's Constitution"?

1. What do you think a constitution is?
2. Many people are not familiar with the Constitution. Do you feel like you are familiar with what is in the Constitution, or haven't you paid a great deal of attention to it?
3. How do you feel about South Africa's Constitution?
4. Is having a constitution important? Why or why not?

V. POLITICAL PARTIES

[Explain: Now, I'd like to talk some more about political parties, but you don't need to tell us whether or not you are a member of a certain party unless you choose to, and we want to think about this without thinking about just one party]

- A. What are the parties in South Africa like? How would you describe the lay of the land?
- B. Think ahead five to ten years in South Africa. What do you imagine the political parties will be like then?
 1. How many parties will there be? Will there be more parties or fewer parties than there are now?
 2. Will they be the same parties or different?
 3. Will these changes be for the better or for the worse?

- C. Is it better to have one strong party, is it better to have more than one strong party, or doesn't it really matter?

[IF THEY TALK ABOUT THE ANC: Is it bad that the ANC is dominant, or would it be bad if any party were dominant?]

1. Why is that important (or not)?
2. What is the difference between a system in which one party dominates for a long time and a system where there is more than one strong party?
3. Does having several parties make it more likely that different voices will be heard – or doesn't it really matter?
4. Is it important that several parties have a realistic chance of winning elections – or doesn't it really matter?
5. There are 7 parties in Parliament today. Is it important that all these parties have an opportunity to debate the issues -- or doesn't it really matter?

Appendix Two

**Eastern Cape Discussion Guide
(November-December 1996)**

Discussion Guide
South Africa
National Democratic Institute
November-December 1996

Eastern Cape

1. Introductions (15 minutes)

- A. Introduce yourself
- B. Explain what a focus group is...
- A discussion, not a conversation.
 - No right or wrong answers, just ideas and opinions.
 - Feel free to disagree with other people in the group
 - Everyone should participate, because everyone's opinion is important.
- C. Explain the purpose of the group...
- Sponsored by the National Democratic Institute, which is not associated with the government or any political party, and the University of the Western Cape.
 - To better understand how local leaders are feeling about the direction the country is going in and about some of the issues we are facing.
 - One of many groups, all across the country.
- D. Explain tape recorder...
- So I can listen later and take notes.
 - Names will not be used; everything is confidential.
- E. Explain presence of others...
- Visitors from the U.S.A. who are independent researchers working with NDI to given them a different perspective.
 - Interpretor.
- F. Have participants introduce themselves...
- First name.
 - Job or leadership position.

2. Mood (22 minutes)

[Try to hear from everyone at least once during this section.]

- A. **7 minutes:** If you had to use one word or phrase to describe your feelings about South Africa these days, what word or phrase would you use?
- B. **4 minutes:** Let's think about the direction the country is going in. Do you think it's going in the right direction or the wrong direction? Why do you say that?
- C. **4 minutes:** Think about how things are going here in your village. Are things going in the right direction or the wrong direction? Why do you say that?
- D. **7 minutes:** Two years ago, in 1994, South Africa had its first elections, when everyone was able to vote. Since then, how have things changed here in your village?
- What has changed since the local elections we had recently?
 - What has changed for the better? What has changed for the worse?
 - What are the biggest problems here?

3. Leaders - Part I (28 minutes)

- A. **10 minutes:** Think about the problems that you face here in your village. Who can help solve them?
- Who do you go to when you have problems? Who are the leaders who can help solve the problems you face?
 - Who are the leaders in this village? What do they do? Tell me something about them.
 - Have new people become leaders in your area since the elections? How has it changed?
- B. **10 minutes:** Are traditional leaders, such as chiefs, important in this area?
- What do the chiefs in this area do? Imagine I am from another country and visiting here for the first time. How would you describe to me what traditional leaders do?
 - Since the elections, has their job changed?

- Do traditional leaders have more power or less power than they used to? Why do you say that?
 - What should the chiefs in this area do? What should their job be? What is important for them to do? What is not important?
- C. 5 minutes: How do you decide who becomes chief in this area? Who decides?
- What's good about that? What's bad?
- D. 3 minutes: Are the chiefs in this area politically neutral, or not really?
- What's good about that? What's bad?

4. Levels of government (39 minutes)

In South Africa, we now have many levels of government. There is the national government, there is provincial government, there is local government, and there are traditional leaders. I would like to talk about how we can compare each of these parts of government.

- A. 7 minutes: First, what are your impressions of the national government. How is the national government doing? What are they doing a good job on? What are they doing a bad job on? [*PROBE for both good and bad.*]
- B. 8 minutes: Do you know who your Member of Parliament is?
- How often do you see your Member of Parliament?
 - What are the main responsibilities of your Member of Parliament? What is their job? What should they do?
 - Are there any problems that people could take to their Member of Parliament, and get help on? What kinds of problems can MPs help solve?
 - Some people say that after we elected Members of Parliament, they went off to Cape Town and we have not heard from them since. How do you feel about that statement – do you agree or disagree with it?
- C. 8 minutes: What are your impressions of how the provincial government here is doing? What are they doing a good job on? What are they doing a bad job on? Why do you say that? (*PROBE for both good and bad.*)
- What is the difference between the provincial and the national government? What problems are better for the provincial government to work on?

- Is the provincial government better or worse than the national government? Why do you say that?
- How do you think provincial government here differs from other provincial governments? What's better and what's worse?

D. **8 minutes:** Now let's think about local government. What are your impressions of how the local government is doing? What are they doing a good job on, and what are they doing a bad job on? Why do you say that? (*PROBE for both good and bad.*)

- What is the job of the local government? What kind of problems is the local government responsible for?
- Recently, there were local elections. Since then, what has changed?
- Have things gotten better or worse? In what ways better? In what ways worse?
- How does the local government here compare to the local government in other places?

E. **8 minutes:** How often do you see your local councillors? '

- What are the main responsibilities of your local councillors? What is their job? What should they do?
- What kinds of problems can you take to local councillors, and get help on? What kinds of problems can local councillors help solve?
- What kind of job are local leaders doing in this area? What are they doing a good job on? What are they doing a bad job on?

5. Leaders – Part II (37 minutes)

A. **10 minutes:** How would you compare what local councillors do to what traditional leaders do? How would you explain the difference?

- What kinds of problems are better solved by local councillors, rather than traditional leaders? [*PROBE for specific examples.*]
- What kinds of problems are better solved by traditional leaders, rather than local councillors? [*PROBE for specific examples.*]

- B. **10 minutes:** Have you ever known traditional leaders to disagree with decisions made by other government officials? Tell us about it. *[PROBE for specific examples.]*
- Have you ever known traditional leaders to disagree with local councillors? with provincial government? with national government? *[PROBE each.]*
 - Who did you agree with more? Which side were you on? Why?
- C. **7 minutes:** Should traditional leaders be able to overrule decisions made by elected parts of the government?
- When should traditional leaders be able to overrule decisions made by the local government? the provincial government? the national government? *[PROBE each.]*
- D. **10 minutes:** Now that we've talked about it, how would you summarize what traditional leaders should do? what their job is?
- How would you summarize what the other levels of government should do? Local government? Provincial government? National government?
 - Of all these levels -- traditional leaders, local government, provincial government, national government -- which one affects this village the most? Why do you say that?
 - Which one do you rely on the most to solve problems? Why do you say that?

5. Arguments (26 minutes)

Now, I'd like to get your reaction to some arguments that other people have made, concerning this subject of traditional leaders and other levels of government.

- A. **8 minutes:** Some people say that traditional leaders are the ones who know our communities best, and it is important for them to have a say in all the decisions made by government that affect our communities.
- How many of you mostly AGREE with that statement? How many DISAGREE? *[COUNT OUT LOUD.]*
 - How do you feel about that statement? Do you agree? disagree?
 - Are there some kinds of decisions traditional leaders should have a say in, and some they should not?
 - How would you sort this out?
 - How should this be decided?

- Who should decide?
- B. 8 minutes: Let me read you a different statement. Some people say that traditional leaders are important to our history, culture, and local communities, but that our newly elected government should have the final say about the laws that affect us all. They say that traditional leaders should only play a ceremonial role?
- How many of you mostly AGREE with that statement? How many DISAGREE? *[COUNT OUT LOUD.]*
 - How do you feel about that statement? Do you agree? disagree?
 - Should traditional leaders only play a ceremonial role, or should their job include other things?
- C. 5 minutes: Which do you agree with more -- that traditional leaders should have a say in most decisions, or that the elected government should have the final say? Why do you feel that way?
- D. 5 minutes: In the end, which is more important -- to have strong traditional leaders or to have a strong elected government? Why do you say that?
- Can you have both at the same time?
 - How can this be resolved?



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