

## Contents

INTRODUCTION	13
The peri-urban community of Inchanga (eThekweni Municipality)	15
Methodology	17
Composition of the book	19
1. VIOLENCE: CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND ARGUMENTS	23
1.1 The concept of violence	23
1.2 Theoretical explorations	25
1.3 Disjunction between centre and periphery	29
1.4 Violence as routine	30
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (LATE 19TH CENTURY UNTIL 1985)	36
2.1 The origins of an amakholwa community (1880–1910)	36
2.2 Socio-economic decline and political mobilisation (1910–1948)	39
2.2.1 Land issues	40
2.2.2 African political mobilisation and resistance	43
2.3 The early years of apartheid rule (1948–1970)	45
2.3.1 Cultural differences and change in the 1950s	46
2.3.2 Local-level politics and (violent) conflicts in the 1950s	48
2.3.3 Socio-economic decline, immigration and (land) conflicts in the 1960s	51
2.4 Political transformations and emerging conflicts (1970–1985)	54
2.4.1 The creation of the Fredville Community Authority and its integration into KwaZulu	57
2.4.2 Immigration, local power structure and social relations	58
2.4.3 Emerging regional and local conflicts	60
3. REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE: THE BEGINNING OF VIOLENT CONFLICT	63
3.1 Provincial dynamics of violence	63
3.2 The beginning of local violent conflict (Phase I of violence: 1985–1989)	67
3.2.1 Political mobilisation	67
3.2.2 Generational conflicts	75
3.2.3 Land use conflicts, payment boycotts and class differences	77

3.2.4 Persistence of violent conflict	81
3.2.5 Temporary decline of local violence	82
<b>4. VIOLENCE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD: TRANSFORMATIONS OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND POWER RELATIONS</b>	
4.1 Local political institutions and power relations in the early 1990s	84
4.2 Transformations of violent conflict (Phase II: 1991)	87
4.2.1 Msouthern versus Ghetto	88
4.2.2 “Neither war nor peace” (1992–1994)	97
<b>5. INCHANGA IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS</b>	
5.1 Economic conditions	101
5.2 Social conditions	102
5.3 Two different cultures?	107
5.3.1 Self-representation and depiction of “the others”	108
5.3.2 Cultural change and instrumentalisation of cultural differences	118
5.4 Local-level politics and power relations	119
5.4.1 Political parties	119
5.4.2 Sections, nested identities and local power relations	121
Epilogue	129
<b>6. DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA</b>	
6.1 “Soccer match violence”. (Phase III: 1995–96)	132
6.2 Escalation (Phase IV: 1996–98)	134
6.2.1 Excursus: violent conflict in KwaNjobokazi	135
6.2.2 Initial act of violence	137
6.2.3 Continuation of violent conflict in 1996	139
6.2.4 The Tin Town massacre, 28 December 1996	140
6.2.5 Consequences of the Tin Town massacre	141
Epilogue	147
6.3 Peace processes (1996 and 1998–99)	148
6.3.1 First peace process (1996)	150
6.3.2 Second peace process (1998–99)	151
6.3.3 Assessing local peace processes	165

6.4 “Real peace” or disjunction between centre and periphery?	171
Two massacres and their impact (Phase V: 2000)	171
6.4.1 The massacre of Rha Msomi and his family members	172
6.4.2 The Esidakeni massacre	178
6.4.3 The Msomi and Esidakeni massacres in comparison	183
6.5 The “post-conflict” situation since 2001	184
7. CONFLICTING VIEWS ON VIOLENT CONFLICT	192
7.1 Insiders’ perspectives on violent conflict	192
7.1.1 Political rivalry perspective: ANC versus IFP	192
7.1.2 Instrumentalist perspective: police and “third force” involvement	195
7.1.3 Cultural perspective: <i>amakholwa</i> versus <i>amabinca</i>	198
7.1.4 Gender and economic perspective: youth violence and relative deprivation	201
7.2 Making sense of the different perspectives: significant discrepancies and underlying motives	203
8. ASSESSING VIOLENT CONFLICT	208
8.1 Forms and characteristics of violence	208
8.1.1 Forms of violence	208
8.1.2 Temporal characteristics	211
8.1.3 Spatial characteristics	212
8.2 Disjunction between centre and periphery	214
8.2.1 Political rivalry or disjunction?	214
8.2.2 Interaction: alliance and conflict	217
8.2.3 Evidence from additional case studies and differentiation	219
8.3 Violence as routine: transformations of institutions and power relations	221
8.3.1 Sections, factions and local fragmentation	222
8.3.2 Rule of strongmen	224
8.3.3 Clientelism	227
8.4 Revenge and the self-sustaining characteristic of violence	230
8.4.1 Revenge and violence as routine	230
8.4.2 Revenge and disjunction	233

<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>236</b>
The state of the state and the rise of the local	236
A new form of political power and the future of violent conflict	238
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>241</b>
Secondary sources	241
Violence monitoring reports and other reports	259
Newspaper articles and electronic sources	262
Documents from Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository	266
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>269</b>