

# Nyandeni

## A brief introduction

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## Abbreviations

CCSA	Constitutional Court of South Africa
CGTA	Cooperative Governance Traditional Affairs
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
CTLDC	Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims.
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
NLM	Nyandeni Local Municipality
ORTD	OR Tambo District
RHAP	Rural Health Advocacy Project
TDF	Transkei Defence Force
TRC	Transitional Rural Council
UW	University of the Witwatersrand

## Introduction

‘Nyandeni’ means “place of the bundle of firewood”. Legend has it that when the Mpondo King Faku’s son Ndamase crossed the Umzimvubu River to settle on the other side, he and his people used bundles of firewood collected by women to raft across the river. These are called ‘*nyanda*’, so the historical event is marked by the name ‘Nyandeni’.<sup>1</sup> Today Nyandeni is a Municipality in Mpondoland, beginning approximately 30km out of Mthatha, to the east of the Umzimvubu River, and bordering 20 km of Indian Ocean (see map p 15).

This report will begin by outlining the demographics of Nyandeni Local Municipality. It will then lay out the broader historical context and how this has shaped and continues to influence contemporary social and political scenarios. In conclusion, some of the challenges facing those living in NLM will be considered.

## Demographics

NLM is one of five Local Municipalities falling under the OR Tambo District (see map p 15). The administrative centre is the small town of Libode and the only other urban centre is Ngqeleni. In 2016, the total population of ORTD was 1 470 000, of which 21,3% (313 000) resided in NLM. 99,4% of people living in the municipal area are designated as “Black African” and 95,3% speak the isiMpondo dialect of isiXhosa as their mother tongue. Females outnumber males at 100:87,2. The vast majority (62,1%) live in “traditional dwellings” defined as being made of locally available materials such as clay, mud and reeds. 36,8% live in “formal dwellings” which are houses, apartments, flatlets etc that have been built according to approved plans. Many of these homes also have a traditional hut where families gather for the officiation of meetings, prayers and customs. 76% of the population use pit latrines.<sup>2</sup>

## History and politics

### Pre-colonial

The early history of the region of the Eastern Cape formerly known as the Transkei has been reconstructed by archaeologists looking at material culture such as pottery, and by linguistic analysis. IsiXhosa belongs to the Bantu language cluster that originated in West Africa in the region of the present-day border between Nigeria and Cameroon.<sup>3</sup> Bantu-speaking people began to leave East Africa about 2000 years ago, in search of fresh grazing for their herds. These ancestors of today’s

Nguni-speaking people moved down into Southern Africa about a thousand years ago. By the mid 1500's, they had begun to settle in the area extending from the Mthamvuna River on today's border between Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal, southwards as far as the Sundays River. Until this time, the area had been habitat to a large variety of animals and some groups of nomadic San and Khoi.<sup>4</sup>

Twelve "chiefdom clusters" settled in the area: Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bomvana, Bhaca, Hlubi, Bhele, Zizi, Mfengu, Xesibe & Ntlangwini. They were pastoralists, herding cattle, sheep and goats, and horticulturalists, growing sorghum, millet and other crops. All spoke isiXhosa dialects, but each had a sense of their own distinctiveness. During the settlement and expansion of these Bantu speaking immigrants, the San population diminished severely, but the Khoi, as fellow cattle owners, were often incorporated. A residual influence of Khoi contact exists in the isiXhosa language whose characteristic clicks have been traced to Khoi languages, and with some practices associated with traditional healing.<sup>5</sup>

AmaMpondo were the last to succumb to Colonial rule, but the splits in their kingdom had been apparent almost a century earlier under the rule of King Faku (1780-1867). King Faku's Great Place was at Qawukeni near Lusikisiki. He had many sons, but the two of interest here are his first-born, Ndamase (1805-1876) and Ndamase's much younger brother from another mother, Mqikela (1831-1887). In about 1826, Faku crossed the Mzimvubu River to get away from an imminent Zulu invasion. He stayed at Mngazi, and returned to Qawukeni in the early 1840s. Some years later, Ndamase crossed the Mzimvubu with Faku's permission and set up his Great Place at Nyandeni. When Mpondoland was annexed to the Cape colony in September 1894, it comprised two kingdoms: Eastern Mpondoland, ruled by Mqikela (1831-1887) and an independent Western Mpondoland, ruled by Ndamase's son, Nqwiliso (1835-1899).<sup>6</sup>

Before the land on which the Cape Nguni lived was annexed to the British Colony, political organisation was based on kinship, which meant that areas were settled by people belonging to one clan, and were under the control of their senior kinsman. The chief's authority was over people rather than land. At a certain point, there was a change from the kinship-based system to a territorially-based one, and chiefs' control extended over non-kin. Authority ceased to be lineage based, and membership of a chiefdom depended on allegiance of a person to a chief.<sup>7</sup>

The kinship idiom was however retained, because a chief is still known as the father of his people, and his great wife as their mother. A number of Cape Nguni chiefdoms were organised under a Paramount Chief, but each chiefdom remained independent, free from interference by the

Paramount Chief in their internal affairs. Similarly, Xhosa chiefs did not hold autocratic powers over those living under them in their individual chieftaincies and were expected to defer to the general opinions of their councils.<sup>8</sup>

## **Colonial**

During the process of annexation to the British Colony, chiefdoms were drawn into a wider political structure, losing their freedom of self-determination and in some cases, their identity. They became in effect local governmental units within an overarching bureaucratic structure. The military power of African chiefdoms was essentially broken during the Frontier wars (1779 – 1879). The South Africa Act of 1909 awarded control and administration of “native affairs” to the Governor General. This was official policy to bypass and weaken the chiefs, and formerly autonomous chiefdoms were subjected to a system of direct rule. The legitimacy of chiefs was undermined and authority was given to government appointed “headmen”. The Transkei was no longer divided into small autonomous chiefdoms occupying their own territories, and 27 magisterial districts was imposed on the tribal pattern. Each district was sub-divided into locations under a headman who was appointed by the administration. Chiefs were all but ignored, but in reality, the office of headman was in most cases taken by chiefs and almost invariably inherited. Nevertheless, the appointment was made by the colonial government, and headmen were subject to bureaucratic rules of censure and dismissal.<sup>9</sup>

Political subordination led to the transformation of the African peoples of South Africa from self-sufficient and autonomous chiefdoms. They became communities of peasants living on decreased tribal lands which became increasingly dependent on migrant labour to farms and mines. Government policies however favoured the communal land tenure system, and so chieftaincies were not completely abolished. Chiefs were allowed to retain the responsibility of allocating residential land to all men living under them, and arable land to each of a man’s wives. As a result, chiefs were able to enjoy favourable access to land, and to accumulate levels of wealth in terms of stock and crop production. This increasingly differentiated them from the majority of the reserve population.<sup>10</sup>

## **Apartheid**

In 1948 the Nationalist party won the whites-only election in South Africa, and began almost immediately to promote their policy of Separate Development through establishment of the Bantustan system. The Bantu Authorities Act was passed in 1951, which established the policy of separate development and restored traditional authority of the chiefs, giving them much more power. Separate development was a strategy to bypass increasingly strong demands for

enfranchisement by the African majority. It presented South Africa as a “multi-national state” in which each of the “diverse nations” was able to retain their own identity and determine their own future. Each of the African groups was given their own “homeland” within the land allocations of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts which allocated 87% of the total land area to whites.

‘Independence’ was granted to the Transkei on 30 May 1976, followed by Bophuthatswana and Venda in 1979, and Ciskei in 1981. Administration of the Bantustans involved enormous bureaucracy and chiefs became progressively incorporated into the apparatus of the apartheid state. Only South Africa acknowledged the homelands as legal entities, they remained unrecognised internationally. The increased control held by chiefs over the allocation of key resources made it possible for them to make much heavier financial demands on reserve populations. As state employees, some chiefs became ‘state collaborators’. This led to an erosion of the legitimacy of chieftaincy. Not all chiefs were caught up in the machinery of repression and control however; Chief Albert Luthuli for example, was deposed from his position as Chief when he refused to resign from the ANC.

The first ‘Prime minister’ of the Transkei was Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima, nephew of Nelson Mandela and paramount chief of one of the Thembu sub-groups. His brother George Mzimvubu Matanzima was appointed Minister of Justice. In 1979 Kaiser became President and George took over as Prime Minister. The Matanzima brothers were involved in countless acts of corruption.<sup>11</sup> In 1981 Kaiser Matanzima dismissed the three senior offices of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), and appointed ex-Rhodesian Selous Scouts to run the army, which was not appreciated by members of the TDF, least of all Bantubonke Harrington Holomisa. Hailing from the family of the Bomvana chieftaincy, Bantubonke was born at Mqanduli in 1955, and joined the TDF in 1976. He was one of the first black officers to train in South Africa, where he attended the SADF Army College in Pretoria, receiving commission as Brigadier in 1978.

Holomisa took an anti-corruption stance in 1987 when he complained that the Selous Scouts were using TDF facilities for their own purposes. This led to his detention by the South African government in a Transkei jail for two months. On his release he was promoted to General and Chief of the TDF.<sup>12</sup> On 24 September 1987, Major-General Bantubonke Holomisa seized power from Prime Minister George Matanzima in a bloodless coup. He did not threaten the position of traditional leaders, but those who contested him were removed from office.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1987, Holomisa handed over to the civilian government of Stella Sigcau, the sister of King Botha Sigcau of the Eastern Mpondoland kingdom. On 31 December 1987 Holomisa deposed Sigcau’s

government, citing corruption, and became Chairman of the Military Council of Transkei. His government worked closely with the liberation movement and between 1988 and 1989, unbanned approximately 33 political and other organisations that had been banned by the Matanzimas. He ran Transkei until the 1994 elections.<sup>14</sup>

## **Democracy**

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESAs) was formed in Kwa Ndebele in 1987, with the aim of uniting all traditional leaders, and schooling them in the politics of liberation. They also intended to oppose the homeland system and fight for its eradication, as well as win back lands stolen from their forefathers during colonialism. The movement subsequently expanded beyond Kwa Ndebele and in 1990, presidency of CONTRALESAs was taken over by Chief Patekile Holomisa, cousin of Bantubonke Holomisa.

CONTRALESAs was ANC aligned and came as a surprise to many because although Chief Albert Luthuli had been elected president of the ANC in 1952, by the 1960s, the leaders of the liberation struggle no longer saw chiefs as allies. This was because of the allegiances that many had formed with the apartheid state, particularly Matanzima. The ANC never denounced chiefs outright, but they didn't have a policy on them, and the general assumption seemed to be that chieftaincy would either "die of its own accord" or be abolished. For example, in 1964, Govan Mbeki wrote that "...when a people have developed to a stage which discards chieftainship, when their social development contradicts the need for such an institution, then to force it on them is not liberation but enslavement".

During the 1980s, a number of anti-apartheid organisations came together under an umbrella movement called the United Democratic Front (UDF), which essentially served as the internal arm of the ANC which had been banned in 1960. Many UDF activists were of the opinion that chiefs were complicit in apartheid repression and so traditional leadership was marginal to the UDF's concerns. Therefore, CONTRALESAs came as a surprise if not a shock to many ANC and UDF members.<sup>15</sup> However, CONTRALESAs failed to establish itself as a national political player because it was not allowed to send a delegation to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) that took place in 1991. The aim of CODESA was to discuss the future of democracy in South Africa and CONTRALESAs was excluded because it was felt that if they were included, a number of other business and labour interest groups would also have to be included. The Transkei delegation to CODESA negotiations was led by Bantubonke Holomisa.



When CONTRALESA did not succeed in getting representation at the national level, it shifted focus to the provincial legislatures, but here, according to the interim constitution, it could only serve in an advisory capacity. There was an outcry from chiefs who had become used to dominating regional and local politics in Bantustan legislatures.

Mandela was released from prison in 1990, and was very accommodating towards the chiefs, addressing traditional leaders, acknowledging their systematic undermining by racist regimes, and expressing his wish that they should be restored to their rightful place in society. He also made it clear however, that it would not be possible to compromise the objectives of a genuine democracy made up of elected representatives. After the first elections in 1994, the ANC appeared to lose enthusiasm for traditional leaders and the divide between ANC and CONTRALESA grew.<sup>16</sup>

According to Peires (2000), since the 1994 elections, traditional leaders in the Eastern Cape have been “in a kind of purgatory”: They have “fallen from the heaven” of the old Transkei homeland where they had autocratic powers, but not yet been “condemned to damnation”. Under apartheid, traditional leaders had fallen under the office of the Military Council and after the 1994 election, they were accommodated under the Office of the Premier which succeeded the office of the Military Council. Responsibility for traditional leaders was soon transferred to the Department of Local Government which was already handling elected local authorities so it seemed logical that all local government issues should be administered by one department. Thus, traditional leaders were excluded from state power.<sup>17</sup>

Service delivery to rural communities’ post 1994 has fallen short of expectation. There are roughly twice as many administrative areas as councillors. The processes by which councillors are elected is not always understood and people tend to vote for parties rather than people. Councillors are frequently unknown by the people they represent because they often live some distance away. Many have been implicated in corruption and what they have provided has been largely inadequate. However, each administrative area has its own traditional leader who resides there permanently, so traditional leaders are still acknowledged and respected.<sup>18</sup>

The issue of traditional leadership poses some difficult questions. For example, since Chieftaincy is a hereditary rather than elected position, how can it be part of a democracy? Chieftaincy is transmitted in the patrilineal line – hence only to men – so how can it be aligned with non-sexism? Looking at the second question, although the bill of rights provides for equality before the law, under customary law, women are under the guardianship of their father or husband and excluded from politics. The

low status of women under customary law fundamentally opposes the tenets of human rights. Peires (2000) referred to the “patriarchally minded traditional leaders” who were unable to “stomach” the empowerment of women community leaders. Although many chiefs have refused to believe that their culture could be “outmoded”, a growing number of women are being appointed as chiefs. For example, Queen Bongolethu Ndamase of Western Mpondoland who reigned from the death of her father in law, King Tutor Ndamase in 1997 until 2008 when her son Ndamase Ndamase took over. It is therefore apparent that with or without resistance, changes are taking place. Traditionally women were excluded from traditional court processes, but they now play prominent roles in community meetings and many councillors are women.<sup>19</sup>

## Local Governance

The disputes within contemporary amaMpondo traditional leadership date back to 1935 when then Paramount Chief Marhelane (Mqikela’s grandson) died and was succeeded by his son Mandlonke. Mandlonke was married to Magingqi Sigcawu, but when he unexpectedly shot himself only two years after ascending the throne, he did not leave any heirs. The office of Paramount Chieftaincy was awarded to his brother, Botha Sigcau by Governor General, Patrick Duncan, with the concurrence of Western Mpondo Paramount, Victor Poto Ndamase. When Botha died in 1978, he was succeeded by his son, Mpondombini, who ruled until his death in 2013. Mpondombini’s widow, Queen Lombekiso MaSobhuza Sigcau has ruled as Regent of Eastern Mpondoland since his death (see AmaMpondo Royal Genealogy, p 16).<sup>20</sup>

However, Mandlonke and Botha’s younger brother, Nelson, had married Mandlonke’s widow, Magingqi, according to the traditional custom of ‘*ngena*’. This is where a widow becomes the wife of her late husband’s brother who assumes the rights and responsibilities of his deceased brother, including ‘raising children’ in his name. Nelson and Magingqi had a son, Zwelidumile, the father of Zanozuku Tyelovuyo Sigcau. According to the custom of ‘*ngena*’, Zwelidumile and Zanozuku are the equivalent of Mandlonke’s son and grandson respectively and therefore constitute the senior genealogical line. On these grounds, Zanozuku challenged Mpondombini’s right to the throne.<sup>21</sup>

The Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims (aka the Nhlapo Commission) was established in 2003 to try and align these divergences between customary and statutory law. The Nhlapo commission debated two aspects of Mpondo kingship. First, it was required to rule on whether there were two kingships (Eastern and Western) in Mpondoland, or only one. Second, it was required to rule on whether the rightful incumbent of Eastern Mpondoland was from the line of

Nelson or the line of Botha. On the first aspect, it ruled that there was only one legitimate king in Mpondoland, namely the Great House at Qawukeni.

Genealogical superiority is determined not by age, but by the rank of the mother as wife. A king usually has many wives, each of whose status is determined by the house to which she is allocated: either the senior Great House or the more junior Right-Hand House. The Great Wife is usually married later in life and her *lobola* will be supplemented by contributions made by the community. A chief's heirs are borne by his 'great wife' even though she may not necessarily be his first or oldest wife. In the case of King Faku, his first wife, the mother of Ndamase was an 'ordinary wife' because only Faku's family contributed to her lobola. Many years later when he married another wife, who was to become the mother of Mqikela, the community contributed to her lobola and so her house was considered the 'great' house (see AmaMpondo Royal Genealogy, p 16).

The Nhlapo commission accepted the traditional argument with regard to *ukungena* succession and Zanozuko, the descendant of Nelson was thus, at one stroke proclaimed as the rightful heir not only to the throne of Eastern Mpondoland, but to the united throne of all Mpondoland. The kingdom of Western Mpondoland and the Royal House of Ndamase, in existence for more than 150 years, was thereby abolished. This was confirmed by Jacob Zuma in 2010. Zanozuko's legitimacy has been challenged by Mpondombini's widow, Queen Lombekiso MaSobhuza Sigcau, the reigning Regent of Eastern Mpondoland who contends that her daughter, Princess Wezizwe Sigcau should ascend the throne, and also by Mpondombini's nephew, Chief Nzululwazi Sigcau. Zanozuko was inaugurated in April 2011 at the Nzindlovu Great Place. Mpondombini, took the issue to Constitutional Court which put aside the decision to appoint Zanozuko, asserting that Zuma had used the wrong piece of legislation to appoint him, and confirming Mpondombini as King of the amaMpondo aseQawukeni. Mpondombini had died three months previously so the confirmation was posthumous.

Nevertheless, Western Mpondoland went ahead with the crowning of King Ndamase at the Nyandeni Great Place in front thousands of people on 3 October 2018. The event was supported by national and regional government and royal representatives. President Ramaphosa was expected to attend and to hand a certificate of recognition to King Ndamase, but he was threatened with legal action by Zanozuko if he attended and subsequently "snubbed" the event.<sup>22</sup>

This wrangling between customary and statutory law is the continuation of a long-standing schism in Mpondo society between those who remain committed to tradition and those who embrace innovation. Between 1850 and 1870, the demand for cheap labour on mines and farms increased

dramatically, and rural African men were recruited into the colonial economy as mine workers and farm labourers.<sup>23</sup> There were two very different ways in which rural villagers responded to political and economic domination by whites during this period, which Mayer (1980) described as “rural resistance ideologies”. On the one hand, the more conservative “red people”, *amaqhaba* resisted change, including western education and religion. On the other, the more progressive “school people”, *amagqoboka* which means “people having a hole”, embraced Christianity and education.<sup>24</sup>

Similar polarities are perhaps evident in the conflicting approaches towards the proposed N2 highway through Mpondoland and mining of sand dunes at Xolobeni, taken by Mpondombini, (and continued by his widow MaSobhuza), and Zanozuko respectively. Economic development in an area with high unemployment would be welcomed, but environmental reports have suggested that these developments would endanger the long-term sustainability of the region. Zanozuko is in favour of both the highway and the mining, MaSobhuza rejects both.<sup>25</sup>

## Challenges

### Poverty and unemployment

NLM faces the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequality, with the majority of people dependent on social grants as their primary source of income. In 2016, 23.08% of households in NLM lived on under R2 500 per month, and the unemployment rate was 44.8%. It should however be noted that Eastern Cape has the highest unemployment rate in the country at 35.4%, and that this will inevitably be even higher in rural areas. Hence, while high, it is not necessarily higher than other parts of the province, especially rural areas.<sup>26</sup>

The mayor of NLM, M.D. Ngqondwana identifies unemployment as the most fundamental challenge facing people living in the Nyandeni Municipal area. Faced with few employment prospects, skilled and unskilled workers are forced to migrate elsewhere in search of work. Most trade is conducted by people from outside NLM, resulting in financial leakage. Infrastructure is below acceptable standards and tourist destinations are not sufficiently marketed and developed.<sup>27</sup>

### Health care

There are 13 clinics in the NLM and three hospitals: Canzibe near Ngqeleni, St Barnabas in Libode and Isilimela at Gomolo. If necessary, patients are referred to the Nelson Mandela Academic Hospital in Umtata. Health care seekers in NLM face a number of challenges. Many, especially those who are more vulnerable, such as children, the elderly and the disabled, do not have easy access to health

care facilities. Much of the population lives far away from clinics and hospitals and roads are in bad repair. There is also a lack of hospital and emergency medical transport, and even when clinics and hospitals are accessed, the queues are very long. There are severe staff shortages from nurses (especially night and emergency services nurses), to doctors and pharmacists.<sup>28</sup>

The UK based charity One to One Africa Children's Fund is active in Ngqeleni, working with vulnerable and traumatised children. It was established in 2014 and is based in the Eastern Cape and Cape Town, with a Regional Coordinator in Ngqeleni. The charity targets pregnant mothers and children under the age of five, supporting maternal, new-born and child health, including immunization, family planning, the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV, and paediatric HIV care and treatment. A team of 'mentor mothers' have been recruited and trained to provide home healthcare visits. Early childhood development support is also offered to children from families affected by HIV.

## **Education**

Schools in the Eastern Cape are grouped into three clusters with those in NLM falling under Cluster A. There are 426 schools in the Nyandeni area, the majority of which are primary schools. 64% of schools are overcrowded, with the learner: educator ratio in Cluster A being the highest in the province, as high as 1:55 in some cases.<sup>29</sup> 18.2 % of the NLM population have received no schooling at all and only 4% have received tertiary education.<sup>30</sup> The non-profit education organisation Funda Wandé recently released their research findings into primary school education in the Eastern Cape. Their study involved 1 180 pupils in the Nelson Mandela Bay, Buffalo City and Sarah Baartman districts, and revealed that 44% of Grade 2 pupils could not read a single word and 90% could not answer a question that involved "higher order thinking".<sup>31</sup> There is no reason to suppose that these statistics would be improved in the considerably more rural conditions of NLM.

## **Crime**

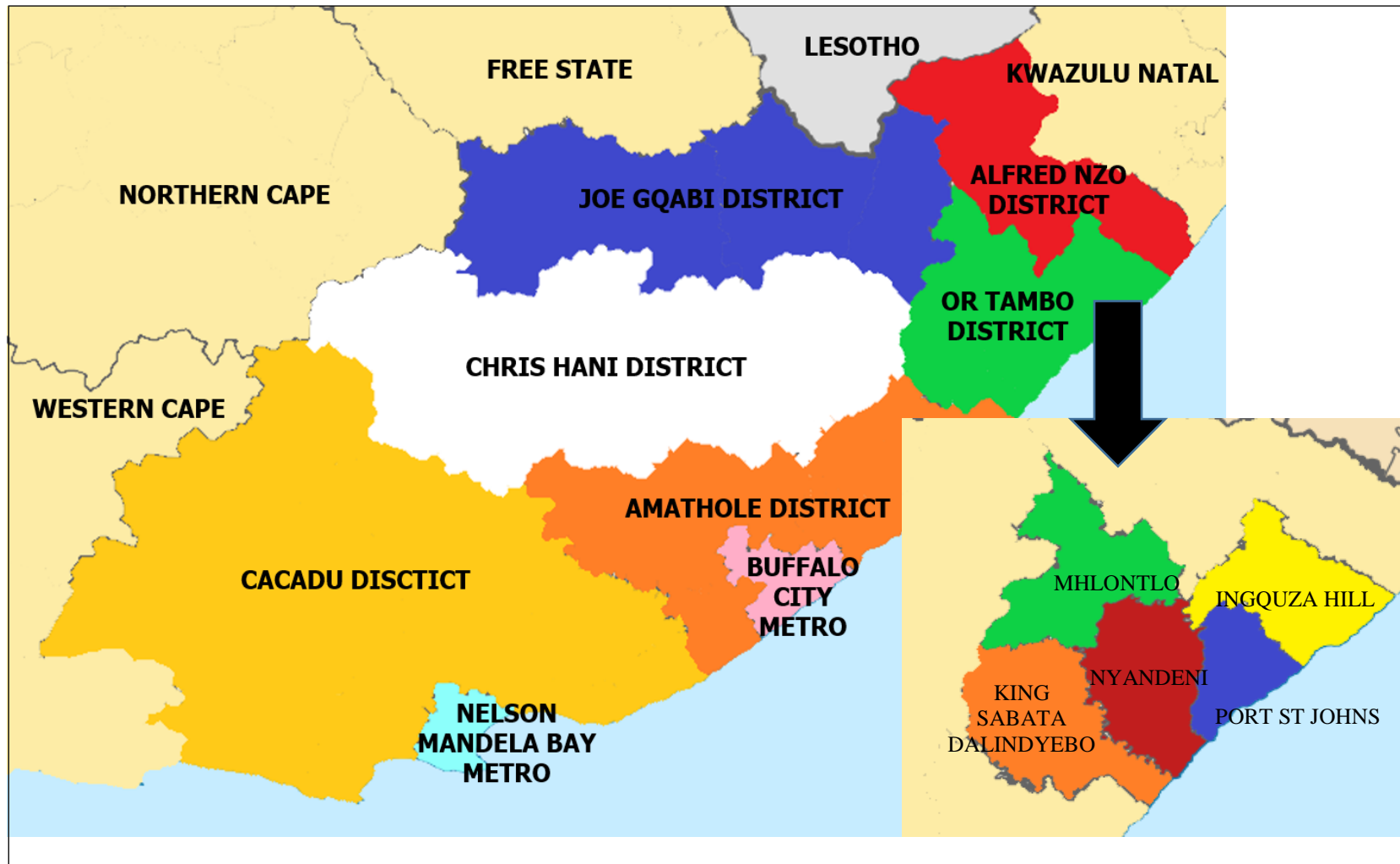
In 2018, 750 contact crimes were reported in the Libode Police Precinct, roughly half of those reported in Mthatha. Of these, 87 were murders, placing Libode seventh out of the ten towns with the worst murder rate in the Eastern Cape. Ngqeleni ranked even higher in fifth place, with 90 murders being reported during 2018. Crime statistics also place Ngqeleni on the list of top ten worst towns when it comes to assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, in 9<sup>th</sup> place with 365 cases reported during 2018.<sup>32</sup>

## **Gender based violence**

Men's control over women is institutionalised in the Eastern Cape, with masculinity being defined by promiscuity and violence, and femininity by fertility and subordination.<sup>33</sup> Of the 750 contact crimes reported in Libode during 2018, 132 were sexual crimes. Both Ngqeleni and Libode feature in the top 10 districts of reported sexual offences in the Eastern Cape, with Ngqeleni in fourth place (154 cases) and Libode in seventh (132 cases).<sup>34</sup> An estimated eight out of nine rapes remain unreported, with only about 40% of reported cases making it to court, and a mere 8% of reported cases resulting in conviction.<sup>35</sup>

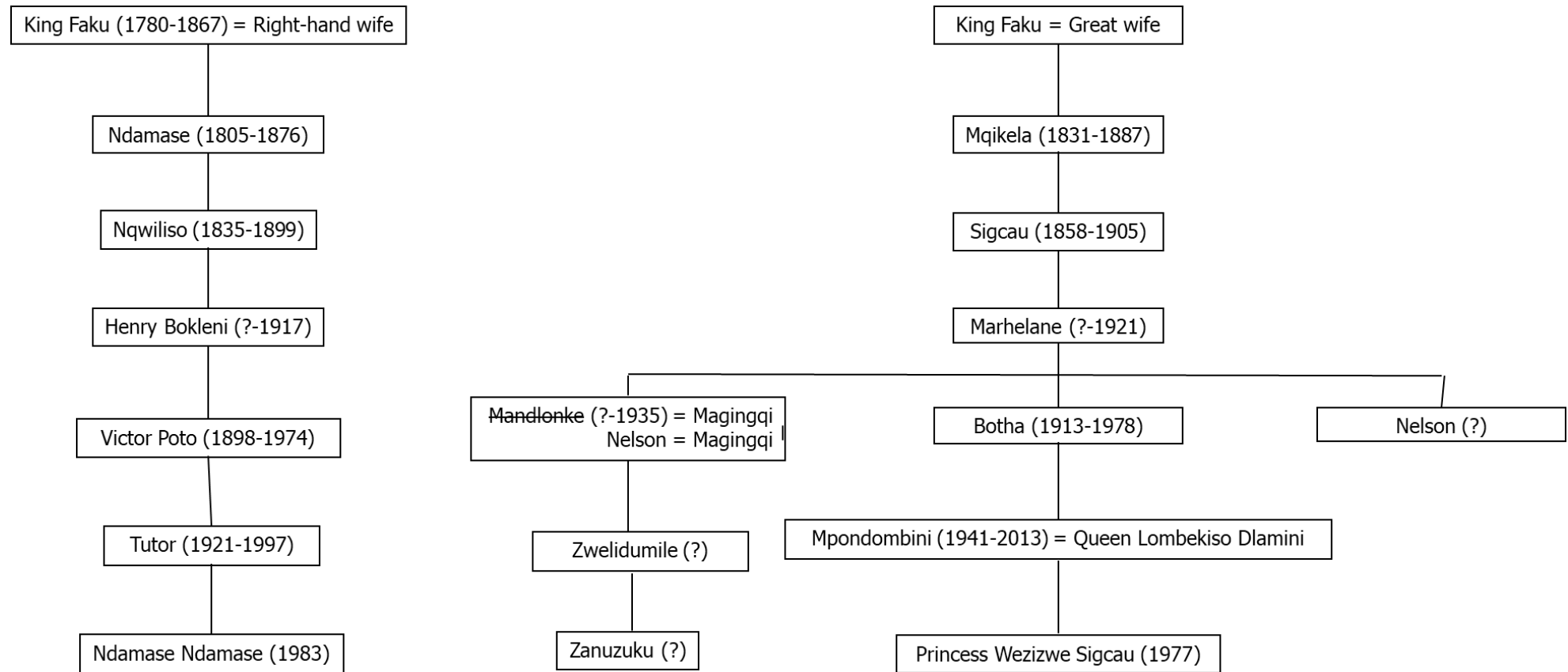
### **Botched circumcision**

28 initiates died in the Eastern Cape during 2015, of whom 19 were in the OR Tambo district. Of these 19 deaths, 8 were young men from legal initiation schools while 11 died in illegal initiation schools. The worst performing subdistrict was NLM, which had 1316 illegal initiates and only 860 legal initiates. A total of 189 initiates were admitted to hospitals in the OR Tambo district. Many of the deaths were not from circumcision complications such as dehydration, but assault. Thirty-seven assault cases were reported (28 from NLM), leaving some initiates dead and others seriously injured.<sup>36</sup> Despite much concern, the situation has not improved and by 11 January 2019, 34 deaths had been reported during the 2018 circumcision season.<sup>37</sup>



Map showing Eastern Cape Municipal Districts and OR Tambo Local Municipalities <sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_the\\_Eastern\\_Cape\\_with\\_municipalities\\_blank\\_\(2016\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_Eastern_Cape_with_municipalities_blank_(2016).svg)



*AmaMpondo Royal Genealogy.*



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  - <sup>3</sup> Huffman 2006.
  - <sup>4</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975
  - <sup>5</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975, 1997, 1998, 1999.
  - <sup>6</sup> CTLDC 2014, Kings 2013, Peires 2014, 2019, World of Royalty 2019.
  - <sup>7</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975.
  - <sup>8</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975.
  - <sup>9</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975.
  - <sup>10</sup> Hammond-Tooke 1975.
  - <sup>11</sup> Ndletyana 1999, Peires 1992.
  - <sup>12</sup> Ndletyana 1999.
  - <sup>13</sup> Bank and Southall 1996.
  - <sup>14</sup> Peires 1992, Shai 2018.
  - <sup>15</sup> Van Kessel and Oomen 1997.
  - <sup>16</sup> Van Kessel and Oomen 1997.
  - <sup>17</sup> Peires 2000.
  - <sup>18</sup> Peires 2000.
  - <sup>19</sup> Van Kessel and Oomen 1997.
  - <sup>20</sup> Kings 2013, World of Royalty 2019.
  - <sup>21</sup> CTLDC 2014, Kings 2013, Peires 2014, World of Royalty 2019.
  - <sup>22</sup> Feni 2018, Ngcukana 2018a & b.
  - <sup>23</sup> Beinart 1982.
  - <sup>24</sup> Mayer 1980.
  - <sup>25</sup> Kings 2013, Peires 2019.
  - <sup>26</sup> ECSECC 2017, RHAP 2018, Sicetsha 2019.
  - <sup>27</sup> NLM 2018
  - <sup>28</sup> RHAP 2017 & 2018.
  - <sup>29</sup> Ncanywa 2015.
  - <sup>30</sup> ECSECC 2017.
  - <sup>31</sup> Ellis 2019.
  - <sup>32</sup> Crime Stats 2018, ISS Crime Hub 2018.
  - <sup>33</sup> Shai 2018.
  - <sup>34</sup> Crime Stats 2018.
  - <sup>35</sup> Meel 2008.
  - <sup>36</sup> Feni & Fuzile 2015.
  - <sup>37</sup> Collison and Ngcangisa 2019.