

DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY



**FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUNITY PROTESTS IN THE MBIZANA
MUNICIPALITY**

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FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUNITY PROTESTS IN THE MBIZANA MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

Protests are an integral part of many social, political and economic activities in societies all over the world, and the concept of protest is an on-going subject of scholarly endeavour. The occurrence of protests in South Africa, however, highlights significant deficit in meeting the huge expectations from a formerly disadvantaged majority of the population. Furthermore, the current preponderance of protest incidents in the Eastern Cape Province, and particularly in the Mbizana Local Municipality proffered the motive for this research.

The incidence of protests in the study area, in most cases, has been attributed to poor service delivery and the high expectations for improved social and economic development. While issues related to the delivery of basic services are attended to, the continued occurrence and increasing intensity of these protest incidents, has led to the argument that other factors are also at play.

Using a mixed methods approach, the study employed a questionnaire survey to elicit information linked to the incidence of protests. Two hundred and eighty respondents from three selected wards in the local municipality were randomly sampled, and three municipal officials were also interviewed to explore the factors influencing protest incidents in the study area.

Findings from the study point to the profusion of unresolved community complaints coupled with slow-paced provision of services, intra-party disagreements among political factions in the municipal council, and crime-related incidents; as factors responsible for protests in the local municipality. The study shows the preponderance of disagreements among political party members as a leading cause for protest incidents, unrelated to the provision of basic services. Also, the demand for justice among victims of criminal incidents was found to be another reason for the increasing number of protest events in the Mbizana Local Municipality.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work (described) in this thesis is my original work, and has not previously been submitted either in part, or in its entirety, for a degree at any other university. I also further declare that this work does not in any way, infringe or violate the rights of others, as all the sources cited or quoted by me, are indicated and acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of references.

.....

Christopher Ugochukwu Nwafor

DEDICATION

To my kids, Miss Nneka Lindiwe and Master Chibuikem Dumisani.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge the contribution and support of colleagues and many others to the successful completion of this study. These efforts are recognised in no particular order.

The immense contribution of my research Supervisor, Dr Ivan Govender is noted. His insights and critical comments helped mould this study. The permission to conduct research in the Mbizana Local Municipality granted by the Municipal Manager, Mr Luvuyo Mahlaka, is acknowledged.

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Acronyms / Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ANDM	Alfred Nzo District Municipality
APF	Anti Privatisation Forum
ASGISA	Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative South Africa
CAS	Complex Adaptive Systems
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCF	Concerned Citizens Forum
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
CLaRA	Community Land Rights Act 11 of 2004
CoGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DLG	Developmental Local Government
DoRA	Division of Revenue Act 10 of 2014
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ESIM	Elaborated Social Identity Model
EWS	Early Warning System
FMG	Finance Management Grant
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IEG	Integrated Electrification Grant
IGR	Inter Governmental Relations
IMATU	Independent Municipal Workers Union
KMO	Kaiser Meyer Oklin
LED	Local Economic Development

LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education Training Authority
LGTAS	Local Government Turn Around Strategies
LLF	Local Labour Forum
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
MLM	Mbizana Local Municipality
MSIG	Municipal Systems Improvement Grant
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NGP	New Growth Plan
NPM	New Public Management
OPP	Office of the Public Protector
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PSP	Private Sector Partners
PSRP	Public Sector Reform Programme
PV	Public Value
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RMP	Resource Mobilisation Perspective
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SAPS	South African Police Service

SDL	Service Dominant Logic
SP	Service Provider
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Science
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDESA	United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs
WPLG	White Paper on Local Government (1998)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the study and outlines the background and rationale for understanding the incidence of protests, and need to comprehend the underlying factors contributing to their occurrence within the study area. The chapter also includes the objectives of the study, the method employed for the study, and its significance in the context of the municipal environment. The contemporary dominant narrative regarding protests in South Africa is also discussed.

1.1 Background

The occurrence of protests worldwide has produced a rich body of literature, wherein many scholars and commentators such as McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2007), Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010), Alexander (2010) and Jolobe (2014) have examined in varying detail, the cause(s) of protest activities in developed and developing democracies, including undemocratic and authoritarian regimes. In the South African context, poverty and unemployment, economic deprivation, failure to meet the raised expectations of many citizens, huge inequality and poor living conditions, including a perceived crisis of political representation and deficiencies in participatory decision making, have been suggested by Ngwane (2010), Nleya (2011), Alexander and Pfaffe (2013), including Chandre (2014) to be primarily responsible for protest activities. These protest activities continue to manifest within communities and are directed at local municipalities, sometimes causing work stoppages and delays in the delivery of basic services.

Municipalities in the post-apartheid South Africa were restructured and mandated to provide services to improve the quality of life for communities. The services include the provision of social amenities such

as water and electricity, infrastructure like access roads and sanitation, and provision of additional support for socio-economic development. Towards the realisation of this new developmental orientation, municipalities are arguably reported to have made remarkable and unprecedented progress in extending services and infrastructure to a hitherto underserved populace (Krugel, Otto and Van der Merwe, 2009; Tanyatswala, 2014). However, huge challenges remain in the quest to achieve the national objective by municipalities, and exacerbated by increasing community demands, lack of capacity, geographic demarcations, complex relationship within the three spheres of government, the corrupt and predatory behaviour of ruling party elites, political infighting; improperly constituted mandates and the transfer by other spheres, of functions not constitutionally assigned to municipalities, referred to as unfunded mandates (Hough, 2008, Karamoko, 2011; Managa, 2012; Zikhali, 2015). These challenges make it difficult for municipalities to operate efficiently and provide adequate and timely services for their communities. In many cases, as a result of unfunded mandates, there are no financial allocations for projects earmarked, which leads to agitations by communities waiting to benefit from such projects.

Basdeo (2012:54) and Community Law Centre (2007:9) highlighted the complex operating relationship among the national, provincial and municipal spheres of government, which some suggest have an impact on their effectiveness and efficiency. Undoubtedly, local governments have the most immediate obligations, for the realization of the ideals to which communities aspire; since municipalities are the contact point between the state and citizens, and constitute the client interface. Consequently, protests by community members targeted at local authorities have been on the rise, with demands for increased participation in the governance process, accountability of local officials and improvements in services rendered, among others, cited by protestors.

Though a number of causative factors are relevant in determining the origins of protest incidents, Dube and Guimond (1983:202) reported that views among protest-commentators, historians, economists,

political scientists, sociologists and even psychologists indicate that feelings of injustice, dissatisfaction, frustration or discontent are key elements within all protest activities.

1. 2 Rationale of the study

South Africa is regarded as the protest capital of the world (Alexander, 2010; Mottair and Bond, 2012), due to the very high incidence of protests. Many of these protests usually occurred in informal settlements located around urban towns, and triggered by requests for improved living conditions among dwellers of impoverished communities. Figure 1.1 below indicates that protests in the year 2014 surpassed those of year 2009, with an all-time high of 214 protest activities in South Africa (Powell, O'Donovan and De Visser, 2015:5).

Figure 1.1 Annual recorded protest incidents in South Africa 2007-2014



Source: Powell et al. (2015).

The occurrence of protests is by no means new in South Africa. However, media reports and anecdotal evidence emphasise the ever increasing spate of protests (as shown in Figure 1.1), and the varied causative factors, such as unfulfilled political promises (Zikhali, 2015:78), general frustration with the lack of basic services (Managa, 2012:3), poor infrastructure, lack of proper housing, allegations of rampant corruption and nepotism within local government (Burger, 2009:1) that trigger these events.

These protests have reached unprecedented levels (van Vuuren, 2013:14; Lodge and Mottair, 2015), and according to Lancaster (2014:1) the South African Police Service officers were deployed to monitor a total of 12,399 crowd-related events between April 2012 and March 2013, an average of 34 per day throughout the country. Alexander (2012) asserts that the levels of inequality and unemployment in South Africa were among the highest, compared to many countries in the world, and to a large extent the occurrence of these protest incidents could be a significant consequence.

The Eastern Cape Province is regarded as one of the poorer areas, with former homeland communities (Ciskei and Transkei) and a large concentration of rural municipalities (see Figure 1.2). It is located in the South Eastern part of the country, sharing borders with Kwazulu-Natal, Free State, Northern Cape and Western Cape provinces, including with Lesotho. The province consists of one metro municipality (Nelson Mandela Bay), six district municipalities (Cacadu, Amathole, Chris Hani, Ukhahlamba, O.R. Tambo and Alfred Nzo), and thirty-eight local municipalities (attached as Annex 1). The 2011 census figures indicate a population of 6,562,053 persons, and a land area of 168,966 square kilometres (Stats SA, 2011). Bisho is the capital and administrative town, and the province is regarded as the traditional home of the Xhosa ethnic group.

As one of the poorest provinces in South Africa (HSRC, 2012), the Eastern Cape faces infrastructural and service deficits in its mostly rural communities. While commenting on protest incidents between 2007 and 2012, as part of a broader discussion of social unrest in South Africa, Alexander (2012), in an article for the Mail and Guardian Newspaper, reported the lower propensity for protests in the three mainly rural, poorer provinces of Limpopo, Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal.

However, current reports from Municipal IQ (2014) indicate that one of the noteworthy aspects of protests across the country is the increasing prominence of the Eastern Cape Province; where protests have also been reported in small towns and rural areas, including in Mbizana Local Municipality (MLM). This mostly rural province is reported to have surpassed both the urban provinces of Gauteng and

Western Cape as the most protest-afflicted province (Municipal IQ, 2014). Consequently, social protests as reported by van Vuuren (2013:14) are no longer viewed as an urban phenomenon, in view of the large numbers of protest activities occurring in rural areas. This reversal apparently conforms to insinuations that the form and content of rural protests has been structured by dialectical relationships with the networks of power (Tordhol, 2014:1).

Considering the noticeably large development gaps in rural communities of the Eastern Cape Province, as found in Mbizana Local Municipality, these protests could signal the failure to meet the needs of communities living in abject conditions (Mashamaite, 2014:236). According to Empowerdex (2009:19) the Alfred Nzo District Municipality (ANDM) lies at the bottom of the service delivery index, when compared with other district municipalities in the country. Also worrisome, is the fact that the Eastern Cape Province, where the ANDM and Mbizana Local Municipality are situated, falls short of the national average on all elements of service delivery as shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1: Comparison of the Eastern Cape service delivery index with the national average.

Indicator	Eastern Cape (%)	National average (%)
Formal dwellings	54.70	67.80
Piped water	43.80	69.50
Formal toilets	44.40	68.60
Waste removal	40.00	61.60
Electricity (lights)	65.90	80.10
Electricity (cooking)	45.30	66.40
Electricity (heating)	29.30	58.70

Source: Empowerdex (2009)

Table 1.1 indicates that more than half of the population in the province lack access to the basic facilities for sanitation, and while many communal areas have inadequate connection to the power grid, households depend solely on other means for cooking and heating (mostly open fires), and the Mbizana Local Municipality Final Integrated Development Plan 2014-2015 (MLM, 2014:11) indicates

that more than 12,025 households do not have electricity connection, and mostly depend on candles as an energy source for light in their homes. Mbizana is the most populated municipality among all the local municipalities in the Alfred Nzo District Municipality, as highlighted from the census 2011 figures. The composition of the various local municipalities is shown in Table 1.2, and indicates that the study area also has the highest average household size.

Table 1.2 Population estimates of municipalities under the ANDM.

Municipality	Total Population	Number of Households	Average size households
Mbizana	281905	484 47	5.8
Matatiele	203842	495 26	4.1
Umzimvubu	191620	468 90	4.1
Ntabankulu	123976	243 96	5.1
Alfred Nzo	801344	169 261	4.7

Source: Stats.SA (2011)

With the largest population and household size, the need for basic services will proportionally be higher in Mbizana, as compared to other local municipalities in the district, and the occurrence of these protests, demanding improved services may therefore be due to the relatively larger population size.

While there are questions regarding the justification for community protests in a democratic South Africa (Mpehle, 2012:225), there are suggestions that these protests may be due to existing conditions of abject poverty, lack of clean piped water, no electricity, poor sanitation facilities in some communities, and interference in local government by politicians (Municipal IQ, 2014; Mashamaite, 2014). Furthermore, from a cautionary perspective, Alexander (2012) proclaimed that unless government devised more effective means of providing the poor with needed resources and services, these protest incidents would most probably, increase in scale and intensity. However, the primary causes of these protests according to Tsheola (2012:162), remain deeply contested, with divergent

views ranging from the proponents of the service-delivery-failure premise (Municipal IQ, 2014; Managa, 2012), a perceived dysfunctional local state (Southall, 2014; Mafolo, 2012), to those indicative of political motivation (Fakir, 2014; Karamoko, 2011).

The Mbizana Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province has recently experienced an exceptionally high number of community protests, compared to other local municipalities such as Matatiele, Ntabankulu and Umzimvubu in the Alfred Nzo District. Table 1.3 below provides a snapshot of some recorded protest incidents in the Mbizana Local Municipality, and the reason(s) provided by protest-participants.

Table 1.3: Some recorded protest incidents in Mbizana Local Municipality.

Recorded protest incidents in Mbizana local municipality		
<i>Date of incident</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reason for protest</i>
2015/03/09	Bizana	Roads
2014/12/12	Ezikhuba	Deaths caused by police action
2014/12/09	Izilangwe	Subsidised buses (AB350)
2014/10/27	Nkantolo	Opposition to Bail application
2014/09/18	Mhlanga	Water, RDP houses, roads
2014/05/27	Amangutyana	Electricity roads
2014/04/14	Goxe, Mpheni	Roads, job opportunities
2014/03/20	Nomlacu	Job opportunities
2014/03/13	Goxe, Mpheni	Electricity, water and roads
2014/02/17	Mnyaka, Redoubt, Ncenjana	Roads, electricity
2014/02/17	Qabu, Mpetsheni, Luthulini	Water, RDP houses, roads
2014/02/10	Makewini	Roads
2014/02/10	Nomlacu	Roads
2013/06/14	Mthayise	Subsidised buses (AB350)
2013/03/22	Bizana	Municipal Manager removal
2012/12/28	Ndunge	Taxi fare increase
2012/09/12	Bizana	Municipal Manager reinstatement
2012/08/01	Nkantolo	Councillor replacement
2012/06/22	Mzamba	Roads
2012/05/25	Ludeke, Nkantolo	Roads

Source: SAPS, Bizana Office 2015

It can be seen from Table 1.3 above, that a multiplicity of factors are responsible for triggering incidents of protests in the study area. In some cases, there is multiple protest incidents across various

communities reported on the same day, with some protesters demanding identified services or even requesting the removal or reinstatement of municipal or council officials.

Political contributions to protest incidents occur in the form of disagreements among party officials for positions in council, and even in the selection of candidates for local elections. A pointer to the consequence of infighting among party members is the instability at the top management position in the municipality. As shown in Table 1.4, the municipal manager position has witnessed a very high turnover between the years 2005 and 2015.

Table 1.4 Municipal Managers for the period 2005-2015

	Name	Period
1	Mr Basil Mase	2005 - April 2008
2	Mrs Nontuku Bunguza (Caretaker)	May 2008 – October 2008
3	Mr Lawrence Mambilla	November 2008 – May 2011
4	Mrs Nontuku Bunguza (Caretaker)	June 2011 – September 2011
5	Mr Simphiwe Thobela	October 2011 – March 2012
6	Mr Bongani Mazingisa (Acting)	March 2012 – June 2012
7	Mr Viwe Mapukata (Caretaker)	July 2012 – June 2013
8	Mr Luvuyo Mahlaka	July 2013 - 2015

Courtesy: HR Section, Mbizana Local Municipality

As seen from Table 1.4 above, between the periods 2005 to 2015, the municipality has been managed by eight different managers. The Mbizana Local Municipality has been put under administration on three occasions by the Eastern Cape provincial government, with the appointment of caretaker managers as a result of intra-party disagreements.

Ordinarily, the ten-year period would have been two contract-terms for a single manager, or at most a normal five-year term for two managers, coinciding with the term of each elected council. The factional in-fighting among the party members was dire in the 2012 financial year, resulting in the removal of the Municipal Manager, the Mayor and Speaker of Council, following the direct intervention of President Jacob Zuma.

In this environment characterised by instability in management, it is apparently not very helpful to the provision of required leadership for adequate and sustained delivery of basic services, to a rural population which largely depends on local government for most of its essential needs. Consequently there are questions whether these protests reflect genuine community concerns or manipulation for other reasons, which Porter and Diani (2006:167) described as a useful means for influencing decision making. Furthermore, Jolobe (2014:9) reports the paucity of research on the cause(s) of community protests in South Africa, especially those that relate protests to the problems associated with local government.

According to Posastiuc (2013:1) it is a priority, not only for scholars, to comprehend the phenomena of social unrest, but also, for institutions tasked with the responsibility of easing tensions and managing potentially explosive situations. In the words of Blattman and Miguel (2010:1), *understanding the determinants of social unrest has become a central concern for both decision makers and academics*. It therefore comes as no surprise that the study of protests, according to Twala (2014:187), has emerged as a distinct research area among scholars; and is congruent with the assertion by Kanyane (2014:104) of the crucial need to understand the causes of protest, before any attempts to resolve them. Furthermore, Dawson (2010:109) purported that an exclusive focus on either the service delivery or limited participation view, obscures key aspects in the debate on the nature of popular protests in South Africa. These views resonate with the earlier articulation by Lichbach (1998:404), reiterated in Ngwane (2010:7) for scholars to study the action of protest, due to its powerful insight into the structure of social

authority and political power. Also worthy of mention, is the growing incapability of traditional political representation to deal with new demands in a changing (rural landscape) society.

1.3 Problem statement

In the South African environment, protests by sections of the citizenry against relevant authorities are not an uncommon occurrence, and Ngwane (2010:8) reported that protests are even considered a social fact. Ramjee and van Donk (2011:5) commented that these protests are not strange, when communities organize themselves in self-created spaces, or invented spaces (Sinwell, 2010:67), in order to engage with relevant institutions and authorities.

Though there is a disturbing preponderance of these protests, and its consequent escalation causing damage to property (Managa, 2012:1) with reported loss of lives in some instances; there have also been suggestions by Alexander and Pfaffe (2013:4), that many of these protests do not have a direct bearing on basic-service issues, and the service-delivery-protests claim is seen as a creation of the popular media (Dawson, 2010:108). Karamoko (2011:3) also outlined the apparent difficulty in precisely defining the concerns of many protesters, chiefly due to the size and unplanned nature of a majority of these protests, which Bond and Mottair (2013:289) aptly described as popcorn protests, due to its tendency to flare up and dissipate instantaneously. This spontaneity in protest action could indicate a failure to explore available options for resolving grievances on the part of protesters, or a lack of patience among protesters regarding feedback or response from relevant authorities. Alternatively, it could also signal a persistent failure to address identified complaints, thereby requiring little trigger-events to set off protest action.

Undoubtedly, the poor delivery of some services has led to protest incidents across the country, which Managa (2012:1) claimed to have brought local government under a harsh spotlight; leading Mashamaite (2014:231) to suggest that local municipalities are under immense pressure due to the frequency of these protests. The confirmed poor performance of many municipalities (Mafolo, 2012:21),

prompted efforts to address key areas identified in the State of Local Government Report (LGTAS, 2009) through a turnaround strategy. There is a strong public dissatisfaction with municipal services as reported by Karamoko (2011:11), who also suggested that the broad sweep of community protests encompass issues not only related to quality or quantity of services delivered.

Unemployment, poverty and inequality have also been cited as possible causes influencing the spate of protests concerning and involving communities (Managa, 2012:1). These protests in the view of some commentators, are exacerbated by unfulfilled promises by politicians or electoral rhetoric (Southall, 2014:66), and the inability of local governments to adequately provide services like water, electricity and sanitation (Sobugwawo, 2012; Nleya, 2012) cited in Mashamaite (2014:236). While some of the reasons are grounded in reality, others are viewed as perceptions, with some citing the existence of a third force (Ngwane, 2010:9) consisting of left-leaning activists, right wing groups, political groups, criminal elements and other unknown persons with an agenda, as an aggravating factor in these widespread protests (Managa, 2012:3).

Many protesters often point to a lack of public participation in decision making (Christmas, 2007:6) and poor accountability by government officials (Karamoko, 2011:12) as factors contributing to community complaints. Following increased community demands for services, Pretorius and Schurink (2007:1) commented that the use of citizens' perception as an important indicator for assessing delivery by local government has been amplified. It should however be noted that, misinformation, personal agendas, cues and other short-cuts by interest groups have the potential to also lead to community protests.

Furthermore, due to perceived personal and group agendas in decision making and resource allocation, people tend to mobilise and voice demands on issues as aggrieved segments of the population seeking redress (Rothman, 1996:69), or simply trying to pressure decision-makers using unorthodox forms of action to pursue change in established power relations (Taylor and van Dyke, 2004:268). Therefore, James (2011) cited in Andrews and van de Walle (2012:14) disputed the

legitimacy of using only citizens' perception in assessing the delivery of government services. Citizens have a right which is protected by the constitution to protest (Mpehle, 2012:226), and local authorities are saddled with the responsibility to objectively assess the primary basis for these protests (Christmas, 2007:7).

According to Blattman and Miguel (2010:2), there has been limited attention paid to less intensive forms of societal conflicts, such as demonstrations and protests. They however encouraged focus on exploring the causes of these smaller events, as according to conventional wisdom, larger civil strife in society is very often preceded by a chain of smaller events such as community protests. Christmas (2007:7) specifically encouraged municipalities to dispassionately and introspectively assess the core factors generating protests; claiming that all protests could not be attributed to a particular reason. This request is highlighted by the call on researchers, by the South African Human Rights Commission's Deputy Chair and United Nations Representative (Ms Pregs Govender), to not only identify the causes of social protests in South Africa; but to also find ways of addressing them (Van Vuuren, 2013:15).

Undoubtedly, there are social and economic costs to these protests which occur especially in poorer areas and involve disadvantaged members of the community. These protest activities, and the accompanying anxiety they provoke (McAdam, 2007:2) often present an obstacle to, or disruption of social, administrative and economic activities. Protest activities do not provide an ideal environment for the provision of vital services needed by communities, and invariably result in poor local development; feeding the unending spiral of community dissatisfaction and subsequently increasing the protest contagion that are somewhat self-generating and sustaining. This research therefore, seeks to identify the reasons for the spate of community protests within the Mbizana Local Municipality.

1.4 Aim of the research

The research intends to explore the factors influencing community protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality.

1.4.1 Research objectives

- i. To investigate the factors contributing to community protests.
- ii. To investigate the challenges faced by community members in resolving complaints.
- iii. To identify avenues open to community members for addressing their complaints in the local municipality.
- iv. To examine the role of identified stakeholders in community protests.

1.4.2 Research questions

- i. What factors are responsible for protests by communities?
- ii. What challenges do community members face in trying to resolve complaints?
- iii. What avenues do community members have to address their complaints in the local municipality?
- iv. Which role do the different stakeholders play in community protests?

1.5 Research methodology

The study follows a case study design with a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis. It consists of two distinct research parts, namely, a theoretical and an empirical component. The theoretical component provides an idea of work already done in the subject area, summarises the views of authors in the literature and other reports available regarding protest, public management concepts and theories. The empirical component consists of the data collected, methods used to collect the data, its analysis and the subsequent reporting.

The study is limited due to the emphasis on protesters, as challengers to power, without a corresponding in-depth analysis of power-holders. Another limitation of the study was the inability to sample more members of the population in the study area, due to time constraints and paucity of funds.

The study is delimited to the 31 wards that make up the local municipality, as the results may not be applicable to other areas outside the boundaries of the study area. Its scope is also delimited to the concept of protests, as occurs within communities.

1.6 Significance of the study

The study is significant due to its contribution to understanding the core issues that contribute to community protests. It may also serve as an informative reference for local municipal officials and other stakeholders in the area to understand the factors that cause protests by communities; hence aiding the resolution of these issues and fostering greater understanding among all concerned stakeholders.

The findings from this study may also contribute to the strengthening of public participation processes and other community complaint resolution systems in the Mbizana Local Municipality. It is also envisaged that the outcome of the study may assist the Mbizana Local Municipality to formulate policies and interventions that will improve community development outcomes through enhanced avenues for the involvement of communities in decision making.

The study will hopefully add to the growing literature on community protests, and assist in comprehensively capturing and studying the phenomenon of civil unrest in South African communities. It may also provide insights on the means of improving the ability of local government to meet the needs and aspirations of community members.

1.7 Description of the study area

The Mbizana Local Municipality (MLM) shown in Figure 1.2 below is a category B rural municipality under the jurisdiction of the Alfred Nzo District Municipality (ANDM), in the Eastern Cape Province. Bizana is the administrative and political town, located on the R61 road connecting the south coast of Kwazulu Natal Province to the N2 road, leading to Mthatha in the Eastern Cape. Bizana is a rural town located in the north eastern part of the Eastern Cape Province, within the Pondoland of the former

Transkei homeland. Bizana lies on latitude 31.567 and longitude 29.400 with an estimated area of 2806 km², along the coastal belt of the Eastern Pondoland. It has a temperate climate, characterized by fertile soils and frost-free conditions, with an annual rainfall of around 1000mm per year mostly in the summer, although there is substantial winter rainfall. With an estimated population of 281,905 and population density of 84 persons per square km, it is one of the highly populated local municipal areas within the District (MLM, 2014:18).

Figure 1.2: Map of the study area (Local Municipalities within the Alfred Nzo District)



Source: www.localgovernment.co.za

The Mbizana Local Municipality lies north of Lusikisiki, and is wedged between rivers Mthentu to the south and Mthamvuna to the north, forming the northern boundaries of the Eastern Cape Province with the Kwa-zulu Natal Province. Four rivers dissect the landscape of the municipality and include Mthentu, Mnyameni, Mzamba and Mthamvuna. The area is dominated by grasslands, and settlements are loosely scattered, surrounded by arable grazing land with a unique biodiversity, which contains a large number of rare and endemic plant species. Along the coastal strip popularly referred to as the

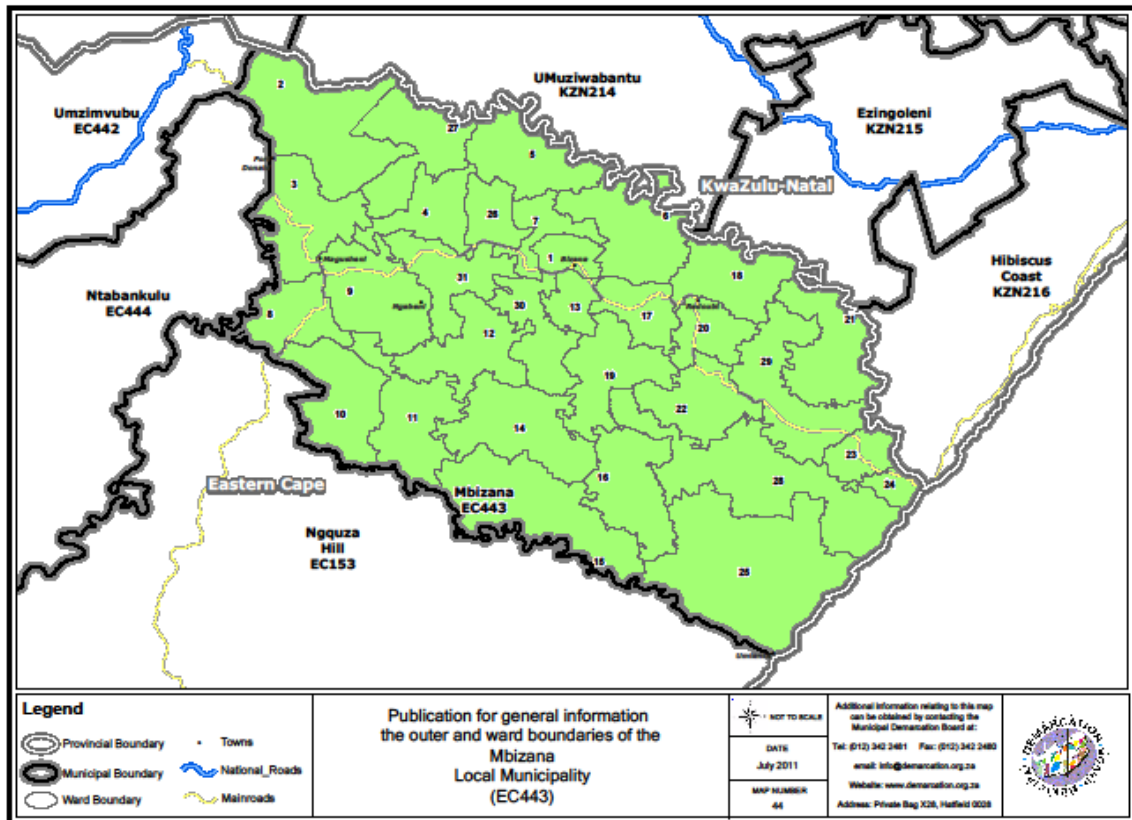
Wild Coast, there is a narrow belt of tropical vegetation that includes grasses, palms, wild bananas, evergreen forests of indigenous yellowwoods and ironwoods with stream-bank bush (Pieterse, 2007). The vegetation is entirely associated with distinct sandstone geology, noted as one of the most vulnerable vegetation types in the country (Lechmere-Oertel, 2011:2). The area lies within the Maputaland-Pondoland-Albany hotspot, acknowledged as one of the important centres of plant diversity and endemism in Africa (Perera, Ratneyaka-Perera and Prochas, 2011:1).

The coast runs through the entire eastern section of the municipality, and the coastline is characterised by a fairly gentle undulating coastal plateau about 300 to 450m high, which slopes gently towards the coast. The terrain rises towards the interior and is deeply dissected by many rivers; high-lying areas are characterised by deeply incised river gorges and large areas of open savannah interspersed between valleys (CCA Environmental, 2009:6).

Residents mainly depend on subsistence agriculture, few government and service sector jobs, with migrant labour and social security grants, including old-age pensions complementing livelihood sources. Infrastructure development is lacking in the area, though the construction of shopping malls has led to an upsurge in trading activities in the Bizana town. The water supply system to the town is undergoing expansion, while the main health institution, St. Patrick's Hospital, is presently being remodelled to accommodate the increased number of patients it serves. The reconstruction of the R61 access roads leading into the area from Port Edward and Magusheni is currently ongoing, and is expected to improve travel times and other business opportunities in the local municipality.

The Mbizana Local Municipality and other areas that constitute the former Transkei homeland of the Eastern Cape Province are less developed than the rest of the Province, with fewer businesses, social amenities and job opportunities, few urban linkages and predominantly rural. The municipality is subdivided into 31 wards, shown in Figure 1.3 below, and the population compositions of the various wards is attached as Annex 2.

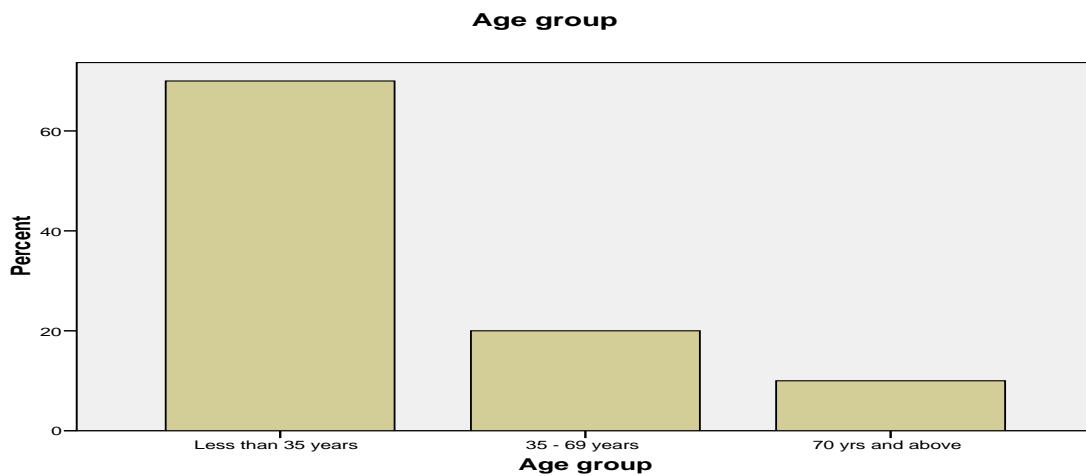
Figure 1.3: Wards in the Mbizana local municipality



Source: Mbizana Local Municipality IDP 2014-15.

The communities that make up the wards are deeply rural, without access to tarred roads, and are connected by rudimentary gravel roads, causing travel difficulties especially during the rains when a lot of the communities are inaccessible. The population group within the municipality is predominantly black Africans who constitute 99.8%, with a handful of other groups. There are more females than males in the population mix, with females constituting 54% and males 46% of the population. While there are improvements in economic opportunities, as compared to previous periods from 1994-2012, the area is still constrained by a high economically inactive population consisting of young persons, discouraged work seekers and the unemployed, who together make up about 86% of the population (MLM, 2014:46). The study area has a highly youthful population as shown in Figure 1.4, indicating that approximately 77% of the population is young.

Figure 1.4: Age distribution of the population in Mbizana local municipality



Adapted from MLM-IDP Document (2014).

From the figure 1.4 above, it can be observed that the age group between thirty-five and sixty nine years comprise approximately 18% of the residents, while those aged seventy years and above make up around 5% of the population.

1.8 Definition of terms

Protest

Protests are expressions of objection to particular events, policies or situations, expressed verbally or by actions. It is aimed at publicly making opinions heard in an attempt to influence opinion or policy, and even directly enact change.

Service delivery

Public service delivery is concerned with the provision of services by government and public entities. These services include both physical infrastructure and other social initiatives meant to enable communities improve their living standards, sustain their livelihoods and ensure the wellbeing of the citizenry.

Collective behaviour

Collective behaviour refers to social processes and events which do not reflect the existing social structure, but rather emerge in a spontaneous way. It is a type of social behaviour found among crowds, and which is supposed to result from the surrender of individuality and moral judgement, typified by riots, mobs, mass hysteria, rumour and public opinion (<http://sociology.about.com/od/C/ Index/g/Collective-Behavior.htm>).

Governance

Governance is the process of decision-making and also the process by which decisions are implemented. The analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in the decision-making and implementation processes.

Public participation

Public participation is based on the belief that, those who are affected by a decision have the right to be involved in the decision-making process. Accordingly, it entails collaborative problem-solving with the goal of achieving better and widely acceptable outcomes

Local Government

Local government is described as public organizations authorised to manage and govern the affairs of a given territory or area of jurisdiction. It refers to a sphere of government, and not any individual municipality, hence all the individual municipalities in South Africa make up the collective sphere called local government (Roux, 2005:64).

1.9 Research layout

Chapter 1 provided an insight to the reason for, and significance of the study. It outlined the perceived causes of protests, and specifically those that are relevant in South Africa and the study area.

Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature based on previous work by scholars in the field, which will provide a framework to direct this study. The theoretical underpinnings of social conflict, social justice, collective behaviour, community participation and public management theories are presented. The chapter also reviews related policy and regulatory frameworks pertaining to community involvement in governance processes. The role of traditional authorities in rural South Africa will also be part of the literature to be reviewed. Findings from other researchers regarding reasons behind community protests will also be reported.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed methodology employed for the research, the research paradigm and its limitations. Also discussed in the chapter are issues related to ethics in research, and how reliability and validity have been ensured.

Chapter 4 details the observations and results of the study, including a discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5 furnishes an overview of the study, a summary of the results and significance with concluding remarks.

1.10 Summary of chapter

This chapter articulated the growing incidence of protests in rural areas, and specifically in the study area, indicating the effect of these protests on communities. It provided the justification for the study, outlining the problem which the research set out to investigate. The study area is shown to be predominantly rural, with infrastructural deficits, and the need for service improvements in the area is highlighted.

The next chapter will outline the relevant theories in the literature, and aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the theoretical underpinnings relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will explore the various concepts and theories in the literature related to public management, participation and protest action. The applicable perspectives in public management are highlighted, with protest ideas and theories available in the social movement literature. Social movement theories provide detailed insights and concepts for understanding the action, forms and characteristics of protests, including factors that rouse protesters to act, and how protesters understand and justify their actions.

2.1 Conceptual framework for protest applicable to this study

A conceptual framework is a product of the qualitative process of theorization which Jabareen (2009:50) defined as a network of interlinked concepts that provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena. Conceptual framework is not merely a collection of concepts, but rather a construct where each concept performs an important function, the framework provides an interpretative approach to social reality and, unlike quantitative models that offer theoretical explanations, conceptual frameworks provide understanding, and can be developed and constructed through a process of qualitative analysis (Jabareen, 2009:51).

The literary narrative consulted suggests among others, that people protest because of two main reasons, namely; they want to and they can (Mueller, 2010). Instructively, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996:5) had earlier asserted that people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem. Van Zomeren, Spears and Postmes (2008:505) also pointed out that three subjective variables affected collective action, and had

received most scholarly attention, namely perceived injustice, perceived efficacy and a sense of social identity. According to Shadmehr (2010:2), the literature on the causes of collective action offers two broad theories; one is grievance based, and the other is based on the political process. The grievance based theories focus on discontent, stating that conflicts are basically the outcome of grievances, and is supported in the works of Buechlar (2004) among others. Alternatively, the political process theories attribute conflict to political opportunities and resources, and focus on expectations of the cost of protests and the chances of success, outlined in the writings of McAdam (2004) and Tilly (2004), among others (cited in Shadmehr, 2010:2).

Furthermore, Van Stekeleburg and Klandermans (2013:887) purported that the grievance theories consist of the relative deprivation theory and the social justice theory. The social justice theory is subdivided into distributive justice, which refers to the fairness of outcomes and similar to relative deprivation, and procedural justice which refers to the fairness of decision making procedures and the relational aspects of the social process. According to their proposition, people want respect and dignity in their daily lives; hence they care more about how they are treated, than about outcomes.

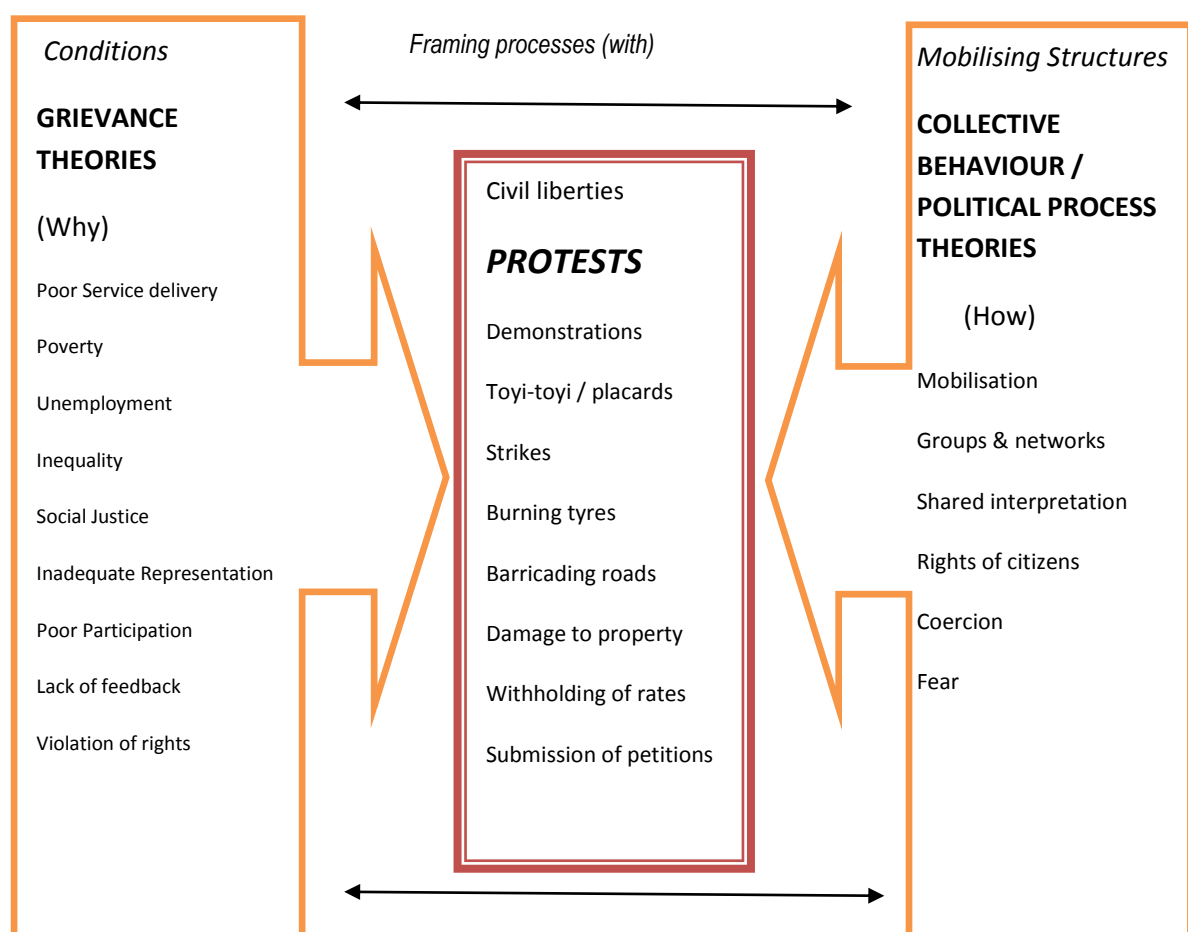
The issues around people wanting to protest, from the literature, arise due to a grievance and hence are covered by the 'grievance theories', which include relative deprivation, social injustice, and frustration-aggression, among others. Conversely, if people can protest, the focus turns to how, or the mechanism that assists the processes, which are outlined in the collective behaviour and political process theories. The interface consists of the framing processes, and these theories are therefore central to this research synthesis. An outline of a framework applicable to this study is given in Table 2.1, with the description, approach, related question and characterization of the phenomenon of protests.

Table 2.1: Tabular representation of an applicable protest framework.

Description	Approach / view	Question	Characterization
Conditions generating contention	Rationalist	Why	Trigger
Mobilizing structures	Structuralist	How	Structural
Framing processes	Culturalist	With	Proximate

Following the assertion by van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013:886), that contemporary approaches combine the various concepts and theories into a dual pathway model, a diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework applicable to this study is presented in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework for protest applied in the study.



Source: Researchers construct 2015

The conditions that generate protest action are outlined in grievance theories (why) and in combination with the relevant mobilising structures, which have been given prominence in collective behaviour and political process theories, constitute the driving mechanism (how) leading to incidents of protests; which on their own are an expression of civil liberties, guaranteed in relevant documents, for participation in peaceful assembly and protest. The framing processes are the intervening factors providing insight into cultural connotations, ideals and values that enable community members to align themselves (with) together. The applicable protest framework outlined in Table 2.1 above is therefore inextricably linked to both grievance and the political process theories.

2. 2 A public management overview

The incidence of protests in the South African environment has been an issue of debate among public managers, public management scholars and commentators. Local government is the target of many incidents, because of its poor performance, a performance which Mafolo (2012:21) reported to have been confirmed by research as unsatisfactory. Koma (2010:112) had also reported on the huge deficiencies in the performance of municipalities across the country, in relation to the fulfilment of their responsibilities and constitutional obligations. The issue of unsatisfactory performance at the municipal levels prompted the introduction of turnaround strategies (LGTAS, 2009) to improve identified key areas with the aim of strengthening local government, and satisfying the yearnings of communities. The literature suggests that improving the performance of local government calls for a degree of knowledge and innovation among public managers, for implementation of the turnaround strategy and building an efficient local developmental state. What constitutes a state and how can the state be efficient in providing for citizens? What theoretical frameworks, approaches or models can public management practitioners offer in this regard?

2.2.1 Social contract and the notion of state

The state is regarded in the Social Contract Theory as the product of a pact or covenant, and the logical import of the compact is that people, through whose agreement government is instituted, should determine how they are governed (Nbeti, 2012:267). Political theory sheds light on the ideal purpose of a state, and there are competing theories pertaining to the state, but this study highlights the social contract theory to show the strong bond between the governed (populace) and those who direct the affairs of state.

The Social Contract Theory is linked to the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, and has resurfaced in the contemporary political discourse. Its appeal according to Paz-Fuchs (2011:3) stems from being both a Theory of Morality, as well as a Theory of the State. The central idea of the Hobbesian Theory is that the authority of the state and the principles of sound justice derive legitimacy from a societal agreement or social contract. It offers a rational framework for reconciling the imperatives of governmental authority, through public administration, with the rights of the governed. The social contract approach is essential as it provides useful insights on the importance of democratic institutions, and conventions which upholds the rights of citizens in holding governments to account for the delivery of services (such as the right to peaceful protest enshrined in the constitution). The term social contract has been increasingly immersed in the development literature, and it is found in discussions concerning government strategies and policies. Hawkins (2011:4) suggests that social contract is essential for understanding the relationship between duty bearers (as government) and right holders (citizens of a state); and has also found application in post-conflict situations where it is used for addressing grievances and improving standards of living, from the perspectives of citizens and government.

There are variations around how the term is used and applied in the literature, and it connotes multiple interpretations, increasingly seen as a buzzword with an alluring and liberal meaning. While at best, in

the view of Hawkins (2011:5), it promises more than it can deliver, on the other hand, it could also obscure vital power relations. However, social contracts between political and economic elites and social groups have the potential to contribute towards human development (Walton, 2010:62). This study therefore, situates the relationship between the state and citizens within the context of a social contract.

2.2.2 A public management theory for efficient service and public participation

The public management field offers a multitude of theories, models and approaches associated with the evolution of thinking, from the classical administrative and behavioural perspectives, to the integrative perspective encapsulated within the systems, socio-technical and contingency theories. The focus has continually varied depending on the theory, from making a distinction between operating and managerial activities in the classical approach, to determining the best management approach in a given situation, as outlined in the contingency model. However this study identifies Public Value management, suggestive of approaches underpinned by effective service provision, resource use efficiency and public participation. Public Value for the purposes of the study is an embodiment of the yearnings and desires of community members, who wish for efficiency in resource use and their participation in decision making.

2.2.2.1 Public Value Theory

The Public Value (PV) Theory in public management is credited to the work of Mark Moore (1995), and as a management theory has generated considerable interest. In the view of Meynhardt (2012:3), the rise of Public Value may be attributed to a need for correcting and advancing New Public Management concepts, which commonly displayed a stricter focus on economic models and management techniques borrowed from the private sector.

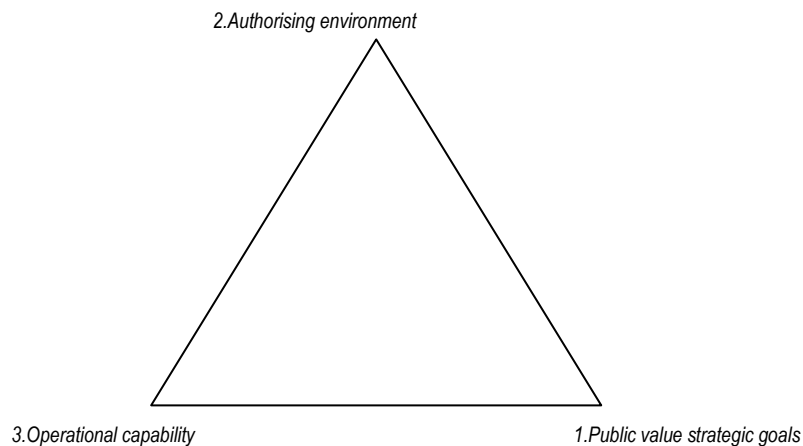
Moore (1995:1) defined public value as a framework that helps us connect what we believe is valuable, and requires public resources, with improved ways of understanding what our constituencies' value,

and how we connect to them. Constable (2008:9) described public value as a comprehensive approach to thinking about public management and about continuous improvement in public services, and the essential element of the public value approach is its emphasis on the important role public officials can play in maintaining an organizations' legitimacy in the public eye. As posited by Williams and Shearer (2011:1), the central proposition in the public value theory, is that public resources should be utilized to increase value in a way which is similar to value creation within private enterprise, and essentially include benefits valued more generally by the public.

Public Value has surfaced in a milieu where participation, or giving voice to the public, and to users of public services, has become a near-ubiquitous term in policy making; which Albert and Passmore (2008:4) further claimed to offer a new framework for thinking about public services and the role of public managers. The framework focuses on placing responsiveness to the public's refined preferences at the centre of attention in the activities of public institutions. This involves a continued process of listening, providing opportunities for debate, and clearly responding to the stated and agreed interests of the public.

Public value is rooted in a model of deliberative governance which uses public participation to refine public preferences, and identify objectives that the public genuinely value. The key aim is to achieve higher levels of responsiveness, which is derived from direct engagement with the public and a new approach to the fixing of targets. It demands a reconsideration of planning processes, the relationships between public managers and politicians, and the creation of internal cultures that encourage all public servants to see the world from a citizens' perspective, or an outside-in frame of reference (Coats and Passmore, 2008:16). The centrepiece of public value formulation is the strategic triangle, shown in Figure 2.2, within which public managers operate and which both constrains and facilitates the pursuit of public value.

Figure 2.2: The strategic triangle.



Source: Williams and Shearer 2011

In the strategic triangle as proposed by Moore (1995), there are three identified key points which are the public value circle, an authorizing environment and operational capability of the institution. According to Williams and Shearer (2011:6):

- The value circle relates to the substantive aims of public programmes against which impact and performance should be measured. This underlines the normative importance of pursuing aims that will bring measurable benefit to the public sphere, and which address the expressed or revealed priorities of a given population.
- The authorising environment relates to the environment within which individuals and organisations operate, as the pursuit of public value requires the support of key external stakeholders; an acknowledgement that the pursuit of public value depends on authorization and on-going support. In this case public managers must use available strategies to create a platform of legitimacy.
- Operational capability relates to the resources or how the enterprise will have to be organised and operated to achieve the declared objectives. The identified aim must be practically achievable in terms of operational capability, hence the strategic manager must lobby to increase, reallocate or better deploy the resources at their disposal in the pursuit of substantive public value aims.

The Strategic Triangle therefore combines the essential need of the public (value), and the medium for attaining the identified value (environment), within the context of the ability of institutions to drive the needed mechanisms for its realization. Public value as a distinctive theory of public management, presents a way of addressing the gap between objective improvement in services, and levels of dissatisfaction with public services (Albert and Passmore, 2008:7). In addition, public value has advantages that assist in the avoidance of the pitfalls associated with earlier approaches. Coats and Passmore (2008:13) averred that public value enables the following:

- Developing a healthy respect for professional judgement without allowing professionals hold the trump card, when it comes to service design or the identification of publicly valued outcomes.
- Understanding that all public services need clear objectives, and that the public must be involved in the process of deciding what those objectives should be.
- Placing a high value on voice, but recognize too the risks that those with the loudest voice should have the final say.
- Assessing contested policies against their outcomes and their consistency with the principles of accessibility and equity. In other words, to recognize that what matters is what works.

Clearly, the issues articulated above bear a striking resemblance to the concepts entailed within the workings of a strong developmental state, devoid of authoritarianism, and fuelled by strong modes of public participation, the considerations of social justice and, more importantly, a sense of pragmatism. Public value is considered as both a management theory and a practical toolkit for restoring trust in public managers, politicians and the public realm (Wallis and Gregory, 2009; Grant and Fisher, 2010), and according to Albert and Passmore (2008:7) is a product of democratic theory and rotates within processes of deliberation, and ongoing dialogue between institutions and the public. Public value is a prescription for a reinvigorated public sector, which Wallis and Gregory (2009) lauded as resolving the

problem of leadership and accountability in new governance, and Stoker (2006) asserted as a solution to the dilemma of balancing democracy and efficiency (cited in Grant and Fisher, 2010:4).

However, public value is not without its detractors, and has received a number of unfavourable comments in the literature. Rhodes and Wanna (2007:408) pointed to the inability to specifically classify public value in terms of its exact nature, referring to the arguments that abound whether public value is a theoretical framework, a concept, a heuristic device, or an operational tool of management; and suggested that the ambiguous nature of public value and its various applications fuel its popularity. Furthermore, it is their considered opinion that public value constitutes a dangerous return to the justification for public managers as friendly protectors of political systems, a reference to the practice of old public administration, where public managers determined what services to be offered, without the participation of other stakeholders. In addition, public value stands accused of borrowing too heavily from theories of private sector management (Grant and Fisher, 2010:5), that littered the New Public Management (NPM) landscape, and may not be an appropriate model for public managers.

2.2.2.2 Comparing Public Value with New Public Management

Public Value is seen as the successor of New Public Management, and scholars have tried to compare the similarities and inherent differences in both theories. O'Flynn (2007) provided a brief account of how Public Value has been contrasted against its forerunner, as shown in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Comparison of NPM and PV

	New Public Management	Public Value
Characterisation	Post-bureaucratic, Competitive government	Post competitive
Dominant Focus	Results	Relationships
Management Goals	Achieve agreed performance targets.	Multiple goals including responding to citizens or users preferences, renewing mandate and trust through quality services, steering network.
Definition of Public Interest	Individual preferences are aggregated.	Collective preferences are expressed.
Performance Objective	Management of inputs and outputs to ensure economy and responsiveness to consumers.	Multiple objectives are pursued including service outputs, satisfaction, outcomes, trust and legitimacy.
Dominant Model of Accountability	Upward accountability, via performance contracts; outward to customers via market mechanisms.	Multiple accountability systems including citizens as overseers of government, customers as users, and taxpayers as funders.
Preferred System of Delivery	Private sector or tightly defined arms-length agency.	Menu of alternatives selected pragmatically.

Source: O'Flynn (2007) cited in Grant and Fisher (2010).

The comparison highlights how Public Value builds on the desired attributes of New Public Management, such as financial accountability to strategic targets, forcing a relationship beyond the contractual to include consensus building and participation in decision making, and enhancing a multi-streamed, multi-dimensional focus for accountability (Grant and Fisher, 2010:10). Public Value as a management theory is hence, likely suited to the South African requirement of a developmental local government, as community participation is mandated as part of strategic planning. With effective community participation and voice, and the resultant attainment of community identified values, the prospects for, and incidence of social unrest in communities would likely be reduced significantly. It is therefore expected that suggestions for the adoption of Public Value management in South Africa, such as that from Vyas-Doorgapersad (2011:250), will soon be common-place.

2.2.3 Feature of public administration in the South African state

2.2.3.1 The three sphere state structure

The democratic South African state in 1994 faced the daunting challenge of altering the entire structure of the state, in order to ensure and enhance the delivery of adequate and equitable services to all citizens, as against the selective design of an apartheid era government. The Constitution of South Africa 1996, Chapter 3, Section 40 provides that in the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated (RSA, 1996). The three tier structure of state is however not unique to South Africa, and Thornhill (2012:129) outlined that most states use different levels of government to provide various categories of service, such as defence, security and economic policy at the national level; education and health, including infrastructure planning is the responsibility of regional authorities, whilst the local level domain takes charge of basic services and all matters of a local nature.

Though the Constitution in Section 40 (1) outlines the basis for cooperation, as ensconced in the ideal of a cooperative government, there are issues of power relationships among the members of this partnership. While the ideal of cooperative governance may seem appropriate within a democratic environment, having three spheres of government operating with a degree of autonomy, makes for complex relationships (Community Law Centre, 2007:9), which may also have an impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of government.

This supposition of an intricate affiliation between the spheres of government is widely echoed in the literature, and Basdeo (2012:54) asserted that with the increased role envisaged for local government, inter-governmental relations (IGR) between the three spheres of government have not only become more complex, but is critical for the demarcation of responsibilities and effective cooperation in the delivery of services. Furthermore, all local government functions are deemed concurrent and therefore municipal councils, in the exercise of their function, are subject to monitoring and regulation by national

or provincial government. Notwithstanding that the constitution defined the functions and relationships of the different spheres of government, Steytler, De Visser and Williams (2011:8) posit that a clear division of powers and functions is neither provided nor envisaged in the constitution. Due to the ambiguity of responsibilities between provincial and local government, inter-governmental relations (IGR) is not resulting in the desired level of cooperation, and has the potential to contribute to poor service delivery.

2.2.3.2 Towards a developmental local government

The current system of local government has been in existence for a little over a decade, and is still in its formative years. Despite this professed infancy, Atkinson (2007:53) asserted that the transformation of local government has been remarkable. While the future shape, form and existence of the provinces are currently debated, local government according to Basdeo (2012:54) is viewed as an indispensable feature of the state structure. All policies of the national government are expected to be implemented within the geographical space of municipalities (Thornhill, 2012:133), since the South African state is demarcated into municipalities by the Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998. This demarcation places specific responsibility on local governments to create a proper environment, for the state to give effect to its developmental mandate. As a developmental state, all spheres of government, especially at the sub-national levels, are required to be developmental-oriented. Koma (2010:112) however, affirmed that the attainment of the developmental state aspirations depends on the capacity of local government to effectively discharge its responsibilities.

The White Paper on Local Government of 1998, clearly outlined the developmental local government as a local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community, to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and also improve the quality of lives of community members' (RSA, 2005:18). It further highlights the need for promotion of democracy at the local level. Local governments however face unprecedented challenges carrying out the huge

responsibilities suddenly thrust on it, by the developmental aspiration of the state, and the poor performance of local government has been noted (Hinsch, 2009:41; Naidoo, 2010:81). These challenges include weak capacity, reliance on the national government for finances, interference from other spheres, unfunded mandates, political infighting, monumental corruption and predatory behaviour of the ruling party elites, poor financial management systems, among others (Southall, 2014:66; Madumo, 2012:50; Thornhill, 2012:140). These challenges according to Southall (2014:66) manifest in a highly dysfunctional state in many areas, especially in the poorer provinces such as the Eastern Cape, and specifically within rural local municipalities such as Mbizana.

2.2.3.3 State of local government in South Africa

The adoption of a Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) in 2009, following high incidents of unrest against the backdrop of perceived poor performance of local government, is seen as a very significant initiative to improve local government as an institution (Thornhill, 2012:138), and its ability to deliver services to the citizenry. The adoption of the State of Local Government Overview Report of 2008 heralded the onset of a drive for change in local government, which identified key development areas of change for municipalities (RSA 2009:20). Accordingly municipalities were required to, among others (LGTAS 2009:20-21) provide basic services and ensure that all money spent is well considered and accounted for, in order to uphold the principle of value for money.

Furthermore, to improve their internal environments, municipalities were also instructed to improve financial management systems, and develop clear and effective ways of collecting and providing feedback. This was to be achieved, according to Mofolo (2012:26) by optimizing revenue collection, improving billing and customer care, including indigent and credit control policies. Also outlined was the need to improve public participation and communication, including effective complaint management and feedback systems. The intent of the LGTAS has been summarized in a ten point action plan by Thornhill (2012:139), which identifies key achievements expected from municipalities, and a number of

interventions to be implemented for eradicating the problems. Table 2.3 highlights the expected performance areas and interventions.

Table 2.3: Action plan and intervention for improving municipal performance

Action Plan	Improving the quantity and quality of basic services
	Enhancing the municipal contribution to job creation and sustainable livelihoods, through local economic development.
	Deepening democracy
	Ensuring that municipalities adopt and develop reliable and credible Integrated Development Plans.
	Building and strengthening administrative, institutional and financial capabilities of municipalities.
	Creating a single window of coordination to deal with intergovernmental matters in the local sphere
	Developing a coherent and cohesive system of governance.
	Rooting out corruption, nepotism and maladministration.
	Developing and strengthening a coherent system of local government.
	Restoring the institutional integrity of municipalities.
Intervention to be implemented	Organising national government better in relation to local government
	Improving the oversight capacity of provinces in relation to local government
	Tailor-made turnaround strategies for each municipality to develop their own performance
	Requiring political parties to enhance the institutional integrity of municipalities.
	Designing a good citizen campaign to guide citizens, trade unions, professional bodies and traditional leaders to adopt a common set of values.

Source: Thornhill (2012).

However, this action plan and the proposed intervention for improving municipal performance have not contributed to minimising protest incidents in the Mbizana Local Municipality. As highlighted in Table 1.3 earlier, the demand for improved services for water, housing, electricity and roads, imply a failure to develop and adopt credible plans. Also the strident calls for job opportunities and replacement of municipal officials highlight the inability to enhance municipal contribution to local economic development, and the prevalence of corruption, nepotism and maladministration. While the action plans were implemented, the outcomes are not adequate due to the continued poor performance of municipalities, resulting in the increase in social unrests.

2.2.3.4 Promoting transformation and change in local government

The need for the overhaul of public institutions especially at the local level has been emphasized in the literature, and various commentators and scholars including government sources have espoused the need for transformation in local government (Koma, 2010; Thornhill, 2010; DPLG, 2009). The Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) was aimed at, among others, transforming local government, and Southall (2014) proclaimed that government's transformational policies face the inherent contradiction of promoting state incapacity. According to Southall (2014:66) the transformation of the public sector has translated into a rapid class formation that fosters adherence to a bureaucratic culture, under which innovation and integrity are subordinated to political authority, and the result is a highly dysfunctional state.

To avoid this state of affairs, Koma (2010:111) asserted that the local sphere of government needs to undertake the colossal task of effectively shifting from mediocrity to excellence, in order to exhibit the characteristics of a developmental state, which includes excellence in public administration and innovativeness in addressing the social and economic needs of citizens. This study therefore agrees with Mfolo (2012:21) that what is required is the initiation of organizational change processes at local government level, which can be facilitated using an appropriate framework.

2.3 Traditional leadership in rural communities

According to a Sepedi maxim, 'without a traditional leader we are like leaves flowing free in the wind', highlighting the very strong culture of traditional leadership in rural communities, especially in the Eastern Cape Province which has a rich history of traditional leadership, with five royal houses (AmaThembu, AmaXhosa, AmaMpondo, AmaRharhabe and AmaMpondo of Nyandeni), and their subjects ruled over by kings.

The democratic post-apartheid South Africa inherited a strong traditional authority structure especially in rural communities of the former homelands. The traditional authority continues to find relevance, and has remained a subject of debate among many contemporary political science and social commentators. In the early days of South Africa's democracy, especially between 1994 and 2002, the subject and practice of traditional leadership was a point of vociferous debate, and subsequent severe political contention (Meer and Campbell, 2007:2).

The contention results from what is described variously as the fundamentally contradictory values of democracy and traditional leadership, and an apparent incongruence between a democratic South Africa and traditional leadership (Piper, 2007; Ntseneza, 2004). Various reasons adduced by proponents and critics of the traditional authorities, all trying to preserve the status-quo or advocate its abandonment, have been debated. While some argued that traditional authorities had no role to play within a democratic dispensation (Meer and Campbell, 2007; Khan et al., 2006), others pointed to the fundamental traditional and cultural roles they play in society (Williams, 2010; Sithole and Mbele 2008).

The relevance of South Africa's traditional leadership to its democracy according to Meer and Campbell (2007:8) is a result of the subscription by large ethnic communities to values and customs espoused by tradition. Oomen (2002) had earlier reported that about eighty percent of people living in rural areas support and acknowledge tribal leadership, while Knoetze (2014:168) noted the vast number of people living in rural communities and subject to traditional authorities, and reported the existence of traditional councils in all but the Western Cape province. However, the institution of traditional leadership, in the view of Amoateng (2005:9), is sustained by the quintessential rural life, and is basically patriarchal.

Furthermore, the ambiguities around the precise role of traditional leaders in local government remain an issue. Khan et al. (2006:175) reported that opposing forms of a democratic system and traditional governance had been an on-going source of political conflict, and that integrating the two has been

difficult and problematic. While the traditional leaders are recognized in South Africa's constitution, their role and responsibilities are however not clearly legislated.

While traditional leadership might be seen as one of the institutions of governance within the South African political system (Sithole and Mbele, 2008), there are no powers beyond those exercised by virtue of their role as upholders of traditional culture, and the exact extent of their powers is difficult to define (Murray, 2004:11). What is obvious however, is the determination of the present government led by the African National Congress (ANC), to preserve traditional authority as a political resource without the concomitant tendency of diminishing the power of the sovereign state (Bank and Southall, 1996:407), and which Southall (2014:55) asserts to be a strategy for winning rural votes through the support of chiefs.

Amoateng (2005:9) asserted that black Africans see no difference between traditional authorities and local government, and reported that more trust is given to traditional authorities than local politicians. In addition to this, Murray (2004:9) assumed an antagonism from the majority of elected representatives to traditional leadership, and Tutu-Bizana (2008:34) reported a rivalry between councillors and traditional leaders, compounded by a conflict between politicians and traditional chiefs.

Reflecting on the purported reconfiguration of the rural space as reported by Mormont (1990) cited in Woods (2003:312), and considering the reverse urban-rural migration occasioned by a flow of previously employed migrants in urban centres, especially mine workers, it is instructive to consider the import of the statement by Wood (2003:312) that traditional power structures have been undermined from within rural society, with the reluctance of a new mobile and educated populace to accept the authority of established traditional elites. In other words, a conflict exists in the power structure of rural communities. This conflict is highlighted by the deep contestation in the literature, regarding the exact nature of the powers of traditional leaders. While there are suggestions that various pieces of legislation related to traditional leaders, confer governmental, developmental and judicial powers and roles to

traditional leaders (Wolpe Trust, 2012:11), others argue that the constitution does not attribute developmental functions to traditional leadership, and the Local Government Structures Act now vests governmental functions in elected councillors (Knoetze, 2014:170).

While traditional authorities can act to quell community disquiet, some incidents are also attributed to the exercise of traditional powers. The series of deadly xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals that occurred in the KwaZulu-Natal province, and some parts of Johannesburg between March and April 2015, has its origins, according to anecdotal reports, on comments made by the Zulu king. Sithole and Mbele (2008:11) professed the inefficiency of local government in many rural communities, suggesting a gap that traditional leaders are seen to supplement. On one hand, it is not surprising that politicians are quick to appeal to traditional leaders for help in stopping protests in communities (CoGTA, 2014). Conversely, Gould (2014:3) reported the challenge faced by some communities in holding traditional leaders to account, asserting that community members have turned to the courts to resolve disputes with traditional leaders (the supposed defenders of community interests), and have often been left feeling frustrated and helpless, leading to an increase in public protests.

Bank and Southall (1996:425) earlier commented on the authoritarian tendency among traditional chiefs, and remarked that the majority of chiefs had been deeply corrupted by the Bantu Authorities system prevalent during the apartheid administration, suggesting that it would require strong political will to achieve a reversal of ingrained rural despotism. While proposing an experiment with what Dick Sklar (1986, 1994) termed as mixed government, they agree on the need for determined political commitment to alternative forms of rural governance (ibid), for avoiding a mix-up in the new South Africa. It is also imperative to note that, in the view of Habib (2013:12), the Traditional Council Bill empowers traditional leaders through rural residents, and establishes what Mamdani (1996) cited in Habib (2013:12), referred to as a bifurcated state and mode of traditional rule. A key question to ask would be if the South African democratic project is a victim to attempts at reconciling two fundamentally

disparate institutions, which Meer and Campbell (2007:15) suggested could have a destabilising effect on the system as a whole.

In appreciation of the critical notion of shared governance (Tlhoale, 2012:120) for delivering quality basic services to rural communities, where traditional leaders have a strong presence, and wield great influence over governance processes (Knoetze, 2014:164), how then can local municipalities, and even the other spheres of government, address the confluence of powers without creating a fourth tier of government (Wolpe Trust, 2012:2) in an already testy, three-tiered system? Hopefully, contemporary researchers in the public management field will unearth appropriate models or approaches (provide suggestions) to create harmony among the two 'creatures' of custom and statute, currently straddling rural communities.

2.4 Public participation in the South African context

The experience of community residents is vital in assessing the performance of local authorities, and this viewpoint is well established in law and policy. Accordingly, numerous policy and regulatory frameworks and guidelines such as the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), Batho Pele White Paper of 1997, Local Government Municipal Structures Act of 1998, and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, all elaborate on the principle of active citizens' involvement and participation in the process of planning for development in their communities (RSA, 2013:1). In the Freedom Charter of 1955, its preamble, 'the people shall govern', also espouse the agenda of public participation as an objective of development.

Following the international attention to community participation in the governance processes of member nations, the Manila Declaration of 1989 outlined the need for governments to ensure the participation of citizens, especially at the local levels, in development processes and programmes, with the aim of promoting a sense of ownership and sustainable development (Theron, 2005:203). Accordingly, the Manila Declaration outlined three basic principles to ensure a people-centred development, including that sovereignty resided in people who are the real social actors of change, control of resources by the

people with access to information and accountable government officials, and those assisting the people in their development, rather than the community members, were to be seen as participating (Sibiya, 2010:56).

2.4.1 Legislative and policy guidelines for public participation

Various legislative and policy frameworks for community participation abound in South Africa, and include the following:

2.4.1.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) outlines the concept of public participation in all spheres of government. Specifically, Section 152, sub-section 1 (e) declared that one of the cardinal objectives of local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community based organization in matters related to local government. In addition, Section 195, sub-section 1 (e) further declared that the needs of the people must be responded to, and that the public be encouraged to participate in policy making (RSA, 1996:81).

2.4.1.2 Batho Pele White Paper (1997).

'Batho Pele', roughly translated as 'People First' in the Sotho language, was initiated to encourage a service oriented public service, striving for excellence and commitment to continuous improvement in the delivery of services. It allows citizens to hold public servants accountable for the level of services delivered, and puts citizens at the centre of public service planning and implementation. The Batho Pele consists of ten principles including consultation, setting service standards, increasing access, ensuring courtesy, providing information, openness and transparency, redress, value for money, conducive environment for delivery and impact of service delivered.

2.4.1.3 White Paper on Local Government (1998).

The White Paper on Local Government (WPLG) published in 1998 gave effect to the new vision of a developmental local government (DLG). According to the Ward Committee Resource Book, DLG refers to a '*local government that is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community, to find long term or sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and also improve the quality of the lives of community members*' (RSA, 2005:18). In order to realize this vision, municipalities are encouraged to build local democracies through the development of strategies and mechanisms for engagement with citizens, businesses and community groups on a continuous basis (Siphuma, 2009:61). The most important role outlined for local government in Section D, of the WPLG is the promotion of local democracy (RSA, 1998:5). In this instance, citizens can find space to participate in shaping their developmental agenda, closer to their areas of residence.

According to the Community Law Centre (2007:9) the idea of a developmental local government comprises four basic features, including;

- Integrating and co-ordinating the developmental activities of other state and non-state agencies in the local area.
- Using the allocated powers and functions in such a way as to maximally impact on economic growth, and the social development of communities.
- Acting as the vehicle through which citizens work to achieve their vision of an ideal environment to live.
- Building social capital through stimulating local political leadership and applying local solutions to issues for increased sustainability.

It is therefore obvious from the afore-mentioned, that local government must act as the focal point for improving the lives of the citizenry. This also includes ensuring that communities are at the forefront of developmental issues, and the empowerment of local residents in creating an ideal society.

2.4.1.4 Local Government Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998.

The Local Government Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 requires municipalities to strive towards achieving the goals set out in Section 152 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The Act requires municipalities to enact rules controlling the procedure for electing members of ward committees. It notably provides for the establishment of ward committees as a means of encouraging public participation, with an emphasis for enhancing participatory democracy in local government (Putu, 2006, in Siphuma, 2009:63). The goals set out to be achieved include, developing mechanisms to engage with the community and organizations in the performance of municipal functions and exercise of power; consideration of the needs of the communities including municipal priorities and strategies for meeting those needs, and engaging the community in municipal processes; establishment of ward committees to enhance participatory democracy in local government (RSA, 2005:14).

2.4.1.5 Local Government Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000.

Municipalities are required to establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures, for enabling the participation of local communities in the affairs of the municipality. The Municipal Systems Act (2000), Section 16 (1) obligates municipalities to develop a culture of municipal governance, which works hand-in-hand with formal representative government within a system of participatory governance or public participation (RSA, 2005:14). Furthermore, Chapter 3 of the Act also requires municipalities to create conditions that allow the most disadvantaged members of the community such as disabled persons, special groups and illiterate persons, to fully participate in municipal affairs.

The Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations of 2001, an offshoot of the Municipal Systems Act, provides a legal reference for the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process, and the formation of an IDP Representative Forum, all aimed at ensuring that municipalities create an opportunity for the participation of communities in decision making. Also related is the

National Framework on Public Participation (DPLG, 2005:2) which advocates an open and accountable process for influencing decision making.

2.4.2 Legislated participation amidst increasing community protests

Taking into consideration the abundance of legislation requiring and enforcing the participation of communities in decision making at the local government level, what explanation can be provided for the continued problem of non-participation, poor participation and lack of participation often cited as a reason for protests in South Africa?

The importance of a legal basis for participation is important, as highlighted in Kinyashi (2006:15). It however is a misconception that participation will happen after legitimisation or legislation, and the failure of formal institutionalised participatory spaces has been widely reported in the literature (Kimemia, 2011, Sowetan, 2012, cited in Penderis and Tapscott, 2014:7). In the same vein, Jili (2012:31) citing Theron (2008), reported the feeling of betrayal among poor communities following the lack of results from their participation in government created spaces (such as ward committees, IDP planning processes), and hence Nemerof (2010) appealed for a reflection around how citizen-government relationship is framed, calling for new alternatives that provide the basis for greater citizen action.

Government created spaces continue to entrench existing power relations, manifested by consultation and non-empowerment (Ranjee and van Donk, 2011; Davidson, 1998). According to Baccus, Hemson, Dicks and Piper (2007:16), these forms of public participation in government created spaces, are unmistakably means for consulting the public as different from genuine involvement of members of the public in decision-making and implementation. The actual decision making power remains a preserve of officials, who continue to wield power over communities (Southall, 2014:66; Baccus et al., 2007:16), and most conflicts are an indication that, even in the legislated-participation environment, power is not shared and communities feel not responded to.

What is not highlighted in the narrative, however, is that South Africa is presently, due to a progressive constitution and enabling legislation, experiencing a manifestation of new alternatives promoting citizens action (Nemerof, 2010) or direct action (Sinwell, 2010), where public participation involves a power struggle (Arnstein, 2003) in terms of who makes the decisions (Madumo, 2012:45). Therefore, if participation implies that the voiceless gain voice, we should expect this to bring about some conflict.

Though protests by communities are associated with some anxieties, Ramjee and van Donk (2011:15) also agreed that it presents an opportunity for social change. This invariably finds relevance in the suggestion by McLennan (2009:6) for the sustained exploration of the political-institutional interface. This interface, or meeting point, between government and citizens, is a contested space where public officials, citizens and institutions negotiate the legitimacy and value of decisions (ibid). In their search for voice, communities that comprise Mbizana Local Municipality and others elsewhere, are probably utilizing an effective tool at their disposal for ensuring participation, as protest action is now quite justifiably considered a relatively routine form of political participation (Saunders et al., 2012); albeit an unconventional form.

The conclusion reached from the review of the literature on participation, is that effective participation is lacking at the local government level. This assertion is supported by Mashamaite (2014:231) who reports the failure of local municipalities to engage and integrate communities in the governance processes. Effective participation invariably highlights the process through which local people influence and take control in making decisions, and the difference made by participation within decision-making processes for various policy outcomes. Brynard (2009:313) also outlined that successful implementation of policies require critical elements, such as citizens' expectations, their participation, and continued engagement. For effective participation to occur, a paradigm shift from local government, to what Geddes (2005:31) and Basdeo (2012:53) referred to as local governance or good governance (Fakir, 2014:5) is therefore essential.

2.4.3 Linking public participation with good governance

As a result of the importance of participation in promoting democratic ideals and effective decision-making, the focus has changed from government to governance. According to UNESCAP (2008:1), governance is described as the process of decision-making, and how those decisions are implemented. Waheduzzaman (2010:24) asserted that there is now a significant change in the meaning of government, and that it involves a new way of governing with less state intervention, and more engagement of people in the delivery of public service. Good governance is promoted by international agencies as a decentralized, legitimized and participatory concept, mainly focused on pursuing development through empowering people.

The World Bank (2006) identified major elements of good governance to include accountability, transparency, predictability and participation; these are often referred to as the four pillars of good governance in the literature. Participation is considered to be the central element of good governance, as it directly influences the other elements (Azmat, Alam and Coghill, 2009:842). While the different elements of good governance are inter-dependent, they are mutually reinforced through people's participation, as participation increases the quality of governance. To highlight the nexus between good governance and public participation in service delivery, Hope (2009:730) posited that good governance develops accountability mechanisms, whereby people hold controlling power over authorities to provide services; and in the view of Sirker and Cosic (2007:3), the participation of people in the governing process makes local authorities accountable to the local people for delivery of services.

Do we therefore begin to promote public participation for good governance, or does good governance ensure public participation? The question of which comes first is akin to the conundrum of the egg and chicken. It is still a subject of debate in the literature, but what is obvious, is the effective inter-relationship among both concepts, to such an extent that they are mutually supportive. It is precisely due to the direct impact of public participation on good governance that it is now widely referred to in

the literature by various terms (Waheduzzaman, 2010:25), such as 'participatory governance', 'democratic governance', 'community governance', 'local self-governance' and 'direct governance'. However within the South African context, the issue of less state intervention may not be currently feasible, as the state continues to loom large in various facets of society. In order therefore to ensure good governance, which entails increased engagement of people and communities, the quality of representation (for communities) needs improvement, pointing to a need for the complete overhaul of representative structures.

2.4.3.1 Good governance

Though the concept of governance is not novel, poor or bad governance has been identified as a major cause of anxiety in society. Good governance refers to the quality of governance, and has been the focus on the international development agenda, and major aid donors and financial institutions continue to insist on enhancing good governance as a requirement for assistance (Gisselquist, 2012:1). Good governance as proposed by Walter, Mair and Mair (2011:5) is the transparent and accountable management of human, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UNESCAP, 2009), promotes governance as the process of decision making and also the process by which decisions are implemented.

Governance covers every institution and organization in society, starting from the family to the state (Uddin, 2010:32). Within the governance framework, government is identified as an important actor, and depending on the level of government involved, other actors include civil society, community groups, business, religious, political and other stakeholders existing at that stratum. From the foregoing, it is obvious that governance implies a web of stakeholders, and they ideally partake in the formulation of public policies, and the delivery of public services.

Good governance consists of eight major features or characteristics, including participation, consensus orientation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and effectiveness, equity and inclusion, and the rule of law. Other added-on features include the assurance of minimized corruption, consideration of minority views, the inclusion of the most vulnerable in decision making, and concern for inter-generational equity (taking into account the needs of present and future generations). The features of good governance are listed and in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Feature of good governance

Feature	Description
Participation	Participation by all is deemed a primary pillar of governance, either directly or through legitimate institutions or representatives. Participation is enhanced by freedom of association and expression, and an organized and effective civil society.
Transparency	Transparency ensures that information is available and accessible in easily understandable formats. Decisions taken and their implementation are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations.
Responsiveness	Responsiveness guarantees that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.
Rule of law	The rule of law promotes fair legal frameworks that are impartially enforced, the full protection of human rights, and independent judiciary and police force.
Consensus	Involves the mediation of different interests in society, to arrive at a broad agreement on what is in the best interest of society.
Equity and Inclusiveness	Promotes opportunities to improve and maintain the well-being of all members of society. It ensures that there is a feeling of belonging especially among the most vulnerable persons.
Effectiveness and Efficiency	Implies that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society, while making the best possible use of resources.
Accountability	Another pillar of good governance, which requires that institutions must be accountable to all stakeholders. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

Source: Adapted from UNESCAP (2009).

A lot of the features outlined in the table above find expression in the South African context, and contained in the Constitution, policy and regulatory guidelines such as the Batho Pele White Paper, including commissions and agencies like the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC),

Office of the Public Protector (OPP), Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), and others. The debated issue remains the implementation and adherence to these principles by those empowered to promote them. While good governance ideals are seen as difficult to achieve in its entirety, and described as extremely elusive (Gisselquist, 2012:3; Grindle, 2010:1), there is agreement on the need to take action towards the outlined ethics, as good governance is a worthy goal in itself, and more importantly, is a means to positively make an impact on a variety of associated outcomes.

2.5 Community participation

There is no universally agreed meaning for community participation in the literature, and the concept evokes varied meanings to different people. Theron (2005:124) accedes that there are considerable differences in opinion regarding community participation. Community participation and its related phrases such as public participation, citizen participation and others, have gained currency as a catch-all phrase. It has many meanings and connotations based on the situation it is applied to, and depends on the ideology, motivation and practical orientation of the user. Participation according to Luyet, Schlaepfer, Parlange and Buttler (2012:213), is therefore used in many contexts and invariably understood in various ways.

These phrases are used in the context of fundamental political decisions with respect to government structures and the content of public and developmental programmes. Community or public participation is also applied to the routine processes of activities in the political sphere, administrative planning of programs and even the daily operations of agencies tasked with the provision of public services (Lowndes and Prachett, 2006; OECD, 2001).

Though participation is universally acclaimed, however its meaning, importance, functions and role changes depending on the culture and political system (Karsten, 2012:4). In this thinking, participation refers to the permission of the governed in fulfilment of a social compact; though the demands for increased participation may undoubtedly be driven by a desire to change power structures, dilute an

existing power base, or simply a demand for improved delivery of public services. Participation is therefore the means by which communities can bring about significant social reform, which enables them to benefit from societal outcomes.

This lack of a sole description for the concept of participation is not surprising; in fact it is sometimes confusing because it is about people's interaction determined by the behaviour of the interacting individuals and organizations (Kinyashi, 2006:2). Despite its widespread application therefore, the concept of participation lends itself to varying interpretations (Luyet et al., 2012:213), presenting a number of difficulties in terms of its definition. This problematic term and its inconsistent interpretation provided a reason for Karsten (2012:5) to remark that, between understated euphemism and exacerbated rhetoric, even scholars have found it difficult following the controversy.

The concept of participation according to Ekiert and Grzymala-Busse (2007:22) has gradually become something akin to an enigma, used for policy (RSA, 2013:3), as a strategy (Newig, Pahl-Wostl and Sigel, 2005:333), for communication (Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010:397), as a conflict resolution mechanism (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011:25) and even in social therapy. Sonn and Quayle (2014:19) therefore postulate that participatory approaches are sometimes used as a means to an end, such as achieving better outcomes; or as an end in itself, through, for instance, capacitating individuals and facilitating social change in communities. Undoubtedly, participation in the political realm involves the sharing, and even in some cases, redistribution of power (Arnstein, 1969), and it is no surprise that the question of citizen power (or participation) has been a bone of political contention, for which Sherry Arnstein, cited in Karsten (2010:4), posits that most answers to this question have been buried in innocuous euphemisms. Little wonder it is referred to in the literature, by various terms such as self-help, citizen involvement, community empowerment, amongst others.

2.5.1 Conceptual origins of participation

Participation is associated with neo-Marxist intellectual origins, and located within a wider political struggle which links the condition of underdevelopment with access to power. According to Ssekibuule and Okafor (2014:3), participation is akin to political empowerment, and the empowerment approach to community participation is positioned within the extreme idea of alternative development, which clearly shows in the mobilization of popular political power. The concept of participation and democracy are inter-related, and Van Craneneburg (2011:444), including Nsingo and Kuye (2005:749), articulated their conviction that one cannot exist in the absence of the other. Participation is therefore considered as one of the pillars of a true democracy (ANC, 2009:3).

Cornwall (2002) provides insights to the conceptualization of participation by the neo-liberals and post-Marxian radical schools. Minimum participation enforces the neo-liberal concept, where empowerment and participation is considered as a harmonious power model preserving the existing social order. Maximum participation on the other hand, represents the post-Marxian radical notion of participation and empowerment, focusing on social mobilisation in society and challenging established hegemonic interests and power relations (Kinyashi, 2006:6). In this process, the pioneering works of Paulo Freire (1996) identified the key elements as conscientisation and collective identity formation around common experiences within economic and political marginalisation. Genuine participation therefore results in conflicts which disturbs the existing institutional equilibrium, leading to institutional restructuring which Kinyashi (2006:19) claims to favour the poor.

2.5.2 Models of participation

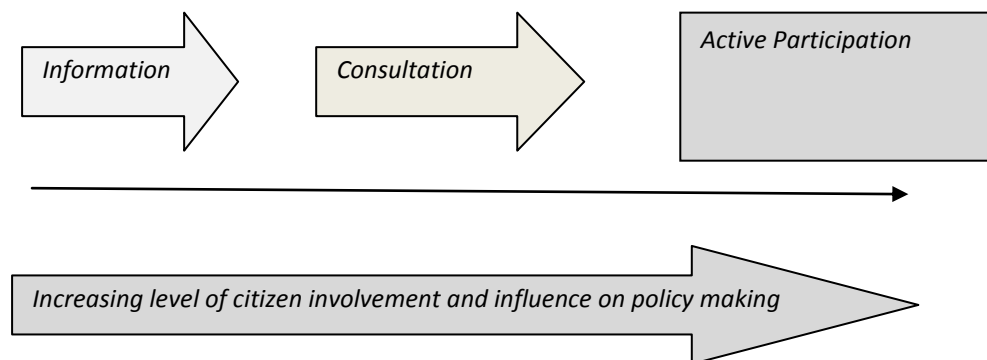
Participation assumes various forms and degrees including genuine participation, self mobilisation, passive participation, tokenism, manipulated participation and pseudo participation, outlined in the seminal works of earlier scholars including Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1994) and White et al. (1994). Various models of participation exist in the literature, and a number of them employed the ladder-

metaphor to highlight degrees of participation; others used frameworks or wheels, and a cube to highlight empowerment and power issues related to participation. For the purposes of this study, the active participation framework (OECD, 2001), power cube (Goventa, 2006), CLEAR participation model (Lowndes and Prachett, 2006) and the governance model (Newman, 2007), are presented and discussed. The importance of participation is highlighted by Karsten (2012:4), who asserted that citizen's participation invariably translates to citizen power. Instructively, Martin (2010) argues that it is the issue of power, specifically, that gave rise to the unending circus of participation, which in this view, is considered as an attempt to ignore the key question of power.

2.5.2.1 Active participation framework

The active participation framework (OECD, 2001:19) defines the participation process, in terms of the nature and direction of the relationship between government and citizens. The framework shown diagrammatically in Figure 2.3, involves information, consultation and active participation.

Figure 2.3: The active participation framework



Source: Adapted from OECD (2001).

The framework progresses from information through consultation to active participation. It suggests that in strengthening their relations with citizens, governments must ensure that (OECD, 2001:11-12):

- Information is complete, objective, relevant and easy to comprehend. In this case, it is seen as a one-way relationship in which government produces and delivers information to citizens,

covering both passive access to information, following demand by citizens, and active measures by government to disseminate information to citizens, for example through government websites, public records and official gazettes.

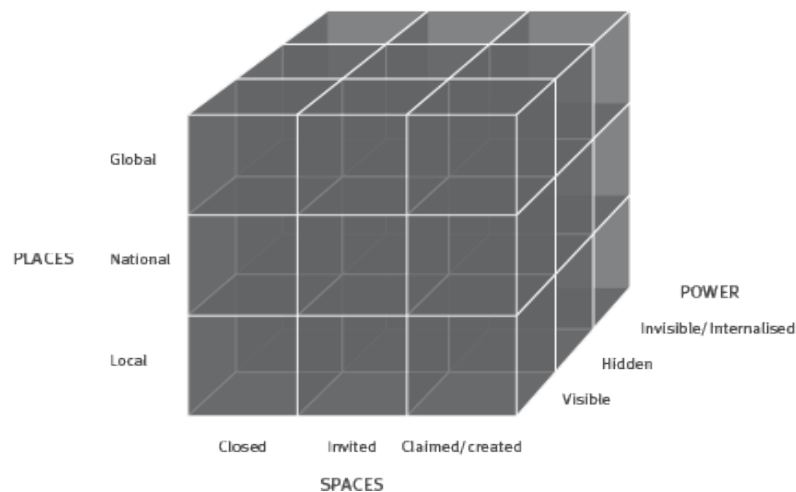
- Consultation has clear goals and rules defining the limits of the exercise, and governments' obligation to account for its use of citizens' inputs. It suggests a two-way relationship where citizens provide feedback to government. It is, however, based on prior definition of the issue by government, for which the views of citizens are required. Examples include comments on draft legislation, opinion surveys etc.
- Active participation provides sufficient time and flexibility to allow for emergence of new ideas and proposals by citizens, as well as mechanisms for their integration into government policy-making processes. It is a relationship based on partnership with government, whereby citizens actively engage in defining the process and content of policy making. The relationship acknowledges an equal standing for citizens in setting the agenda, proposing options and shaping policy dialogue, though the final decision rests with government. Examples are citizen juries, consensus conferences.

The active participation framework hardly goes beyond the tokenism level, and in the view of Martin (2010) cited in Karsten (2012:9), completely ignores any kind of citizen control, thus avoiding any transfer of power from representative organs to citizens. This is hardly surprising, as the framework displays the hallmark and viewpoints of policy makers, and considers citizens and government agencies as two different entities in a supposed relationship. The relationship involves citizens accepting service provision, as determined by officials without input from citizens in the finalisation processes. It is exactly the inability of citizens' to control the final decisions, that generally result in disagreements and dissatisfaction with the type, quantity and quality of services provided; thereby leading to protests by community beneficiaries of government services.

2.5.2.2 Power cube

Gaventa's (2006) power analysis presents a cube shown in Fig. 2.4 useful for analyzing levels, spaces and power, which assists in exploring how the various aspects and dimensions of power relate to, and among each other (co- and inter relationship). According to Gaventa (2006:23), the creation of new institutional arrangements for participation will not necessarily result in greater inclusion; and asserts that much would rather depend, on the nature of the power relations which surround and imbue these new, potentially democratic spaces.

Figure 2.4: The power cube: levels, spaces and forms of power



Source: (www.netpublikationer.dk)

The power cube emerged as a way to explore how powerful actors control the agenda, and the ability of less powerful actors to build their awareness and action for change. It can also be used to investigate the openings, levels and strategies for exercising action. The cube comprises forms, levels and spaces, where, (Gaventa, 2006:24):

- Forms of power represent ways in which power manifests, including its visible, hidden and invisible forms.
- Spaces show the potential avenues for participation and action, highlighting closed, invited and claimed spaces.

- Levels or places are the differing layers of decision-making and authority held on a vertical scale (local, national and global); in this instance, as related to the study, at the community, ward and municipal levels.

Though visually presented as a cube, Karsten (2012:21) asserts that essentially each side of the cube is viewed as a dimension, or a set of relationships, and not as a fixed set of categories, but rather as a continuum or a scale. The cube finds use in assessing the possibilities of transformative action in various political spaces, and also, according to Gaventa (2006:25), is an applicable tool for mapping the types of power to be challenged and the associated strategies for doing so.

The power cube of Gaventa (2006) builds on the idea of a participation space, as earlier put forward by Cornwall (2002), in which windows of opportunity for participation are arranged in clusters. The clusters include regularized relations, fleeting formations, alternative interface and movements and moments. Regularized institutions (such as an IDP Forum) serve as an interface between people and authorities of various kinds, generally those of the state; herein citizens become part of the machinery of governance (Kinyashi, 2006:4). The power cube highlights the need for community members to be aware of developments at the national and global levels, while participating in the local forum; a need to be part of various spaces where decisions are made, and more importantly to understand the dynamics of power in their interaction with frontline government officials. This understanding also empowers community members with an innate sense of their capacity to utilise, various forms and means of persuasion, including protests, in order to achieve desired outcomes.

2.5.2.3 CLEAR participation model

Lowndes and Prachett (2006) developed the CLEAR participation model as a diagnostic tool which anticipates obstacles to development, and links them to policy responses. It aims at developing an effective self-diagnostic tool for local governments, and allows individual municipalities to diagnose the strength and weaknesses of their public participation initiatives. The CLEAR tool according to Lowndes

and Prachett (2006:1), argues that participation is most effective where citizens can do, like to, enabled to, asked to, and are responded to, as shown in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: Factors promoting participation

Key factor	How it works	Policy targets
Can do	Citizens have the resources and knowledge to participate	Capacity building, training, mentoring and leadership development
Like to	Citizens have a sense of attachment with the public entity that is the focus of the engagement	Civil renewal, citizenship, community development, community cohesion, social capital, neighbourhood work.
Enabled to	Citizens are provided with the opportunity structure to participate, using the civic infrastructure of groups and umbrella organizations	Community networks, improving channels of communication.
Asked to	Citizens are mobilized through public agencies and civil channels	Diverse and reflexive public participation schemes
Responded to	Citizens see evidence that their views have been considered, and are able to see a response	Public policy system that shows a capacity to respond through specific outcomes, ongoing learning and feedback.

Source: Lowndes and Pratchett (2006).

Undoubtedly there have been a number of measures taken to enshrine the idea of community participation in the municipal processes in South Africa. However, while community members are capacitated through sensitisation and awareness programs initiated by government agencies and municipal officials, and are required to participate in municipal planning events such as during the IDP process, and at mayoral imbizos' and other councillor-led events; there is a widespread feeling that

community members are not responded to. The CLEAR model requires communities to be capacitated and enabled to act, which culminates in the receipt of specifically requested outcomes, showing that they are being responded to. The increasing incidence of protests by community members depicts an opposite picture, indicating the lack of specific outcomes and desired feedback from municipal officials.

2.5.2.4 Stages of participation and governance model

Waheduzzaman (2010:44) utilized the governance models developed by Landon (1977) and Newman (2007), which were based on the levels of interaction between citizens and government. On the basis of people's engagement, a managerial, legislative, limited participation and community empowerment model of citizens' participation emerged, as shown in Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6: Participation and governance model.

	Stage of participation	Model of governance
1	Informing (a one-way process)	Authoritarian (top-down decisions), implemented by bureaucrats, the process is not transparent, predictable or accountable
2	Consulting (seen as two-way communication only), there is limited engagement of the public, primarily used to receive feed-back from community.	Bureaucratic (there is limited participation with no transfer of power). The process is not accountable to the people, and is also less transparent.
3	Involvement (people participate in making some decisions), other processes associated with the decision are subject to involve only specific groups	Political model (people participate), engagement is applied at various segments, to cater for different interest groups. Accountability is to specific groups rather than the entire public.
4	Empowerment (public is capacitated to come with decisions), resourced and supported. Agency acts as facilitator and decisions are jointly implemented.	Democratic model, ensures the development of partnerships with people, delegates authority for decisions and implementation with local knowledge. The process is transparent, predictable and accountable.

Source: Adapted from Waheduzzaman (2010)

The model proposes a relationship between the stage of participation and model of governance, and highlights that good governance can be achieved through a continued endeavour to empower people. It

is useful as a tool to identify the level of governance at every stage of participation, indicating needed steps to achieve good governance. Community members seek not only to be informed of government activities which affect the delivery of essential services, they in most cases, also want to be involved at various levels of service provision, and empowered to make the decisions necessary for issues that impact on their lives and that of their communities. In linking participation and governance, the model highlights and gives credence to the assumption of participation as a primary pillar for good governance.

2.5.3 Participation advantages, risks and mitigating factors

Participation comes with certain advantages, and associated with a number of risks, but these risks can also be mitigated. Summarized from the literature, the advantages include building trust among stakeholders, utilising local solutions, integrating various interests and opinions, and better implementation of activities (Luyet, 2012:219). It also promotes public acceptance and fosters social learning (OECD, 2001:24).

The risks associated with public participation are varied, as it requires a commitment of time and patience. It is sometimes viewed as an expensive exercise and may be frustrating. While there is inherent potential for frustration among stakeholders, conflicts may arise during participation processes; and while considering issues of representativeness, it could entrench existing power relations. Nonetheless, these risks can be mitigated if adequate resources such as time are allocated, and the practice follows established and locally agreed rules and guidelines, in a fair and transparent manner which promotes equity, community learning and mutual trust.

In line with the frameworks and features of participation outlined, it is apparent that achieving participation by communities is a long, drawn out process. It requires patience on the part of all stakeholders, for the attainment of the ideal. Issues outlined include development of a mindset among community members of the need to understand how processes will be followed, the resources that are

required, potential for conflict and how these conflicting situations will be managed. Obviously, while stakeholders have different interests, the process of genuine participation enhances the acceptability of decisions arrived at, following a fair and agreed-upon procedure. Undoubtedly, the achievement of genuine participation can drastically reduce, if not eliminate, the incidence and occurrence of protests in communities.

2.6 Social Protests

Protests are as old as humanity and involve the expression of a grievance or conviction of injustice, where the protestors are unable to correct the condition directly on their own. The action is intended to draw attention to the grievance, and further meant to prod remedial action by an identified target group. Furthermore, Karl-Dieter (2009:35) posits that the protestors depend on a combination of fear and sympathy to achieve their aim.

Social protests, according to Lancaster (2014:1), are gatherings that are directed towards state institutions or other power holders, seeking to influence or contest decisions made by them. This agrees with the view expressed by Porta and Diani (2006:165) that protests represent non-routine ways for altering social, political and cultural outcomes. In this context, social protests are sporadic in nature, and involve interaction between the aggrieved parties, as makers of claim, and others who recognise the claim as bearing on their interests and accordingly involve government as a mediator, target or claimant (Mottiar and Bond, 2012:5).

Social protests are disruptive tools used to advance the interest of aggrieved parties, and highlighted in theories of early scholars such as Frances Piven and Richard Cloward (1966). According to their theory, the use of unpleasant tactics remains the only strategy available to the poor for enhancing their social and economic interests (Albritton, 1979, in Mottiar and Bond, 2012:5).

2.6.1 Differentiating among protests, unrest and movements

The terms social protest and social unrest are sometimes used in the social movement literature when referring to any expression of dissent, or challenge to authority by groups. While they are employed interchangeably in many instances, they however have different connotations.

In the literature of social movements and political violence, social protests have been identified as a redress mechanism used by the disenfranchised, or those who perceive strong social injustice that the prevailing political structure is reluctant to address (Coburn, Walsh, Hartley, Bowman and Ruffle, 2013:2). On the other hand, social unrest represents a broad term in the risk lexicon, as expressions of dissent ranging from peaceful protest actions to armed upheaval. Coburn et al. (2013:2) identified various levels of social unrest from peaceful protests to armed insurrection, and Table 2.7 provides a differentiation between social unrest and civil disorder for purposes of clarity in this study.

Table 2.7: Two levels of unrest

	Social Unrest	Civil Disorder
Level description	Peaceful protest	Unarmed violence
Examples	Demonstrations, sit-ins, non violent protests COSATU e-tolls march in Pretoria 2014	Riots, arson, looting Xenophobic riots in Alexandra, Johannesburg May 2008, Durban April 2015.
Drivers	Infringement of civil rights, government policies, economic conditions	Economic disparity, unemployment, food price hikes.
Characteristics	Generally peaceful and isolated.	High potential for contagion and damage.
Destructiveness	Disruptive to activities, no physical damage.	Property directly targeted, cars damaged, shops looted, arson.

Adapted from Coburn et al. (2013).

While there is no rigid demarcation in real life between the characteristics of social unrest and civil disorder, these features assist in understanding their differences. It is important to note therefore, that in some cases of unrest, there are incidents of damage to property.

Renn, Johanovic and Schroter (2011:18) asserted that the term social unrest is not frequently used in scientific research, though many expressions of social unrest could also be categorized as protest, depending on how expressions of discontent or grievance are described in a given environment. As a result of this ambiguity, they concluded that social unrest represents an expression of general unhappiness with either the political system, or any collective system, and are manifest in the exhibition of unconventional behaviour.

A key question to ask would be what constitutes unconventional behaviour, as 'behaviour' itself is subjective. Protests and its associated violence has often been variously characterised as delinquent behaviour (Kepplinger, 2009:97), a non-routine behaviour (Porta and Diani, 2006:165), anti-social behaviour (Ngwane, 2011:35), insurgent behaviour (Mottair and Bond, 2012:5), unacceptable behaviour (Posastiuc, 2013:3) or strategic behaviour (Samuel, 2013:15); and very often linked to unconventional political participation (Renn et al., 2011:19). This characterisation of protest activities as unconventional behaviour, according to Kepplinger (2009:97), mostly reflects the view of the establishment or part of society against which it is directed.

It is argued that with the passage of time, most of the presumed unconventional forms of behaviour become accepted as means of expressing dissent., Furthermore, Kepplinger (2009:97) commented that among the peers and supporters of the protesters accused of unconventional behaviour, this conduct is deemed legitimate and morally justifiable given the circumstance under which they are assumed to have suffered.

A theoretical perspective is outlined which provides an explanation to these assumptions of protest activities and social unrest as unconventional behaviour. Renn et al. (2011:19) suggested that:

- Activities that are designed to serve a specific function within a functional system belong to the ordinary, expected and conventional form of serving the function; examples may include picketing by unions and workers.

- Unconventional or unexpected forms of expressing a desire for change or intervention can turn into social unrest, such as burning tyres and barricading highways.
- Even those unconventional forms may be functional if the corresponding system is in urgent need of a radical reform, the anti-apartheid protests are vivid examples.

In view of these perspectives and line of argument, commentators and scholars in the literature cited, concluded that social unrest may not necessarily be considered dysfunctional. Though its manifestations seem unexpected, and they are often spontaneous, as well as unconstrained within the accepted norm, social unrests serve a purpose in any system where they occur.

Social movements differ from social protests in their degree of formal organization, size and other group properties. However, social movements are a special kind of protest group (Karl –Dieter, 2009:42). To aid our understanding of the difference between protests and social movements, a synthesis of various definitions from the literature is presented in Table 2.8 below.

Table 2.8: Definitions of protest and social movement in the literature.

Protests	Social movements
A mode of political action oriented toward objection to one or more policies or conditions, characterized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems while working within the system (Lipsky, 1968).	A set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and / or reward distribution of a society (McCarthy and Zeld, 1977).
A challenging group seeking the mobilisation of an un-mobilised constituency, and the group antagonists lie outside of its constituency (Gamson, 1990)	Traditionally defined as an organized effort to bring about social change (Jenkins & Form 2005); but now better defined in terms of common challengers based on common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities (Tarrow, 1998).

Source: Karl-Dieter (2009:35).

The definitions provided in Table 2.8 highlight the difference between protests and social movements, both in terms of organisation and target. While both intend to achieve an outcome favourable to their interests, protest participants generally seek immediate benefits for their group, are prone to engage in unconventional behaviour, and make use of participants who may have no deeply ingrained conviction regarding the desired outcome. Social movements, on the other hand, while susceptible to use of protest tactics seek a change that affects a wider population, and are willing to engage in a long drawn-out process using their organisation, and other conventional means of engagement.

The concept of social movement is strongly linked to the recurring episodes or waves of protest and collective action. In line with this reasoning, social movements are therefore a product of continued collective action, which grows stronger in both intensity and organisation. Social movements can be seen as an intricate web of activities, involving a mix of actions by a myriad of dispersed actors, which altogether aim at achieving the same broadly defined objective (Oliver and Myers, 1998:1). This suggests a linking of participants who have a common goal, and though active in different spatial dimension, or applying different tactics, all desire the same or common outcomes. It is further clarified that these activities influence each other, with a recycling of previous action, which spirals and coalesces into the social movement phenomenon.

Attempting to distinguish protests from social movements, Ratliff (2011:10), citing Snow and Soule (2010) asserted that protest events generally mobilize around a single claim, or for a limited time, and lack continuity required to be considered part of a social movement. Protest however, according to Van Stekeleburg and Klandermans (2010:2), is a form of collective action and social movement participation at the same time.

The protest activities prevalent in the Mbizana Local Municipality do not follow any distinct pattern as they emerge sporadically and dissipate quickly. Though organised by community members, the protesters show no form of continuity or formal organisation and their complaints are varied, with most

directed at the municipality and others directed towards the justice establishment housed within the magistrate court complex.

2.6.2 Categorising the causes of social protests

The causes of social unrest may be classified into three broad categories of structural, proximate and trigger; and each can additionally be associated along political, economic and social lines. According to Coburn et al. (2013:4), it is vital to understand that the causal factors are embedded in highly complex systems with no distinct means of defining their inter-relationships. They therefore suggested that causes should always be seen as both multivariate and non-uniform. As an indication of the complex nature of the relationship between the causal factors, prior to any episode of unrest, the three causes form part of a chain which is difficult to distinguish. The categories include (Coburn et al., 2013:4-7):

- Structural causes which provoke changes in material conditions and can be viewed as systemic; it may be as a result of relative deprivation, demographic pressures brought about by migration or large youth population, and youth unemployment.
- Proximate causes representing the political and institutional factors that enlarge the impact of structural causes; they include austerity measures, reduction in welfare packages, food price shocks, discrimination based on race or ethnicity, and oppression of civil rights.
- Triggers that are the most immediate in relation to occurrence of unrest; trigger events are often arbitrary, though they are the spark for incidents of disorder. Police brutality, environmental disasters, political events such as scandals and outcomes of elections, public events, among others may act as triggers.

Protests do not appear without any underlying cause, and the categorisation of the drivers of protests by scholars such as Coburn et al. (2013) implies that the basic underlying factors have to do with changes in economic, social, political and even institutional processes that negatively affect people. When these changes reach an unacceptable limit, it requires only the smallest of triggers to facilitate

the occurrence of protest action. In addition, Renn et al. (2011:22) outlined four important stages, which are drivers of social unrest to include- relative deprivation of resources and social amplification processes within society, availability of organizational capacity to form protest groups, resources and opportunities for mobilizing people, and sufficient frustration to legitimize violence. They also identified key factors with a potential for de-escalating unrest, which consist of monitoring the outlined drivers, inclusion of diverse groups in decision-making, and the involvement of neutral and respected persons or institutions in facilitating agreements.

The protest incidents that occurring in the Mbizana Local Municipality clearly result from these outlined categories. Many protestors have claimed the existence of structural factors such as relative deprivation, related to service provision. There have also been many incidents of crime in the rural communities, with strident calls for attention to the relevant authorities. However, when these calls continue to be ignored, it sometime follows the occurrence of minor incidents for the community members to mobilise themselves to carry out protest action. These protests are only called off when respected political and community leaders intervene.

2.6.3 Conceptualization of protest through traditional schools of thought and frameworks

Scholars in the literature of social movements and protest have emphasized rational, structural or cultural factors, when explaining the dynamics of contentious collective action. O'Donnell (2011:11) outlined the three approaches and aligned their originating scholars:

- Rationalist approach follows the individualistic, rational choice models of Olson (1965, 1982) and the organizational, resource mobilization theories of Zald and McCarthy (1987).
- Structuralist approaches are found in the institutionalist, political opportunity structure models of Lipsky (1970), Eisinger (1973) and Tarrow (1989). It also includes the macro-economic new social movement theory of Offe (1985).

- Culturalist approach converges around various literatures including ‘the moral economy of the crowd’ of Thompson (1971), Melucci (1980, 1988) in the ‘new social movement theory’, and the ‘framing concept’ of Goffman (1974).

The rational, structural and cultural viewpoints have been variously utilised to provide explanations by contemporary scholars, for the occurrence of protests. Marie-Eve and Hurst (2012:2) termed these viewpoints as broad analytical streams, and Maszka (2012) provided an explanation for them, preferring to see them as theoretical frameworks, as shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9. Traditional theoretical approaches in the social movement literature.

Approach	
Structural	Core assumption Views individuals as embedded in socio-economic forces, and structuralists search for causal mechanisms in large socio-economic forces rather than in the preferences of individual actors.
	Perceived weakness Overly deterministic, paying close attention to critical junctures and historic processes that constrain human agency, overlooks the importance of individual strategic behaviour itself. While attempting to understand political outcomes as the product of large scale socio-economic forces, structuralists often lose sight of more immediate political causes.
Rational	Core belief Scholars analyze individual strategic interaction as the primary causal factors of political outcomes; rationalists approach problems deductively and are more interested in broad generalizations than deep understanding.
	Assumptions Individuals have fixed and perfectly ranked preferences; individuals are self-interested and strive to maximise their preference; individuals are inter-dependent, so they act strategically based on expectations of what other will do. The preferences, incentives and choices are therefore those of the individual actors.
Cultural	Belief An understanding of the social context from which values, norms and identities that govern human behaviour emerge.
	Argument Culturalists argue that an understanding of political processes requires an understanding of cultural factors such as national culture, values, norms and identities.

Source: Adapted from Maszka (2012: 34-37)

From Table 2.9 above, it is obvious that the distinct theoretical traditions or schools of thought, will perceive the phenomenon of protest in a particular light, and hence provide explanations that are aligned to their philosophy and outlook. Protests however, are complex social phenomena which require an all-encompassing view to provide better understanding.

Mahoney (2007:124) stated that comparative analysts usually combined different elements in formulating their theories, and cited Lichbach and Zuckerman (1997) who suggested that reasons, rules and relations were unique to social theories. Furthermore, the focus on these themes differentiates research in the social and physical sciences, providing a primary basis on which to theorize about phenomena. According to this assertion, different themes are propounded by the rational, cultural and structural schools of thought, or theoretical traditions. Consequently the analyses of phenomena are guided by the expectations, assumptions, methods and principles of rational choice theories, cultural analyses and structural approaches. Van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears (2008:505) however, submitted that these different theoretical traditions or schools of thought have, oftentimes provided conflicting explanations for collective action.

Geddes (2003:18) outlined the comment by Dick Sklar, that all theories are born in ideological sin rather than scientific virtue, to highlight the inadequacies inherent in stand-alone theoretical approaches. In other words, a one-sided view does not provide complete explanation to any specific phenomenon. Maszka (2012:35) also argued for a holistic view of complex phenomena, stating that though each theoretical approach offered a valuable proposition, they inherently were only models, or a simplification of more complex phenomena. O'Donnell (2011:12) admitted that a lot of studies regarding collective action followed either one or the other approach, but however, emphasized that recent trends required a condensed model to better incorporate rational, structural and cultural factors. These resonate with the earlier call by McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow (2007:13) for a synthesis across the theoretical traditions.

In order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon of protest therefore, the literature reviewed suggests that a well rounded view needs to be taken, which consists of the various theoretical approaches or view-points. Hence there is a need to look holistically at the phenomenon through the mixed perspectives of rational action and existing social structure. Therefore, while it is obviously noted that many protest incidents occur in the Mbizana Local Municipality as a result of service delivery demands (structural), there are also connotations of political interference (rational) and the desire for affirming collective values and identities (cultural). All these factors must therefore be taken into consideration, in explaining the issues around community protests in the area.

2.6.4 Protest action as contentious politics

In the history of society's democratic development, protest activities were earlier seen as an undemocratic intrusion into politics. However, Oliver, Cadena-Roa and Strawn (2002:1) admitted the acceptance of protest in the political arena, where protest is now perceived as a significant add-on to processes in democratic politics. From a contemporary perspective, Stokemer (2014:202) cited Dalton, Van Sickle and Weldon (2009) who referred to protest as an ever-present element in current politics, and is now regarded as unconventional political participation. Protests have always been a means for the disenfranchised to articulate their position, or even influence decisions (Lancaster, 2014; Porta and Diani, 2006) and politics, viewed as jostling for control of the levers of decision making, which Magstadt (2013:3) described as the art of the possible, concerned with who gets what, when and how. It is therefore not surprising that groups and individuals attempt to boost their capacities for influencing the behaviour of persons and institutions, either through persuasion or coercion, which fits the definition of power. Power struggles, without any doubt, invariably lie at the centre of contentious politics.

Contentious politics is episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects, and at least some of the interaction adopts non-institutional forms, which Karl-Dieter (2009:35) agreed involve any of the following two conditions. Firstly, at least government is a claimant, an object of claims

or a party to the claims; and secondly, the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants. This explanation of contentious politics however, in the view of Leitner, Sheppard and Sziarto (2008:159), is exceedingly concentrated around the state and oriented towards interests; further suggesting it to be deficient in acknowledging the variation within all forms of collective action. From a spatial perspective, they proposed that contentious politics refers to a series of social and political action, through which differently situated individuals or groups come together to confront principal systems of authority. The purpose of which is to promote the installation of a completely different scenario.

Among social movement theorists, protest is widely accepted as politics by other means. Oliver et al. (2002:5) purported that it is well recognized that extra-institutional and institutional politics are entwined and mutually supporting. The polity model proposed by Tilly (1978) viewed protesters as challengers who desired routine access to decision making, and Gamson (1990) introduced two dimensions to this view, suggesting that protesters were seeking acceptance as members of the polity or institutional access, and that they also sought to gain new advantages, such as a change of policy, or benefits from resource allocation (cited in Oliver et al., 2002:6).

Three components of contentious politics include interactions, claims and government, with McAdam et al. (2007:2) asserting that:

- Contentious politics involves interaction among clusters of persons, as it builds on, establishes and transforms relations among political actors. These interactions incrementally or explosively transform both actors and relations.
- Collective claims have effects beyond the immediate outcome of the call to action, as it provides information about the feasibility of future claims, what they termed cultural material for the collective memory. Contentious politics revolve around consequential claims, which could

be a decorous collective expression of support to shocking attacks; and excludes inadvertent, indirect and incremental interactions.

- Governments are involved in all contentious politics, though mostly as third parties, implying a necessary interaction with non-contentious political processes, such as routine public administration activities, as collective contention often occurs around routine political processes, and government activities are regularly affected by contention in adjacent arenas. In this way, government organizations, personnel, policies and practices are altered in response to, and shaped by, participation in contentious politics.

Using the political process synthesis, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1998) in Oliver et al. (2002:5) weaved together the political opportunity, framing and mobilization structures as an integrated account of the sources of political protests. Furthermore, three pertinent theories are suggested for a deeper understanding of contentious politics, and include the collective action, resource-mobilization and political opportunity perspectives (Karl-Dieter, 2009:35); which ultimately links political contention and its associated forms of action (conventional and confrontational) to the repertoire of social movements (McAdam et al., 2007:3). The pertinent theories are:

- Resource Mobilisation Perspective (RMP) which originated from the theories put forward by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Tilly (1975), suggested that external support of a movement by important societal groups, and other resources which can be mobilized, are most important factors (cited in Karl-Dieter, 2009:35).
- Political Opportunity Structure (POS) from Eisinger (1973), proposed that the features of the political system, such as government responsiveness and chances of success of citizen political activities, if high, suggesting conducive environment for civil society, are important factors for the emergence of protests (cited in Karl-Dieter, 2009:35).

- Collective Action or behaviour outlined in early theories of Blumer (1957) and Smelser (1965), proposing the spontaneity of the process outside of existing social structures, in response to unstructured situations; and mobilising based on a conviction redefining social action (cited in Posastiuc, 2013:2).

Marie-Eve and Hurst (2012:5) also averred that contentious politics is differentiated into sub-types, and the sub-types are based on participants' grievances, tactics used, response of the state and outcomes. In their view, these sub-types are empirically and conceptually different from each other, and as a result of this divergence, separate literature and reportage have emerged around each sub-type. This proposition is however, similar to the earlier suggestion by McAdam et al. (2007:1) that a productive way of comparing forms of contention, is to create logical accounts of incidents of contention, divide them into the methods and processes that drive them, and connect them to their origins and outcomes.

The importance of this sub-division by Marie-Eve and Hurst (2012), and the suggestion by McAdam et al. (2007), lies in the clarity which the resultant framework provides for understanding and classifying different type of protest activities, especially in South Africa, where all protests have been erroneously classified as suggestive of service delivery failures. The framework is presented in Table 2.10 below, with an emphasis of the South African protest landscape.

Table 2.10. Sub-types of contentious politics in South Africa

Type of contention		Participants	Individual or collective	Grievances	Tactics	State response	Outcome
1	Democracy movements	MDM, civil society 1989	Collective	Segregation laws and other apartheid policies	Protests, boycotts and acts of civil disobedience	Police restrains, protection of protesters	Softening of hard stance on anti-apartheid protesters
2	Wage or contractual dispute	Organized worker groups (NUM, SAMWU) Mine workers (AMCU)	Collective	Wage increment	Sit-in, picketing, marches. Confrontation	Police restraints, permitted marches, bargaining council. Police engagement	Mixed. Wage agreements. Death of mine workers
3	Resource allocation	TAC, Organized homeless and landless persons (Durban,Gauteng) Political actors, Poo Protestors (Cape Town)	Collective Individual	Unfavourable Policy stance regarding provision of free anti-retroviral drugs. Housing and land. Request for improved household sanitation (toilets)	Demonstrations, Marches, Petitions. Invasion and occupation of housing units and land. Disruptive acts.	Permitted marches. Police Engagement. Evictions. Court processes.	Improvements in supply of free treatment and drugs. Ongoing court processes, cycle of invasion & evictions.
4	Political participation	Community groups, Party factions, Political parties (EFF, DA, ANC)	Collective / Individual	Lack of voice in political spaces. Opportunities for input in decision making. Accountability. Respect for Public Protector's reports.	Protests, Marches, Boycot of parliamentary processes. Disruptions and walk-outs.	Legislated participation mechanisms. Parliamentary disciplinary processes. Security engagements. Strong-arm tactics. Sanctions	Poorly patronized participation processs. Legal or court actions, mixed results. Unresolved
5	Socio-economic improvement, roads, houses, educational facilities, water etc	Community members in Damonsville Johannesburg, Mothutlung Brits. Poo-protesters in Cape Town	Collective	Water scarcity Lack of housing. Landlessness. Improvement in sanitation facilities.	Protests, burning tyres, barricade. Erection Splashing of human wastes in public buildings	Police engagement	Death of some protestors. Arrest of protest leaders. Promises to eradicate the bucket system.
6	Livelihoods, jobs, income opportunities, business, land.	Community members in Nellmapius Pretoria (Nov 2014).	Individual and Collective	Lack of land	Invasion of council land, erection of shacks, confrontation with police	Police engagement, firing of rubber bullets	Unresolved

Adapted from Marie-Eve and Hurst (2012).

Table 2.10 above reveals that in the closing years of the apartheid dispensation, protest activities were mainly concerned with issues around democracy and implementation of apartheid segregation policies. Pre-1994 protests were acts of civil disobedience which have been linked to the fall of the regime. The post 1994 protest environment shows the dominance of organized worker movements, and were linked to wage disputes, followed by organized civil society movements demanding policy review and allocation of resources. While different political protests have occurred, a definite shift shows in the increasing mobilization of communities for improved basic services, and then for bread-and-butter issues related to jobs and income opportunities. There has been an increasing disquiet over land issues, housing delivery and more protests for improved living conditions.

The new wave of protest has been linked to the re-emergence of militant trade unions and political groups, with an amplified tempo during periods of local and national elections. Outcomes from these contentions have been mixed- with some concession given by government, a lot of the issues taken through legal processes, some loss of lives- with a number of them remaining unresolved. Noteworthy is the fact that in all of this discord, government has been both the target, and has also emerged as the aggressor in some cases.

Taking into consideration the various contentious episodes in the South African political space, Southall (2014:49) asserts that an apparent inability to meet the increased expectations among the majority black constituency of the ruling party has culminated in a surge of political, students and industrial protests from beneath; which according to the claim, government has met with a mixture of promises, passing the blame and, in many instances, excessive use of state power. It is these contentious politics, which Lodge and Mottiar (2015) in their study of the meaning and motives of protests in South Africa, have aptly interpreted to be an unruly mechanism for political, social and economic re-engagement among South Africans.

2.7 Theories of social unrest and protests

Scholars and social commentators continue to question the reasons for a group of people mobilising, in order to voice demands on issues that affect a much larger community. The following theories provide an insight for social unrest and protest:

2.7.1 Relative Deprivation Theory

This follows a perception of inconsistency between expectations and reality, the experience of being deprived of something or receiving less, which one believes they are entitled to. This sense of entitlement, as posited by Rod and Harrop (2010:170) may be based on, among others, the benefits realised by other groups. The Theory of Relative Deprivation according to Heck and Wech (2003:52), has its origins in the work of Samuel Stouffer (1949), is also traced to the work of Ted Gurr (1970) who conceived it as the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually believe they can get; in other words, the disparity between aspirations and achievements. According to this view, the potential for collective violence differs strongly with the amount and extent of relative deprivation among members of a collective.

The Relative Deprivation Theory has been used in many instances as a key variable, for explaining the desire for social change. Relative deprivation is seen as present at the individual and group levels, individual feelings of relative deprivation compared to others, is termed egoistic deprivation; while the feeling of relative deprivation by a group as compared to another referent group is termed fraternal deprivation. According to van Stekeleburg and Klandermans (2010:2), protests occur when individual grievances are translated into shared grievances and group-based-anger, because when the group's experience becomes relevant for one's experience, or when the personal becomes political, motivation to protest increases. In this view, it is people who experience both personal deprivation and group deprivation, referred to as double deprivation (Mueller, 2010), that are strongly motivated to take to the streets in protest.

The cardinal role of relative deprivation in protest has however come under the spotlight, with doubts cast on the explanation of protests using only the relative deprivation theory. According to Mueller (2010:8), the consequences of relative deprivation on protest behaviour are unclear, and political process theorists such as McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2007) have underlined political opportunity and resource mobilization as key in most protest. Furthermore, Mueller (2010:7) cited Thompson (1971) who rejected the role of objective deprivation, but rather, emphasized subjective perceptions of deprivation as the cause of protests. Shaykhutdinov and Bragg (2011:141) concluded from their study, that higher levels of frustration and relative deprivation, as contained in the grievance interpretation, increased the probability of resort among participants to unconventional behaviour. In other words, grievance from relative deprivation is suggested as a necessary condition for protest.

Various anecdotes provide an insight into how the perception of relative deprivation has been commented on in the South African media and society at large. In his address to parliament, President Jacob Zuma alluded to this, saying that *“the protests are not simply the result of failures of government, but also of the success in delivering basic services. When 95 percent of households have access to water, the 5 percent who still need to be provided for feel they cannot wait a moment longer. Success is also the breeding ground of rising expectations”* (SONA, 2014). Paradoxical as it might seem, there are suggestions that the provision of services into poor communities, rather than the absolute absence of them, lies at the heart of many community protests.

While there are multiple and complex immediate factors behind the eruption of community protest, the research points to the underlying phenomenon of relative deprivation. This line of thinking was also outlined by the Deputy Minister of Public Works (Mr Jeremy Cronin) claiming that, *“although service delivery protests are commonly perceived as an indication of a failure of local government, Municipal IQ has found a strong link between municipal productivity (a measure of local government success) and service delivery protests”*. Their research into municipalities where protests occur indicates that, while they are areas of considerable poverty and unemployment, *“they still have better access to local*

services than residents in the poorest municipalities in our rural areas and indeed than the national average". (IOL News, 2014).

The comments highlight the problem of urgent expectations among the citizenry, who continue to associate government's service delivery with the proverbial snail's speed, and due to existing inequalities, wish to see the same developments in infrastructure improvements obtainable elsewhere, applied in their communities. Without any doubts, many local municipalities such as Mbizana, are providing required services as much as their existing resource capacities allow, but the extent of coverage so far, and the number still awaiting those services, leaves so much more to be desired.

2.7.2 The Youth-bulge Theory

Social demographers refer to the disproportionately large number of young people in the demographic composition of any given country as the youth-bulge (Kaiku, 2011:3). According to Daumerie (2008:2), the youth bulge is evident when there is a sudden change in the structure of the population, characterised by an increase in the number of young people. A key assumption of the theory is the fear that large numbers of youths concentrated in any specific geographic area are perceived as threats to societal order (Hendrixson, 2003, in Kaiku, 2011:4). Scholars in the literature, such as Urdal (2012), Hilker and Fraser (2009) and others, suggest that the incidence of protests is exacerbated by the abundance of young persons in the community, and the term "youth bulge" refers to the proportion of youth aged between 15 and 24 years in relation to the total adult population. In the view of Urdal (2012:1), young people play a prominent role in protest actions, and the existence of a youth bulge has been associated with periods of unrest; with young males identified as the main protagonists.

Three perspectives are prominent in the literature regarding the participation and dominance of youths in protest activities; these as outlined by Hilker and Fraser (2009:3) are greed or opportunity, grievance and developmental perspectives.

- The greed or opportunity perspective assumes that there is material or other benefits to be gained, wherein the costs of participation are extremely low compared to the benefits.
- The grievance perspective stresses relative deprivation and the social, economic and political exclusion suffered by youth as a motivation.
- The developmental perspective suggests that adolescents are more susceptible because of their stage of biological, social and psychological development.

However, the dominant theme which overlaps within the three perspectives, expound that structural exclusion and lack of opportunities which young people face, effectively extends their journey to adulthood, leading to frustration and disenchantment, hence their active participation in protests (Hilker and Fraser, 2009:4). Furthermore, it is suggested that the desired social and economic statuses necessary for adulthood, are increasingly unattainable for many youths, and a number of reasons at the heart of youth exclusion and lack of opportunities are identified. These include unemployment and non-existent livelihood opportunities (ILO, 2009), insufficient education and skills (Oyefusi, 2008), poor governance and weak political participation (UNDP, 2006), gender inequalities and socialization (Francis, 2008) and the legacy of past political violence (DFID, 2007), cited in Hilker and Fraser (2009:26-29).

From a cautionary point of view, there are propositions that though a correlation between a high youth population and higher protest incidence supports a causal claim, it however does not prove causality. Accordingly, this position finds support from a number of analysts who expressed concern that some of the assumptions of the 'youth-bulge' hypothesis might risk stigmatising young people; while challenging the assumption that it is the male youth that are a threat. In support of this, Kaiku (2011:21) admonished that the youth bulge theory is not a safe or neutral intellectual view, due to its propensity toward generalization and stereotyping.

There is an abundance of young people within the study area, who fall into the 15-24 year bracket, out-of-school and without opportunities for training or employment. According to the Mbizana Local Municipality IDP Document (MLM, 2014:47), approximately 44% of the population are unemployed; with young people constituting 77% of the total population, a rather large youth-bulge. The lack of educational and social facilities in the Mbizana Local Municipality, coupled with the dearth of avenues for employment due to the rural nature of the area, also has the potential for creating a large pool of restive youth.

2.7.3 Frustration-aggression theory

This refers to a psychological factor underlying violence with the aggression caused by the frustration resulting from unfulfilled expectations. While closely linked to the excitation transfer theory, it is directed to another target which is as similar as possible to the frustrating agent; and may move beyond a reaction to frustration to become a source of satisfaction (Hog and Abrams, 1998:39). The classical theory of frustration linked to aggression, suggests that the occurrence of aggression always presupposes the existence of frustration (Malici, 2007:105).

In this theory, frustration was seen as both a necessary and sufficient condition for the occurrence of aggression; but this assertion attracted much criticism and was a subject of numerous qualifications. While this theory has been variously revised according to Van der Dennen (2005:9), the central idea of cause-effect linkage between a precursor frustrating event, or situation, and the subsequent episode of an aggressive response remain largely valid. This is in view of the recognition that frustration, which is seen as a grievance, may lead to other modes of behaviour or non-aggressive responses, such as non-violent protests, or non-routine behaviour that are central to this study. Within the context of changing expectations among community members, and the presence of circumstances generating frustration and anger (Amaraegbu, 2011:212), such as rising inequality, lack of employment opportunities and deepening poverty among sections of the citizenry; one is willing to proclaim that this altered hypothesis

does retain a good deal of the original sweeping claim. Frustration actually leads to anger, which generates a grievance that may be expressed in unconventional behaviour during a collective action episode. The spate of violence in the apartheid and post-1994 era in South Africa can therefore be explained using this theory.

These three theories discussed, were purposely adapted for this study, as they exhibit some relationship. The frustration-aggression theory and the relative deprivation theory suggest that individuals become aggressive, when there are obstacles to their success in life (van de Goor et al., 1996 cited in Draman, 2003:8). Furthermore, the frustration-aggression hypothesis is closely linked with the relative deprivation theory, as the theory stresses that people sometimes perceive themselves to be deprived relative to others, especially when conditions improve more slowly for one group than for another. Hence, according to Agbibo (2013:10) the frustration aggression theory provides the psychological dynamic for the relative deprivation theory. With a large youthful population in the Mbizana Local Municipality, the youth-bulge theory suggests that youths are easily frustrated and show their disenchantment through participation in protest action.

2.7.4 Social justice theory

2.7.4.1 The concept of social justice

One of the best known truisms about life is that in many ways, it is plainly not fair. The conception of justice and its application to solving life's problems have been discussed and analysed by philosophers from time immemorial; and fairness and justice constitute fundamental human needs (Lerner and Clayton, 2011:6). However, the notion of social justice, according to UNDESA (2006:10) is relatively new, and that none of the great philosophical minds in history, such as Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, Averroes, Rousseau or Kant, envisaged the need to consider justice, or the redress of injustices from a social point of view. Social justice is accordingly, generally comprehended as *the fair and compassionate distribution of the benefits of economic growth*; which emerged as an expression of

protest against capitalist exploitation of labour, and remained a focal point for the advancement of avenues to improve the human condition. UNDESA (2006) apparently follows an economic angle to social justice, and traces the development of mainstream theories to the conviction among some economists, of *their duty to not only describe phenomena, but to also propose criteria for the distribution of the fruits of human activity.*

The novelty in the concept of social justice however, was not expressly outlined by Jost and Kay (2010:1114) in their assertion that the concept originated in philosophical discourse. Social justice in their opinion is both widely used in ordinary language and the social sciences, without being clearly defined. They stated that social justice *is a state of affairs, whether actual or ideal, in which benefits and burdens in society are dispersed in accordance with some allocation principle(s), procedure, norms, and rules that govern political and other forms of decision making; which aims to preserve the basic rights, liberties and entitlements of individuals and groups.* It describes a situation *where human beings are treated with dignity and respect, not only by authority figures but also by other relevant social actors, including their fellow citizens* (ibid). To benefit from social justice therefore, there is a belief in contribution and allocation according to a set of rules.

While the economic distributive standpoint is concerned with ensuring that people benefit from resources, the psychological angle followed by Jost and Kay (2010) encompasses many concerns that include economic, social, political and institutional. The issue of how to allocate scarce resources, fairly and appropriately, occupied the minds of influential early thinkers such as Aristotle and Karl Marx. While Aristotle opined that ‘we call just the things that create and preserve happiness and its parts for the citizen community’, Karl Marx is credited for requesting that ‘from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs’ (Miller, 1999, in Jost and Kay, 2010:1126). Early philosophers must therefore have theorised about social justice, just probably not in very definite terms. However the question of distribution of resources is linked with certain problems, and brings about issues related to equity, proportionality, merit and equality. These concerns constitute the different areas of social justice

which Tyler and Jost (2007:1147) affirmed to be correlated and partially overlapping; it includes distributive, procedural, interpersonal or interactional, retributive and restorative justice.

The reference to a distinct principle of social justice is credited to Johan Rawls (1971) in his influential writing, where the most just social system is described as one that would be chosen by rational decision makers under 'a veil of ignorance'. This highlights the negative effect of self-interest in creating a just and egalitarian society, as decision makers can only adopt a perfect model of social justice, in the absence of any specific knowledge of their own status or position within the adopted system. The application of social justice, as outlined in UNDESA (2006:13), requires a geographical, sociological, political and cultural framework, under which the relationship among people and communities can be comprehended, measured, and determined as fair or unfair, and this framework is the state. In this context, the state provides the benchmark by which different pieces of social justice are monitored and evaluated.

The concept of social justice in South Africa is described as a key component for social cohesion, and necessary for the improvement of social capital (RSA, 2005). Outlined as a normative term, social justice from a government view-point *refers to the extension of principles, enshrined in our Constitution, of human dignity, equity, and freedom to participate in all of the political, socio-economic and cultural spheres of society* (RSA 2005:ii); and furthermore is the measure of the extent of fairness and equity in terms of access to, and participation in the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of society (ibid). The state therefore indicates that the Constitution provides the basic framework for all matters related to social justice in South Africa.

2.7.4.2 Facets of social justice

There are different aspects or concerns for social justice which are correlated and overlapping, which constitute justice, and described by Tyler (2011:12) as part of the fabric of human society that is critical to the establishment of cooperation, reciprocity and coordination, necessary for group living.

Furthermore, Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira and Jost (2013:229) posited that the fulfilment of justice standards brings with it a sense of control, predictability, satisfaction and trust in the complexities of social interaction, which therefore in their view, enhances mental and physical wellbeing. Key aspects of social justice identified include distributive, procedural, interpersonal or interactional, retributive or restorative social justice. These concerns of social justice have been linked to various scholars, and differentiated by Jost and Kay (2010) for a better understanding. Table 2.11 below outlines the various aspects with associated scholars.

Table 2.11: Social justice concerns.

Aspect	Concern and identified Scholars
Distributive	Consideration of equity and relative deprivation in the allocation of resources (Rawls, 1999; van Parijs, 2007; Reber, 2010)
Procedural	Decision making rule used to determine outcomes (Leventhal, 1980; Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler 2006)
Interpersonal or interactional	Concerns about informal and formal treatment by others in everyday life (Greenberg, 1993; Colquitt, 2001; Schemmel, 2011)
Retributive and restorative	Societal punishment and pro-social alternatives (Carlsmith, Darley & Robinson, 2002; Vidmar, 2002; Van Wormer, 2008).

Source: Adapted from Jost and Kay (2010).

Table 2.11 above shows the evolution of thinking from the sole emphasis of resource allocation in the early years of the theory, progressing to the decision processes, introduction of societal norms and values in relationships, to the reformation of offenders and the fresh idea of promoting communal healing. Within the South African context, the goal of reversing the legacies of apartheid has seen these processes play out in life. The idea of providing basic services follow a distributive aspect, while

various protests related to these services have been as a result of communities not being happy with some of the procedures involved. Community members have also accused government officials of aloofness and high-handedness in some cases, and authority figures (especially law enforcement agents) are reported to have used excessive force in their interaction with protesters, prompting the government to issue guidelines contained in the Batho Pele White Paper which emphasises fair and equitable treatment.

Community members and groups continue to provide support for victims of crime, appearing during court hearings to demand justice, refusal of bail and in some cases out-rightly disowning accused-person, warning them not to surface in the community; as measures to ensure retributive social justice. While there are on-going improvements in the justice and correctional services section (study while serving, skills development in incarceration, etc), known high profile offenders (such as Eugene de Kock, in the Chris Hani's assassination) have been encouraged to reach out to their victims and communities in their search for closure and freedom (parole). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, internationally acclaimed for its healing of the wounds of apartheid, can also be identified as a veritable restorative tool for social justice (Androff, 2012:73; Gade, 2013:10).

2.7.4.2.1 Distributive social justice

Distributive justice enjoys a long and honoured tradition in political, economic and social thought, and according to Konow (2003:1), it has been construed in broad terms and provides the basis for formulating and analysing policies. It is also extensively accepted as an important idea and influential force both in philosophy and the social sciences. In contemporary context, UNDESA (2006:13) reported that social justice is typically taken to mean distributive justice. Undoubtedly issues concerning how to ensure fair access for all, to the benefits from society, are an important and founding component of social justice. Jost and Kay (2010:1123) stated that distributive social justice is concerned with the consideration of equity and relative deprivation in the allocation of resources. Also following the

resource distribution thesis, Van Parijs (2007:1) had posited that distributive justice is achieved, only when entitlements to economic goods are allocated to people as they ought to be.

However, Konow (2003:1) shifted slightly away from an entitlement approach, emphasising both benefits and burdens, or entitlement and responsibilities. In this view, distributive justice concerns the fair, just or equitable distribution of benefits and burdens. These outcomes span all dimensions of social life, and assume all forms, including income, economic wealth, political power, taxation, work obligations, education, and shelter in addition to community activities.

2.7.4.2.2 Procedural social justice

Procedural social justice considerations pertain not only to the allocation of resources, but also to the procedure by which decisions are made. Justice appraisals according to Jost and Kay (2010:1140) are determined by the perceived fairness of procedural against distributive factors. As suggested by Ambrose and Arnaud (2005:60), the belief that fair techniques were used during the resolution of a dispute, are satisfying in themselves. Procedural characteristics affect overall perceptions of fairness and satisfaction, which Van den Bos (2005:274) claimed to exert related effects on an extremely wide range of social and other variables. When people are satisfied that processes used are fair, they therefore tend to follow the decisions made. This explains why people care so much about the procedure used to determine their outcomes, and not just about the favourability of the outcome itself; and is a constitutionally obligated right enshrined in the law which requires written reasons for administrative decisions (Brynard, 2009: 638), as required in the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act of 2000 (PAJA) which is corroborated by the Promotion of Access to Information Act No. 2 of 2000.

2.7.4.2.3 Interactional or interpersonal social justice

Society does not consist merely of the law and the state; it also has a more informal aspect which comprises its cultural institutions, moral rules, and moral sanctions. In order for society to be fully just, the philosophic view of Franken (1962) cited in Kay and Jost (2010:1142), emphasised that it must be

just in its informal as well as its formal aspects. Interactional or interpersonal social justice emphasises fairness of interpersonal treatment, frowning at unfair treatment by both institutionally sanctioned authority figures, such as law enforcement agents, magistrates and judges, public officials, and fellow citizens.

In South Africa and many other African countries, the inspiration for interpersonal or interactional social justice can be found in community values. The practice, idea or belief in Ubuntu, which has been adopted as a guiding framework in the South African White Paper on Welfare (1997), is an African word for a universal concept of being human, to value the good of the community above self-interest, striving to help people in the spirit of service, to show respect to others, and to be honest and trustworthy (Chaplin, 2014:1). Though legal scholars continue to debate the applicability of the word (Bennet, 2011:48), it encompasses fairness, compassion and respect for human dignity (Van Nierkerk, 2013:12). The White Paper for Social Welfare (RSA, 1997) succinctly expresses the various rudiments in Ubuntu, in recognising it as *the principle of caring for each others' well-being, and as a spirit of mutual support. Each individual's humanity is ideally expressed through his or her relationship with others and theirs in turn through recognition of the individual's humanity. Ubuntu means that people are people through other people. It also acknowledges both the right and the responsibilities of every citizen in promoting individual and societal well-being.* It is obvious therefore, that Ubuntu is concerned with how people treat others in their daily lives and interaction, placing emphasis on humaneness among people, respect and sharing the common ideal of humanity in each and every individual.

2.7.4.2.4 Retributive social justice

Retributive social justice places prominence on how punishment should be meted out for morally wrong actions, which have either directly or indirectly caused harm to others (Carlsmith and Darley, 2008:194). The justification for censure finds relevance in the work of moral philosophers such as Kant (1790) and Bentham (1960), who argued that the justification for punishment lay in the utilitarian purpose it serves,

to the benefit of society, whether it made life in society a little better in some important way (cited in Greene and Cohen, 2004:1776). The utilitarian purpose of punishment can be found in the prevention or reduction in the number of potential acts of injustice, linked either to the threat of, and execution of punishment, which can be achieved through specific deterrence, incapacitation or general deterrence. A utilitarian approach therefore emphasises the potential benefit(s) that punishment can have for society as a whole (Vidmar, 2002:295). The emphasis on retributive social justice, as posited by Wenzel and Thielman (2006:451) emanates from the desire to assert group or community values and standards. This is because unjust acts threaten the assumption that social consensus exists, with regards to justice and morality, and the allocation of censure is an effective method of confirming shared values.

Within the South African milieu, considering the high incidence of criminal violence which Vermaak (2009:28) asserts to be alarming, the threat of punitive sanctions which might deter a section of the population from crimes, has not been instrumental in reducing the occurrence of violent crimes. While efforts are being made to redistribute social benefits to formerly disadvantaged groups, Allais (2008:128) stated that retributive justice serves an important moral end that is independent of the promotion of welfare. However, there are calls for a shift to other modes of achieving social justice, with Fatah (2006:1) emphasising the need for abolition of the retributive justice system in South Africa. This call is due to the thinking that a sole aim of the retributive justice system is to inflict pain and suffering on the wrong-doer. It is also described as a colonial imposition, which has surprisingly remained in place long after independence, notwithstanding the manifest advantage of a restorative over a retributive justice system.

2.7.4.2.5 Restorative social justice

The notion of restorative justice according to Robert and Stalans (2004:450) embodies an alternative to conventional ways of thinking about crime and punishment. It provides other avenues for the society to

achieve the goal of reconciling the perpetrator with society. Crawford (2007:1) asserted that restorative justice is one of the most significant developments in justice thinking to emerge over the past two decades. It signalled a shift in focus, where wrongdoings are no longer viewed as a crime against a remote and impartial society or state, but against individuals, or specific victims in specific contexts (Hargovan, 2011:3). As construed by Jost and Kay (2010:1145), restorative justice involves pro-social alternatives to traditional forms of punishment, which is seen as a better option, especially when the key purpose for providing sanction is to re-affirm social values and the consensus of group norms. The idea of restorative justice emerged from professional practice rather than academic circles, which Roche (2006:217) asserted to show many types and varieties, an indication that while the goals of most restorative justice programs appear to be similar, the methods for achieving them will definitely differ considerably. This also agrees with the opinion expressed by Hargovan (2011:5) that it is flexible, varying from country to country, and from area to area, depending on local needs and customs.

Wenzel, Okimoto, Feather and Platow (2008:376) posited that the practice of restorative justice removes the remoteness foisted by administrative processes, thereby providing the opportunity to hand the justice process to its rightful owners, that is, the offenders and their victims including their immediate community. The aim of this is to empower the victims by providing them with a forum in which their voices are both heard and respected. In line with this, from a South African perspective, Hargovan (2011) outlined that the Draft Restorative Justice National Policy Framework (2010) aimed to deal with crime and wrongdoing in a more focussed and coordinated manner, by increasing community participation in the justice system, providing better support for victims and offenders, while supporting offenders in their re-integration back into society.

2.7.4.3 Obstacles to social justice

If social justice concerns enable the state to build an egalitarian society, filled with satisfaction and trust (Costa-Lopes et al., 2013), with the creation of happiness (Aristotle in Miller 1999, cited by Jost and

Kay, 2010), how then do we explain the prevalence of inequality commonplace in our society? From an Orwellian perspective, it is easy to assume that inequality will never be eradicated from society, as 'some animals are more equal than others' (Orwell, 1945:52). John Rawl, the acclaimed scholarly originator of the concept of social justice also agrees, and opined that some degree of inequality in society is tolerable, but only to the extent that it benefits even those who are relatively disadvantaged (Rawl, 1971, in Jost and Kay, 2010:1129). Authoritarianism, social dominance and system justification tendencies are identified as posing threats to the attainment of social justice ideals.

The obstacles to social justice, as manifest in the very high levels of inequality in societies such as South Africa, have been the subject of scholarly interests. Van Parijs (2007:1) admits the controversial nature of the social justice concept, with Smith (2005:1) hinting on the impossibility of social justice in South Africa. According to Veneiris (2013:3) citing ILO (2011), social justice is based on equality of rights for all human beings, and their possibility to benefit from economic and social progress without discrimination. However, Van Parijs (2007:1) opined that *any plausible conception of social justice reflects the idea that members of society regard each other as equals, and therefore owe each other a justification they can accept as equals for any inequality in the entitlements which society defines*. In other words, a classless society that agrees on the mode for sharing societal benefits. A number of scholars such as Jost, Banaji and Nosek (2004), along with Hafer and Begue (2005) have suggested that persistence of inequality is a result of the complicity and contrivance of both dominant and non-dominant groups. This suggestion is in line with the system justification perspective, which expounds a conscious or unconscious motivation to defend, bolster and even justify existing social, economic and political institutions and arrangements. It seeks to maintain an entrenched status quo or elite group benefitting from the system.

The legitimisation of social inequality, as experienced during the pre-1994 apartheid society in South Africa, also constitutes an obstacle threatening to undermine the cause of social justice. As posited by Costa-Lopes et al. (2013:231) legitimising social inequality occurs through individual, group and system

level processes. Within these processes, egalitarianism and fairness may actually be touted as core cultural values, but legitimising permits differential treatment of people on the basis of their social group membership. This means that different standards, of for instance, employment, housing and location, are set for people based on their race by government legislation, and the segregation is supported by some prejudiced value.

Seekings (2005:1) also surmised that inequalities in the distribution of incomes both reflect and reproduce inequalities of opportunities. This inequality in opportunities can be affected by factors such as merit, equity, proportionality and equality. According to Jost and Kay (2010:1126), one of the major difficulties is that decision makers disagree about which factor(s) should be used for determining appropriate rewards. Though there are suggestions that most South Africans agree about the disproportionate level of inequality, and strongly support government measures aimed at reducing inequality, Seekings (2005) however argued that this support for redistribution is not unconditional. Therefore in the application of social justice and its different aspects, decision makers are requested to always consider components of the big picture, or the forest as well as the trees (Tyler and Jost, 2007:1147), in the overall extent to which the social system is being created or reinforced, by the implementation of specific principles or mechanisms of social justice.

The import of this conditional support lies in the emergence of a new class of elites, especially among the black population. Zuern (2013:177) reports the small growing black elite joining the wealthiest top quintile in South Africa, highlighted in the extensive study by the economist Sampie Terreblanche (2012), who concluded that the rich were getting richer, not through any dint of hard work, but rather through the exploitation of the economic and political system. While concerted efforts are seemingly ongoing to create a different picture from the two-nation-in-one, painted by former President Thabo Mbeki, which described a white and affluent nation as against a much larger black and indigent one; concerns have been raised regarding the extra-ordinary levels of economic inequality in South Africa, occasioned by the striking disparities in earning based on race, gender, location and union membership, family

background and political party membership. Economic inequality has clearly now, twenty years after the dismantling of the previous noxious pre-1994 era, become a cause for concern across both formerly segregated racial population groups and within them (ibid); more or less, it can be described as the new apartheid in South Africa.

2.7.5 Collective Behaviour Theory

People make social change happen in groups which are either not organized or very organized. The term collective behaviour refers to events that emerge suddenly, which do not conform to rules or laws, but instead are shaped based on the issue at hand. Collective behaviour describes when people engage in social interactions as a response to ambiguous situations, and is defined as the mobilization on the basis of a belief which redefines social action (Smelser, 1965), or as spontaneous processes and events that form outside existing social structure forged to meet undefined or unstructured situations (Posastiuc, 2013:63).

Though different types of collective behaviour greatly vary in form and manifestation, Posastiuc (2013:1) outlined that its occurrence follows a specific pattern, including a generalized belief such as a common complaint or wish, and a sense of opposition against a larger, mostly unseen adversary. As a result of this, collective behaviour is a highly unpredictable social process that is not governed by clearly accepted rules. It refers to the spontaneous and unstructured behaviour of a group of people responding to the same event, situation or problem, and is not necessarily deviant in nature. Collective behaviour has three basic characteristics; it is short lived, has no clearly appointed leadership or organization, and follows no guidelines or procedure.

The seminal works of Neil Smelser (1965) continue to inform the collective behaviour theory, and provide a set of conditions that influence collective behaviour. Collective behaviour therefore is assumed to be the result of a process which undergoes six outlined iterative steps, following Smelser's approach. Specific collective behaviour forms emerge only if certain conditions are met at the same

time; such as good structural conduciveness of the group, pre-existing structural strain, a generalized belief, the appearance of precipitating factors, adequate mobilization capacity and perceived inadequate social control. Posastiuc (2013:63) termed the existence of these conditions concurrently in any social system as the 'perfect-storm recipe', and include:

- Group structural conduciveness; implies that the group must be large enough with adequate means of communication, so that information easily reaches all members of the group.
- Pre-existing structural strain; indicating a tension that affects the group such as a feeling of being wronged in a particular way, poverty and relative inequality are common factors.
- Generalized belief; which must grow and spread among group members, of certain social actors to be held responsible for the structural strain affecting the group, often referred to as 'popular devils', the people seek to identify enemies.
- Precipitating factors; normally is an unanticipated event which triggers action by awakening the crowd from a sort of behaviour lethargy.
- Mobilization capacity; the mobilization action represents a call to arms which must be carried out to initiate the collective behaviour.
- Inadequate social control; a perception of failure of social control mechanisms, where participants feel rightly or wrongly that control mechanisms in place to prevent violent collective behaviour are flawed or non-existent (adapted from Posastiuc, 2013).

As the six-step process proceeds, there is a narrowing of possibilities that limits the potential outcome. At stage one, a variety of future social processes can take place, but at stage six, only violence or protests can appear. The importance of Smelser's approach is that the six-step pattern defines each and every type of collective behaviour, thereby providing the framework for predicting the emergence of protests.

However, all the six determinants are not easily quantifiable, and attempts to measure them with accuracy are truly impractical. Notwithstanding this drawback, the six-step model is ostensibly an important reference in the development of an Early Warning System (EWS) meant to detect, anticipate and control violent collective behaviour (Renn et al., 2012). It is pertinent to note that these conditions which are ingredients in the 'perfect-storm' recipe can be classified into the three causal factors for protests, which are structural, proximate and triggers. Local authorities such as the Mbizana Local Municipality, and agencies tasked with the maintenance of public order such as the South African Police Service, can hence benefit from the design and operation of an early warning system. Such a mechanism can be utilised to provide useful information from communities to avoid the occurrence of protests, especially those which occur, following the aforementioned six-step processes.

2.7.6 Efficacy Theory

Efficacy refers to the expectation by individuals that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through protest, and according to van Skelenburg and Klandermans (2013:888), is similar to the sociological construct of agency, which assumes that individual actions have the potential to shape and change the social structure. Group unity and receptiveness of the political context are deemed important, and perceived efficacy (Tausch, Becker, Spears, Christ, Saab, Singh and Saddique, 2011), is dependent on the extent to which the individual believes the situation is changeable through collective action. Research outcome supports the likelihood of individuals participating in collective behaviour, when their group efficacy beliefs are strong (van Zoomeren et al., 2012); and this belief has been identified as a basic predictor of support for, planning to undertake, and definite participation in protest activity (Corcoran, Pettinicchio and Young, 2011:579).

It can therefore be assumed that community members participate during protest incidents, with a belief in the potential of their action to bring about the desired outcomes.

2.8 Protest participation and protestor profile

One of the best generalizations in political sociology according to Saunders et al. (2012:19) suggests that formative attitudes and habits remain through life. The thread of their argument suggests that behavioural tendencies associated with politics which are acquired during early life-stages, tend to be exhibited all through one's life. In line with this, individuals are available to partake in protests due to structural and agentic factors. Saunders (2012:8) also averred that there are structural and agential explanations for persistence and commitment among protestors.

2.8.1 Agentic or internal factors

Various sociological, psychological and political theories according to Saunders (2012:8) suggest intrinsic motivation for individuals to participate in protests. Though the frustration-aggression theory has been heavily criticized by scholars such as Norris, Walgrave and Van Aelst (2005), grievances and emotions are still considered motivating factors among protestors. The literature shows considerable evidence that anger, contempt, fear and sorrow influence people's intent to protest on issues underpinned by moral concerns. Klandermans (2004:365) also proclaimed that people protest as a way to gain dignity in their lives through struggle and moral expression.

Agentic explanations suggest that repeat protest-participants differ in attitudinal and psychological features from non-protest participants (Saunders, 2012:9). They may, for instance, be more aggravated with the system or more highly interested in politics; hence their strong internal feature may assist to subdue barriers to protest participation.

2.8.2 Structural or external factors

Structural explanations imply that protestors are not different in their internal features from non-protestors. Rather they are better situated biographically and / or structurally.

Biographic availability suggests the nonexistence of personal constraints which might amplify the risks and costs of participating in a protest activity. Such personal constraint may include full-time employment or family responsibility (Corrigall-Brown, 2011:8).

Structural availability refers to the presence of inter-personal networks which facilitate recruitment to activism (Schussman and Soule, 2005:1086). The significance of person-to-person networks is highlighted by Saunders (2012:8) who proclaimed a lack of surprise that being requested to attend a protest has been found to be a good forecaster of protest participation.

2.9 Civil Protests in South Africa

To comprehend protests in South Africa, one needs to understand protest action and also be familiar with the history of South Africa. The fact that South Africa is regarded as the protest capital of the world (Alexander, 2010) is instructive, and reflects the frequency and utility of protest action among community members. Ngwane (2010:3) regarded protests as a social fact, and also asserted that protest politics is ingrained in the collective psyche of the majority of South Africans. Instructively, protest action is now considered an unofficial default language, conveniently borrowed from the past (February, 2015).

2.9.1 Historical perspective of protests

Tapela (2012:39) advanced the historical legacy and social pathology views, which emanated from a combination of various significant events in South Africa's history (war, oppression and apartheid), as imperative for explaining the occurrence of protests. Ngwane (2011:2) suggested that current protests in South African communities are best understood when seen in the context of the shift from apartheid rule to a democratic dispensation, considering its dynamics and the unmet expectations of many citizens. Furthermore, Jain (2010:33), while analyzing trends in community protests, made a case for

the consideration of South Africa's history of using civil unrest for advancing political objectives. This implies that protests are considered to be a valuable tool in the possession of those seeking attention to an issue, or according to Lodge and Mottiar (2015), are a veritable mechanism for political re-engagement. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2007:1) agreed with the notion of history when trying to understand protest action, and stated that there are different forms of contention which is associated with different types of regimes. Protests in this line of thinking depend on past events which occurred in different environments, and therefore can be useful in explaining the prevalence of protests in some countries (Rudig and Karyotis, 2013:3).

According to Nleya, Tapscott, Thompson, Piper and Esau (2011:14), protests were an important resistance mechanism during the fight against an undemocratic racial regime, embodied by the apartheid era government. Until the post-apartheid era, very few South Africans had any inclination to believe in the rule of law, considering the prevalence of laws intended to entrench racially prejudiced ideologies. During this period, unjust laws were applied unfairly, with the connivance of a corrupt security state seen as unaccountable to the populace. Violent protests were commonplace, and caused by what Chandre (2014:1) citing Kate O'Regan (2009), a Constitutional Court Judge, referred to as the absence of a deep, value-based commitment to respect for law in society, and deep scepticism about the possibility of justice.

Protests were commonly in response to a lack of economic opportunities relative to other sections of the citizenry, poor or non-existent political participation spaces; what has generally been referred to in the literature as political or structural violence against citizens, in the form of disparity, social and political exclusion and persistent poverty (Renn et al., 2011:19). Under the apartheid regime, protests were critically important forms of democratic expressions that increasingly rendered apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. The abnormally high levels of social inequality, described as one of the highest in the world, and a distinctive dual economy- seen as the twin legacy of apartheid-

were hence bequeathed to a democratic dispensation, and are considered as the cardinal structural factors responsible for protest activities in South Africa.

2.9.2 Protesting for government services

The continued and even increasing numbers of protests in a post-apartheid era have undoubtedly come to many as a surprise (Nleya et al., 2011; Tapela, 2012). These protests, as seen by some commentators such as Hart (2008) cited in Nleya et al. (2011:22), point toward feelings of betrayal over skewed material opportunities, apparently intensified by huge inequalities and the predicament confronting many unemployed South Africans. Munusamy (2015) sounded an ominous warning concerning signs of restiveness in South Africa, and outlined their explosive potential; though McLennan (2009:2) viewed these protests as a reflection of the inherent tension in managing the shift from a politics of struggle, to one of delivery, in a highly unequal, dynamic and democratic context.

Many of these expressions of dissatisfaction have been dubbed 'service-delivery protests', and reflect the apparent failure to provide basic services to all within a short space of time. Burger (2009:1) claimed that the primary reason for protests appear to be dissatisfaction with the delivery of basic services; and suggestions abound that local and provincial authorities are struggling to deliver services (Allan and Heese, 2011; Hough, 2009). Following a perceived lack of access to water, sanitation, electricity, housing and employment, many communities have employed apartheid-era tactics in their repertoire of contention, to engage with the state. This motivated the conclusion by Karamako (2011:12), that the protests were a predictable consequence of the systemic institutional failures of government to provide basic services. While the term 'service delivery protests' may not be correctly linked to all protest activities in South Africa, Municipal IQ (2012) averred that it does hold a generally strong descriptive power, considering the inadequacy of municipal services and the occurrence of similar protests across the country.

However, Habib (2013) and some other scholars and commentators, disagrees with the idea that these protests are primarily about the delivery of basic services. His disavowal finds agreement with other researchers and social commentators such as Nleya et al. (2011), Fakir (2014) and Tanyatswala (2014), who claimed it was an inaccurate generalization. Tapela (2012:25) citing Heese and Allen (2009), pointed to a more intricate web of related factors, which suggests a contradiction of the service-delivery failure claims. It therefore is not surprising that some commentators such as Nleya (2011), Cronin (2012), and Yunus (2010), have stated conclusively that service delivery failures were not the only cause of protests in South Africa. Also in line with this, Dawson (2010:109) cautioned that over-exaggeration of the service delivery element, runs the risk of glossing over the real issues.

The media is accused of characterizing all grievance activities and unrest as series of service-delivery protests (Habib, 2013:2). Undoubtedly, there are cases of failure in delivery of services, but many other issues are raised and the slow response to long standing issues, complaints and lack of communication, have acted as triggers. These protests in the view of Fakir (2014:5) are against poor governance, as people are demanding a say in the process of service delivery. This viewpoint is also espoused by both government officials and civil society groups. According to Jeremy Cronin, the Deputy Minister for Public Works, it is not so much the absence of services, but a desperate competition over who controls their allocation, that is the cause of these protests (Cronin, 2014).

Furthermore, Nleya et al. (2011:27) pointed to a complex web of factors acting in unison and sometimes in discord, as responsible for the spate of protests, which they suggest has produced the state of affairs experienced in South Africa. Fakir (2014:20) provides a governance perspective, and refers to the situation as a crisis of representation, responsiveness and accountability. This implies that community members are not involved in the decision-making on issues that concern them, neither do they feel that their complaints are attended to, and resources earmarked for the development of their communities are not correctly utilized. Several commentators such as Alexander et al. (2013), Burns (2010), Pithouse (2011) and Alexander (2010) are of the view that these protests were a rebellion of the

poor, especially given its spread and recurrence, which Habib (2013:5) asserts to be a broad process rather than a discrete set of events. This assumption is given credence as the protests reveal striking similarities in the forms of contention, geographic space, organization and demographics; and takes on the semblance of a disorganized, disconnected social movement.

2.9.3 Protest tactics and logic of current protesters

Protestors do not have to re-invent the wheel and they often find inspiration in the ideas and tactics espoused and practiced by others (McAdam and Rucht, 1993, cited in Porta and Diani, 2006:179). Therefore, the semblance between current protests and apartheid-era struggle tactics is not surprising, and in view of a hostile relationship between the previous apartheid state and disadvantaged citizens, Bandeira and Higson-Smith (2011:16) posited that, anti-apartheid actions are replicated in current collective action. In the main, community members continue to rely on the modes of interaction with government that they know, which is a confrontational relationship fuelled by a deep sense of injustice.

Unfortunately, some of the apartheid-era protest tactics, in the context of a democratic dispensation, pose uncomfortable questions. Do these tactics border on the irrational? How can these acts be justified? In searching for an explanation to some destructive incidents among communities, where community members destroy social infrastructure such as schools and clinics located in their proximity, even keeping children away from attending school, one might be forgiven for referring to such dramatic tactics (Doherty, Plows and Wall, 2007:806) as a self-inflicted pain, unnecessary and bounded around absurdity. As espoused by Alexis de Tocqueville cited in Nbeta (2012:267), people cannot have an interest opposed to their advantage. Is it therefore possible that these acts of destruction perpetuated, are to the advantage of the community members or protesters?

Explanations to these questions may be suggested using the excitation–transfer theory, where arousal from one situation can be transferred to another target. Bashiriye (2010:39) asserted that among early

frustration-aggression theorists, such destructive behaviour was considered as being beyond a mere reaction to aggravating circumstances, but rather seen as a source of satisfaction.

Biggs (2012:1) cited Tarrow (1998) who offered a possible insight pertaining to such tendencies, and posited that protest tactics were learned cultural creatures. In these instances, protest behaviour cannot simply be seen as reactive or spontaneous, or be thoroughly comprehended looking only at what sways the individual protester. Rudig and Karyotis (2013:3) also submitted that protest repertoires were a consequence of behavioural patterns that carry different meanings, and whose parameters are defined by shared culture, which shapes the relationships between power and resistance. Generally, people making claims against powerful adversaries select a tactic of persuasion from their existing protest repertoire, which is a small subset of the set of all possible tactics; and Biggs (2012:2) further concurred that a key proposition in the evolution of protest tactics is that people are more likely to adopt an existing tactic than to invent a new one. In other words, the same protest tactics used by apartheid-era protesters are adopted and used by current protesters.

From a media coverage perspective, Wouters (2013:83) proclaimed that protest actions are communicative acts staged to signal situations of injustice; and agreed that it is not the act itself, but the reaction of others to the act, that brought political leverage. This fits into the view expressed by Francisco (2010:37) that protesters usually adopt and act symbolically. Protesters utilizing tactics that cause destruction, in order to ventilate their grievance, are therefore hoping to shock the establishment into action and arouse attention to their issues, in a manner that keeps their complaint in the eyes of the public.

The seminal writing of Neil Smelser (1962) argued that the factors leading to collective behaviour are social, not psychological; and from a functional thinking perspective, the behaviour provides some sort of benefit for society. Smelser assumed that participants are rational, and that circumstances come about in a particular order for an episode of collective behaviour to occur. Using Smelser's value-added

perspective, wherein collective behaviour follows a particular sequence before occurring, collective behaviour participants, in the view of Locher (2002:41), do have the ability to reason; however circumstances and other existing social factors have created a situation where illogical and irrational behaviour seems logical and rational to those within the situation.

Thus, such a scenario, at face value, seems illogical, unreasonable and even unjustifiable. However, such a judgement reflects a gross misunderstanding or even blissful ignorance of the history and nature of protests in South Africa. Furthermore, any remedial measure(s) subsequently undertaken in line with this judgement may prove ineffectual at stemming a repeat occurrence. Hence the often stated importance of understanding the context and underlying reasons behind these protest actions.

2.9.4 Protest as developmental activism

Protests in South African communities, according to Jolobe (2014:2), have been very direct and antagonistic, and convey unambiguous messages of popular discontent with the brokers, select beneficiaries and active players in the political space. While theorizing about the composition of community protests in a post-apartheid era however, Tanyatswala (2014) referred to these protests as a new developmental activism.

Activism describes a process whereby individuals act to have an impact on significant social change, which Ollis (2008:2) asserts, generally requires some resistance towards state apparatus or systems, and at times includes some form of civil dissent. Furthermore, citing Couch (2004), is seen as the role assumed by individual or collective actors either to resist a political wrong, or bring about political changes through contained tactics; and according to Kenny (2006), stems from the post-enlightenment tradition of humanism, which draws attention to the state in its creation of social advantage (Ollis, 2008:3). Activists in this sense, therefore seek to coerce the state to promote policies, actions and ideals that provide intrinsic benefits to citizens.

Considering the progress made since the end of apartheid, and level of infrastructural development in communities, some commentators have questioned the increased and sometimes violent protests that contradict the evidence of improvements, especially in formerly disadvantaged communities. The suggestions of a failure in the delivery of services, is faulted and consigned as a dominant simplistic narrative, or the viewpoint of detractors by Tanyatswala (2014), who instead proposed a development activism notion.

The protests are described within this idea, as a combination of street power and representative democracy, aimed at ensuring the participation of communities in the setting of their own development agenda. Six key points are highlighted as contributing to the occurrence of community protests (Tanyatswala, 2014), and include:

- Struggles to deepen democratic participation and community involvement in the development process.
- Struggles over the control of the benefits of development brought about by the democratic state.
- Struggles for meaningful economic participation and decent livelihoods.
- Struggle to enhance government participation and responsiveness.
- Involvement of local political leaders.
- Involvement of unemployed youth.

The conclusion from these points highlight that the protest in itself may be a sign, not of failure, but that of an effective state caught in its own successes, and a victim of a heightened democratic environment, where citizens' earlier denied participation space, are now jostling for contention. It however, based on the literature reviewed so far, succeeds in amplifying what Fakir (2014:10) referred to as a real crisis of representation, responsiveness and accountability.

2.9.5 Protesters with a sense of entitlement in a perceived developmental-welfare state

The South Africa Constitution has been described as liberal and progressive (Godsell, 2012; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks and Piper, 2007; Brand and Heyns, 2005) with various rights of its citizens enshrined, and the Local Government White Paper of 1998 outlines mandate for a developmental local government, expected to provide basic services. Commenting on service provision in the post 1994 era, Madywabe (2005) in Bond (2014:2) lamented a new culture of entitlement, in which government is expected to solve all problems and this sense of entitlement prompted former President Nelson Mandela to emphasize that *"we must rid ourselves of the culture of entitlement which leads to the expectation that the government must promptly deliver whatever it is that we demand"*.

The same sentiments are echoed by Mamphela Ramphele (then Word Bank Director) who argued against a rights based strategy, with the attendant expectation by citizens for the delivery of free services. This state of affairs, according to Bond (2014:4), may have been foreseen by policy advisors to the government, citing Alan Hirsch (2005), who suggested *'a social democratic approach to social reform, where the state underwrites the improvement in the quality of life for the poor, and to reduce inequality, but with a firmly entrenched fear of the risks of personal dependence on the state, and of the emergence of entitlement attitudes'*.

Commentators and scholars are quick to point to a perceived contradiction in the South African policy environment, which has given rise to this sense and culture of citizen's entitlement. The governance framework has been associated with various policy somersaults, characterized by a defined developmental state (Edigheji, 2010:2) superimposed with the image of a welfare state (Van Nierkerk, 2010:1) in a market-based environment. According to the Charities Aid Foundation South Africa (CAFSA), the democratic South Africa has been described as neo-liberal, welfarist and developmental in the same breath, and the state has introduced a number of interventions that do not neatly fit into any clearly defined model (CAFSA, 2012:36).

At the onset of a democratic dispensation in 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was outlined as a guiding policy with a key programme to meet basic needs of jobs, land, housing, water and electricity (RDP, 1994). While it was seen as an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework (ANC, 1994), seeking to create a developmental state, there are views that the efforts required to make it happen were totally underestimated, regarded by some as ambitious targets (Zikhali, 2015:83), with promises suggesting the immediate realization of lofty dreams (Iltmann, 1996:23), and without consideration of the distance between the ideal and reality (Powell, 2012:12). The introduction of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme in 1996, indicated a shift towards a neo-liberal agenda (Reitzes, 2009:10), aimed at inducing faster economic growth required to provide resources for social investment. While the GEAR programme recorded mixed results, the government introduced an Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA) in 2006, aimed to become the engine for growth and development, with a limited set of initiatives to spur rapid and shared growth.

The Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) for 2009 to 2014, the New Growth Path (NGP) 2010, including the National Development Plan (NDP) launched in 2012, signalled a swing back to a developmental agenda. According to Kuye and Ajam (2012:51), the pursuit of a developmental state agenda is currently an official policy of the South African government, and as contained in the NDP, one of its prime objective is the building of a developmental state (NPC, 2012:140).

In the face of a perceived developmental or even welfarist agenda in South Africa, citizens continue to depend solely on the state for the provision of a range of free services, especially among the previously disenfranchised with a widespread sense of entitlement (Southall, 2014:63), to meet their needs for shelter, utility and livelihoods. What then is a developmental state or agenda, and how has this been interpreted or translated within the South African environment?

The term 'developmental state' is credited to Chalmers Johnson (1982), arising out of his work in the emerging Asian economies, or 'Asian Tigers' in the economic literature (a reference to Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan which experienced strong economic growth between 1960 and 1990, and later Malaysia and Indonesia, all formerly under the Chinese cultural sphere of influence). In this context, the developmental state is characterized by a strong centralized administrative authority that plays a central role in determining macro-economic policy and planning, and which is not hesitant in market intervention for guiding the path of economic development (Bagchi, 2000; Evans, 1995) cited in Penderis and Tapscott (2014:2).

According to CAFSA (2012:37) citing Marais (2011), a developmental state refers to a model of economic growth and social redistribution, in which the state acts, within varying degrees of autonomy, as a major variable promoting growth, determining its patterns and ensuring social development. Furthermore Turok (2010) viewed a developmental state as the most effective vehicle for ensuring that the state actively and purposefully intervenes in the economy; and Makgetla (2010) referred to it as the ability of government to manage capital and bring about broad-based development (ibid).

The concept of the developmental state is however a clearly contested terrain in South Africa (Thornhill, 2012:132), with Bond (2007) suggesting it was an often abused phrase, and Holdt (2010) questioning the coherence of the term; which prompted Gumede (2010) to express scepticism regarding developmental states in Africa (CAFSA, 2012:39). Understood as a state-led macro planning environment, a key attribute of developmental states is a strong and skilled bureaucracy, comprised of eminently qualified, competent, independent and well organized civil servants, operating without undue political interference.

Considering the often cited political interference in the South African public service, a widely reported lack of competence and skills among public servants (Atkinson, 2001:64), weak institutions (Edigheji, 2010:2), widespread nepotism and patronage networks, Kuye and Ajam (2012:52) reported a trenchant

scepticism to the developmental state ideal among scholars in South Africa. This in their view is occasioned by a vague definition of the developmental state vision, which they claim to be lacking specific content, and according to Penderis and Tapscott (2014:4) indicates a confused understanding of the nature of a developmental state. Furthermore, while there is a lot of talk regarding a developmental state in South Africa, much of it has been superficial, more of rhetoric than practice, which Tshishonga and De Vries (2011) in Kuye and Ajam (2012:52) claimed to be more or less ideologically framed, rather than practically grounded.

However, the principle of a developmental state in South Africa needs to be understood from the historical realities of a post-apartheid dispensation. The intent of the proposed developmental state post-1994 was to provide a vehicle for overcoming the legacies of apartheid rule (Madumo, 2012:42), and improve the welfare of a large majority of citizens. According to Penderis and Tapscott (2014:3), there was a concerted effort to move away from the often autocratic and top-down approach followed by the Asian countries, and avoid the domineering character of the Asian model, characterised by authoritarianism, managerialism and social exclusion. These features, such as a blind obedience to the authority of government, and the monopolistic role of managers in public administration, were in conflict with the ideals promoted by the South African constitution, with its emphasis on democracy and citizens rights.

In order to ensure a strong redistributive role for the state, and incorporate a more citizen-focused and democratic approach, South Africa followed what has been referred to in the literature, as a democratic developmental state (Edigheji, 2010; Penderis and Tapscott, 2014). Adopting a more nuanced position, Ntshitenzhe (2011:6) claimed that a variety of approaches, or paradigms, can be followed in creating a developmental state, arguing that, it depends on the path chosen by the state to achieve their developmental objectives, and the instruments utilized to this end.

The democratic developmental state is seen as one that forges broad based alliances with society, and ensures popular participation in governance processes (Thornhill, 2012:129). Furthermore, local government was empowered to both provide needed services and ensure citizen empowerment, through legislated participation. The justification for this, according to Pieterse (2007:2) is the belief that municipalities, as the sphere of government closest to the people, are best positioned to drive economic inclusion, development and empowerment.

Considering the emphasis by government on social welfare through the expansion of grant schemes (Hagen-Zanker, Morgan and Meth, 2011:10) and social housing projects (RSA, 2009:18), including economic empowerment programmes especially to the formerly disadvantaged population, in the face of a shrinking resource base (Southall, 2014:52; Ndlovu, 2012:1), it is obvious therefore that the developmental state agenda, has leaned disproportionately towards the agenda of 'social redistribution' (emphasis mine), at the expense of economic growth, in order to maintain a populist disposition especially among voters (Reitzes, 2010:3).

In this stance, the government has followed what Evan (1992) in Penderis and Tapscott (2014:1) referred to as an intermediate model or hybrid model, which Kuye and Ajam (2012:56) asserts to contain some neo-liberal, developmental, welfare and clientalist neo-patrimonial state characteristics. Furthermore, the developmental state approach is poorly articulated in national policy, and aggravated by weak inter-governmental coordination, which Penderis and Tapscott (2014:1) suggests to have caused its failure to progress beyond political rhetoric. Aptly referred to by Bond (2014:1) as tokenistic, this policy (dis)stance prompted Atkinson (2007:53) to enquire whether the developmental local government agenda had failed in South Africa, apparently caused by the confusing tendency of national government to ostensibly 'talk left', while actually 'walking right'; thereby exposing local municipalities to bear the brunt of conflicting state policies.

2.9.6 Findings from other protest studies

2.9.6.1 Identified causes of protests

The more immediate problem is linked to unfulfilled promises regarding service delivery, and the wider problems of crime, deteriorating condition of government departments and services rendered, including personally motivated protests among ruling party politicians, a proliferation of groups which are seen as spontaneous and not formally organized, suspicions of the existence of unverified third force, and poor communication with communities (CoGTA 2009). Other identified causes include the lack of transparency in municipal processes, poor governance, ineffectiveness and political infighting, perceived inability to perform allocated functions by municipalities and improperly constituted policies (Hough, 2008:6; Managa, 2012; Zikhali, 2015:80-83).

Protests according to Mashamaite (2014:236) are a result of the following weaknesses in local municipalities:

- Ineffectiveness and lack of responsiveness to the needs of citizens.
- Organizational culture not lending itself to effective service provision.
- Intergovernmental systems being unfavourable towards local municipalities.
- Most municipalities forced to carry the burden of failed policies.
- Mixed reaction of role-players to the demand of protesters, with some reported total disregard for the relevance of protesters demands (Marais et al., 2008; Atkinson, 2007).

Others include exclusion from decision making processes, failure to address inequalities and unemployment, corruption, unfulfilled promises and nepotism (Sebugwawo, 2012; Nleya, 2012).

2.9.6.2 Stages or 'periodisation' of protests and seasonality

Three identified distinct phases include a first phase in the mid to late 1990's related to discontent over municipal services such as housing and lack of infrastructure (Bond, 2000). A second phase in early

2000 linked to the rise of new social movements such as Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF) which were mainly urban movements pioneering new class politics (Desai, 2002); these were characterized as a diverse set of organizations with the objective of organizing and mobilizing the poor and marginalized, to contest and engage the state around the failure or lack of policy that would effect social change (Habib, 2005). The third phase refers to current protest actions, which include community uprisings and militant worker strikes which do not exhibit sustained ideological tendencies (Ngwane, 2010).

Municipal IQ (2014) suggests that the winter season is typically prone to more protests, and several potentially mutually reinforcing explanations are suggested. These include an increased demand for electricity, increased damage caused by flooding, amplification of housing deficits, decreased quality of water following pollution caused by winter storms. According to Yunus Carrim (CoGTA Deputy Minister) with the onset of winter, people's lives become more intolerable and deepen their frustrations; little wonder it is referred to with the strikingly accurate term 'a season of discontent'.

2.9.6.3 Predicted consequences

The literature highlights that among others, so long as communities perceive that they will only be able to access service provision by calling attention to their condition through violence and destruction, community protests will remain a common occurrence (Jain, 2010:33; Managa, 2012:1). On another level, there are comments at the possibility of a social revolution, and instability in the face of continued occurrence of these protest activities (Mashamaite, 2014:237).

2.9.6.4 Suggested remedial measures

Local municipal councils through the ward councillors and local officials are urged to develop specific communication strategies to include communities in the planning process, and alleviate the current frustration that most of these communities have expressed of being excluded. This will also deal with the current lack of communication and often false or exaggerated rumours of corruption, nepotism and

mismanagement (Municipal IQ, 2014). Others have suggested the activation of cross-municipal learning through experience sharing platforms, and the strengthening of local government (Managa, 2012:1). Urgent interventions are required at the municipal level, including strengthening human resource capacity, dealing decisively and objectively with corruption, improved financial management, strengthened performance management systems, ensuring accountability, transparency and public participation (Mashamaite, 2014:237).

2.10 Summary of chapter

This chapter has outlined and discussed a number of theories pertaining to public management and protests. It reviewed public management approaches such as new public management, public value, and open systems. The review emphasised that municipal environments need transformation in order to provide services effectively and efficiently to communities. The discourse around protest theories highlighted the approaches and models around social conflict and collective behaviour. It provided clarity around the grievance theories, suggestive of factors that have been identified as responsible for many protest activities, and discussed the issues raised by relative deprivation and social justice thinking. The role of traditional leaders and the issues linked to improved community participation were also discussed, with the identification of key models for enhancing participation, and the important role of ensuring good governance, including its potential for addressing the issues leading to protests.

The next chapter highlights the tools and approaches utilised for the conduct of this research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights and explains the various tools and terms that have been employed to collect and analyze data for this research. It describes the reason behind the choice of tools, and efforts made to manage limitations associated with style of data collection and analysis. According to Lichbach (1998:403) the world is both factual and counterfactual, constraint and construct, and the best argument that methodological issues need to be taken seriously is the demonstration that inappropriate methodological choices lead to wrong conclusions (Geddes, 2003:18). While Holden and Lynch (2004:2) agree that research should not be methodologically-led, they however contend that methodological choice should be consequential to the philosophical stance and phenomenon under investigation. A methodology is the framework associated with a particular set of paradigmatic assumptions, which can be used to conduct research (O' Leary 2004:85).

3.1 Research paradigm

A paradigm is a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts or proposition that orients thinking and research. According to Mackenzie and Knipe (2006:194) citing Mertens (2005), the paradigm influences the way knowledge is studied and interpreted. The research paradigm used in any study holds great importance for the research methodology (Collis and Hussey, 2003:55), and the choice of a paradigm indicates the intent, motivation and expectation of the research. Research paradigm is the philosophical motivation for undertaking a study (Cohen and Manion, 1994, in Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006:194) and consists of three elements, which are, a belief about the nature of knowledge, a methodology and a criteria for validity (MacNaughton, Rolfe and Siraj-Blatchford,

2001:32). Accordingly, the proposed study follows an interpretivist or phenomenological research paradigm.

Interpretivist research approaches intend to understand the world of human experience (Cohen and Manion, 1994:36), which suggests that reality is socially constructed (Mertens, 2005), and the interpretivist researcher needs to rely on the participants view of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2003), cited in Mackenzie and Knipe (2006:196).

Phenomenology is the study of phenomena, their nature and meanings; and the focus according to Finlay (2009) in Kafle (2011:182), is on the way things appear to us through experience. It is an umbrella term encompassing both a philosophical movement and a range of approaches, or an all-encompassing perspective (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994), which allows the researcher to provide a rich textured description of lived experience, even though contemporary theorists have, according to Finlay (2009) in Kafle (2011:182) recast the phenomenological project towards elaborating existential and hermeneutic dimensions. Hermeneutic phenomenology as reported by Kafle (2011:187), focuses on subjective experience of individuals and groups, and is an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the subject through their lived experience. This school of thought believes that interpretation is all we have, and that the description itself is an interpretive process.

3.2 Research design

A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn, to the initial questions of a study, thereby ensuring coherence (Rowley, 2002:18). The proposed research is a descriptive case study, and will employ a mixed methods approach combining a qualitative and quantitative method for data collection. The aim of a research design is to guide the process of collecting and analysing data, and comprise the practical arrangements of getting an answer to the research question (Daper, 2004:13). Though interpretivist approaches rely on qualitative data collection methods and analysis, or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods (Kafle, 2011:196),

quantitative data is utilized to support or expand upon qualitative data, hence deepening the description. The cases study approach was deemed an appropriate research strategy for this study.

3.2.1 Case study research

The case study is an empirical enquiry in which the focus is on contemporary phenomena, and the boundaries between the phenomena and its context are not clearly evident, which according to Yin (2003:13) is suitable for studying complex social phenomena, which involves many variables of interest and multiple sources of evidence. An important strength of case studies, as outlined by Rowley (2002:18), is the ability to undertake an investigation into a phenomenon in its context; a naturalistic design hence not requiring replication in an experimental setting to better understand the phenomena.

Case studies are an established design used extensively in a wide variety of disciplines, particularly in the social sciences, and the approach is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue, with the added utility of explaining, describing and exploring events or phenomena in the everyday context in which they occur (Crowe et al., 2011:1). For the purposes of this study, the framework shown in Table 3.1 below was adopted to overcome limitations associated with case study research approaches.

Table 3.1: Limitations and corrective measures for case study research

Supposed limitation	Corrective measure
Conceptualizing the wrong case, resulting in lack of theoretical generalizations.	Develop an in-depth knowledge of theoretical and empirical literature, justify choices made.
Large volumes of data not relevant, or too little to be of value.	Focus data collection with research questions, be flexible and allow different paths to be explored.
Defining or bounding the case	Focus on related components (either by time and/or space), be clear what is outside the scope of the case.
Lack of rigour	Triangulation, respondent validation, use of theoretical sampling, transparency of the research process.
Ethical issues	Anonymity and informed consent of participants.
Integration with theoretical framework.	Allow for emergence of unexpected issues, no force-fitting, test preliminary explanations, and ensure clarity about epistemological position.

Source: Adapted from Crowe et al. (2011:8).

3.3 Target population

The target population is the specific pool of cases which the researcher wants to study (Neuman, 2006:224), and the cases may refer to persons, towns, documents or other pool of things. For this study, the population consist of residents in 31 wards of the Mbizana Local Municipality.

3.4 Sampling method and size

The sampling of a population according to Brynard and Hanekom (2005:43) is employed to simplify the research, save time and costs. A sample in this instance refers to a small number of cases selected from the population on which the research is conducted to gather data. Four wards with the highest incidence of protests were sampled, and a random sampling technique used to select the sample populations. The four wards were identified by the Chief Protection Officer (Mbizana Local Municipality), using records from the municipal Incidence book. The wards including specific communities identified

comprise of Ward 1 (Bizana Highlands), Ward 20 (Lukholo), Ward 26 (Nomlacu) and Ward 8 (Magusheni).

3.4.1 Determining sample size

The accurate determination of sample size for a research is contested in the literature, but most scholars agree that the appropriate sample size depends on level of accuracy required, degree of confidence interval, and the degree of variability in the attributes being measured (Gardner, 2010:1). The level of precision or sampling error is the range in which the true value of the population is estimated to be, and the degree of variability refers to the distribution of attributes in the population. The more heterogeneous a population, the larger the sample size required to obtain a level of precision.

In every statistical analysis, the objective is to minimize error and maximize the true measure, hence as the sample size increases, the random extraneous errors tend to cancel out each other, thereby giving a better picture of the true measure of the population (Yount, 2006:4). In many cases, and from many sources, the common advice for sample size is to use as much as possible. Reasons to consider for increasing the sample size are the presence of uncontrolled variables, breaking the sample into sub-groups, expectation of a high attrition level among the sample population, and a requirement for a high level of statistical power. It is possible to apply a rule of thumb in determining the sample size, as shown in Table 3.2, or to follow the suggestions common in the literature for sizes of 10% in a large population, or 20% for smaller population groups.

Table 3.2. Sample size rule of thumb.

Size of population	Sampling %
0 - 100	100%
101 – 1000	10%
1,001 – 5000	5%
5,001 – 10,000	3%
10,001 +	1%

Source: Adapted from Curry (1984).

There are mathematical formulae to calculate the sample size, such as articulated in Kadam and Bhalerao (2010) and Senn (2007); including tables from a variety of sources. Sample size estimation is a significant concern for researchers, as apart from statistical considerations, guidelines related to ethics, grants, and publications, need to be adhered to (Gardner, 2010:14). It is important to achieve the correct balance for the sample size, to avoid either too many or too little units. Between the economy and convenience of small samples, and the representativeness and reliability inherent in large samples, is a trade-off point, which balances the practical considerations against statistical power and generalisability. There are a range of software packages that are available to perform sample size calculations, including Minitab, PS, G-Power and Epi-info / Statcalc. The sample size for this study was set at 10% of the estimated population of the study area of 281,905 which gave a sample size of approximately 280 respondents. In order to ensure a good response rate of over 70%, a total of three hundred questionnaires were administered.

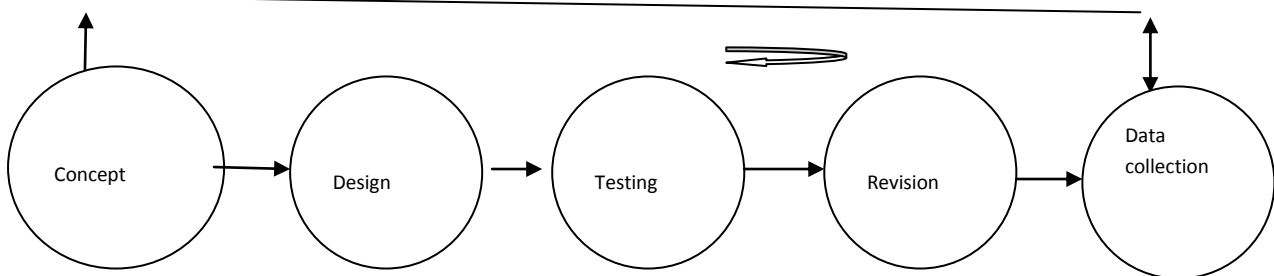
3.5 Measuring instrument

A questionnaire was designed and used to collect data from randomly selected community members. The questionnaire is an instrument of research with a special function of measurement, and according to Fox and Bayat (2007:88) is a list of questions on specific topics compiled by the researcher, to which answers are required. As an instrument of research, its main purpose is to operationalise the users' information demand into a format which allows statistical measurement (Brancato, Macchia, Murgia, Signore and Simeoni, 2004:3).

Questionnaires are designed to ensure that the information or data collected, accurately and reliably portrays reality; hence the wording, structure and layout of all questionnaires must lead to valid and reliable results. Furthermore, the questionnaire must make allowance for the nature and characteristics of the respondent population. Five stages of questionnaire design and testing are outlined by Brancato

et al. (2004: 121), including conceptualization, design, testing, and revision before data collection, as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: The five stages of questionnaire design and testing.



Source: Adapted from Brancato *et al.* (2004).

- **Concept:** Conceptualisation outlines the aim of the research, shows an understanding of the relevant literature and theoretical concepts involved. It borrows from improved and much detailed objectives of the study, resulting in the identification of questions that are relevant, concise and efficient.
- **Design:** A crucial part of the research design involves the questionnaire design addressing the needs of the research. The section in the schedule must be well laid out, and linked to the data analysis. A properly designed questionnaire facilitates the collection of appropriate data, and the drawing of accurate references. It also includes the scale type, projective methods and check lists.
- **Testing:** The pilot work meant to try out the instrument, if and how the questions are answered, how to identify and approach potential respondents or members of the target population.
- **Revision:** involves making corrections where necessary, so as to improve the effectiveness of the data collection. During the revision stage, recommendations from various sources are incorporated into the instrument, and if necessary tested again to ensure the completeness of the instrument.
- **Data collection:** The actual process of gathering the required information or data for the research. Data collection commences after all the above mentioned stages.

The questionnaire used for this study underwent these stages outlined above, and hence provides the assurance that the data collected are as accurate and reliable as possible, and therefore portray the reality about the phenomenon being studied.

In the questionnaire for this study, the questions were framed as statements requiring the ranking of respondent's opinion, based on a five point Likert scale. Respondents were requested to make choices to statements, ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. The Likert scale developed by Rensis Likert (1932) is a valuable tool for gaining insights into respondents' feelings, opinions and attitudes. The Likert scale according to Pearce (2011:160) has several defining characteristics, namely a declarative statement and a number of response categories with distinct cut-off points which assume linearity and equal intervals. The declarative statement is designed to solicit more definitive responses from the respondents. A factor analysis was also used to ensure the response received is an adequate measure of respondent's attitude with regards to the variable, as outlined in Yong and Pearce (2013:80).

The research instrument consists of 73 items, with a level of measurement at a nominal or an ordinal level. The questionnaire is divided into 5 sections which measure various themes as illustrated below:

- Section A: Demographic Characteristics
- Section B: Factors leading to community dissatisfaction
- Section C: Challenges to addressing community issues
- Section D: Role of identified stakeholders in community protests
- Section E: Available avenues for resolving community issues

3.5.1 Advantages and disadvantages of the questionnaire as a measuring instrument

Though the questionnaire is a popular and fundamental tool for acquiring information (Bird, 2009:1312), its use is also associated with some limitations. While it is less expensive and can reach a large pool of

respondents with greater anonymity (Kumar, 2005:130), it is also associated with either low response rates or poorly completed answers. The response may be influenced by preceding questions, providing no opportunity for the researcher to clarify the question, and the questions limit the nature of answers provided (Brynard and Hanekom, 2005; Bird, 2009).

In order to mitigate these limitations, additional questionnaires were distributed above the target number 280 respondents. Also trained field workers were used to ensure adequate answers, and clarify the questions without influencing the respondent's answers. The following factors were also considered in the design of the questionnaire (Brancato et al., 2004:35-39):

- Open versus closed questions: Both styles were adapted, as some of the questions were categorized so that the respondents' choice corresponds to one of the pre-determined choices. However, there was an opportunity for the respondent to provide an opinion which the interviewer recorded.
- Leading questions: No leading questions were used, and there were no 'hints' or encouragement for the respondents to align with a specific position or observation.
- Specificity: The questions or statements were clearly stated, and were as specific as possible to avoid any misunderstanding by the respondent.
- Order of questions: The questions were arranged in a logical order, while the sections were well set out. Introductory questions were of a general nature aimed at allowing the respondents to feel relaxed. Sensitive questions were asked or framed in a very indirect non-personal manner.

All these factors were considered during the stages leading to the drafting of the final schedule used for this study. The questionnaire was also cross checked by the study supervisor before the field work started.

3.6 Recruiting process and data collection method

The Researcher requested permission from the Municipal Manager to conduct the study in the Mbizana Local Municipality (see attached permission letter as Annex 3), and Ward Councillors from the selected wards were informed of the study. Ward Committee members for each ward were selected by ballot, and the household enumeration number marked by Statistics South Africa for the general household census in 2011, used to randomly identify the remaining respondents in each Ward. In some cases where there was no number marked, the last respondent was requested to identify another community member to be interviewed.

The Chief Protection Officer at the Mbizana Local Municipality and the Public Participation Officer in the Mayor's office were also interviewed. The data was collected using the interview schedule (attached as Annex 4) and questionnaire prepared for respondents (Annex 5), which was translated into the isiXhosa language spoken in the proposed study area (Annex 6). Field workers were engaged to distribute the questionnaires (through home visits) and, where necessary, assisted the respondents with completing the document.

Other secondary sources of data were also used including reports, other studies, and newspaper articles and published materials.

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis involves the way by which researchers read meaning out of the raw data collected from the field. The data from the interviews was analysed using the qualitative process of thematic and content analysis, as this methods of data analysis is a more holistic and interpretive approach.

The data from the questionnaire was coded, and entered into a Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22, software database for analysis. This involved the use of screening data techniques, and appropriate tabular and graphical means, aimed at measuring relationships and

comparing assigned groups (Strewing and Stead, 2001:172). Chi-square tests were also utilised to provide a statement of statistical significance of the Likert scale scoring patterns, and association or relationship between the variables.

3.7.1 Cronbach alpha, factor analysis and correlation among variables

In order to ensure that the data is reliable, the analysis will include a Cronbach alpha score of the items in the questionnaire. It is expected that an acceptable reliability coefficient of at least 0.70 will be obtained, as outlined in Tavakol and Dennick (2011:54). They assert that the cronbach alpha test is used to compute the correlation of each test item on the questionnaire with the total score test, and items with low correlation be deleted. However if the alpha score is too high, this suggests that some items are redundant, as they are testing the same question in different guise, and are also removed.

A factor analysis will also be used during the data analysis. The factor analysis operates on the notion that, measurable and observable variables can be reduced to fewer latent variables that share a common variance and are unobservable (Batholomew, Knott and Moustaki, 2011:3). Furthermore, these unobservable factors are not directly measured, but according to Yong and Pearce (2013:80), are essentially hypothetical constructs used to represent variables. The importance of factor analysis is that large datasets consisting of several variables, such as in this study, can be reduced by observing clusters of variables (ie factors). Factor analysis therefore assembles common variables into descriptive and meaningful categories (Field, 2009:10), thereby assisting to facilitate interpretation, as it is easier to focus on some key factors rather than having to consider too many trivial variables. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007:14) however caution that the analysis has certain limitations, including the naming of factors which may be problematic, as the factor names may not necessarily reflect the variables within the factor. Also some variables are difficult to interpret, as they may load onto more than one factor (split loading). To avoid this limitation, the suggestion by Yong and Pearce (2013:82) to conduct studies

using large samples, at a specific point in time to ensure reliability of the factors, was therefore followed.

For this analysis, a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and a Bartlett's test of sphericity was conducted. The requirement is that the KMO measure of sampling adequacy should be greater than 0.5 (Field, 2009). The Bartlett's test of sphericity also tests the hypothesis that the correlation matrix is an identity matrix, as all diagonal elements are 1, and all off-diagonal elements are 0, implying that all of the variables in the questionnaire are uncorrelated. If the Sig value obtained from the chi-square test is less than the alpha-level, the null is rejected which implies that the population matrix is not an identity matrix and the conclusion will be that there are correlations in the data set, appropriate for factor analysis.

The service of a statistician was obtained to assist in the preparation of the data collection instrument, checking of the entered data, and interpretation of collected data.

3.8 Pilot testing

A pilot test in research is the process whereby the research instrument is tested. It is the dummy run for the main investigation, but on a very small scale; required to determine whether the research instruments will yield the kind of information that is needed. In the view of Welman et al. (2005:148), the purpose of a pilot study is to detect possible flaws in the measurement procedure, and to identify unclear or ambiguous items.

The pilot test contains all the elements of the main investigation but serves as a testing of the data collection method (Sibiya, 2010:99). While preparing the research instruments, a draft of the questionnaire and interview guide was tested, and modified as required, as specified in Brancato et al. (2004). The following steps were used for the pilot testing of the questionnaire:

1. Three postgraduate research colleagues in the Department of Public Management were requested to make recommendations regarding the questionnaire, including the inputs by the proposal reviewer.
2. A select group of 10 respondents (community members) in two other Wards with recorded protest incidents, but not including the four identified wards with highest recorded numbers of protests, were conveniently sampled during community meetings. This follows Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003:308) who advised that a minimum number of 10 persons from the same population be used for the pilot.
3. An assessment by a statistician regarding the schedule and approval by the research supervisor.

The following framework in Table 3.3 was thereafter used for feedback and recommended changes to the questionnaire.

Table3.3: Pilot study feedback framework

Focus	Description	Feedback and recommendations
Content	Relevance of questions or statements	Inter party conflicts, only one dominant party, and suggestion for intra-party conflicts made was incorporated. Service rendered in other communities was also included in the questionnaire.
Instructions /cover page	Clear instructions for the respondents and/or interviewer.	The importance of the respondent's informed consent was emphasised on the cover page.
Questions	Clarity of questions asked or the statements made	Some of the statements were rephrased after the pilot phase for the purposes of clarity.
Layout	Appropriateness of the questionnaire layout.	The questionnaire layout was considered appropriate, after the incorporation of the comments by the external reviewer and the study supervisor.
Length	Time taken to complete the schedule	The initial questionnaire lasted on average 40 minutes, which was considered lengthy. Some statements were merged, and some request for comments from respondents removed. Further testing showed a reduced time of between 25-30 minutes.

Source: Researchers construct 2015

3.9 Delimitation

The research covered four wards within the Mbizana Local Municipal area, hence may not be used to generalize to other areas.

3.10 Limitation

The proposed research was constrained by the paucity of funds and time, which limited the researcher from interviewing more community members in other wards.

3.11 Validity

Validity is the degree to which a measuring instrument measures what it is designed to measure, and seeks to confirm the truth and accuracy of the measured data (Neuman, 2006:45). A valid instrument therefore, measures the concept in question, and measures it correctly. Internal validity is the validity of the measurement itself, and external validity is the ability to generalize the findings to the target population. It is necessary in research, to ensure that the measuring instrument (the questionnaire in this instance) is valid (Golafshani, 2003:597). Two key validity measures are the content and construct validity. Content validity addresses how well the items developed to operationalise a construct, provide an adequate and representative sample of all the items that might measure the construct of interest. Usually content or face validity depends on the judgement of experts in the field. Construct validity, on the other hand, is based on the accumulation of evidence from numerous studies using a specific measuring instrument. It requires examining the relationship of the measure being evaluated, with variables known to be theoretically related to the construct measured by the instrument. Generally, all evidence of validity contributes to construct validity (Kimberlin and Winterstein, 2008:2278).

The questionnaire was subjectively assessed for presentation and relevance of the questions. The researcher requested assistance from two fellow postgraduate students to check the relevance, non-ambiguity and clarity of the questions. Furthermore, the study supervisor was requested to critically

evaluate the schedule, and all suggestions were then incorporated into the interim questionnaire. For construct validity, this was ensured by a thorough review of relevant literature, other studies, reports and articles related to the concepts in the study.

Threats to the validity of a research instrument include the occurrence of an event unrelated to the study, sample selection process and the participants attitude (internal); likewise, the type of sampling method utilized, validity of the research instrument itself, and the predictive value of the instrument also constitute external validity threats.

3.12 Reliability

Reliability according to Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:145) refers to the measurement that is dependable and yields the same result repeatedly. In the same vein, it further refers to the extent to which independent administration of the same instrument produces the same outcome under comparable conditions. Therefore, reliability is the degree to which measurements are repeatable, when different persons perform the same measurement, on different occasions, under different conditions, with supposedly alternative instruments which measure the same thing. It therefore describes the consistency of measurement or stability of measurement, over a variety of conditions in which basically the same results should be obtained. Normally, the less variation the instrument generates in repeated measure of an attribute, the higher its reliability.

The relationship between reliability and validity implies that an instrument which is not valid cannot be reliable, and a reliable instrument is not necessarily a valid one. Drost (2011:106) provides a useful explanation to this ambiguity, and asserted that reliability is the part of a measure that is free of purely random errors, and that nothing in the description of reliability requires that the measure be valid. Thus, reliability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for validity.

Ensuring the Internal consistency of measuring instruments is a widely used technique to ensure its reliability, among others (stability and equivalence). Internal consistency concerns the reliability of the test components, and measures consistency within the instrument to determine how well a set of items measures a particular characteristic within the test. For internal consistency, estimates of reliability are based on the average inter-correlations among all the single items within the instrument. The coefficient alpha popularized by Cronbach (1951), is the most popular method for testing internal consistency, and was used to test the questionnaire items.

Reliability is also applied to the data itself, concerned with the sufficiency of the sample size as truly representative of the population. To ensure the reliability of the data, a split-half analysis of data consistency is recommended. A true split-half analysis involves randomly dividing the data into two equal halves, and calculating the correlation between the two data sets. If the correlation coefficient is sufficiently high, ideally greater than 0.7, then the data can be assumed to be reliable.

The pilot testing of the instruments and the results thereof was also intended to ensure the validity and reliability of the research tool.

3.13 Ethical considerations

Ethics are a set of moral principles widely accepted and offers rules and behavioural expectations (De Vos, 2005:57), it has become a more pervasive idea which Creswell (2008:23) asserts to stretch from the origins of a research study to its completion. In research, ethics reveals what is legitimate in research practice, and should be a primary consideration, rather than an after-thought, always at the fore-front of the researcher's agenda (Hease-Bieber and Leavy, 2006:83). Ethical issues are important and must be observed while conducting research (Kafle, 2011:197), and the best way to avoid ethical problems is to conduct research using methods that do not compromise ethical standards, that is, research that is legal, relevant and necessary. Scholars such as Bryman (2008) and Creswell (2008) have opined that ethics sometimes present dilemmas, requiring the researcher to strike a delicate

balance between the requirements of the research, and values or rights of the participants. A number of principles are outlined by Hammersley and Traianou (2012:1), Rieder (2009:4), Bryman (2008:124-128), Cresswell (2008:23-25) and Long (2007:47) to ensure adherence to ethical standards, including the following:

- Do no harm: Harm involves a number of aspects, and may not be physical, referring to any effect that reduces participant's self-confidence or well being. It is about safeguarding the proper interests of those involved or affected by the research; hence researchers need to consider the effect of their engagement and consequences of their participation.
- Informed consent: Participants should be given as much information as might be needed, to make an informed decision regarding whether or not they wish to participate.
- Protect privacy: While informed consent is given, the research respondents have not abdicated their rights to privacy, and therefore can refuse to answer any question on sensitive issues.
- Offer reciprocity: Respondents give up their valuable time to participate, no matter how small, any attempts to ameliorate the time and effort spent is considered in good light.
- Treat people equitably: No matter the condition around the respondent, they should be treated in exactly the same way as every other person, with respect and dignity.
- Ensure integrity: The research must be what it is claimed to represent, and all ethical issues need to be taken into consideration.
- Avoid deception: Deception occurs when researchers represent their work as something other than what it is. The use of covert methods that compromise privacy and anonymity could put participants at risk.
- Voluntary participation. While linked to informed consent, precludes any form of pressure or incentivising to participate in the study. Inducement to participate, when respondents would otherwise decline participation, also negates the principle of voluntary participation.

The research adhered to these outlined principles, which are also in line with the institutional ethics guidelines, to ensure that the research process is guided by relevant ethics.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned principles, Bryman (2008:124) stated that there is a degree of deception in every kind of research, necessitated by the need to avoid contamination and bias. The ethical objection to deception however, is because self-interest is a stake, that of the entire fraternity of social researchers. This seeming paradox is clarified by the Social Research Association (SRA), outlining in their ethical guidelines that *it remains the duty of social researchers and their collaborators, not to pursue methods of enquiry that are likely to infringe human values and sensibilities*. Continuing, SRA (2003) emphasized that, *to do so, irrespective of the methodological advantages, would be to endanger the reputation of social research and the mutual trust between social researchers and society, which is a prerequisite for much research* (www.sra.org.uk). It therefore becomes the responsibility of researchers to make proper ethical decisions that are based on their understanding.

The objective of the study was explained to the participants, including its academic nature. Informed consent was also obtained before participating, and the respondents were informed of their rights to withdrawal, how privacy concerns are addressed and issues related to anonymity. Of importance also, was the observance of cultural values among the study population. To ensure this, the questionnaire administrators were selected members or residents of the specific communities where the questionnaires were administered.

3.14 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was maximally ensured, wherein the information collected from the study will only be used for the research purpose; and the information collected therefore will not be passed on to any other party. Maintaining confidentiality implies that, only the investigator or individual collecting the data can identify the responses of individuals. As outlined in CUNY (2012:1), the researcher must make every effort to prevent others from connecting individual respondents with their responses.

3.15 Anonymity

Grinyer (2002:2) asserted that the consideration of mechanisms to protect the identity of research respondents, have become central to the design and practice of ethical research. Respondents and interviewees will remain anonymous as the response will not be linked to the research participants by name, as outlined by Creswell (2007) in Bryman (2008:119). Therefore, for this study, no information collected links individual responses to participant's identities or their location.

3.16 Summary of the chapter

This chapter outlined the method employed in the collection and analysis of data for this research. The early section outlined the importance of methodology in research, the philosophy guiding this research and the design followed. In the middle section of the chapter, emphasis was on the population for the study, how the sample was selected and the issues regarding sample size. It also outlined the measuring instrument used and its contents, how the collection of data was envisaged and how the data collected was analysed. The final section of the chapter tackled ethical issues related to this research. The limitations and scope of the research also received mention. The next chapter outlines the results obtained from the data collection process and discussion of these results.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter presents the results and also explains the findings obtained from the study. A questionnaire was the primary tool utilised for collecting data, and was distributed to selected respondents in the Mbizana Local Municipality. The data collected from the responses was analysed with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22.0, and the result is put forward in tables and graphs, including a narrative of the responses from the interviews conducted. Inferential statistics used include correlations and chi-square test values, which are interpreted using the p-values.

4.1 The sample and response rate

A total of three hundred questionnaires were administered and out of this number, 280 questionnaires were returned, with 255 considered fully completed and valid, giving a response rate of 90 percent.

4.2 Reliability statistics and factor analysis

The table below reflects the Cronbach's alpha score for all the items that constituted the study questionnaire.

Table 4.1 Cronbach alpha score of questionnaire items

	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Q6	12 of 12	0.802
Q7	10 of 11	0.678
Q10	8 of 8	0.793
Q11	4 of 6	0.708
Q13	10 of 10	0.817
Q14	7 of 8	0.652
Q16	6 of 7	0.682
Overall	62 of 62	0.818

The overall reliability score of 0.818 exceeds the recommended value of 0.700. This indicates a high (overall) degree of acceptable, consistent scoring for the various sections of the research instrument. Most of the questions have scores that meet the minimum requirement, though the values for some questions are only slightly below the acceptable norm, and is due to the construct being newly developed. The summarised table below reflects the results of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure and Bartlett's test.

Table 4.2 KMO and Bartlett's test for factor analysis

	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Q6	.801	895.7	66	.000
Q7	.627	673.6	55	.000
Q10	.791	579.6	28	.000
Q11	.635	263.0	15	.000
Q13	.697	884.7	45	.000
Q14	.702	346.4	28	.000
Q16	.663	368.8	21	.000

From Table 4.2 above, it can be observed that in all instances, the KMO measures are greater than 0.5 and the significance levels are less than 0.05 for the Bartlett's test; conditions are therefore satisfied which allows for the factor analysis procedure. Sections of the questionnaire statements were subdivided into finer components, and analysed using a rotated component matrix (sample attached as Appendix 7). The factor analysis or loadings indicate inter-correlations between variables, and certain statements were omitted due to negative covariance. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was used as the extraction method, and the rotation method was Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation. This is an orthogonal rotation method that minimises the number of variables which have high loadings in each factor, and simplifies the interpretation of the factors.

4.3 Tests of statistical significance and relationships

A chi-square test was used to determine whether the differences in scoring patterns were significant, the purpose of which is to nullify the hypothesis that suggests that the scoring for each option for each statement is the same. The scoring pattern for the statements (sample attached as Annex 8) indicates significant differences as their p-values were mostly less than the level of significance (0.05). Also another chi-square test was performed to ascertain significant relationships between the variables (sample attached as Annex 9). Also a bivariate correlation was performed on the ordinal data (sample also attached as Annex 10), where positive values indicate a directly proportional relationship between the variables, and negative values indicate an inverse relationship; significant relationships are indicated by an asterisk. The descriptive and inferential statistics related to the results are jointly discussed where necessary.

4.4 Socio-demographics of study respondents

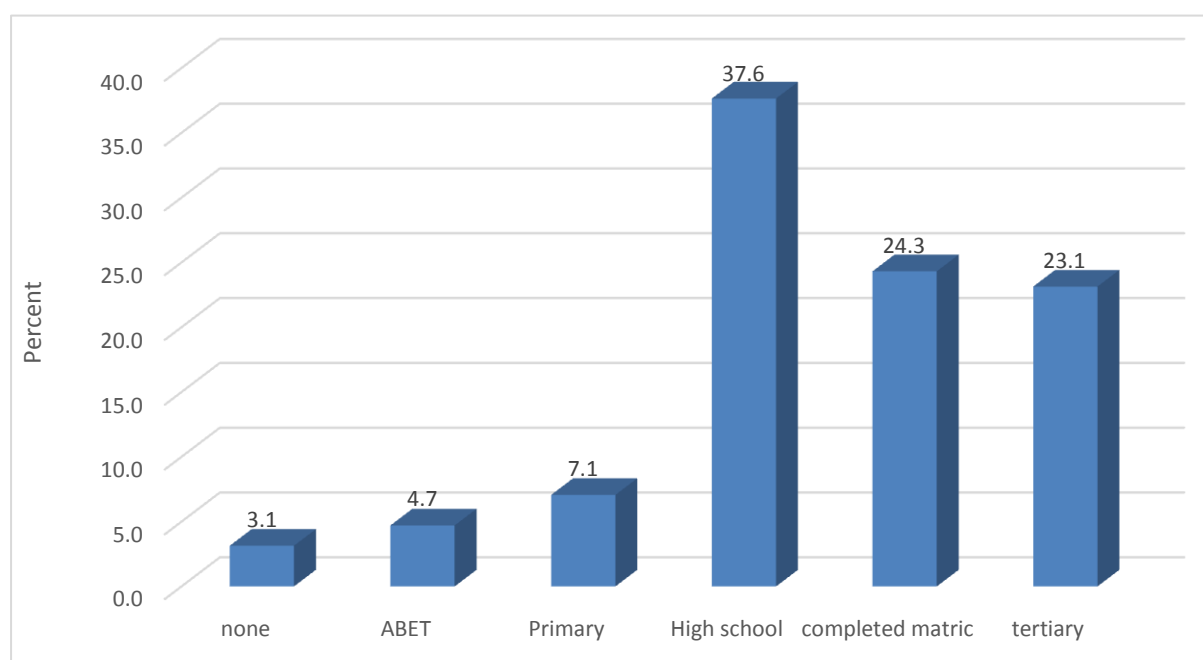
Section A of the questionnaire captured the demographic make-up of the respondents. It requested information about the age, marital status, level of education attained, and the employment status of respondents. Table 4.3 and figures 4.1, 4.2 below provide information about the demographic characteristics of the study respondents.

Table 4.3: Demographic characteristics of respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percent
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	120	47
Female	135	53
<i>Age (years)</i>		
21 – 35	113	44
36 – 45	80	31
46 – 50	50	20
51 – 65	8	3
66+	4	2
<i>Marital status</i>		
Single	124	49
Married	94	37
Other (widowed / divorced)	37	14

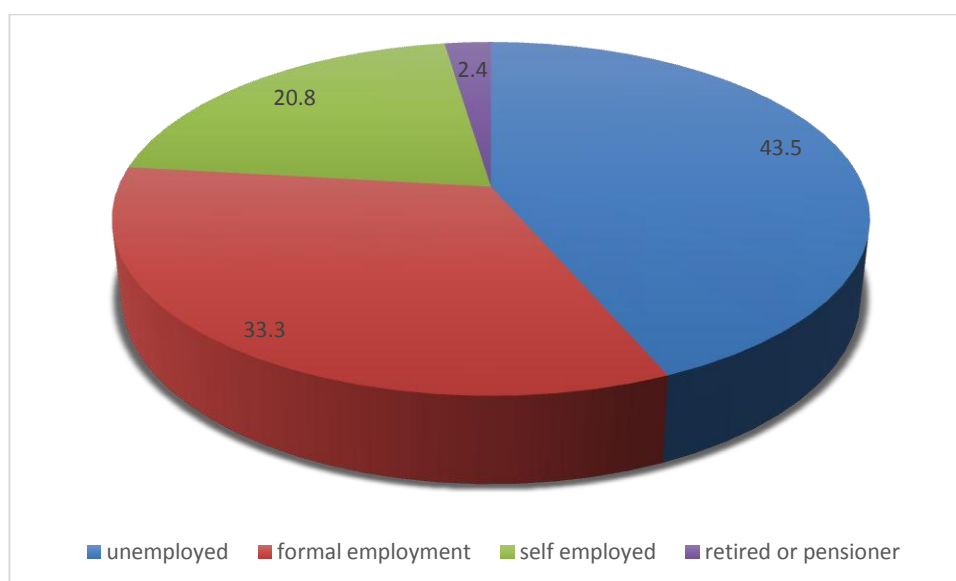
The table above indicates that fifty-three percent of the respondents were females, and forty-seven percent males. While older adults above 50 years constituted roughly five percent of the respondents, younger segments of the population between 21 and 35 years made up forty-four percent of the respondents (the gender distribution by age is attached as Annex 11). Approximately fifty percent of the respondents were single, and thirty-seven percent were married. The education level of respondents is shown in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Educational attainment of respondents



Approximately twenty-three percent of the respondents have a tertiary-level education, with twenty-four percent of respondents completing the matric exams, and approximately thirty-eight percent with a high school (Grade 9) education as shown in Figure 4.1. Only three percent of the respondents did not have any schooling, while five percent and seven percent had received an adult education or attended only a primary school respectively. Furthermore, the employment status of the survey respondents is captured in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 Employment status of the study respondents



Approximately forty-four percent of the respondents are unemployed, with thirty-three percent in formal employment, and twenty-one percent either self employed or in informal employment, while two percent of respondents were retired.

4.4.1 Discussion of the respondents' demographic characteristics

Demographic characterisation of study respondents play an important role in the data analysis, as the age, gender, marital and employment status contribute to how respondents interpret statements or questions contained in the questionnaire. Respondents who are employed, for instance, differed in their response to "participation in municipal planning processes" (analysis sheet attached as Annex 12).

The data is consistent with the socio-demographics of the study area, as there are more females (54%) than males in the population. Also the population is highly skewed in favour of the youth group who together make up over 77% of the population. The 2011 census figures from Statistics South Africa show that about seventy-seven percent of the population in the Mbizana Local Municipality are youths. In keeping with this pattern, seventy-five percent of the respondents were below 45 years, while the remaining twenty-five percent were above 45 years.

There is a high level of unemployed persons in the area, with approximately 44% of the population classified as unemployed. The educational profile and literacy levels in the study area is also consistent with the characteristics of the respondents, as there is a low level of residents with tertiary qualifications in the population of Mbizana Local Municipality.

4.5 Experience of respondents with local representative structures

The questionnaire solicited the respondents experience with their community representative structure (councillor and ward committee members). The support provided by these structures and their cohesion with members of the community was framed as statements, to which respondents provided their opinion on each. Out of the four statements, two each related to the councillor and ward committee members. The statements and results regarding the experience with local representative structures are outlined in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Respondents experience with their local representatives

Statement	Total respondents	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
Ward committee members provide support to the community.	255	16	9	75
Ward committee members are known and active in the community.	255	30	16	54
The ward councillor is supported by community members.	255	26	23	51
The ward councillor provides support to the community.	255	35	15	50
Total % of all respondents	100	27	16	57

The data shows that seventy-five percent of respondents agree that ward committee members provide support to the community, while sixteen percent disagree with the statement. Fifty-four percent of respondents agree that the ward committee members are known and active in the community, thirty percent of respondent disagree and sixteen percent of respondents were undecided. Conversely, fifty-one percent of respondents agree that ward Councillors are supported by community members, twenty-six percent disagree, and a further twenty-three percent were undecided. Also fifty percent of respondents agree that the Councillors provide support for community members, thirty-three percent of respondents disagree and fifteen percent were undecided.

Comparatively, the responses demonstrate a stronger link with the statements regarding the ward committee members, than those regarding the ward councillor. While seventy-five percent of the respondents agreed with the statement concerning support provided by the ward committee members, only fifty percent of respondents agreed that councillors provide support to the community. From another perspective, sixteen percent of respondents were not in agreement regarding the statement of support provided to the community by ward committee members; conversely thirty-five percent of respondents expressed divergence with the statement of support provided by the councillor.

4.5.1 Discussion of experience with local representative structure

The greater show of support for ward committee members among respondents is not unexpected, as ward committee members are closer to community residents than ward councillors. There are members of the ward committee representing every village that make up the ward, and a councillor may not be residing close to many respondents. Ward committee members also may have been jointly selected by community members, and are therefore regarded as appointed by community members; whereas ward councillors in many cases have been selected by the political parties, following their internal processes which may produce a candidate for elections, which may not be agreed upon by most community members.

The role of ward committee members is however limited, their function is intended to be advisory to ward councillors, meant to provide assistance when communicating with communities and performing political mobilisation functions. According to Baccus et al. (2007:16), ward committees are the primary vehicle for interaction between local citizens and government, though they have no delegated authority.

4.6 Experience of respondents with municipal participation processes

In order to assess the experience of community members with the municipal public participation processes, and their views regarding action taken by the local municipality on their articulated issues; the survey instrument contained a number of statements that were expressed regarding opportunities to participate in municipal processes. The statements suggest that community members participate actively, and make contributions during planning processes organised by the local municipality. The experience of respondents concerning municipal planning processes from the data collected is highlighted in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Respondents experience with municipal processes

Statement	Total number of respondents	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
There are opportunities for community members to contribute to municipal planning.	255	42	22	36
Community members participate actively in municipal processes	255	42	22	36
Total % of respondents	100	42	22	36

The result show that among respondents, forty-two percent disagree with the statement that there are opportunities for community members to contribute towards municipal planning, while only thirty-six percent agree with the statement, and twenty-two percent were undecided. The statement that

community members participate actively in municipal processes also show the same response, as more respondents disagree (42%), compared to respondents who agree with the statement (36%).

4.6.1 Discussion of respondents experience with municipal participation processes

Many community members have varied views regarding their participation in municipal planning processes, and especially the efficacy of such participation. While some suggest that there are no avenues or opportunities for participation, the fact remains that the process of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is legislated as a means for ensuring community participation in municipal planning processes. It is recognised that one of the main features about integrated development planning and budget process, is the supposed involvement of community and stakeholder organizations in the process, to ensure that the IDP addresses the real issues that are experienced by citizens. Moreover, the participation in decision making processes of the municipality is determined to be a right of communities, residents and ratepayers, and integrated development planning is emphasized as a special field requiring public participation. The issue remains whether the input of community members and other participants in the IDP process is taken into consideration. The data therefore, suggests that more needs to be done to encourage residents to participate in the municipal planning process.

The participation theories outlined in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.5.2 suggests that in the absence of effective participation, community members will continue to feel like strangers in invited participation spaces, such as municipal IDP processes. The CLEAR participation, active participation, and the governance models all indicate the need for community members to feel empowered in the participation process, and have their say in the final decision-making process to ensure good governance.

4.7 Respondents experience with output from municipal planning processes

The contribution of community members during municipal planning processes is expected to culminate in subsequent action by the municipality, aimed at addressing those issues raised by community members. The survey elicited views from respondents with regard to action taken by the municipality to

address the concerns of members of the community. The statement in the questionnaire, for which the opinion of respondents was solicited, suggested that the municipality took action on issues identified by the community. The response obtained from this statement is shown in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Community identified issues acted on by the municipality

Statement	Total number of respondents	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
The municipality acts on issues identified by the community.	255	37	24	39
Total % of respondents	100	37	24	39

The data indicates that thirty-nine percent of respondents agree with the statement, while thirty-seven percent of respondents disagree with the statement, with twenty-four percent of undecided respondents. Put together, the data suggests an almost equal split between those in agreement with the statement and those that disagree with the statement, and a high number of undecided respondents.

4.7.1 Discussion of respondents' view of output from municipal planning processes

While community members participate during municipal planning processes, and in other related public participation avenues such as mayoral imbizos, ward community and ward committee meetings organised by the councillor, IDP Representative forum, LED forum and others; many respondents continue to verbalise a generally held view concerning inaction on the part of the municipality, in relation to issues identified by communities. The reason for this seeming inaction however is not far-fetched. A cursory glance at the numerous issues identified by communities for municipal implementation, reveals something akin to a child's Christmas wish list (see annex 13).

Considering the yearly revenue allocated to the local municipality for its capital expenditure, the realisation of these community expectations looks truly herculean. Municipal revenue comes through the Division of Revenue Act (DoRA), and the municipality receives income from the Equitable Share, Finance Management Grant (FMG), Integrated Electrification Grant (IEG), Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG), Municipal Systems Improvement Grant (MSIG) and the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The local municipality also generates revenue streams internally from municipal property rates, refuse collection and distribution of electricity, including leasehold fees, advertising, traffic fines, hall hire, agency and tender fees, in addition to interests on investments.

By its own admission, this revenue is not enough to cover all responsibilities that the municipality is required to undertake (MLM 2014:99). Additionally, the Mbizana Local Municipality is also constrained by inadequate human resources due to unfilled staff positions, especially in the Community Services, Engineering Services and also in the Development Planning departments, crucial for effective service provision. As shown in Table 4.7 below, out of a total 428 budgeted posts, 240 positions have been filled, with an outstanding 188 vacant posts.

Table 4.7: Filled and vacant staff positions at the local municipality

Directorate	Number and budgeted posts	Filled posts	Vacant posts
Municipal Manager	78	67	11
Corporate Service	37	21	16
Budget & Treasury	24	19	5
Community Services	103	77	126
Engineering Services	56	37	19
Development Planning	30	19	11
Total	428	240	188

Source: MLM 2014.

Table 4.7 shows that most of the vacant posts are located in the Community Services and Technical (Engineering) directorates. The high number of vacant posts may be attributed to both budgetary constraints, and skills availability. With such a severely constrained financial and human resource

position, it is not very difficult to understand the inability of Mbizana Local Municipality to take action on many issues identified by community members. Based on this, the need for prioritising community issues needs to be taken into consideration, so as not to unduly elevate expectations from communities.

The Public Value Theory (see 2.2.2.1) can also be considered important in this regard, as it has the potential to contribute to the determination of essential services and projects which have a more desirable 'value' to communities. The theory suggests that public value management enhances the ability of officials to support the provision of the exact package which the citizens desire.

4.8 Respondents view of information and support in resolving community complaints

There is general agreement that many protest incidents result from a lack of information and failure at resolving complaints. This was explored by the research, and respondents views regarding provision of adequate information related to their complaints and the attendant procedures to follow in their search for resolution to complaints were solicited. A statement suggesting that information and support is provided for community members, in their quest for resolving complaints was put forward in the survey instrument. The response from community members regarding this statement is shown in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8 Provision of information and support for resolving complaints

Statement				Total number of respondents	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
Community	members	informed	and	255	33	31	36
supported in resolving complaints							
Total % of respondents				100	33	31	36

The results indicate that thirty-six percent of respondents from the survey agree with the statement, while thirty-three percent of respondents disagree with the statement, with a further thirty-one percent undecided. The high number of undecided respondents may indicate some reluctance to provide a negative opinion among the surveyed community members.

4.8.1 Discussion of respondent's view of information and support for complaint resolution

Many respondents agree that information regarding their complaints is provided, especially by the representative structures in the community. It is the responsibility of the municipality to provide information and support during the resolution of community complaints. The municipality has a petitions system in place, aimed at aligning the complaints resolution system with regulatory requirements. Communities with a complaint are expected to submit a petition to the municipal council, stating their grievance and requesting action to be taken. Ideally the petitions committee would meet with representatives of the community to seek an agreeable solution to the issues raised. In the absence of an agreed solution, and when the community intends to publicly show their displeasure through a protest, they are required to write a letter of intent to the Municipal Manager giving seven days notice. In the Mbizana Local Municipality, the petitions committee is made up of five councillors, a representative of the traditional leaders and an official who acts as the secretary of the committee. The official is supposed to be appointed as a Petitions Officer, providing dedicated service for all issues related to community complaints; this post has however not been created and appointed yet, and other staff at the communications or council support section currently provide ad-hoc support. The petitions committee is set up in compliance with Section 79 of the Municipal Systems Act, and is expected to meet at least once a month. According to a municipal official interviewed, many community members display a lack of knowledge regarding this procedure, and the municipality has embarked on community education drives to sensitise communities about this. The Batho Pele Principles also allow for the

municipality to inform community members of the type and quality of services, including redress measures for community members in case of seeming failure to deliver by the municipality.

4.9 Respondents experience with leadership conflict and community issues

The survey instrument was used to elicit the observation of respondents regarding some of the issues that result in conflict between leaders in the community. The situation wherein protest incidents were either a result of political action, or removed from the issues that concern community members was explored. Statements suggesting that some protests were not directly related to issues in the community; or the role played by political and community actors in initiating protests were used to solicit reactions from the study sample. Table 4.9 below provides a summary of the response obtained from the survey.

Table 4.9: Respondents view of leadership conflict and community issues related to protests

Statement	Total respondents	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
Some protests are not directly related to community issues	255	27	17	56
Protests in communities are instigated by political actors	255	12	19	69
There is conflict between the traditional leader, councillor and ward committee members	255	33	22	45

The data indicates that more than half of the survey respondents agree that some protests in their community are not related to issues directly affecting community members. In line with this, almost seventy percent of respondents agree with the statement that protests in communities are instigated by political actors. Also forty-five percent of the survey respondents are in agreement that there is conflict between the traditional leader, the ward councillor and the ward committee members in their community.

Specifically, fifty-six percent of respondents agree that community issues were not the cardinal reason for some protests. On the other hand, only twenty-seven percent of respondents disagree with the statement, with seventeen percent of respondents remaining undecided. Sixty-nine percent of respondents agree that protests in communities are instigated by political actors, with only twelve percent of respondents that disagree, and nineteen percent of respondents were undecided. The statement suggesting a conflict among the traditional leader, the ward councillor and the ward committee members, was agreed upon by forty-five percent of respondents with thirty-three percent of the respondents who disagree, and twenty-two percent of respondents were undecided.

By and large, the survey indicates that, fifty-seven percent of respondents agree, twenty-four percent disagree, and nineteen percent were undecided; that there are issues of leadership and representation which on their own lead to protest incidents that do not have a direct bearing on core community development concerns.

4.9.1 Discussion of leadership actors and community conflict issues

Community leadership issues are of importance because community concerns remain unattended to in the face of leadership conflicts. In many rural communities in the Mbizana Municipality, the role and authority of traditional leaders have been diluted or even supplanted by municipal representative structures made up of the ward councillor and ward committee members. However, traditional leaders and these representative structures are expected to work harmoniously for the attainment of community

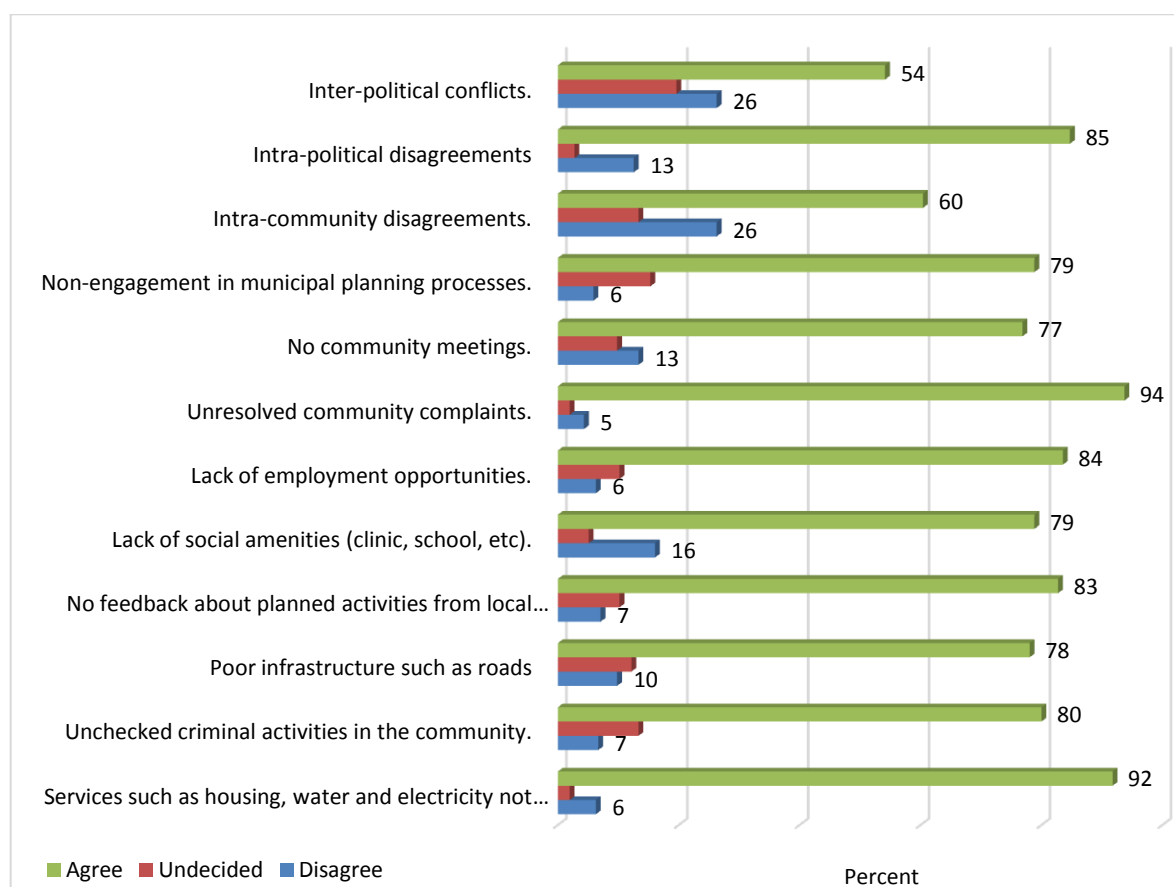
development goals, and achievement of the essential needs of residents. The Mbizana Municipal Council also recognises the important role of traditional leaders for the success of its activities, and in accordance with the guidelines from the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), incorporated twelve traditional leaders to serve in the council and its committees (MLM, 2014:52).

Traditional Leadership Theory suggests that the pragmatic accommodation of traditional leaders in the rural governance structure in South Africa (Sithole and Mbele, 2008) still needs some fine-tuning in rural communities (Knoetze 2014). There are undoubtedly some elements of conflict regarding the relationship between the elected representative structures and the existing traditional elite in communities, which have the potential to cause community disquiet. The power cube traced to Gaventa (2006) in the theoretical review (see Chapter 2.5.2.2), suggests the need to understand both the forms and levels of power, and their intricate inter-relationships.

4.10 Factors leading to community dissatisfaction

A list of issues including politically motivated conflicts, community disunity, employment and social opportunities, including inadequate infrastructure and criminal activities, were identified as leading to community dissatisfaction which were tabulated for respondents to provide feedback. These factors were pooled from the literature, and acknowledged to be implicit causes of protest. The levels of agreement or disagreement with the statements contained in the questionnaire were merged to form a single category (agree or disagree), and Figure 4.3 below shows the feedback received from respondents.

Figure 4.3: Respondents view of factors leading to community dissatisfaction



According to the result shown in figure 4.3 above, fifty-four percent of respondents agree that conflicts between different political parties led to anxiety in the community. On the other hand, eighty-five percent of respondents agree that disagreements among members of the same political party caused apprehension within the community. Sixty percent of respondents agreed that disagreement among community members was a cause of disquiet in the community, as against twenty-six percent that disagree. There was a general consensus that non-engagement in municipal planning processes was a cause of dissatisfaction in the community, with agreement from seventy-nine percent of respondents against six percent of respondents who disagree. Also, seventy-seven percent of respondents agree that the failure to hold community meetings was a cause of dissatisfaction, as compared to thirteen percent of respondents who disagree.

There was cumulative agreement among the survey respondents that unresolved community complaints (94%), lack of employment opportunities (84%), poor infrastructure (78%), lack of social

amenities (79%), poor feedback from government officials (83%) and unchecked criminal activities (80%) resulted in community dissatisfaction. Clearly, the provision of services to some communities, in the absence of those same services in other communities is a major cause for concern. Ninety-two percent of respondents were in agreement that this disparity in supplying services had the potential to cause dissatisfaction in communities.

The Relative Deprivation Theory (reviewed in Chapter 2.7.1) suggests that people compare the levels of service provided to others, in relation to theirs. The feeling of deprivation, in the event of an anomaly in services between two communities, could lead to feelings of dissatisfaction and community protests. This is clearly evident in the response obtained from the survey, and applicable in this regard for the protests that occur in the Mbizana Local Municipality.

4.10.1 Statistical significance of the response received

Due to the importance attached to this section of the results, inferential analysis was also utilised to further understand the data. It is observed that the levels of agreement with the statements made on the questionnaire in this section were high, and its implication is discussed using the theory. Also, to determine whether the differences in the scoring patterns were significant, a chi-square test was done. This tests the hypothesis that the scoring for each option for each statement is the same. The analysis is presented in Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: Chi-square analysis of scoring pattern.

Factors leading to community dissatisfaction	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Inter-political conflicts.	51.271	2	.000
Intra-political disagreements	306.518	2	.000
Intra-community disagreements.	90.424	2	.000
Non-engagement in municipal planning processes.	240.847	2	.000
No community meetings.	217.906	2	.000
Unresolved community complaints.	418.729	2	.000
Lack of employment opportunities.	289.718	2	.000
Lack of social amenities (clinic, school, etc).	242.071	2	.000
No feedback about planned activities from local government officials.	280.541	2	.000
Poor infrastructure such as roads	229.553	2	.000
Unchecked criminal activities in the community.	251.6	2	.000
Services such as housing, water and electricity not provided, but supplied to other communities.	392.494	2	.000

From Table 4.10 above, it is noted that all of the p-values (highlighted) are less than the level of significance of 0.05. This implies that the scoring patterns were significantly different. From the correlation analysis (attached as Annex 10, Bivariate correlations), the significance of intra-political disagreement, and unresolved community complaints is also observed.

4.10.2 Discussion of response to possible causes of dissatisfaction in the community

Within the Mbizana Local Municipal Council, there is a strong dominance of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), with the near absence of any other active political party in the area, and almost all seats in the municipal council are taken by the ANC. Out of a total 61 seats in the council, the ANC has 54 seats. It is therefore apparent as captured in the data, that there exist very little inter-party disputes in the area. However as reflected in the results, many respondents agree that intra-party disputes are a source for concern. These disagreements among members of the African National Congress often result to an ineffective council, infighting among councillors either for favoured portfolio positions, award of tenders and even the choice of senior management positions in the municipality.

The statement 'intra-political disagreement' from the analysis, is inversely proportional to the following statements, 'ward councillor receives support from community', and, 'community receives support from councillor'; but is directly proportional to the statement 'protests are instigated by political actors'. This implies that disagreements among members of the same political party (in this case the ANC), results in a loss of support by the councillor to the community, and vice versa. Significantly, the direct proportionality is an indication that more intra-party disagreement results in increased instigation of protests by political actors.

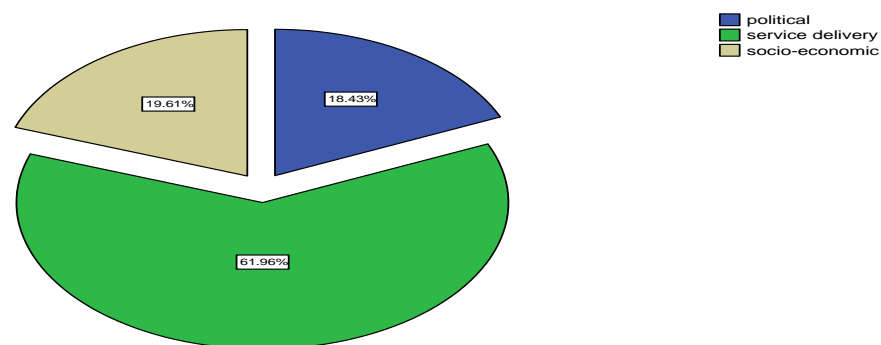
Also the statement 'unresolved community complaints' as a factor leading to protests, is inversely related to 'community members informed of processes', 'community receives support from councillor', and 'community members participate actively in municipal processes'. The significance of this is that when community members do not participate in municipal processes, are not supported by the ward

councillor, or not informed of processes and support activities; the more unresolved community complaints, invariably leading to increased community protests.

4.11 Respondents identification of factors contributing to protest in the study area

Respondents identified contributory factors to the incidence of protests within the Mbizana Local Municipality. These factors were classified into three major categories, including political, socio-economic and service delivery related. The classification was due to the large number of reasons adduced by respondents. Approximately sixty-two percent of the respondents attributed the reason for protests to service delivery issues, twenty percent of the respondents identified socio-economic issues, while eighteen percent of the respondents opined that political issues were contributory factors to protest incidence in the area as shown in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4: Respondents views of major factor contributing to protests



These major factors consist of many issues grouped according to the classification used by the researcher. Socio-economic factors include employment opportunities, level of poverty, crime related issues, community disagreements, eviction from land, lack of infrastructure and other community needs. Service delivery issues include the attitude of municipal officials, non-response to community complaints, lack of feedback, delayed or non-existent service provision, issues of respect for community members and the unavailability of municipal officials in their offices. Political issues identified by respondents include empty promises by politicians, struggle for municipal posts, the

imposition of ward councillors and other political candidates, inefficient and dishonest ward councillors, the lack of trust for political leaders, including leadership conflicts and infighting for political positions. Among these issues, poor service delivery, crime related issues and unfulfilled promises were predominantly noted as contributing to protest incidents. The identified issues classified under the three factors are highlighted in Table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11 Issues classified under the three major factors contributing to protest

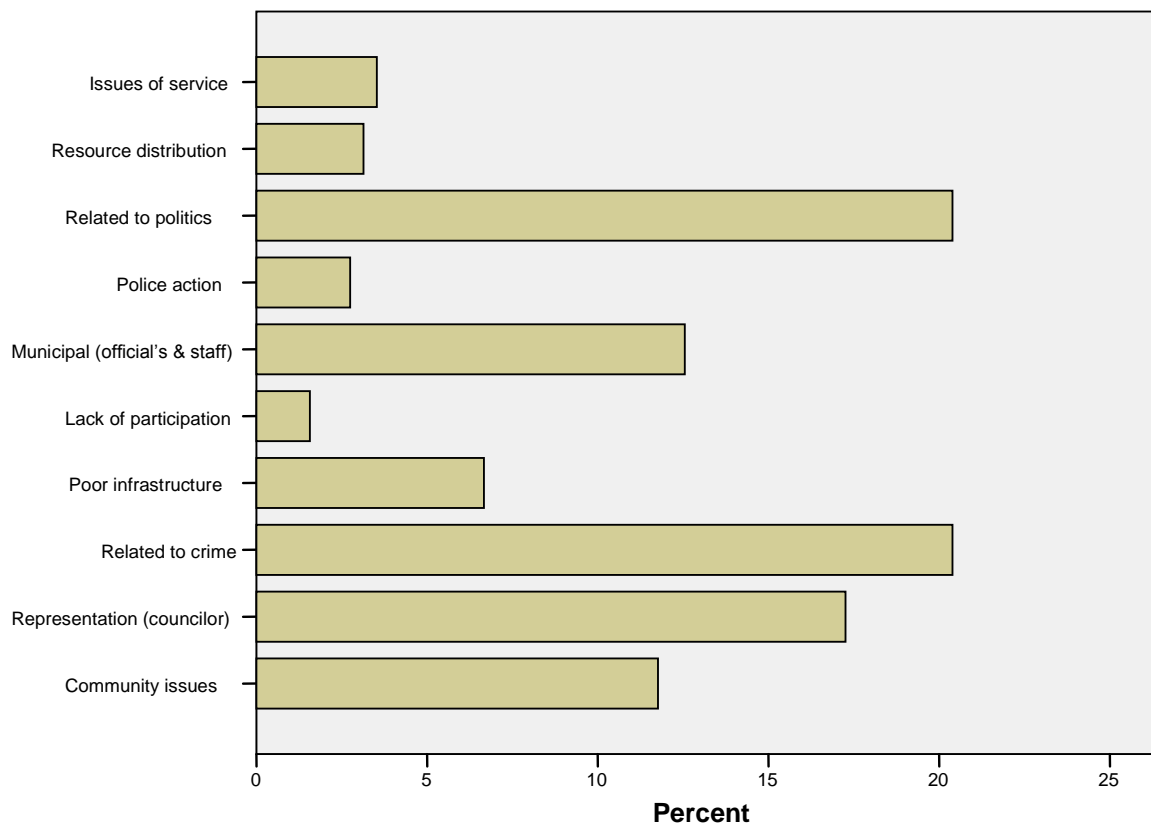
<i>Factor</i>	<i>Issues</i>
Service delivery	No service provided, no response from the municipality, delayed service provision, attitude of municipal officials, community complaints ignored, empty municipal offices, lack of feedback, no respect for community members.
Political	Dishonest councillor or representative, empty political promises, fight for municipal positions and council portfolio, imposition of councillor and candidates, inefficient councillor or ward committee, lack of trust, leadership conflicts and political positions.
Socio-economic	Community needs, divisions and disagreement among community members, crime related, employment opportunities, eviction from place of residence, infrastructure issues and level of poverty.

Source: Researcher's classification of findings.

4.11.1 Other reasons leading to community protests

Respondents were also asked to identify other reasons that led to protests by community members in the local municipality. These reasons provided were listed, analysed and then grouped along ten key themes. These themes relate to those that could be attributed to officials at the municipality, related to the councillor or ward committee members, community issues, crime related, concerned the police (SAPS), about resource sharing, politically inclined, hinged on service provision, or the state of infrastructure and community participation. The responses are shown in Figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5 Other reasons leading to protests



From the survey conducted, twenty percent of respondents suggest that crime related issues were additional reasons for protests; another twenty percent also identified the influence of politics in protest incidents. Seventeen percent and twelve percent of the respondents also pointed to issues concerning community representation (councillor and ward committee members) and the attitude of municipal officials respectively, as other reasons for protests.

From the literature reviewed (see Chapter 2.7.4), the theory of relational or procedural social justice suggests that people are concerned more with how they are treated, than the outcome of the process (Brynard 2009); and is relevant in this regard. Issues also outlined in the Batho Pele Principles for public administration employees such as consultation, courtesy, openness and transparency, and the unique Ubuntu principles, all find expression regarding the manner in which municipal officials relate to community members.

Furthermore, seven percent and four percent of the respondents additionally identified poor infrastructure and service provision as reasons for protests. Only three percent each and two percent of respondents pointed additionally to harsh police action, resource distribution and community participation respectively as reasons contributing to protests. The points identified by the respondents, which were classified under the reasons are shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Issue identified by respondents as additional contributor to protests

<i>Reason by heading</i>	<i>Issues combined</i>
Politics	Unfulfilled political promises, imposition of councillor candidates, leadership conflicts, disagreements among politicians, fight over political positions, infighting in council.
Crime	Activities of criminals, court action, request for bail
Councillor Issues	Performance of ward councillor, unavailability of ward councillor, dishonest councillor, non responsive councillor, ineffective ward committees
Municipal Issues	Attitude of municipal officials, no response or slow response from municipality, no respect for community members, empty offices, workers strike, nepotism, poor communication, fight over posts.
Community Issues	Divisions in the community, unresolved community issues

Source: Researcher's classification

4.11.2 Discussion of reasons identified by respondents as leading to protest

As pointed out by respondents from the survey, many protest incidents are claimed to be a result of the failure by the municipality, to adequately provide basic services. It is noteworthy however, that many issues are classified under the service-delivery heading, and include factors that would otherwise be classified elsewhere, such as communication issues. Crime related protest incidents and behind-the-scene posturing among political players contribute to occurrence of many protest incidents, highlighted

from the results. Many community members organise and attend court hearings for suspected or arrested perpetrators of crimes in the community. These attendances at court hearings are occasioned by demonstrations outside the magistrate court buildings, which incidentally are located opposite the municipal offices.

The theory of social justice outlines the need for equity, fairness and justice concerns. The analysis suggests that issues outlined in the retributive social justice theories are relevant to the occurrence of community protests in the local municipality. Community members continue to demand punishment for criminal acts in their communities, which many a time lead to protests.

4.12 Response to view of challenges in addressing community complaints

A number of challenges confront community members in their attempts to resolve their complaints, and these challenges sometimes lead to dissatisfaction. Some of these challenges were listed and the views of respondents requested. The issues were framed as negative statements, and the response received is merged into a single category of agree or disagree, as shown in the Table 4.13 below.

Table 4.13: Complaints listed as challenges and response obtained

Challenge in addressing complaint	Disagree		Undecided		Agree	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Distance from place of residence to the municipal offices.	91	35.7%	10	3.9%	154	60.4%
Inability of community members to contact the Ward Councillor.	63	24.7%	38	14.9%	154	60.4%
Community members are not aware of the processes involved for lodging complaints.	43	16.9%	18	7.1%	194	76.1%
Ward Committee members do not follow up on complaints by community members.	58	22.7%	57	22.4%	140	54.9%
Worry about the negative reaction of some community members.	47	18.4%	84	32.9%	124	48.6%
Complainants are concerned about being the target of sanctions.	69	27.1%	77	30.2%	109	42.7%
There is division among community members on certain issues.	13	5.1%	29	11.4%	213	83.5%
No progress has been made after reporting the complaint to the Municipality.	27	10.6%	16	6.3%	212	83.1%

The distance to municipal offices as a challenge faced by community members was agreed on by sixty percent of respondents, while thirty-six percent of respondents disagree. Sixty percent of respondents also agree that the inability to contact the ward councillor was a challenge in resolving community complaints with only twenty-five percent of respondents disagreeing. Seventy-six percent of respondents agree that the lack of knowledge of procedures involved is a challenge when addressing community issues. The absence of follow-up by ward committee members is seen as a challenge by fifty-four percent of respondents, twenty-two percent of respondents were undecided and twenty-three percent disagree. Forty-nine percent of respondents agree that the negative reaction of some community members could be a challenge when trying to resolve community complaints, eighteen percent of respondents disagree, while thirty-three percent of respondents were undecided. Forty-three percent of respondents from the survey agree that the fear of sanctions was a challenge that could discourage some community members; while twenty-seven percent of respondents disagree with the statement, and thirty percent of respondents were undecided.

Moreover, disunity among community members and a lack of progress after reporting the complaint at the municipality were considered serious challenges faced by community members. Eighty-three percent of respondents agree that divisions among community members are a challenge, five percent of respondents disagree with the statement, and twelve percent of respondents were undecided. Eighty-three percent of respondents agree that lack of progress after reporting at the municipality was a challenge; only six percent and eleven percent of respondents were undecided or disagree respectively.

4.13 Other possible assumptions in resolving community complaints

In addition to the challenges outlined, community members are likely to make a number of assumptions with respect to their search for solutions, and Table 4.14 below outlines some responses in the survey.

4.14 Other possible concerns related to addressing community issues

Other possible concerns	Disagree		Undecided		Agree	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Community members know that their complaints can be tabled to the Mayor or the Municipal Manager's office.	94	36.9%	28	11.0%	133	52.2%
Ward Committees are unable to provide assistance after complaints have been reported.	54	21.2%	68	26.7%	133	52.2%
The Councillor is not seen as the appropriate person to assist in addressing community issues.	88	34.5%	28	11.0%	139	54.5%
The Municipality has informed the community of the processes to resolving community issues.	105	41.2%	32	12.5%	118	46.3%
The community only receives attention during political campaigns for election.	33	12.9%	7	2.7%	215	84.3%
Community complaints are attended to only after a protest has occurred.	39	15.3%	19	7.5%	197	77.3%

A number of statements were framed by the researcher to shed light on certain assumptions which are made by community members, with respect to their search for resolution of complaints. As shown in Table 4.14 above, fifty-two percent of respondents are in agreement with the statement that their complaints could be discussed with the mayor or municipal manager, and thirty-seven percent of respondents expressed disagreement with the statement, with eleven percent of respondents undecided. Also fifty-two percent of respondents are in agreement with the statement that ward committee members are unable to provide assistance after complaints have been reported; twenty-seven percent of respondents had no opinion regarding the statement, while twenty-one percent of respondents indicated their disagreement with the statement.

Fifty-four percent of respondents support the statement that the ward councillor, is not considered as the appropriate person to assist in addressing community issues. Thirty-five percent of respondents did not support the statement, while eleven percent of respondents were undecided. Forty-six percent of respondents from the survey agree with the statement that the municipality has informed community members of the processes for resolving community issues. Forty-one percent of respondents indicated their disagreement with the statement, while twelve percent of respondents were undecided.

Respondents were evidently in agreement with the statements that community issues only received attention during election campaigns, and that protest is an effective means for getting attention.

Eighty-four percent of respondents agree with the statement that the community only receives attention during political campaigns for elections; while thirteen percent of respondents disagree with the statement, with three percent of respondents undecided. Seventy-seven percent of respondents agree, seven percent were undecided, and only thirteen percent of respondents disagree with the statement that community complaints are attended to, only after a protest has occurred.

The efficacy theory in the literature indicates that protesters participate in protests due to their belief in the usefulness of protests, for realising the resolution of their grievances. Therefore, the theory holds particular relevance in this study, as three-quarters of respondents believe that their complaints are only attended to after a protest has occurred in their communities.

4.13.1 Discussion of other possible assumptions in resolving community complaints

The intervention of key political and administrative actors is always considered effective for the resolution of community complaints. Many community members believe that without the direct interaction with either the Mayor or municipal manager, their complaints would remain unresolved. This trend is commonplace among many protesters or community members, who in some instance request key political actors to address them in connection with their complaints. This trend may stem from the lack of confidence in the ability of lower level officials to effectively resolve their complaints.

The seeming inability of ward committee members to further assist after reporting community complaints is recognised. Ward committees as established in line with Section 72-78 of the Municipal Structures Act, are consultative bodies without any formal powers and functions allocated to them; and their major task is to assist ward councillors in communicating with, and mobilising community members. Many communities also decry the imposition of councillors on the community, and in some cases these councillors are either unavailable, difficult to contact, or do not even live within the

communities they represent. Little wonder some respondents do not consider councillors as appropriate to assist in addressing community issues.

It is the responsibility of ward representative structures and officials within the Mayor's office and Corporate Services department, to ensure that community members are aware of the processes involved when there is a complaint. Close to half of respondents indicated an agreement that information regarding the procedure for lodging complaints, has been provided. However an equivalent number of respondents had a contrary opinion. This suggests that the relevant officials and structures need to intensify the sensitisation and information sharing for community members regarding the procedure for resolving community complaints.

The belief that communities mainly get attention during election campaigns and the value of protest action is widespread. It is therefore a confirmation of a widely held view as eighty four percent and seventy seven percent of respondents respectively, concur with this view. The efficacy theory in the literature also supports this result, as according to the theory, people participate in protest activities due to their belief in its effectiveness in addressing their complaints.

4.14 Identification of constraints to resolving complaints by respondents

Respondents were requested to identify the challenges that community member's face when trying to resolve issues in the community. The identified challenges are presented in Table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15: Challenge faced by respondents in addressing community issues

Challenge	Number of respondents	Percent (%)
Disagreement among community members	79	31
Knowledge of procedure and processes	67	26
Failure of representatives (Councillor, Ward Committee)	50	20
Delay in municipal feedback	30	12
Other (distance, misinformation, trust issues etc)	17	7
Don't Know	12	4
Total	255	100

Thirty-one percent of respondents identified disagreements among community members as a key challenge, twenty-six percent pointed to a lack of knowledge of the procedure involved, twenty percent of respondents identified the failure of the community representatives (councillor or ward committee) as the challenge, twelve percent classified delay in municipal feedback as a challenge, and seven percent of respondents acknowledged trust issues, misinformation and distance to the municipal offices as their challenge.

4.14.1 Discussion of challenges identified by respondents

There is a high incidence of disagreement among community members on ways to resolve their complaints; this is indicated in the percentage of respondents who identified disagreement among community members as a key challenge. This division in the communities may be a result of leadership issues, where the traditional leader, councillor or ward committee members do not have a cordial working relationship. It could also be as a result of groups in the community aligning themselves along political camps, or simply a lack of confidence in the ability of the representative structure to assist in resolving the complaint. The need for adequate information regarding complaint resolution procedures is highlighted, along with the perceived inability of councillors to provide effective assistance in resolving complaints. Another important challenge identified is the delay by the municipality in providing feedback regarding complaints.

4.15 Identification of key stakeholders in community protests

The occurrence of protests in communities involves different actors, both as active participants in the process, affected parties, law enforcement agents, community representatives or other government officials. The questionnaire contained a list of identified stakeholders for which respondents were requested to provide their opinion regarding their role during community protests. The summarised scoring pattern obtained from the survey is outlined in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Stakeholders in community protests

Key stakeholder in community protests	Disagree		Undecided		Agree	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Traditional Leader	107	42.0%	35	13.7%	113	44.3%
Youths in the community	3	1.2%	1	0.4%	251	98.4%
Ward Committees	75	29.4%	58	22.7%	122	47.8%
Councillors	59	23.1%	16	6.3%	180	70.6%
Political Party Members	42	16.5%	11	4.3%	202	79.2%
Women Groups	69	27.1%	95	37.3%	91	35.7%
Associations, Societies and NGO's	60	23.5%	100	39.2%	95	37.3%
Religious Leaders	89	34.9%	57	22.4%	109	42.7%
Municipal Protection Services	50	19.6%	92	36.1%	113	44.3%
South African Police Services (SAPS)	32	12.5%	2	0.8%	221	86.7%

Forty-four percent of respondents agree that community leaders are key stakeholders in community protest, forty-two percent however disagree and fourteen percent of respondents were undecided. Almost all the respondents (98%) agree that youths in the community are key stakeholders during protest. Forty-eight percent of respondents agree that ward committee members are key stakeholders in community protests; twenty-nine percent disagree while twenty-three percent were undecided concerning ward committee members as key stakeholders in community protest. Seventy percent of respondents indicated their agreement with the identification of ward councillors as key stakeholders in community protest; twenty-four percent of respondents however indicated their disagreement while six percent of respondents were undecided concerning ward councillors as key stakeholders in community protests.

Eighty percent of respondents indicated their agreement with politicians as key stakeholders in community protests, only sixteen percent indicated disagreement and four percent of respondents undecided. Thirty-six percent, thirty-seven percent and twenty-seven percent of respondents indicated agreement, were undecided or indicated disagreement respectively, with the identification of women's groups as key stakeholders in community protests. Also non-governmental organisations and associations were indicated as key stakeholders in community protests by thirty-eight percent of the

survey respondents, while thirty-nine percent of respondents were undecided, and twenty-three percent of respondents indicated their disagreement.

The identification of religious leaders as key stakeholders in community protests, did not receive support among thirty-five percent of respondents, though forty-three percent of respondents indicated agreement, with twenty-two percent of respondents undecided.

The municipal protection services was indicated to be a key stakeholder in community protests by forty-five percent of the survey respondents; thirty-six percent of respondents were undecided, with nineteen percent of respondents indicating their disagreement. Eighty-seven percent of respondents indicated their agreement with the identification of the South African Police Service as a key stakeholder in community protests; only twelve percent of respondents indicated their disagreement with one percent of respondents undecided.

4.15.1 Discussion of the identification of key stakeholders in community protests

From the survey data analysed, four key stakeholders can be distinguished and their emergence based on the percent of respondents in agreement with their identification as key stakeholders. They include the youths in the community, the ward councillors, political party members, and the South African Police Services (SAPS). The Youth Bulge Hypothesis (Urdal 2012; Hilker and Fraser 2009) suggests that young persons in any identified geographical area generally make up the active constituent of protesters. The identification of ward councillors and political party members is also consistent with the emerging thesis of protests as contentious politics, which underline that political factors are primarily in play during many protest incidents. The listing and confirmation of the police services, as key protest stakeholders is in line with the discharge of their functions, which is to ensure orderliness during protest activities, and non-emergence of the increasing parallel activities of criminals aimed at perpetrating crime under the guise of protests. However, the originating role of the police in causing protests, due to either perceived harsh action, or even inaction in the face of criminal activities, is a cause for some concern.

4.16 Role of stakeholders in community protests

Additionally in this section of the questionnaire, the role of identified stakeholders in community protests was investigated. Various statements made in the survey instrument outlined the involvement of certain stakeholders in different roles. The summarised scoring pattern received is shown in Table 4.17 below.

Table 4.17 Role of stakeholders during community protests

Reasons for involvement of key stakeholders during protests	Disagree		Undecided		Agree	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Community leaders are rallying points during a community protest	50	19.6%	35	13.7%	170	66.7%
Young people in the community follow the directives of the community leader	63	24.7%	25	9.8%	167	65.5%
Community members are supported by Ward Committee members during protests	91	35.7%	70	27.5%	94	36.9%
Disagreements among politicians sometimes cause community protests	18	7.1%	27	10.6%	210	82.4%
Councillors generally mobilise community members during protests	76	29.8%	84	32.9%	95	37.3%
Ward committee members commonly mobilise community members to protest	83	32.5%	97	38.0%	75	29.4%
Protests never occur without the consent of the community leader	52	20.4%	45	17.6%	158	62.0%
Youths are always responsible for all community protests	29	11.4%	3	1.2%	223	87.5%

As indicated in Table 4.17 above, sixty-seven percent of respondents agree that community leaders are rallying points during a community protest, though twenty percent of respondents disagree. Also in line with this, sixty-six percent of respondents agree that youths in the community follow the directives of the community leader, while twenty-three percent of respondents disagree. An almost equal number of respondents hold contrasting views, regarding the support provided by ward committee members to the community during protests. However most of the respondents (82%) agree that disagreements among politicians sometimes cause community protests, with only seven percent that disagree.

Thirty seven percent of respondents agree that councillors mobilise community members during protests, while thirty percent of the respondents disagree, with thirty three percent undecided. Also,

twenty nine percent of respondents agree that ward committee members mobilise the community during protests, while thirty two percent disagree and thirty eight percent were undecided. There is agreement among sixty two percent of respondents that protests never occur without the consent of the community leader, while twenty percent disagree. Eighty seven percent of respondents agree that youths are always responsible for all community protests, with only eleven percent of respondents who disagree.

4.16.1 Discussion of the role of identified stakeholders in community protests

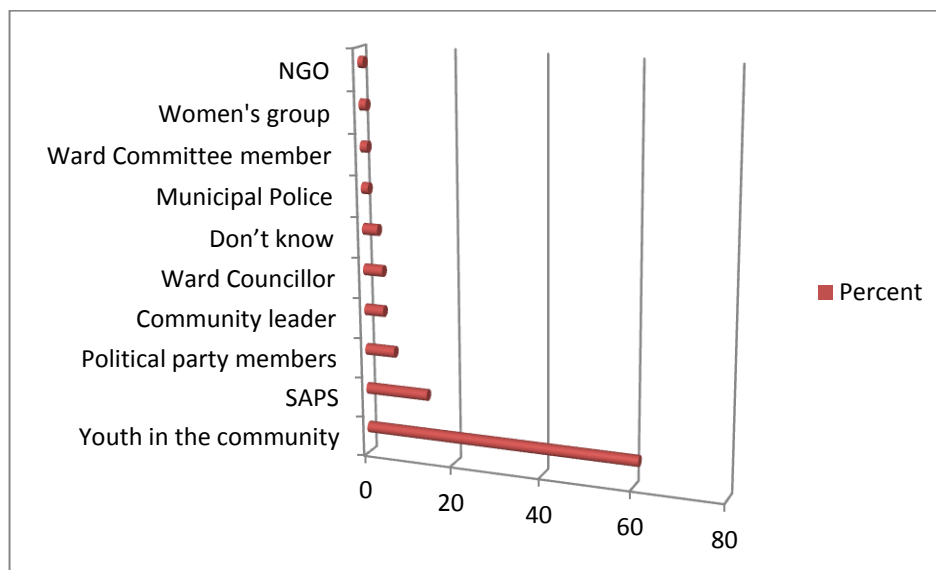
Three important stakeholders are easily identified based on the summarised scoring pattern in Table 4.18, included are community leaders, politicians in the community and the youth. The identification of community leaders is suggestive of their function in the community, where they are supposed to facilitate the maintenance of a harmonious co-existence among residents. Recent legislation also empowers traditional leaders in the exercise of this function, especially in rural traditional communities. The role of politicians in the community (comprising political party officials, ward councillors, among others), and how their supposed differences spill into communal unrest, continues to be a source of protests. It is widely known that politicians commonly mobilise young persons in the community to participate during protests, as the youth are easily influenced by their peers or for identified benefits. The youths are also available, as most of them are unemployed and can be mobilised without difficulty, especially when the consent of community leaders has been obtained. The implication of this therefore, is that protests can either be common when party officials and community leaders agree, or on the other hand, protests can also be a result of the disagreement between politicians and community leaders. The literature on the role of traditional institutions in post-apartheid South Africa, is indicative of a perceived displacement of traditional authority by local government officials, hence the need for cooperation between political and traditional structures in the community. Also Gaventa's (2006) power cube reviewed in the literature on participation models, asserts that the complex nature of the power

relationship among community actors requires an understanding of the types of power to be challenged, including the associated strategies for doing so.

4.17 Identification of active stakeholders by respondents

Respondents were requested to identify which of the stakeholders played a leading role during a recent protest in their community. The responses are captured in Figure 4.6 below.

Figure 4.6 Stakeholder played a leading role in community protest



Sixty-one percent of the respondents identified youths in the community as having played a leading role during a recent protest incident in their community. Fourteen percent of respondents identified the South African Police Service as a lead role-player during a recent community protest, approximately seven percent of respondents marked political party members, four percent each for the community leader and ward councillor, three percent could not identify a leading role player, and close to two percent each identified the Municipal traffic police, ward committee members and women's group as participating in a leading role during the last community protest.

4.17.1 Discussion of the identified leading role players in community protest

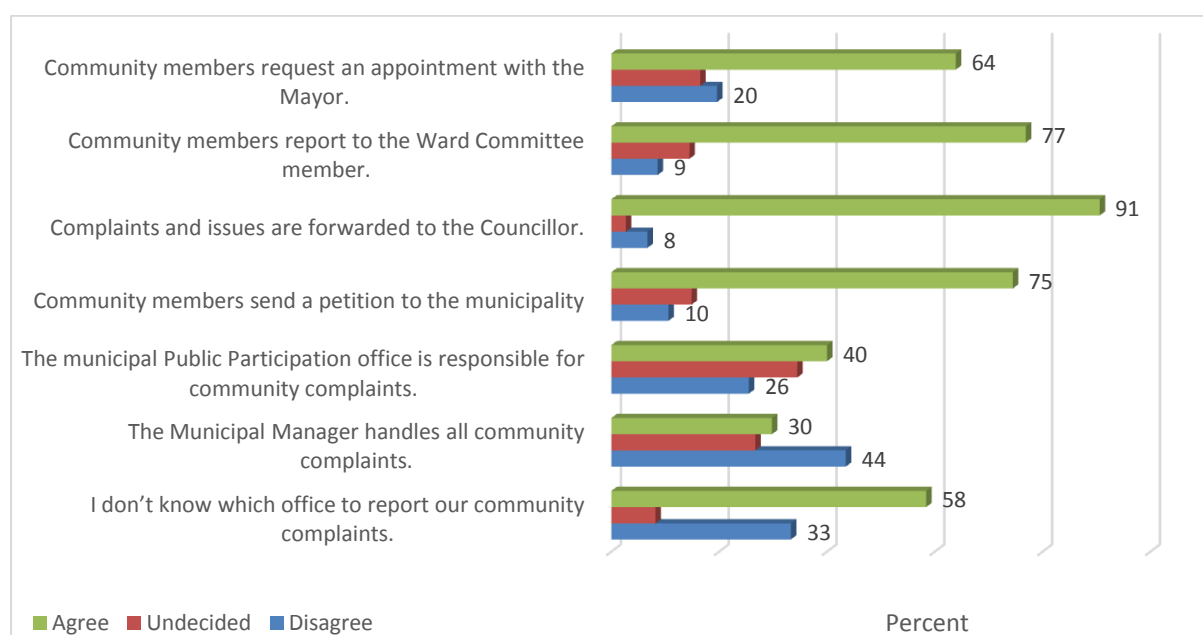
As indicated in the foregoing discussion, it is expected that the youth in communities play a lead role during community protests, as they make up the active crowd during protest incidents. Also the

function of law enforcement agents is obvious, for crowd policing and traffic management, including protection of lives and property. However, political party members, as politicians, including community leaders and ward councillors continue to perform leading roles in community protests, as indicated from the survey results. Their implicit role in protests action, according to the literature and anecdotal reports, suggests some organising, mobilising, controlling and facilitating. The power analysis outlined in Gaventa's power cube, provides useful analogy in this instance. The model in the participation theory reviewed in the literature implies that there are various aspects and dimensions to power, and much depends on the nature of the power relations surrounding the democratic spaces in communities.

4.18 Available avenues for resolving community issues

The survey also sought the response of community members regarding the available means for bringing their issues to the attention of the municipality. Various avenues were listed in the questionnaire, some as action statements or responsible actors. The response is shown in Figure 4.7 below.

Figure 4.7: Response to avenues for informing municipality of community issues



Sixty-four percent of respondents agree that community members can request an appointment with the Mayor, as an avenue to bring community issues to the attention of the municipality, while twenty percent of respondents disagree. Only nine percent and seven percent of respondents disagree with the role of the ward committee members and ward councillor respectively, in highlighting community issues for the attention of the municipality. Seventy-seven percent of respondents agree that community members report issues to the ward committee members, and almost all respondents (91%) agree that complaints and issues are forwarded to the councillor.

The use of written petition is also considered effective, as seventy-five percent of respondents agree that community members can send a petition to the municipality, with only ten percent of respondents who disagree. Twenty-six percent of respondents disagree, thirty-four percent were undecided and forty percent of respondents agree respectively, that the municipal public participation office is responsible for community complaints. Forty-four percent of respondents disagree that the municipal manager handles all community complaints, and thirty percent of respondents agree with the statement. Fifty-eight percent of respondents agree with the statement suggesting that they don't know which office to report their community complaints, while thirty-three percent of the survey respondents disagree with the statement.

4.18.1 Discussion of avenues to bring community issues to the attention of the municipality

The data is consistent with the importance attached to the involvement of political actors when resolving community issues. While many respondents are favourably inclined with the transmission of their community issues via the mayor, ward committee members and ward councillor; the same cannot be assumed for local government officials (including the municipal manager and officials responsible for public participation). The ward councillor is generally regarded as the focal point for all community complaints and issues, and is therefore a case of disappointment for community members when the ward councillor is not easily contacted by community members, is not supportive of their concerns, or shows signs of inefficiency in managing community issues. As shown by the data analysed, a lot of

community members who come to the municipal offices do not know exactly which office to report their complaints. There is no centralised complaints office, and those with issues to report continue to shuffle from one office to another in search of a sympathetic official, who could either point them towards the relevant office, or listen to, and act on their concerns.

4.19 Respondents view of effective means for resolving community complaints

The survey solicited responses from the population regarding effective means of resolving their community complaints. Different views expressed were sorted into related groups, as shown in Table 4.18 below.

Table 4.18: Respondents suggestions for effective means of resolving community complaints

Effective means of resolving complaints	Frequency	Percent (%)
Effective participation of communities	107	42
Prompt communication	40	16
Efficient ward structures	39	15
Intervention of key political actors	30	12
Community members informed of procedures	21	8
Other (addressing the problem, improved service)	16	6
Don't know	2	1
Total	255	100

Effective participation of members of the community was identified by forty-two percent of respondents as an effective means of resolving complaints. This involves meetings or 'useful engagements' and 'stakeholder discussion' (exact words used by respondents) where community members are seen, heard and their opinion taken into consideration. Sixteen percent of respondents consider prompt communication as an effective means for resolving community complaints, while fifteen percent of respondents were of the view that increased efficiency of ward structures were a way to go in resolving community complaints. Twelve percent of respondents consider the intervention of key political actors as effective means of resolving community complaints, while eight percent of respondents believe that

providing information on the proper procedure to follow would contribute to the effective resolution of community complaints. Six percent of respondents had other views such as the faster provision of services, addressing the stated problem and skilled municipal staff, as an effective means of resolving community complaints.

4.19.1 Discussion of respondents' view of effective means to address community complaints

Occurrence of community dissatisfaction sometimes emanates from the lack of participation, or ineffective participation of community members in decisions affecting them. The respondent's view of effective participation as a means for resolving community complaints is consistent with the public participation theory in the literature. When community members believe that their stated opinions have been taken into consideration in decision making, they are less likely to partake in actions that promote a contrary decision. The need for adequate feedback from the municipality, and regular flow of communication through established representative structures cannot be overemphasised.

In recognition of the importance of communication, the Mbizana Local Municipality continues to expand its communications section. The Mbizana IDP 2014-15 Review Document suggests that great progress has been achieved in the implementation of its communications strategy adopted by Council (MLM, 2014:52). Furthermore, the municipality is in the process of establishing a customer care unit with the aim of improving its customer relations, and has employed a customer care officer.

According to an official interviewed, as a means of improving its complaints management system, the Mbizana Municipality is linked to the Presidential Hotline, has a functional and regularly updated municipal website, with a suggestion box and a comments book available at the reception area in the municipal office, which can also be utilised by residents and users of municipal services. A municipal report suggests that about 85% of complaints in the system have been resolved (MLM, 2014:53),

though it admits that awareness campaigns are needed to sensitise communities about the complaints management system. In view of the rural nature of the municipal area, widespread dependence on grants (as 76% of the population do not have an income), the very low levels of literacy and even lower levels of internet penetration and usage (estimates are that 83% of the population have no internet access) with connectivity often hampered by poor network and signal coverage (MLM, 2014:12); it is doubtful whether most community members especially in the mostly rural wards can actually utilise these complaint management systems.

As proposed by a segment of respondents, an efficient ward structure that provides proper representation for community members can be effective in resolving community complaints. The timely and continuous feedback from the councillor and ward committee members during community meetings plays a significant role in assuaging community frustrations. There are calls for the empowerment of ward committees and ward councillors, including the traditional leaders to enable them to improve on their ability to manage community complaints. While the form and content of this empowerment may be a subject of debate and relevant amendment of regulation or legislation, the municipality continues to provide councillors with training, required support and capacity building aimed at enabling them to perform their functions better.

4.20 Respondents view of the municipality's role in addressing community complaints

The respondents were also requested to provide their views on how the local municipality should assist in resolving community complaints. The relevance of this is the fact that many community members have expectations for better service provision, and the local municipality is in most cases, seen as the purveyor of such services with its attendant implications. The response from the sample population is captured in Table 4.19 below.

Table 4.19: Avenues suggested for improving community complaint resolution by the municipality

Ways of improving complaint resolution	Frequency	Percent (%)
Improved municipal processes	84	33
Enhanced community participation	72	28
Better municipal-community interface	40	16
Other (community needs, services)	34	13
Increased monitoring and oversight of ward structures	25	10
Total	255	100

Thirty-three percent of respondents are of the view that improving the municipal processes will greatly assist in resolving community complaints, while twenty-eight percent of respondents are concerned with enhancing community participation. Sixteen percent of respondents believe that a better interface (point of interaction) between the municipality and community is necessary to assist resolution of community complaints, ten percent of respondents call for an increased monitoring and oversight by municipality of the ward structures, while the remaining thirteen percent suggest the provision of community needs and improved delivery of services as a way for the municipality to assist in resolving community complaints.

4.20.1 Discussion of municipal role in addressing community complaints

Municipal processes or procedures for resolving community complaints can sometimes be confusing especially for uninformed community members, and the need for sensitisation of community members on processes in resolving complaints needs reiteration. The petitions process, feedback mechanism, oversight and delegation to ward structures, and the entire complaint management system have to be adjusted and made rural-user friendly. Many of the frustrations in the complaint system can also be traced to a lack of prompt response, especially from the municipality. Therefore with the establishment of a complaints resolution desk (customer care official), it is expected that adequate, updated and well-timed information will be available and provided to complainants. The importance of a well understood process is underlined in the procedural social justice theory, as people care more about how they are treated, and the transparency of the process than the final outcome.

This is also echoed in the call for an improved municipal-community interface, where respondents demand empathy from municipal officials. Respondents from the survey used terms such as 'listen and act', 'take complaints seriously' and have consistently made the request for the engagement of 'trained workers' and 'dedicated officials', to drive home their point. Municipal officials are undoubtedly the point of contact between the municipality and community members, and how this interaction plays out, for most intents and purposes, is a portrayal of how aspects of municipal service provision will be measured by community members. The interactional social justice theory suggests that citizens expect to be attended to by polite and friendly officials. Also the Batho Pele principles outline the requirements for dedication and consistency in service delivery. Moreover, these are all advocated by the 'ubuntu' spirit of community assistance to one another in the social justice literature (Chaplin 2014; Van Nierkerk 2013).

Public Management Theories such as Public Value (PV) Management and New Public Management (NPM) consistently emphasise the importance of improved monitoring. Ward representative structures such as the ward committees and ward councillors need to be constantly visited and supported by municipal officials. Though the Speaker's office is responsible for oversight of ward structures, it needs to draw from the expertise of other municipal officials to design and implement proper monitoring and evaluation strategies to ensure the performance of these structures. The role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), municipal ratepayers associations and community based organisations (CBOs) as stakeholders is also important and can be utilised in support of this. This is also emphasized by the various participation models in the literature. Various methods for assessing how residents view municipal service provision can also be utilised for improved monitoring and evaluation. It is accepted, and in some cases seen, as a requirement for regular customer satisfaction surveys among service recipients by agencies, service providers and especially by municipalities.

4.21 Summary of chapter

This chapter presented the results obtained from the survey and discussed the result as it relates to the theories reviewed. The data indicates that community disaffection in the study area follows from a combination of factors, including unresolved community complaints, crime and the inter-play of other factors such as the power-play among political actors and non-equivalence among communities in the provision of services. The role of youth during community protests is also highlighted in the data analysed. Also relevant linkage with the various theories reviewed in the literature is outlined, as evidenced in the study data.

The results also show some challenges among community members with respect to the processes involved in resolving complaints, and highlights a strong perception of ineffective participation by community members in municipal processes. It also suggests the need for strengthening of the ward representative structure, and effectively monitoring the performance of these structures, including the services received by community members. The subsequent chapter provides an overview of the study, a detailed commentary on significance of the results obtained from the survey, and makes necessary recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study and outlines the significance of its findings with respect to the incidence of protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality. It illustrates how the objectives of the study are met, and offer commentary and suggestions regarding the factors that influence community protests in the study area. Recommendations are also made, with suggestions for future research aligned with this study.

5.1 General conclusions of the study

The research aimed to highlight the factors which influence community dissatisfaction in the Mbizana Local Municipality, leading to the increased occurrence of protest activities in the area. In order to achieve the purpose, the following objectives were set:

- To investigate the factors contributing to community protests.
- To highlight the challenges faced by community members in resolving complaints.
- To identify avenues open to community members for addressing their complaints in the local municipality.
- To examine the role of identified stakeholders in community protests.

Additionally, questions to assist the research achieve its objectives were formulated, and used to explore relevant theories in the literature. A questionnaire was subsequently developed and utilised to collect data from the sample population. Also three municipal officials were interviewed, to understand how the municipality provides avenues for communities' grievances to be heard. An analysis of the data collected was discussed and its relationship with the literature outlined. The recommendations for

effective municipal management and further research, including concluding remarks are thereafter presented.

5.1.1 Factors contributing to community protests

A number of prominent factors were identified as contributing to the occurrence of community protests in the study area, and include the following:

- **Poor representation:** Some ward structures are not very effective, where the ward councillor is deemed to be imposed on the community, or the councillor and ward committee members are either not active among community members or are sometimes considered inefficient.
- **Issues of participation:** Community members seek opportunities to make meaningful inputs, and do not think that their views at planning processes are taken into consideration during subsequent implementation.
- **Poor service provision:** The municipality is not satisfactorily seen as acting on issues identified by the community, the sometimes skewed and non-uniformity in delivery among communities further compounds the problem.
- **Unresolved complaints:** There is poor flow of communication between the municipality and some communities with complaints. Community members strongly feel unsupported in their search for resolution to their problems.
- **Disagreement among political actors:** A consequence of dissonance among political party members are the instigation of protests and counter-protests among sections of the community, by different factions.
- **Community divisions:** This could also be considered to be an offshoot of political disagreement, and involve community leaders, segments of the community and the representative structures.
- **Unchecked criminal activities:** The incidence of crime especially those resulting in the loss of lives, or associated with incidence of rape and other forms of abuse, are seen as a leading

cause of community protests. Associated with this factor, is the sometimes perceived inability to bring the perpetrators to justice.

5.1.2 Challenges faced by community members in resolving complaints

Community members in their attempts to resolve some of their complaints encounter a number of challenges. These challenges are:

- **Low awareness of the complaints system:** The procedure involved in resolving complaints has been an issue among community members. Undoubtedly, attempts have been made to inform community members of these procedures; however the level of awareness is low with some community members unaware of these processes. Though the municipality has instituted a modern complaint management system, the rural nature of the area, and low literacy rates among community members, including poor internet penetration and usage is a serious constraint.
- **Community division:** While there are leadership conflicts in some communities, factional party affiliations and other trust issues among community members pose a problem, leading to splits in the rank of community members regarding how certain complaints will be resolved.
- **Lack of progress on reported issues:** Due to poor information flow between the community and municipality, there is an accumulation of unresolved complaints, leading to apathy in additional reporting. This lack of continuous feedback has resulted in the belief that attention is only given to communities during election campaigns, or only after a protest has occurred.
- **Reliance on ward structures:** Sometimes communities depend solely on the councillor for resolution of their issues. Constraints abound when the councillor is not active, difficult to contact, and ward committee members are unable to provide follow-up.
- **Poor attitude among some municipal officials:** This has resulted in the constant request among community members for intervention by important political actors. The poor feedback received

from municipal officials has led to a loss of confidence among community members, resulting in them demanding the involvement of top political office holders in resolving their complaints.

5.1.3 Avenues for addressing community complaints in the local municipality.

Though there are a number of avenues through which community complaints can be addressed, the study reveals that:

- The established ward structure consisting of the councillor and ward committee members is the main route which community members follow in addressing their complaints, for the attention of the municipality. The ward councillor is clearly at the head of this structure, and where there are issues between the councillor and community members, the chances of resolution are considerably narrowed.
- The community also uses the conventional petitions system as a means of addressing complaints to the municipality. The petition passes through a committee set up specifically for resolving complaints, as is a component of the complaint management system of the municipality.
- Where the complaints remain unresolved, it is usually the case that community members agitate for the involvement of the Mayor in resolving their grievance. Political actors are in most cases preferred by community members, in the belief that their involvement provides an assurance of the complaint being resolved.

5.1.4 Role of identified stakeholders in community protests

The incidence of protest in any setting requires the involvement and coordination by an array of stakeholders. From the study, the following were identified as key stakeholders in community protests occurring in the study area:

- Youths in the community, who make up the expressive members of protesting crowd in every incident.
- Ward councillors and traditional leaders from the community, who either consent to, or disallow the mobilisation of community youths for protest.
- Political party members whose lack of accord on certain matters leads to some unrest in communities.
- The South African Police Service mandated to ensure public order and safety of lives and property.

5.2 General recommendations made by the study

Due to the cross-cutting nature of the study objectives, general recommendations are made which relate to the occurrence of protests in the study area. The recommendations are as follows;

- Improved reporting of ward structures: Community members rely on an effective ward structure to facilitate their interaction with local government. The study recommends that a more effective Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of these structures is necessary. In line with this, administrative support to the Speaker's office by an experienced non-political official for better monitoring of the work of councillors and ward committees is needed. Also capacity support for these structures, through training and improved oversight for reporting should be considered. Community juries and citizen's report cards can also be utilised to ensure adequate performance by councillors and ward committee members.
- Effective participation of community members: Without a doubt, there are opportunities for community members to participate in some municipal processes. However, community members require more opportunities for participation, and especially feedback on agreed plans. It is recommended that the community based planning processes be further utilised to ensure that community members agree on implementable plans in the short term. Furthermore, the

improvement of the existing Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), or creation of a community-based work programme, to enhance the involvement of community members in implementation of agreed community plans, where feasible.

- **Municipal-wide service provision plan:** Community members who observe developments in other communities and wards, in the absence of any related development in their own ward feel some sense of deprivation. It is recommended that, following community-led identification and consolidation of community plans, the municipality should devise a means to ensure that planned implementation covers all areas, and is happening at about the same period. An agreed upon municipal service plan for each financial year ensures that projects are on-going and as widespread as possible.
- **Enhanced feedback mechanism:** The lack of a prompt response to reported complaints, by the municipality contributes to frustrations among community members. The study recommends that the municipality increases ability to provide feedback to communities, through community meetings and consultations, imbizos, councillor report activities, project visits and the ward committee members. Notice boards should be installed in all community halls or schools, and used as an alternate medium of communication between the communities and the municipality.
- **Involvement of community stakeholders:** To reduce the incidence of divisions and lack of agreement among community members and leaders, it is recommended that the municipality creates more opportunities for interaction among community leaders, providing them avenues to contribute to municipal decision-making, and expanding the forum for traditional leaders to understand relevant issues in the municipality.
- **Sensitisation of community members on complaint processes:** The study recommends that the municipality accelerates the sensitisation programme regarding the complaints management system. The role of the ward structures in the complaint process should be well explained, the

timing of feedback, the appropriate office for complaint resolution and the components of the complaint resolution processes should be properly clarified.

- Staff orientation and training in customer service: As staff members are the face of the municipality, it is recommended that orientation and training on customer service be an on-going process for officials of the municipality. The customer service charter, the Batho Principles and how officials fit into the complaint management system needs to be highlighted. It is expected that all officials should have an understanding of the system, and are able to assist community members in their day-to-day responsibilities. The values of courtesy, patience, empathy and 'ubuntu' needs to be instilled in the collective psyche of municipal officials. In addition staff positions in areas related to community services should not be left vacant, as it affects the ability of the municipality to provide needed services.
- Better equipped members of community policing forums: The incidence of crime and its contribution to the occurrence of protests, implies that efforts be made to improve crime prevention activities. Though the South African Police Service has its own security strategies, the municipality should support and equip members of various community policing forums, and involve ward representative structures in their activities, especially those in far-flung rural communities.
- Expand opportunities for youths in communities: In conjunction with various government agencies and departments, the municipality can utilise creative avenues to harness potential of the abundant young persons in the area. Involvement of youths in rewarding opportunities will reduce their availability for mobilisation to protest. Innovations to be considered include higher learning opportunities, internships in public and commercial entities, expansion of library facilities into rural communities, training in entrepreneurship, development of sports related activities and the construction of playgrounds and sports fields in rural communities, the installation of internet-based facilities in the various community halls in rural areas, and

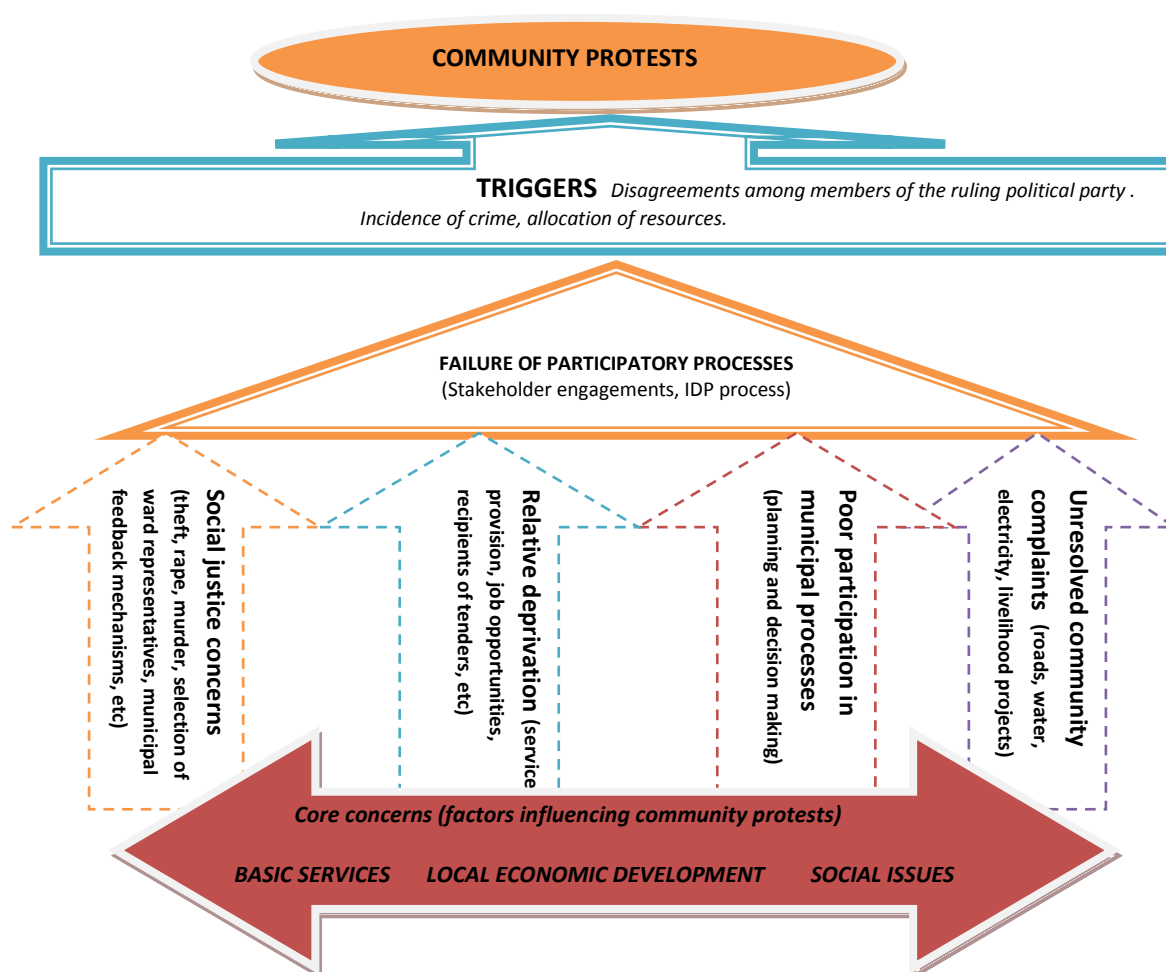
importantly, the exploitation of the performing arts as a means to create livelihood opportunities for the teeming youth is recommended.

- Use of annual surveys for municipal services evaluation: The use of a system for measuring the satisfaction of community members with municipal services and ward representative structures should be instituted. Customer or community satisfaction surveys or citizen's report cards are effective means for achieving this. Municipal regulations also require or suggest that local government annually conducts such surveys to understand how users of municipal services and community members rate their service providers. These ratings feed into the annual planning process to strengthen areas identified from such surveys as requiring additional attention by the municipality.

5.2.1 Framework for understanding community protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality

Based on the findings of the study, the framework presented below in Figure 5.1 assists to understand the current incidents of community protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality.

Fig. 5.1 Factors influencing community protests in Mbizana Local Municipality



In figure 5.1, the core concerns among community members are their unresolved complaints such as poor roads, lack of water and electricity connection, including the allocation of livelihood projects to communities for income generation. Community members also feel disconnected with the municipal processes following their inability to effectively participate in planning and decision making processes. The incidence of relative deprivation in the provision of services, and job opportunities including municipal grants, tenders and contracts, continue to be a source of dissatisfaction. Compounding these

issues is the occurrence of criminal acts such as theft, rape and even murder, all of which are the major factors influencing community protests in the study area. The study shows that in most instances, the occurrence of protests is either triggered by disagreements among political actors, or a crime related incident.

5.3 Recommendation for further research

The research highlights the contribution of crime incidents to the occurrence of protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality. However, due to the scope of the study, the various aspects of crime-induced protests were not significantly explored. It is recommended that the contribution of crime and the criminal justice system to protest incidents in the Mbizana Local Municipality be further examined.

5.4 Conclusion of the study

The research findings indicate the predominance of unresolved community complaints and crime-related incidents, with a strong undercurrent of political disagreement among party members as key factors influencing community protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality. These unresolved community complaints are mostly termed service delivery issues, but a close examination reveals that it encompasses several issues, which include poor communication and feedback, unrealistic expectations among community members and unfulfilled promises; which are compounded by the financial and human resource limitations which constrain the local municipality.

5.5 Summary of chapter

This concluding chapter provided a synopsis of the research, and suggested a number of recommendations to address the incidence of protests in the study area. The chapter presented the conclusion made by the study, and it also proposed future direction for further research associated with the present study.

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Annex 1: Local municipalities in the Eastern Cape Province

- Alfred Nzo District
 - Matatiele Local
 - Mbizana Local
 - Ntabankulu Local
 - Umzimvubu Local
- Amathole District
 - Amahlathi Local
 - Great Kei Local
 - Mbhashe Local
 - Mnquma Local
 - Ngqushwa Local
 - Nkonkobe Local
 - Nxuba Local
- Chris Hani District
 - Emalahleni Local
 - Engcobo Local
 - Inkwanca Local
 - Intsika Yethu Local
 - Inxuba Yethemba Local
 - Lukhanji Local
 - Sakhisizwe Local
 - Tsolwana Local
- Joe Gqabi District
 - Elundini Local
 - Gariep Local
 - Maletswai Local
 - Senqu Local
- OR Tambo District
 - Ingquza Hill Local
 - King Sabata Dalindyebo Local
 - Mhlontlo Local
 - Nyandeni Local
 - Port St Johns Local
- Sarah Baartman District
 - Baviaans Local
 - Blue Crane Route Local
 - Camdeboo Local
 - Ikwezi Local
 - Kou-Kamma Local
 - Kouga Local
 - Makana Local
 - Ndlambe Local
 - Sundays River Valley Local

Annex 2. Ward population estimates of the Mbizana Local Municipality.

Ward	Total population	Male	Female	No of households
1	4091	1797	2294	1201
2	7484	3241	4243	1404
3	6855	3097	3097	1399
4	6322	2880	3442	1253
5	8184	3596	4587	1551
6	10782	4942	4942	1901
7	6613	2950	3663	1323
8	7514	3330	4184	1486
9	9770	4280	5490	1826
10	8970	3932	5038	1726
11	8170	3565	4605	1506
12	7434	3249	3249	1376
13	7436	3289	4147	1574
14	9328	4212	5116	1555
15	9484	4220	4220	1644
16	9440	4209	5231	1651
17	10384	4728	5656	1916
18	6962	3016	3016	1307
19	10142	4551	5592	1706
20	9869	4462	5407	1883
21	7419	3343	3343	1251
22	7413	3348	4065	1261
23	6970	3145	3825	1345
24	5513	2465	2465	1285
25	8849	3934	4914	1389
26	6785	3092	3693	1323
27	7087	3053	3053	1344
28	7244	3220	4024	1201
29	8449	3722	4727	1552
30	7547	3348	3348	1266
31	6322	2880	3442	6322

Source: Mbizana Municipality Ward Based Plans 2012.

Annex 3: Permission letter to undertake research

MBIZANA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

Physical Address
Main Street
Postal Address
P O Box 12
Bizana
4800



Office of the Municipal Manager
Tel: 039 251 0230
Fax: 039 251 0917
E-Mail: mayor@mbizana.org.za

Date: 19th August 2014
Enq: Miss B Gaxela

Durban University of Technology
Faculty of Management Sciences
P.O.Box 1334
Durban
4000

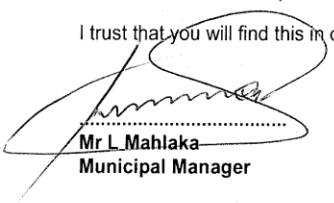
Dear Sir,

RE: GRANTING OF PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH WITHIN MBIZANA L MUNICIPALITY

This letter bears reference to your letter dated the 14th August 2014, requesting to be granted permission to conduct your research within the jurisdiction of Mbizana Local Municipality.

The office of the Municipal Manager therefore approves your request.

I trust that you will find this in order.


.....
Mr L. Mahlaka
Municipal Manager

Annex 4: Interview schedule

PROPOSED GUIDE FOR INTERVIEW WITH MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

Research Question to be addressed:

How are community issues addressed by the local municipality?

- a. Identification of avenues currently in place for addressing community complaints?
- b. What role does the municipality play in addressing economic and social complaints in the community?
- c. How does the municipality ensure the participation of communities and community members in the municipal governance processes (IDP, Budget, SDBIP, Council etc).
- d. Explain how the municipality informs communities of issues related to the delivery of services.
- e. How does the municipality assist in resolving conflicts in communities?

Annex 5: Questionnaire used in study

Title of study: Factors Influencing Community Protests in the Mbizana Local Municipality.

Durban University of Technology
Faculty of Management Sciences
MTech (Public Management)
<i>Researcher: Christopher Nwafor</i>
<i>Supervisor: Dr. I. G. Govender</i>

This questionnaire is used for academic purposes only and the information provided by the respondent will be treated in strict confidence, and not passed on to any other user.

The main objective of the study is to explore the factors which influence protests among community members in the study area.

Note for Respondents

- i. Respondents will be asked for consent before being interviewed, this is required before commencement.
- ii. Respondents are not compelled to participate and can withdraw at any time.
- iii. The Researcher or interviewer will explain the aim of the study and outline the confidentiality and anonymity of the information and respondent.

Thank You.

Questionnaire

Section A: Demographic Characteristics (Please tick the relevant box).

1. *Gender:*

Female Male

2. *Age:*

21-35

36 -45

46-50

51-65

65 and above

3. Marital Status:

Single

Married

Other

4. Education Level:

None

ABET

Primary

High School

Completed Matrix

Tertiary

5. Employment status:

Unemployed

Formal employment

Self employed

Section B: Factors leading to community dissatisfaction.

1. The following factors lead to protests in the community.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Undecided / No
opinion

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Inter-political conflicts.

Intra-community disagreements.

Non-engagement in municipal planning processes.

No community meetings.

Unresolved community complaints.

Lack of employment opportunities.

Lack of social amenities (clinic, school, etc).

No feedback about planned activities from local government officials.

Poor infrastructure such as roads

Unchecked criminal activities in the community.

2. Please rate the following statements below based on your experience.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The community receives support from the Ward Committee members.					
The Ward Committee members are known and active in the community.					
Community members are informed of government support activities for complaints.					
Issues identified by the community are acted on by the municipality.					
The Ward Councillor receives support from all community members.					
There are opportunities for the community members to contribute to municipal planning.					
The communities receive support from the Councillor.					

Community members participate actively in municipal processes.

Some protests are not directly related to community issues.

Protests in communities are instigated by political actors.

3. What in your view contributes to a protest in your community?

.....

.....

4. Which other reasons do you think can lead to protests by the community members?

.....

.....

Section C: Challenges to addressing community issues.

5. Community members face various challenges in trying to resolve issues that concern them.

The issues discouraging community members from seeking redress include;

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	---------------------------	----------	----------------------

Distance from place of residence to the municipal offices.

Inability of community members to contact the Ward Councillor.

Community members are not aware of the processes involved for lodging complaints.

Ward Committee members do not follow up on complaints by community members.

Worry about the negative reaction of some community members.

Complainants are concerned about being the target of sanctions.

There is division among community members on certain issues.

No progress has been made after reporting the complaint to the Municipality.

6. In seeking answers to their complaints, community members sometimes presume that results can only be achieved through the intervention of authorities higher than the local municipality. This assumption is because;

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
-------------------	-------	---------------------------	----------	----------------------

Community members know that their complaints can be tabled to the Mayor or the Municipal Manager's office.

Ward Committees are unable to provide assistance after complaints have been reported.

The Councillor is not seen as the appropriate person to assist in addressing community issues.

The Municipality has informed the community of the processes to resolving community issues.

The community only receives attention during political campaigns for election.

Community complaints are attended to only after a protest has occurred.

7. What do you think are the main challenges facing community members when trying to resolve their issues?

.....

.....

.....

Section D. Role of identified stakeholders in community protests.

8. The following stakeholders play a key role during community protests?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Traditional Leader					
Youths in the community					
Ward Committees					
Councillors					
Political Party Members					
Women Groups					
Associations, Societies and NGO's					
Religious Leaders					
Municipal Protection Services					
South African Police Services (SAPS)					

9. Different stakeholders play an active role in community protests, and may be involved in different stages of the process. Their involvement is necessary because;

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Community leaders are rallying points during a community protest?					
Young people in the community follow the directives of the community leader?					
Community members are supported by Ward Committee members during protests?					
Disagreements among politicians sometimes cause community protests?					
Councillors generally mobilise community members during protests?					
Ward committee members commonly mobilise community members to protest?					
Protests never occur without the consent of the community leader?					
Youths are always responsible for all community protests?					

10. Which of the identified stakeholders played a leading role during the last community protest?.....

Section E. Available avenues for resolving community issues

11. Avenues through which community members can bring their issues to the attention of the municipality.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided / No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	---------------------------	----------	----------------------

Community members request an appointment with the Mayor.

Community members report to the Ward Committee member.

Complaints and issues are forwarded to the Councillor.

The municipal Public Participation office is responsible for community complaints.

The Municipal Manager handles all community complaints.

I don't know which office to report our community complaints.

12. What in your view is the most effective avenue to resolve community complaints?

.....

.....

13. How should the municipality assist in resolving community complaints?

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your time!

Annex 6: Translated questionnaire document (isiXhosa)

ULUHLU LWEMIBUZO, EKUNDELEKE UKUBA IPHENDULWE

Eyona njongo yesisfundo kukuhlolisisa imeko ezenza ukungavisisani kumalungu omphakathi.

OKufanele bakwazi abaphendulayo:

- I. Abaphenduli bazocelwa imvume ngaphambi kobab avavanywe, oku kuyafuneka ngaphambi koba kuqalwe
- II. Abaphenduli abanyanzelekanga ukuthathainxaxheba fuhi bangayeka nomakunini
- III. Umphandi okanye obuza.yo kufanele achaze injongo yesi sifundo acacise nangemfihlo nangokungaziwa kolwazi nomthetho

Enkosi.

ULUHLU LWEMIBUZO

ICANDELO LOKUQALA: cela ukhetha

1. ISINI :

Abasetyhini

Abasebuhlanti

2. IMINYAKA :

21-35

36-45

46-50

51-65

65 angaphezulu

3. IMO YOMTSHATO :

Awutshatanga

utshatile

Okunye

4. UMGANGATHO WEMFUNDO :

awufundanga

ABET

Imfundo
ephansi

isinali

Ugqibe
matric

Dyunivesity

5. IMEKO YENGQESHO :

Awuphangeli

usebenza kakuhle

Ozisebenzayo

ICANDELO LESIBINI: Imeko ezikhokelela ekunganelisekini komphahi

6 Ezi meko zilandelayo zikhokelela kwizidingo zomphakathi ezingaphunyezwa.

**UKUVUMA
NGAMANDLA**

**UKUVUMA
NJE**

UKUNGAZI

UKUNGAVUMI

**UKUNGAVUMI
NGAMANDLA**

Ingxabano zopolitiko
emphakathini

Ingxabano kumalunga
ezopolitiko

Ukungavumelani nganto
emphakathini

Ukungazibandakanyi

Kwicwangciso nkqubo zika

Masipala

Akubanjwa zinhlanganiso

emphakathini

Izikhhalazo zomphakathi

ezingasombululwayo

Ukunjaba kwamathuba
emisebenzi
Ukunjaba kwendawo
eziluncedo eziluncedo
izikolo, ,Iclinic kanye
nezibhedlela
Akukho ngxelo ibuyayo
ngezi cwangcwiso
zemisebenzi evela
kwabasegunyeni
lorhulumentu basekuhlaleni

Ukungabikho kophuhliso
lwezindlela

Ukungajongwa wezenzo
zobundlobongela
emphakathini

Intuthuko ezifana namanzi,
umbane, kanye nogesi
zikhona kodwa zinikwa
abantu bakwezinye ilali.

7

**UKUVMA
NGAMANDLA**

UKUVUMA

UKUNGAZI

UKUNGAVUMI

**UKUNGAVUMI
NGAMANDLA**

Umphakathi
ufumana inkxaso
kumakomiti
ewadi akhethwe
ilali

Amakomiti
ewadi ayaziwa
kwaye
ayasebenza
emphakathini

Amalungu
omphakathi
bayaziswa
ngenkxaso
karhulumente
yezikhalazo zabo

Ingxaki ezishiwo
ngumphakathi
zisombululwa
ngumasipala

Uceba we wadi
ufumana inkxaso
kuwo wonke
amalungu
omphakathi

Akhona amanye
amathuba
kubantu
bomphakathi
uuba bancedise
kwingxelo
kamasipala

umphakathi
ufumana inkxaso
kuceba we wadi

Abahlali
banegalelo
elikhulu
kwinkqubo zika
Masipala

Ezinye izinto
ekungaviniswana
ngazo
aziqondananga
nomphakathi

Ukungavumlani
emphakathini
kuqalwa noma
kudalwa
bosopolitiko.

ICANDELO LESITHATHU: Ubunzima abajongene nako ekudluiseni ingxaki zomphakathi

Amakungu omphakathi ajongene nengxaki ezohlukeneyo ekuzameni ukusombulula
izikhalazoezithinta bona

Ezingxaki zenza amalungu omphakathi angabi namandla wokphinda ukuyofuna izibonelelo ezinjengezi zilandelayo :

10

**UKUVUMA
NGAMANDLA**

UKUVUMA

UKUNGAZI

UKUNGAVUMI

**UKWALA
NGAMANDLA**

Kulibanga elide
ukusuka
kwindawo
zabahlali ukuya
kwi ofisi
zikaMasipala

Abahlali
abakwazi
ukuxhumana
noCeba we wadi

Umphakathi
awunalwazi
nendawo
zokudlulisela
izikhalazo zawo.

Amakomiti
ewadi
akazilandeli
izikhalazo
zomphakathi

Ukukhathazeka
ngendlela
amalungu
omphakathi
aziphatha ngayo
engamkelekanga

Abakhalazayo
banomdla
enkwenzeni
izinto
ziphunyeziweyo

Kukhona
iyantlukwano
kumalungu
omphakathi
ngezinye izinto
ezizingxaki

Akukho
nkqubela
yenziweyo emva
kokubikwa
kwezikhalazo ku
Masipala

11. ekufuneni Impendulo kwizikhalazo , kwamanye amaxesha amalunga omphakathi aye acinge uba iziphumo zingaphumeleliswa ngokungenelela kwabomthetho abaphezulu kunabakwamasipala. oku kucingela ingoba;

**UKUVUMA
NGAMANDLA**

UKUVUMA

UKUNGAZI

UKUNGAVUM

**UKUNGAVUMI
NGAMANDLA**

Amalungu
omphakathi
ayazi ukuba
izikhalazo zawo
zingagqithiselwa
kuMeya okanye
ku Maneja
kaMasipala

Iwadi komiti
azikwazi
ukuncedisa emva
kokuba
izikhalazo
sezitshiwo

Uceba
akabonakali
engumntu
okulungeleyo
ukunceda

ukudluliseleni
ingxaki
zomphakathi

Abahlali
banakwa xa
kusiza ukonyulo

Izikhhalazo
zomphakathi
zihoywa emva
kokuba kukhona
ukuxambulilisa

12 Ucinga ukuba zeziphi imeko ezinzima umphakathi ojongana nazo xa uzama ukusombulula ingxaki

ICANDELO LESINE. Indima efunyenwe likomiti ukulungisa ukungavumelani emphakathini.

13.amakomiti adlala indima enkulu ukulungisa ingxaki emphakathini, bazibandakanye kumanqanaba ahlukeneyo enkqubela phambili. Ukuzibandakanya kwabo kubalulekile kuba:

	UKUVUMA NGAMANDLA	UKUVUMA	UKUNGAZI	UKUNGAVUMI	UKUNGAVUMI NGAMANDLA
Ingaba inkokheli zomphakathi ziyakubhiyozela na ukungavisisani?					
Ingaba ulutsha luyazilandela na ingcebiso zenkokheli yazo?					
Ingaba abahlali bayaxhaswa na ziwadi komiti uma kuqhubeka ukungavisiswana?					
Ingaba					

ukungavumelani
kosopolitiko
kwelinye xesha
kudala
ingxabano?

Ingaba oceba
bayabaqokelela nan
a abantu
ngamaxesha
okuxambuliswana?

ingaba amakomiti
ewadi
ayabaqokelela na
abahlali
ngamaxesha
oxambuliswano?

Ingaba
ukuxambulisana
emphakathini
kuyenzeka na xa
kungekho konkeli
ibandakanyekayo?

ingaba Ulutsha
lisoloko liqaphela
ngoxambuliswano
lomphakathi?

14. lamaqumrhu alandelayo adlala indima enkulu ngexesha lokungavisisani emphakathini?

**ukuvuma
ngamandla**

ukuvuma

ukuvuma ne

ukungavumi

**ukuphika
ngamandla**

Inkosi

Ulutsha
emphakathini

Oward
committee

Oceba

Amalungu
amaqela
ozopolitiko

Iqembu
lomama

Imibutho

Abefundisi

Ezokhuseleko
bakamaspala

Amapolisa

15. ngawona maphi amaqumrhu adlala indima ephambili ngexesha longavisisani emphakathini ?

ICANDELO LESIHLANU: Indawo ezifumanekayo eku xazululeni ingxaki zomphakathi

16. indawo apho amalungu ophakathi angazisa izikhalazo zawo ukuze zinakwe nguMasipala.

	ukuvuma ngamandla	ukuvuma	ukungazi	ukungavumi	ukungavumi ngamangla
Amalunga omphakathi Acela ukuhlanganiswa ne mayor					
Amalunga omphakathi abika kuma ward committee					

Izikhhalazo
nengxaki
zidluliselwa ku
ceba

Amalunga
omphakathi
asayine

Izikhhalazo ku
masipala

Iofisi
yomphakathi
kamasipala
ijongana
nezikhhalazo
zomphakathi

Umpathi
kamasipala
ujongene
nokulungisa
zonke izikhhalazo
zabahlali

Andiyazi ba
yeyiphi I ofisi
endingadlulisela
kuyo izikhhalazo
zomphakathi

17 Ngokubona kwakho intoni engenzeka ukuze kuxazululeke izikhhalazo zomphakathi?

18. Umasipala unganceda njani ekuxazululeni izikhhalazo zomphakathi?

.....
.....
.....

Annex 7. Rotated component matrix of questionnaire statements

Q6	Component		
	1	2	3
Inter-political conflicts.	.151	.042	.885
Intra-political disagreements	-.030	.711	.253
Intra-community disagreements.	.105	.723	-.313
Non-engagement in municipal planning processes.	.613	-.027	.223
No community meetings.	.667	-.323	-.047
Unresolved community complaints.	.735	.019	.036
Lack of employment opportunities.	.502	.422	.299
Lack of social amenities (clinic, school, etc).	.698	.437	.158
No feedback about planned activities from local government officials.	.607	-.038	.203
Poor infrastructure such as roads	.620	.359	.220
Unchecked criminal activities in the community.	.652	.221	.004
Services such as housing, water and electricity not provided, but supplied to other communities.	.627	.275	-.103

Q7	Component		
	1	2	3
The community receives support from the Ward Committee members.	.756	.041	.027
The Ward Committee members are known and active in the community.	.851	-.010	.094
Community members are informed of government support activities and process for complaints.	.350	.540	.052
Issues identified by the community are acted on by the municipality.	.015	.682	.076
The Ward Councillor receives support from all community members.	.263	.586	-.031
The communities receive support from the Councillor.	.699	.219	-.251
Community members participate actively in municipal processes.	.526	.507	-.114
Some protests are not directly related to community issues.	.051	.110	.879

Annex 8. Statistical analysis of scoring pattern

Q6	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Inter-political conflicts.	51.271	2	.000
Intra-political disagreements	306.518	2	.000
Intra-community disagreements.	90.424	2	.000
Non-engagement in municipal planning processes.	240.847	2	.000
No community meetings.	217.906	2	.000
Unresolved community complaints.	418.729	2	.000
Lack of employment opportunities.	289.718	2	.000
Lack of social amenities (clinic, school, etc).	242.071	2	.000
No feedback about planned activities from local government officials.	280.541	2	.000
Poor infrastructure such as roads	229.553	2	.000
Unchecked criminal activities in the community.	251.6	2	.000
Services such as housing, water and electricity not provided, but supplied to other communities.	392.494	2	.000

Q7	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
The community receives support from the Ward Committee members.	192.776	2	.000
The Ward Committee members are known and active in the community.	55.341	2	.000
Community members are informed of government support activities and process for complaints.	1.012	2	.603
Issues identified by the community are acted on by the municipality.	10.259	2	.006
The Ward Councillor receives support from all community members.	34.541	2	.000
There are opportunities for the community members to contribute to municipal planning.	16.165	2	.000
The communities receive support from the Councillor.	48.871	2	.000
Community members participate actively in municipal processes.	15.341	2	.000
Some protests are not directly related to community issues.	63.341	2	.000
Protests in communities are instigated by political actors.	144.847	2	.000
There is conflict between the traditional leader, councillor and ward committee members .	20.494	2	.000

Q10	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Distance from place of residence to the municipal offices.	122.612	2	.000
Inability of community members to contact the Ward Councillor.	87.694	2	.000
Community members are not aware of the processes involved for lodging complaints.	213.341	2	.000
Ward Committee members do not follow up on complaints by community members.	53.388	2	.000
Worry about the negative reaction of some community members.	34.894	2	.000
Complainants are concerned about being the target of sanctions.	10.541	2	.005
There is division among community members on certain issues.	290.635	2	.000
No progress has been made after reporting the complaint to the Municipality.	285.341	2	.000

Annex 9. Test of relationship between variables

Pearson Chi-Square Tests

		Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment Status
Inter-political conflicts.	Chi-square	6.302	71.656	8.802	56.848	65.223
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.178	.000*	.359	.000*	.000*
Intra-political disagreements	Chi-square	4.307	29.241	20.510	29.301	16.163
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.366	.022*	.009*	0.082	0.184
Intra-community disagreements.	Chi-square	4.151	60.957	38.028	63.419	63.463
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.386	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*
Non-engagement in municipal planning processes.	Chi-square	.192	57.790	28.894	78.558	28.514
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.996	.000*	.000*	.000*	.005*
No community meetings.	Chi-square	13.835	55.294	12.886	45.022	29.223
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.008*	.000*	0.116	.001*	.004*
Unresolved community complaints.	Chi-square	2.186	46.223	16.803	83.378	19.848
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.702	.000*	.032*	.000*	0.07
Lack of employment opportunities.	Chi-square	3.727	41.172	16.934	36.411	12.004
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.444	.001*	.031*	.014*	0.445
Lack of social amenities (clinic, school, etc).	Chi-square	2.813	55.504	42.838	69.365	54.601
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.590	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*
No feedback about planned activities from local government officials.	Chi-square	9.814	53.221	52.190	71.069	59.353
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.044*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*
Poor infrastructure such as roads	Chi-square	3.609	58.195	48.609	134.115	44.939
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	0.462	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*
Unchecked criminal activities in the community.	Chi-square	16.663	46.775	12.042	27.972	20.629
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.002*	.000*	0.149	0.11	0.056
Services such as housing, water and electricity not provided, but supplied to other communities.	Chi-square	16.472	31.299	23.474	43.166	30.826
	df	4	16	8	20	12
	Sig.	.002*	.012*	.003*	.002*	.002*

Annex 10. Bivariate correlation table (to be printed and attached)

Annex 11. Gender distribution by age

		Gender		Total
		male	female	
Age	Count	51	62	113
	between 21 and 35			
	% within Age	45.1%	54.9%	100.0%
	% within Gender	42.5%	45.9%	44.3%
	% of Total	20.0%	24.3%	44.3%
	Count	37	43	80
	between 36 and 45			
	% within Age	46.3%	53.8%	100.0%
	% within Gender	30.8%	31.9%	31.4%
	% of Total	14.5%	16.9%	31.4%
	Count	26	24	50
	between 46 and 50			
	% within Age	52.0%	48.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	21.7%	17.8%	19.6%
	% of Total	10.2%	9.4%	19.6%
	Count	4	4	8
	between 51 and 65			
	% within Age	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	3.3%	3.0%	3.1%
	% of Total	1.6%	1.6%	3.1%
	Count	2	2	4
	above 65			
	% within Age	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	1.7%	1.5%	1.6%
	% of Total	0.8%	0.8%	1.6%
Total	Count	120	135	255
	% within Age	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%

Annex 12: Consolidated list of community needs – Mayors outreach (2013)

WARD NO	PRIORITIES / INPUTS/ COMMENTS
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of public toilets in town, • Sewerage System must be improved in town. • Electricity must be improved to avoid on and off problems. • A by-pass from Mayingene to the Abattoir must be constructed to avoid traffic congestion during pick hours. • All access roads in town must be maintained. • Multi Purpose Youth Centre must be maintained. • Bridges on walkways at extension 4 must be constructed. • Municipality must consider the issue of sites that were not surveyed and vacant plots at Extension 2 must be fenced to avoid criminal activities. • Shelters on pavements affecting pedestrian opposite Super Kids School must be removed. • Funds to assist small business companies be budgeted for by the municipality.
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of all villages in ward • Maintenance of Ntamonde access road • Provision of water in all villages in the ward • Mbhojeni/ Ngele need access road to Sinyameni SPS • Maintenance of Mkhambathi access road. • Provision of RDP Houses • Provision of electricity in Mpheni village • Maintenance of Ntamonde access road • Provision of water taps in all villages of the ward • Construction of Mbhojeni/ Ngele access road to Sinyameni SPS • Maintenance of Mkhambathi access road
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qhabangeni access road need urgent maintenance • Request bridge from Madlebetshe to Sithukuthezi S.S.S. • Provision of water services • Request virgin road from Masokeni to Tyiweni • Zibanzini and Longweni access roads in bad condition. • RDP houses for need families • Maintenance of access road from Qhabangeni to Makhabaludaka • Extension of Mantshangase clinic • Construction of Sport field
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconstruction of Mdeni community hall • Provision of water Emdeni village, kwamangandla and Marelane na Kwa-D village. • Construction of Marelane SSS to Mhlaba Uvelile access road • Maintenance of toilets in Mndikiso village • Fencing of farming areas in ward 4 • Provision of solar geysers in ward 4

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of library, finishing school and sport field in ward4 • Construction of KwaMasela to kwaMpum access road • Construction of Marelani to Mhlabuvelile access road • Access road from Etankini to Mdibi • T113 to Bukula Access road • T113 to Mabutho access road • R61 to Emazweni access road • Provision of RDP Houses • Water supply in all the villages
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bridge should be prioritized at Mabhelani crossing to Mtamvuna • Community hall should be prioritized Dlungwana • Multipurpose centre should be prioritized to show off skills Mbobeni • Food parcel for disadvantaged people every month • Water access at Mmangweni • Maintenance of Pholela access road • Road maintenance of Mmangweni road • Medication should be available at the clinics all times • RDP houses should be prioritized in the at Gwala • Construction of grave yard access road • Provision of safety clothing for police forums • Job recreation to elevate poverty • Co-ops in the ward should be funded • Sport fields should be prioritized. • Toilet facilities should be prioritized at Dlungwana • Provision of water and electricity at Dlungwana
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance for T115 to the Clinic • Construction of access road from T115 to Mpindweni • Construction of access road from Jali to Disayi • Construction of access road from T – Junction to Mgungundlovu • Electrification of Jali village • Provision of RDP houses • Provision of water taps • LED funding must be made available for project such as Gwebindlala vegetable project. • Provision of ABET centers at Dindini village • Dangerous water springs at Mhlanga villages needs urgent intervention as they are badly affecting roads in

	<p>the area.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ntshamathe access road need maintenance • Maintenance of Tsawana access road • Provision of toilets to kwaC village • Construction of Sontsele to Magcakini access road • Construction of Dlamini to Dindini access road • Construction of Qotyana to Dindini access road • Construction of a crossing bridge from Mhlanga to kwaC village • Maintenance of Guqa access road • Guqa water scheme to be rehabilitated • There must be a WSU branch in Mbizana for the youth of Mbizana • Promised Houses to Mhlanga disaster victims were never built • Sewerage affecting Mhlanga and Kwa C villages must be urgently attended to.
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of water to all villages of ward 7. • Construction of community halls • Construction Jerusalem pre – school. • Provision of water at Zwelitsha village • The skills development programme must be brought to the community. • There is a need of a mobile clinic. • Provision of to Khaleni village • Construction of RDP houses and provision of electricity • Provision of Majaza village • Construction of Ndunge village clinic • Provision of RDP houses
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of water taps in all villages in the ward • Construction of RDP houses • Construction of Ntshikintshane access road with a crossing bridge • Maintenance of Mhlabomnyama access road • Maintenance of Galatyeni access road • Bukuveni access road with a crossing bridge needs urgent maintenance • Construction of Ncura to Ntshikintshane access road • Provision of RDP Houses • Maintenance of Dinda access road • Construction of access road to Dudumeni Garden Project • Water drains in R61 around Dudumeni must be urgently maintained. • Construction of clinic at Galatyeni village • Rehabilitation of Galatyeni water scheme • Fencing of community gardens

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Installation of speed humps in R61 next to Dudumeni JSS • LED funding must be publicized for all wards • T-road from Bukuveni to Sgodlweni needs urgent maintenance • Construction of access road from Dudumeni via Mvumbi to Mahlongwa
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mfundambini Access Road should be maintained. • Community hall in Mfundambini hall should be prioritised. • Qolintaba access road should be prioritized. • Tshuze to Luphilisweni access road should be prioritised. • RDP houses should be prioritised at Zanokhanyo village. • Public transport (bus) should be allocated for Zanokhanyo village • Lumayeni to Envis preschool access road should be prioritised • Construction of Gwabeni Methodist church to Gwabeni pre - school access road +_ 8 kms. • Gwabeni Electricity in-fills should be prioritized. • Electricity infill's next to Kubha location should be prioritized. • Mfundambini to Gwabeni Bridge should be prioritised. • Mfundambini to Ndela Bridge should be prioritised. • Construction of toilets • Ntlanezwe via Douglas to chief Dumile access road should be prioritizing. • Mphetshwa via Mfundambini to clinic access road should be prioritized. • Mayoral Games should start at ward level.
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A slab is needed at Ntsunguzi as the road to Mafadobo cannot be used during rainy days. ▪ Thekwini Village must be provided with a Community Hall. ▪ A Sport field at Mgodini must be reconstructed ▪ Electrification of Mgodini Village ▪ Clinic and schools at Mgodini village must be provided with electricity. ▪ Municipality must provide the clinic with a quality board for advertising the services rendered by the clinic. ▪ Community of Hofisi Village must be provided with RDP houses. ▪ Community Hall must be built at Mcetheni Village. ▪ Municipal Notice boards be planted in public institution in all wards so that community can access Municipal programmes and advertised posts. ▪ Mcijweni Access road must be maintained. ▪ Malongwana to Mbangweni Road must be graded ▪ Dipping tanks must be maintained. ▪ Mcetheni Access Road must be completed ▪ Machibini to Clinic Access Road not done • Nkwasheni access Road was approved but there is no implementation
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mdaka Village needs electricity and a pre-school. • Esigodlweni Village needs grazing land (Amadlelo) • Provision of Water and Construction of pre- school. • Lukhanyeni village needs a police station, a pre-school, library as well as containers to train drop outs. • Pele – Pele village needs RDP houses,

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lucwaba Village needs a mobile clinic, and a pre-school • Giniswano village needs a mobile clinic, electricity and health workers. • Sigodlwani village needs Health workers
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of access road from Mntomkhulu to Mpetsheni. • Provision of RDP Houses. • Construction of community hall. • Construction of Sports field • Construction of access roads to all schools • Provision of water scheme in all village of the ward. • Ward 12 should be considered in Community Works Programm
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of RDP Houses at Didi village. • Construction of crossing bridge linking ward 13 & 30. • Construction of Access road from Matwebu to Maqela • Construction of Mboneni to Khotsho access road with a crossing bridge. • Speed humps on R61 Nikhwe Area • Provision of RDP Houses at Nikhwe Tent village • Provision of water taps at Nikhwe Tent village • Maintenance of Ngcingo to kwaKiviet access road • Existing water schemes at Ngcingo must be restructured. • Provision of RDP houses at Twangu village. • Maintenance of Didi access road • Electricity infills at Didi village be prioritized. • Maintenance of Khotsho access road • Provision of street lights at Didi village.
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of ccess road from Mboneni to Khotsho village • Provision of water should be prioritized at Zamelizwe village • Provision of RDP housing Meje village • Toilets should be prioritized at Zamelizwe village • Library should be prioritized in the village at Mbongweni • Electricity should be prioritized for ward 14 • Disadvantage kids should be given uniforms in the area • Construction of Sports field at Luthulini • Construction of Ngojane access road • Completion of Meje community hall in terms of providing furniture • Maintenance of all access roads in the ward
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of all villages in the ward • Provision of water taps in the whole ward. • Construction of Mtentu to the project access road • Mcitha access road need urgent maintenance

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of Gabisa access road • Construction of Tafalezono to Mkhonde access road • Schools electrification programme to fast-tracked • Maintenance of the T-road to ward 15 be prioritised for the community to access public transport (Bus – AB350) • Maintenance of T120 to Holycross must be prioritised • Provision of RDP houses • Construction of Mhlabomnyama access road • Construction of Makwentsa to Kuchetywa access road • T120 to Mtentu must be maintained • Maintenance of access road to Mpisi Police Station • Construction of Miya and Makhosonke extensions
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of all the villages ward 16. • Construction of community Hall at Mthayise Village. • Construction of RDP Houses in the ward. • Maintenance of Majuba Access Road. • Provision of Water at Mpisi Village • Manzamnyama Access Road must be maintained • Mbhekwa to Mkhasweni Access Road must be constructed.
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction from ccess road from R61 to Ntsingizi • Provision of water should be prioritized in all villages of ward 17 • Provision of RDP houses at all villages • Provision of speed humps in R61 • Community hall should be prioritized at Nikhwe village • Maintenance of R61 should be prioritized • Construction of Ntlakwe JSS extension access road must be prioritized • RDP should be prioritized urgently for the orphans in the ward • Nikhwe to Kathula access road should be completed • Construction of Nyandeni Access road
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of Lubunde village. • Construction of T –road from Plangeni to Ntangen. • Provision of toilets facilities at Mqonjwana village • Provision of RDP houses for the whole ward • Construction of Community hall for the ward • Construction of Mabuya access road. • Construction of Mqonjwana to Phathekile J.S.S access road • Construction of pre-school at Sankuthwana village
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of water and toilets in all villages in the ward • Electrification of all villages in the ward

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of all access roads • Construction of Sports field at Mbabazo village • Provision of RDP houses in all villages • Construction of Clinic for the ward • Maintenance of Nyandeni access road
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of all access in all villages • Maintenance of Garhani to Edramini access road. • Maintenance of Mzamba mouth access road • Provision of water scheme • Provision of toilets • Allocation of funds for bursaries for young peoples • Provision of RDP houses and electrification of Mamcakweni and Quza village s • Provision of borehole at Madokazana village. • Maintenance of access road from Madadana to R61 • Maintenance of Mbhashe access road.
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of Ntika access road • Construction of foloti access road • Construction of Cwaka access road • Electricity infills in all electrified villages • Electrification of Foloti village • Electrification of Mpunzi village • Provision of water taps in the whole ward • Provision of the RDP houses in the ward • Provision of water tanks in the whole while still waiting for water taps • Maintenance of Nobamba access road. • Construction of Mtamvuna bridge • Maintenance of Greenville to Maqasha T road • Maintenance of Mpunzi access road • Construction of Siqo to Tourism project access road. • Maintenance of Dotye access road
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of three villages-Mfolozi, Lukholo and Lugwijini • Electrification Gumzana village • An indoor sport fields at ward 22 must be constructed. • Maintenance of Lukholo access road. • Maintenance of Gumzana access road. • All ward 22 access road must be maintenance • Provision of RDP Houses • Buthongweni access road must be constructed. • Community of Community Hall • Maintenance of Khananda access road • Construction of ward 22 sports field

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of Nomsatha Technical high school in Gumzana village • Construction of Nofezile to Ntunjeni access road • Kwa – Cele Access road needs urgent maintenance • Vungwana access road needs maintenance • Gumzana via Vondo to Bulala T – road must be maintained • Electricity infills be prioritized.
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of access road in all villages • Access road from Garhani to Edramini need to maintain. • Roads to Mzamba mouth need to maintain as well • Allocation of funds for bursaries • Construction of bridge at Diphini river. • Construction of access road from R61 to Vulindlela Com tech. • Construction of access road from R61 to Sirhasheni village.
24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electricity in Singqongweni village • Construction of Cingweni access road. • Construction Dipini to Msomi access road. • Construction of Sport field • Construction of community Library • In-fills at Sea - View • Provision of Water Taps in the ward • Construction of Marina Access road • Request mobile clinics in rural areas • Poor service at St Patricks Hospital need Political Intervention
25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bazane Bridge damaged need to be maintained. • Sgananda to Mtentu Access Road to be constructed. • Tshezi to Khumbuza Access Road to be maintained. • There is a need of water in the whole ward. • Gcinisizwe must be provided with a clinic, or a mobile clinic. • T Road from Mnyameni must be maintained. • Youth must be trained as health workers. • Jama access road must be reconstructed as it is in a bad state. • Mzamba bridge and slab must be maintained urgently as lives were lost there. • Makhwantini to Matshezi A/Road be constructed. • There is a need of a comprehensive school. • Gcinisizwe hall must be constructed. • Dumasi A/R must be constructed. • Baleni Clinic must be upgraded.
26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of Malola to T- road access road

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of water should be prioritized Ekuphumleni • Construction of Tuckshop to R61 access road • Provision of RDP houses at Nomlacu village • Provision of water should be prioritized at school Mt Zion Primary school • Drainage system should be improve at Mount Zion • Maintenance of R61 (Nomlacu) • Sports field should be maintained • Electrification of F Section should be prioritized
27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tarring of T113 from Ludeke to Qobo clinic • Building of Thusong centre and Post Office that were promised for Nkantolo village were never done. • Maintenance of Clarkville access road. • Electrification of all villages in the ward • Thaleni to Goxe bridge was not completed • Cabane to Krestu access road was not completed • Mdikiso to Chibini access road was not completed • Provision of the water service in all villages
28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of all villages of Ward 28. • Bridge at Mzamba Bridge needs maintenance. • Mzamba slab needs maintenance • Tshezi to Mnyameni Road must be constructed. • Construction of Mdatya road. • A bridge and an access road from Sidanga to Mbokodwa must be maintained. • Construction of toilets at Sidanga, Litye, Dangeni and Mngungu villages. • Water is a crisis in this ward. • Access Road from Lundini to Mtshawedikazi must be constructed and be tarred. • Community Hall must be constructed. • Sport field must be constructed. • RDP houses must be constructed in the entire ward.
29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of Marina bridge • Construction of Mamcakweni via Madadana to Pelepele access road • Provision of water taps in all villages • Construction of Mkhungo to Nkunzi access road • Electrification of Zwelethu • Provision of water taps in all ward villages • Mbongwana to Dotye access road needs maintenance. • Sanitation project was not completed
30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electrification of all villages in the ward must be prioritised • Provision of RDP Houses

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of clinic, site has been identified • Provision of toilets at Dutyini village • Maintenance of the T road must continue from Mzamba onwards • Water pipes must be installed in Stofini access road • Provision of water taps in the whole ward • Construction of R61 to Dayimani access road • Maintenance of Mxinga access road • Provision of Mobile Clinic while waiting for construction of clinic. • Provision of food parcels to all those not receiving government grants
31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ward 31 must be provided with RDP Houses. • Mdozingana Access Road must be constructed. • Provision of water is required urgently. • A clinic is needed at Siwisa village. • Sixhanxeni Access road must be constructed. • Zindleleni to Silahliwe via Groundini must be constructed. • Community Hall at Zizityaneni be constructed. • Khwezi to Dlamini Access road be constructed. • Provision water for the ward

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