

### At the heart of discontent: Understanding and responding to protest and election violence in South Africa





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Lizette Lancaster Manager: Crime and Justice Hub - Institute for Security Studies





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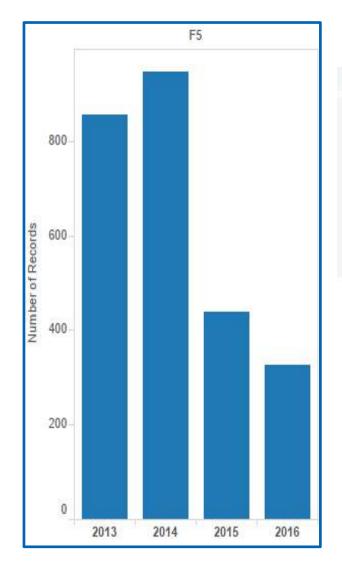
Towards violence reduction To systematically track the nature and extent of violence resulting from community based protests, labour strikes, vigilantism, political conflict and other crowd or inter-group activity

Breaking the cycle of violence & trauma The long-term project aim is to support the identification of appropriate responses that reduce and prevent these forms of violence

### FOR MORE INFORMATION



**ISS PAPER 292 | MAY 2016** 



## At the heart of discontent

Measuring public violence in South Africa

Lizette Lancaster

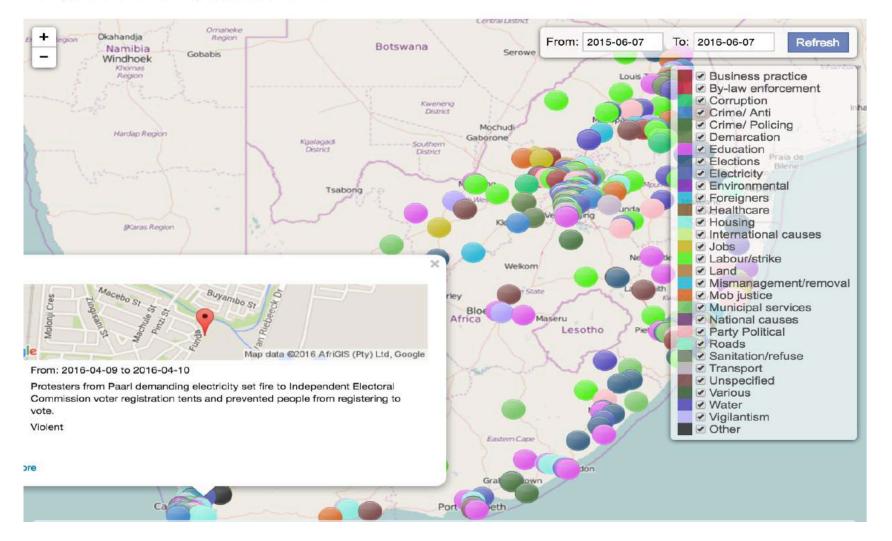
#### Summary

Civil protests and strike action have become increasingly commonplace in South Africa. Although several institutions collect data on various forms of protest, the available information varies in quality, reliability, coverage and accessibility. It is for this reason that the Institute for Security Studies launched its interactive public and election violence-monitoring project in 2014. The objective of this project is to enhance understanding of the nature and extent of all forms of public violence taking place across South Africa to contribute to better initiatives that address their root causes. This paper sets out some of the preliminary findings from the project and provides initial considerations for ensuring appropriate responses to protest and strike action.



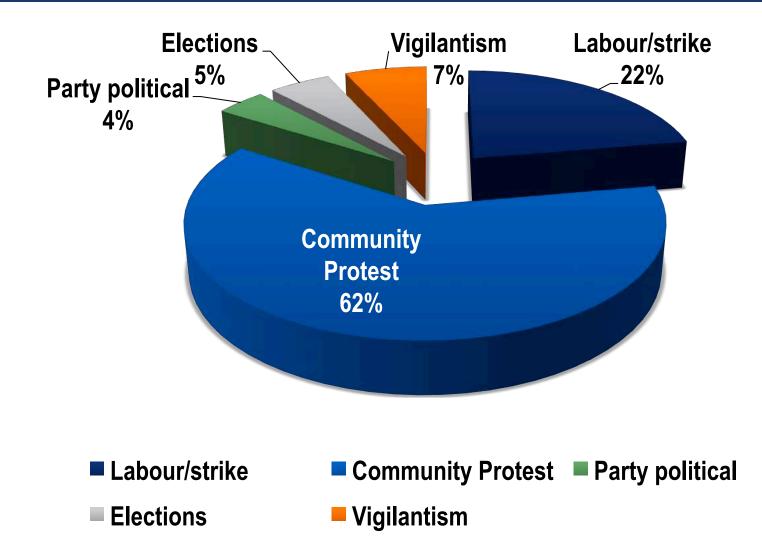
#### Public protest and violence map

View peaceful and violent protest action online



## **BROAD CATEGORY OF INCIDENTS 2013-2015**





#### Indicators of states at risk of collapse and internal conflict

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Indicator	Signs
Inequality	• Widening social and economic inequalities – especially those
	between, rather than within, distinct population groups
Rapidly changing	High rates of infant mortality
demographic	Rapid changes in population structure, including large-scale
characteristics	movements of refugees
	<ul> <li>Excessively high population densities</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>High levels of unemployment, particularly among large</li> </ul>
	numbers of young people
	<ul> <li>An insufficient supply of food or access to safe water</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Disputes over territory or environmental resources that are</li> </ul>
	claimed by distinct ethnic groups
Lack of democratic	<ul> <li>Violations of human rights</li> </ul>
processes	<ul> <li>Criminal behaviour by the state</li> </ul>
	Corrupt governments
Political instability	<ul> <li>Rapid changes in regimes</li> </ul>
Ethnic composition of the	<ul> <li>Political and economic power exercised — and differentially</li> </ul>
ruling group sharply	applied — according to ethnic or religious identity
different from that of the	<ul> <li>Desecration of ethnic or religious symbols</li> </ul>
population at large	
Deterioration in	• A significant decline in the scope and effectiveness of social
public services	safety nets designed to ensure minimum universal standards
	of service
Severe economic	<ul> <li>Uneven economic development</li> </ul>
decline	<ul> <li>Grossly unequal gains or losses between different population</li> </ul>
	groups or geographical areas resulting from large economic
	changes
	<ul> <li>Massive economic transfers or losses over short periods of</li> </ul>
	time
Cycles of violent revenge	<ul> <li>A continued cycle of violence between rival groups</li> </ul>

Source: http://www.who.int/ violence\_injury\_prevention/ violence/global\_campaign/en/ chap8.pdf

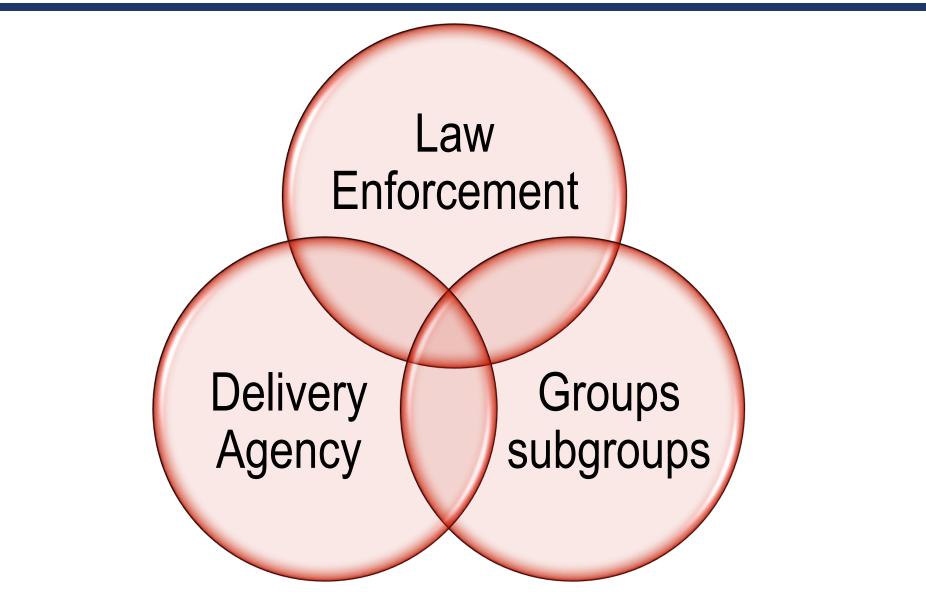
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OTENTIAL TRIGGE	ERS FOR ESCALATIO	N/DE-ESCALATION	ISS INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES
Failed infrastructure & services	High expectation of response	Large enough group	Low level of access to resources
Highly motivated individuals	Trust / distrust in official authorities	Resonance of cause of action among total population	Attitude of leaders towards violence (latent or patent tolerance of violence)
Responsiveness to grievances	Media interest in issue	Police action/response	Official response after violence erupted

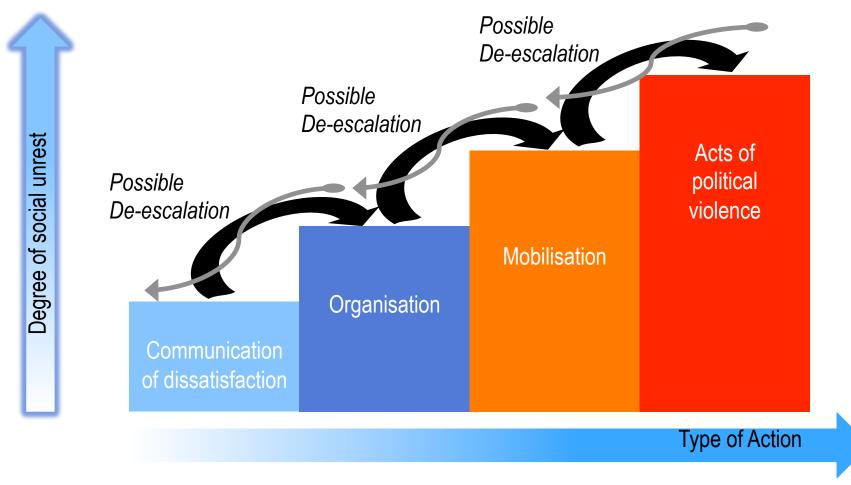
Based on OECD risk model; Source: OECD; EU-Vri

### MAIN ROLE-PLAYERS IN TRIGGERS FOR ESCALATION





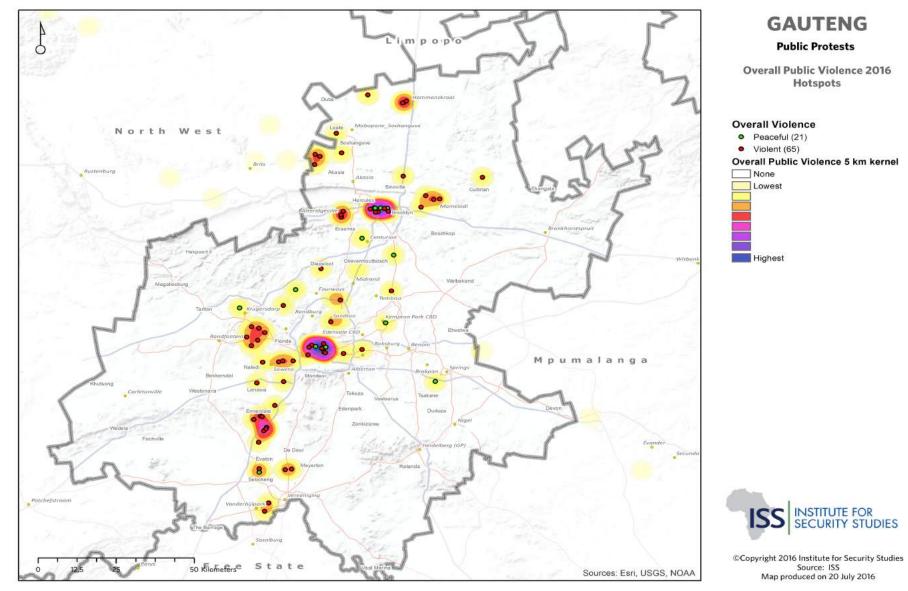




Source: OECD; EU-VRi

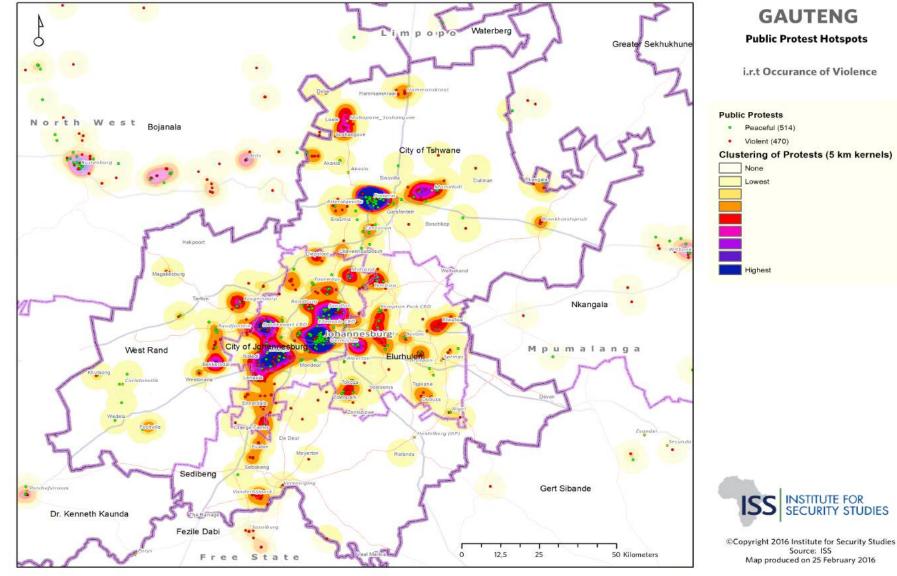
## **GAUTENG HOTSPOTS 2016**





## **GAUTENG HOTSPOTS 2013-2015**

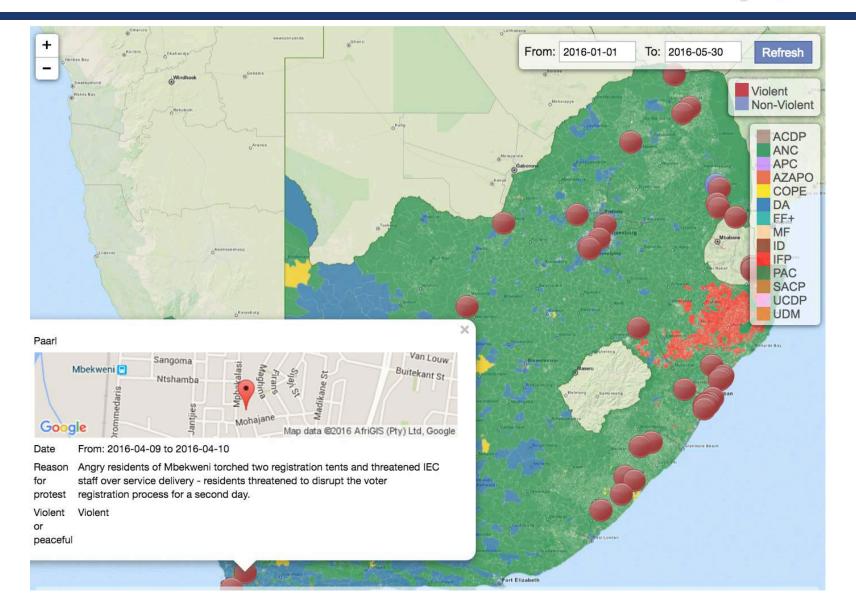




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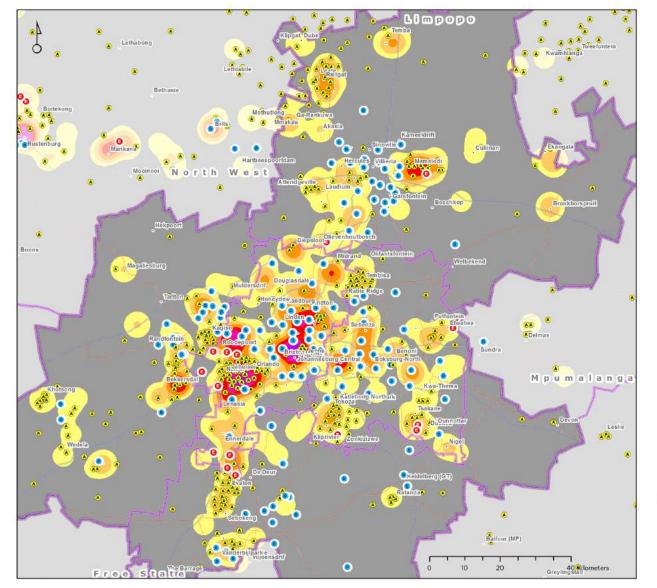
## **ELECTION VIOLENCE MONITORING AND MAPPING**





## **DISTRIBUTION GAUTENG BY WINNING PARTY (2014)**





#### **Public Protest Hotspots** 2014 Provincial Election per Ward Winning Party ACDP 0 ANC Bushbuckridge DA EFF 0 Independent Democrats 0 0 IFP. 0 National Front 0 UDM Clustering of protests (5km kernels) Lowest Highest

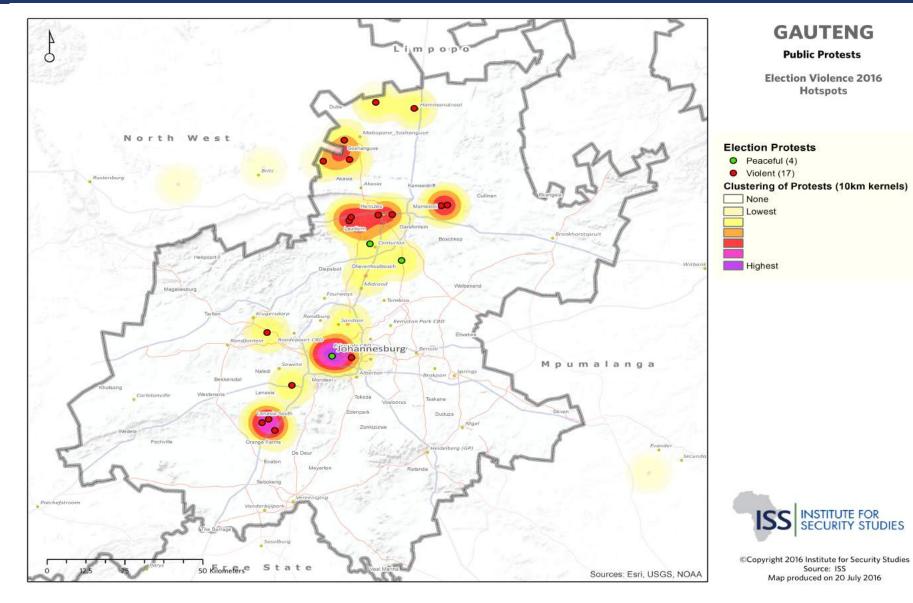
GAUTENG



©Copyright 2014 Institute for Security Studies Source: ISS Map produced on 25 May 2015

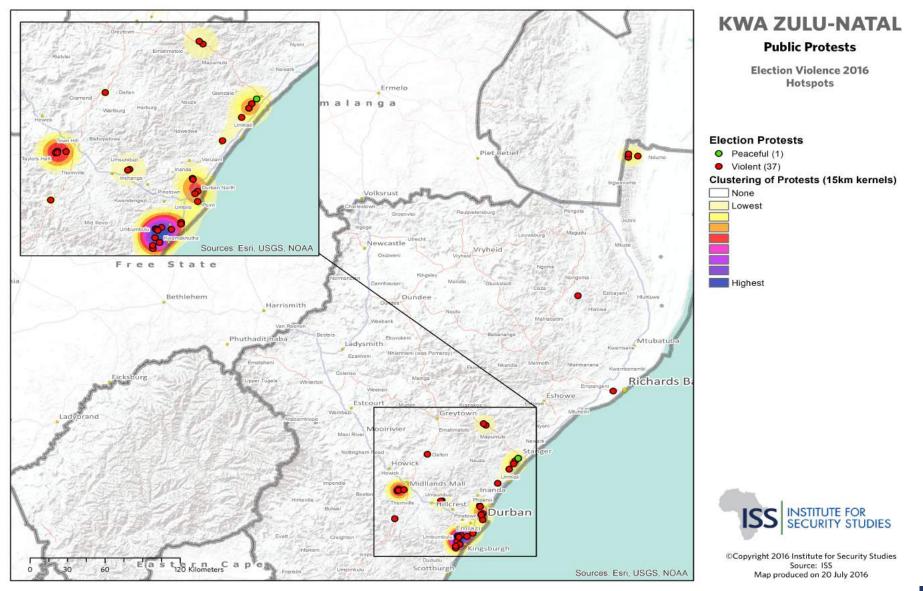
## **DISTRIBUTION GAUTENG (2016)**





### **KZN HOTSPOTS 2016**





## **POLITICAL KILLINGS**



Date	What happened	Where?	Prov A	ffiliation
21-Jan	ANC BEC member in Inchanga was shot and killed, he was contesting a ward councillor position	Inchanga	KZN	ANC
	Boy Shozi, ward councillor for eThekwini Metro ward 4, SA Communist Party Young Communist League (YCL) of being part	Ē		
24-Jan	of a group of men who shot and killed two people at the Kwadokweni Sports Grounds during a community meeting.	Inchanga	KZN	ANC
	Violent protests amongst dissatisfied ANC members on the outcome of ward candidates nominations have turned out			
18-Feb	deadly in Pienaar with person shot dead.	Pienaar	MP	ANC
	Freedom Park ANC ward councillor Mbuyiselo Dokolwana was killed outside his home infront of his family in			
22-Feb	Braamfontein, by unknown man. The community was up in arms protesting his death and barricaded roads.	Braamfontein	GP	ANC
16-Apr	ANC councillor Zodwa Sibiya is an ANC councillor murdered at notorious Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, Durban.	uMlazi	KZN	ANC
26-Apr	Themba Tobo ANC member was shot dead at his house in Richards Bay.	Richards Bay	KZN	ANC
16-May	ANC councillor was shot dead and his wife seriously wounded when a gunman opened fire on their car	Nongoma	KZN	ANC
	KaMaghekeza near Komatipoort, EFF member Senzo Thwala was shot and injured, and cars were stoned when ANC	KaMaqhekez		
24-May	members pounced on them before a meeting scheduled to be addressed by party leader Julius Malema.	a	MP	EFF
	ANC deputy chairman in Pienaar's Ward 23, Michael "Zane" Phelembe, was shot outside his home on Friday night. In		MP	
26-May	what his friend refered to as a Hit.	Pienaar		ANC
	Nathi Hlongwa, ANC branch chairperson in the Edendale area, Pietermaritzburg was shot on after returning from an ANC			
02-Jun	meeting in iMbali	Edendale	KZN	ANC
	Simo Mncwabe was CFO at Mooi Mpofana municipality and was shot just a day before Hlongwa while taking his children			
01-Jun	to school in Edendale.	Edendale	KZN	ANC
06-Jun	A man was shot during a protest of disgrutnled anc members by the list process of councillors to local government	Briardene	KZN	ANC
07-Jun	A member of the EFF out campaigning in Polokwane was shot in the leg, allegedly by someone in an ANC T-shirt.	Polokwane	LIM	EFF
	The two women, aged 50 and 60, had left an ANC branch general meeting in ward 15 when they were shot, one dead and			
09-Jun	the other one critically injured	Imbali	KZN	ANC
	An ANC member was shot and killed outside the Tshwane Events Centre as the party was set to announce Thoko Didiza			
20-Jun	as the mayoral candidate for the city.	Tshwane	GP	ANC
	Men armed with sjamboks, knobkieries, pointed sticks and golf clubs attacked the EFF members and the media, injuring a			
21-Jun	journalist.	Thembisa	GP	EFF
	Kwanobuhle police are investigating a case of arson after two home made petrol bombs were thrown at a councillor			
<u>21-Jun</u>	candidate's home.	Kwanobuhle	EC	ANC
02-Jul	ANC Newcastle ward councillor Thembi Mbongwa's was shot in full view of her children and husband.	Newcastle	KZN	ANC
	Bongani Skhosana, a ward Cllr candidate in the Umuziwabantu Municipality on the lower south coast, was shot in front of	Low South		
18-Jul	the children while transporting them to school.	Coast	KZN	ANC
	ANC ward Cllr candidate Ngobese-Sibisi was shot while on her way to donate goods at a Mandela Day event that took			
18-Jul	place in Ladysmith.	Ladysmith	KZN	ANC
	t Institute for Security Studies 20 July 2016	•		

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- At least 6 voting stations destroyed in the 48 hours before polls opened
- More protests and intimidation followed on Election Day and counting days
- IEC is increasingly the target of election violence which impacts on operations (especially peak electoral events)
- Hotspots are not always clear-cut and predictable
- Hotspots develop over time and initial triggers vary widely
- Escalation into violence impacting on the IEC is often sudden and sporadic
- 2016 local government elections will in all likelihood have more hotspots
- LG, IEC, Security cluster operations should be able to plan for hotspots months prior to registration weekends and prior to by-elections
- Such a system requires a comprehensive system and monitoring framework



The South African local electorate appears to believe that 'voting helps and protest works': (Booysen 2007)

'Government is thinking for us not with us'

### Short term:

Better monitoring of the 2016 local government elections will allow for better identification of potential hot-spots Authorities will be better placed to strengthen its dispute and conflict resolution capacity in these areas.

### But we need to:

- 1. expand on the sources of information
- 2. to generate a common understanding of the meaning of 'violence' during crowd events
- 3. develop a framework that looks at the inter-relatedness of the various forms of collective violence, and the triggers that lead to violence

### Further research questions identified in stakeholder meetings:

- What has government been doing and not been doing?
- Who turns violent when?
- What do the protestors have in common or not?
- How can we prevent the violence and when?

## **SMART PHONE APP**

Understanding protest action nationally

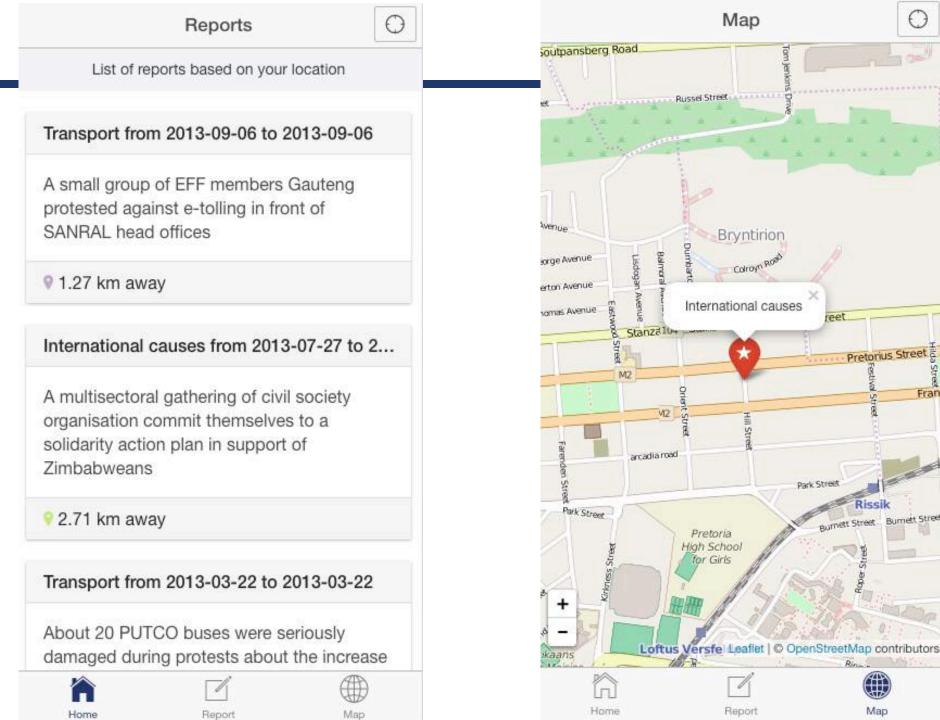
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## How does Local Government Perceive Community Protest?

Presentation at the Institute for Security Studies July 20, 2016 Justin Steyn





- Study Purpose
- Sample Rationale and Methodology
- Context of the study
- Protest Numbers
- Key Study Findings
- Summary of the Important Issues
- Local Level Recommendations
- National Level Recommendations
- Way Forward and Hypotheses

## **STUDY PURPOSE**



- To conduct exploratory research in order to update the 2010 study;
- Determine how local government perceives community protests;
- Identify possible recommendations and interventions; and
- Generate hypotheses that may further the SALGA research agenda.

# SAMPLE RATIONALE & METHODOLOGY



Rationale: Districts are coordination & planning bodies, they would be aware of the dynamics unfolding in each of their municipalities.

Metros account for more than half of all protests. High community protest prevalence districts and metros were selected as the units of analysis. 122 surveys were completed and 18 Interviews were conducted.

Districts with high incidences of protest were sampled according to the Municipal IQ Hotspots Monitor and the PLAAS GIS protest incident map to participate in the interviews.

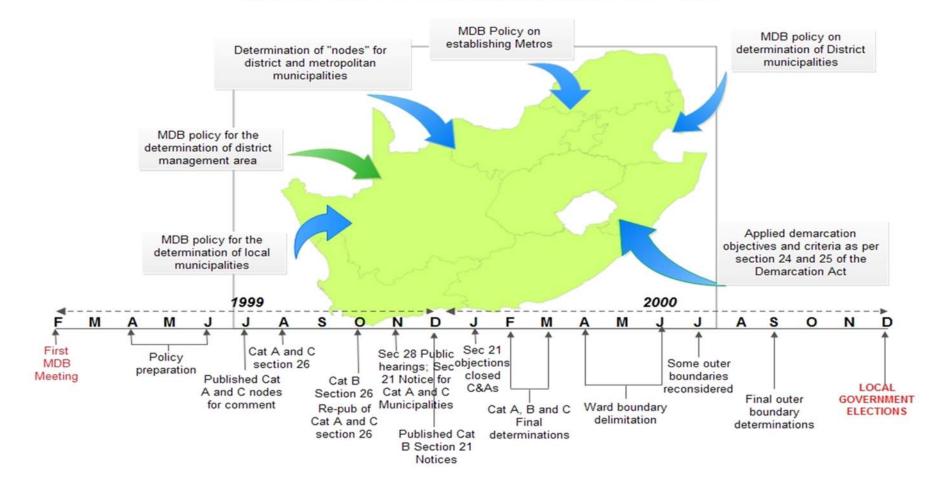


## **Context of the Study**

## Creating Wall to Wall Municipalities

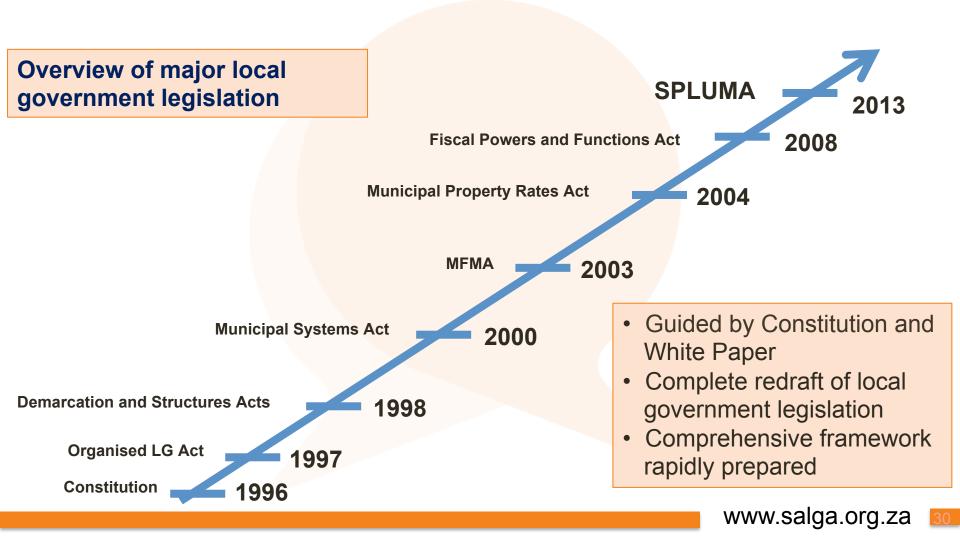


#### CREATING WALL TO WALL MUNICIPALITIES 1999 - 2000



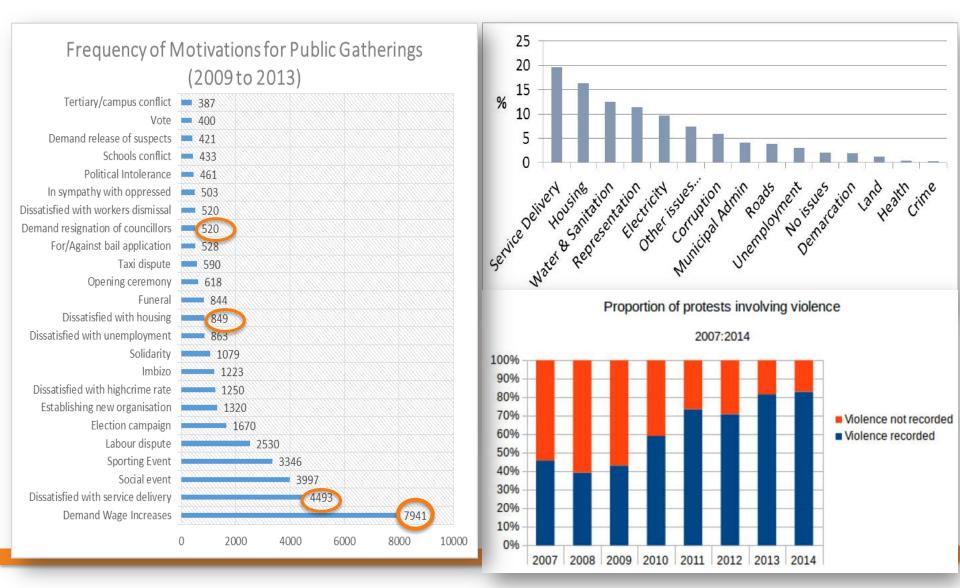
## **Constitutional & Legal Framework**





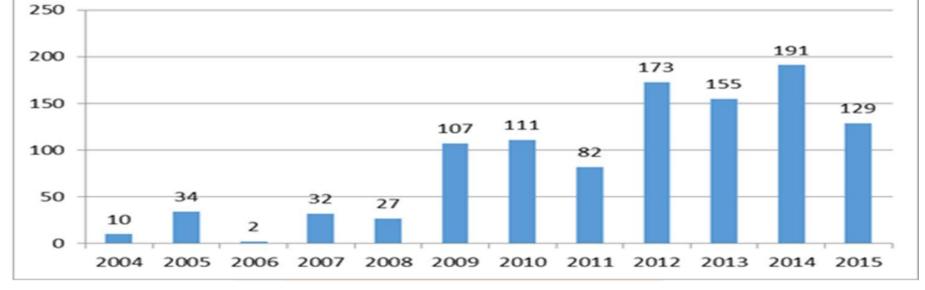
## PROTEST IN NUMBERS (From IRIS, UJ & MLGI)



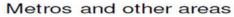


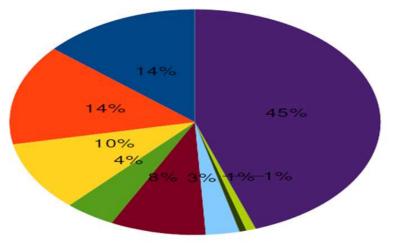
## TOTAL NUMBER OF PROTESTS PER YEAR (MIQ, MLGI)





Protests 2012:2014



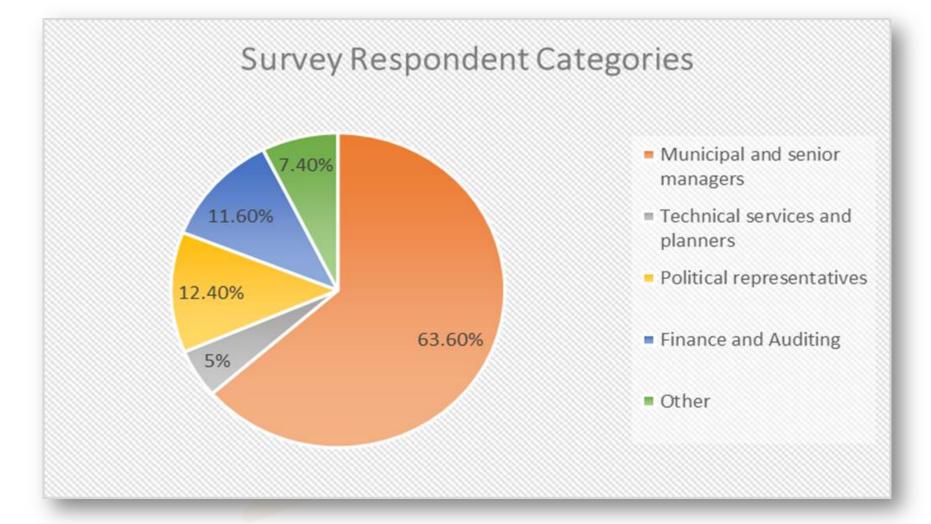


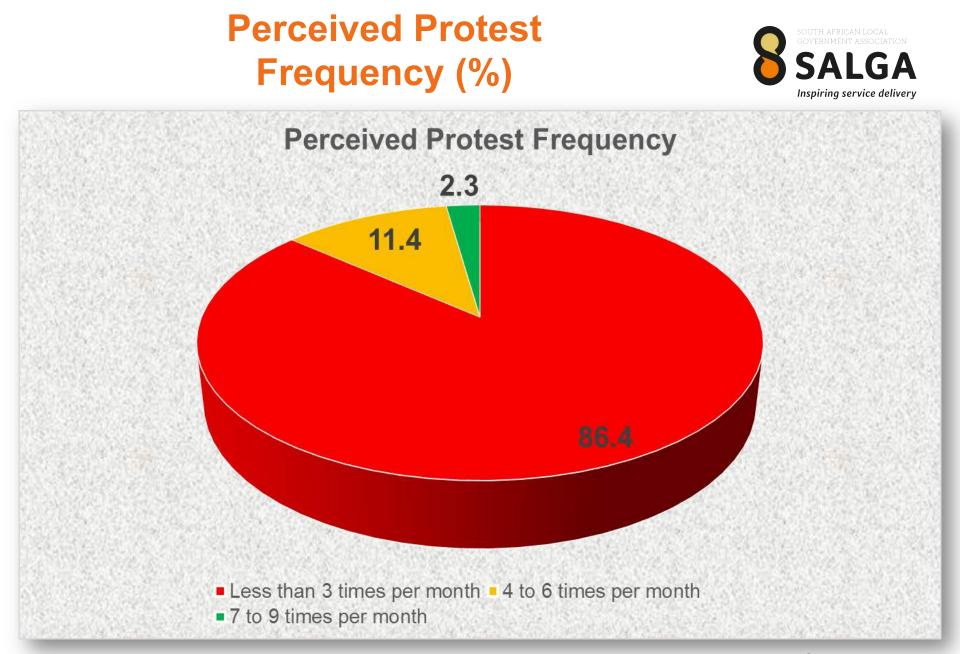


## **KEY STUDY FINDINGS**

## STUDY FINDINGS (Describing the sample)

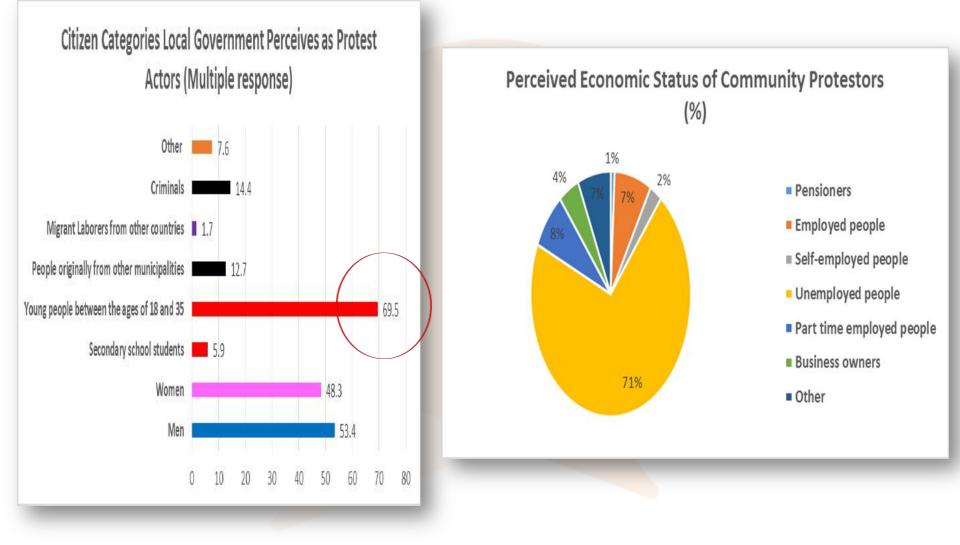






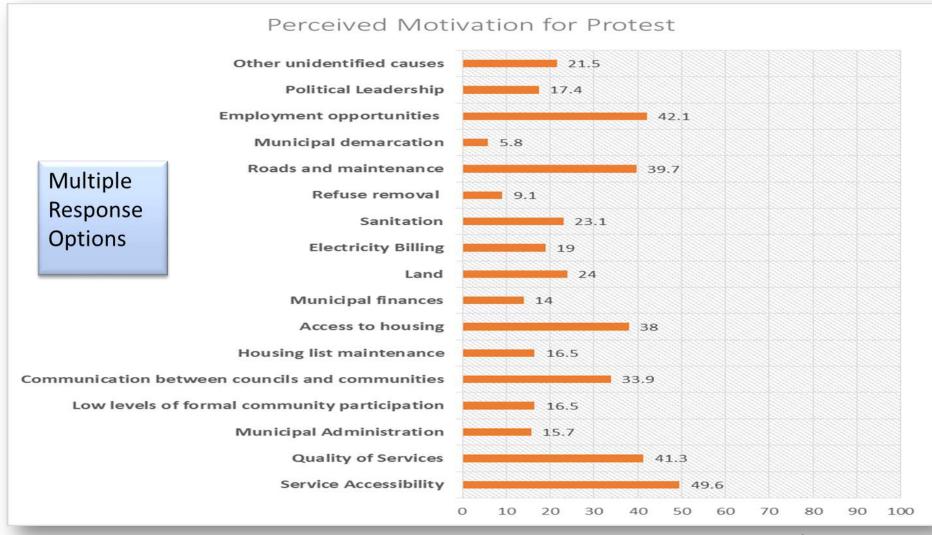
## HOW LOCAL GOVERNMENT DESCRIBES PROTESTORS?





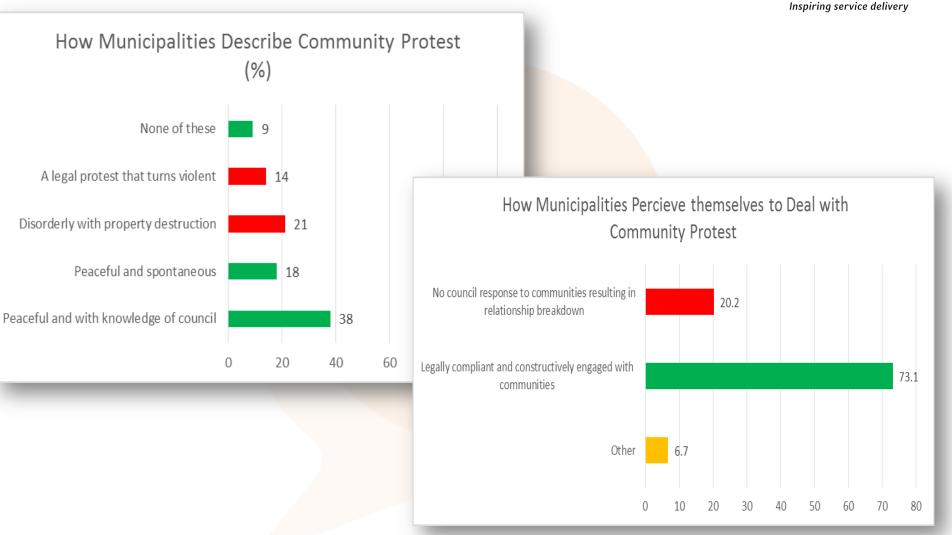
# **MOTIVATIONS FOR PROTESTS**





#### www.salga.org.za

# MUNICIPALITIES' DESCRIPTION & PERCEPTION OF COMM. PROTESTS



www.salga.org.za

## REDUCING COMMUNITY PROTEST



#### Municipalities believe that protest could be reduced if:

Police used less force in crowd control actions

Private sector wage negotiations were more effective

Police used more force in crowd control actions

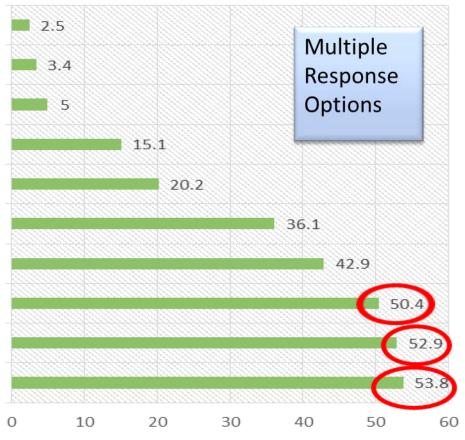
Public sector wage negotiations were more effective

Civil society and community based organisations coordinated their activities with council LED strategies were effective and aligned to the needs of the economy

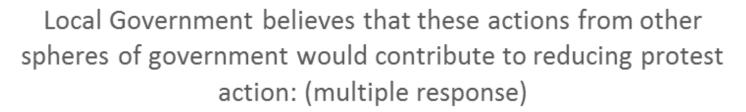
Promises made by elected representatives were kept

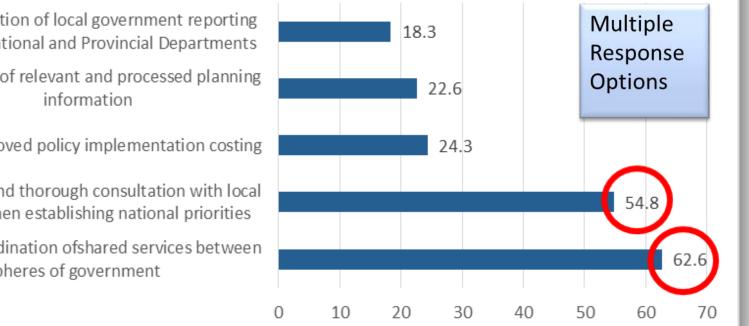
Local government had additional human and monetary resources from national government to address backlogs Communities participatedin council decision-making more

Ward councils functioned better



## **ROLE OF OTHER SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT**





Revision and consolidation of local government reporting requirements by all National and Provincial Departments

Availability of relevant and processed planning

Improved policy implementation costing

More strategic and thorough consultation with local government when establishing national priorities

Improved coordination of shared services between spheres of government

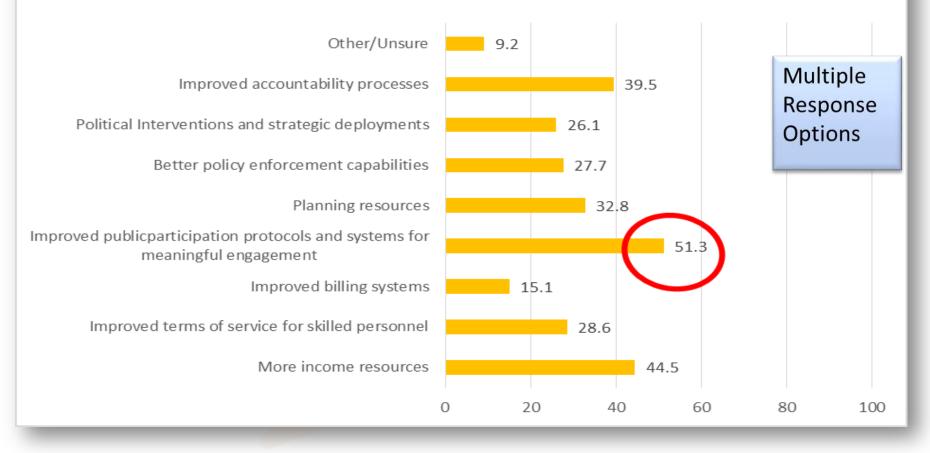
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## RESOURCES REQUIRED TO ADDRESS PROTEST



#### Resources Local Government Would Need to Address Underlying Causes of Protest (Multiple Response)



## STUDY FINDINGS INTERESTING QUOTES FROM THE INTERVIEWS

# **JUSTIFICATIONS OF PROTESTS**



- "At the drop of a penny these guys will mobilise and have their action. It is spontaneous and does not follow legal channels." – Municipal Manager's Office
- "Communities do not follow any procedure they just meet wherever they meet and from there they will react." – Executive Mayor
- "The protests ... are spontaneous. In [informal settlement name omitted] protest started in 3 in the morning. There is a certain amount of violence that goes with it. It is related to housing issues." – City Manager's Office
- Latest xenophobia originated in Doornkop where those kids raided a shop and one of the shop owners shot and killed one of them and from there it [protest] just spread. That was not service delivery [related] – we are making inroads in meeting community needs, but as soon as something goes wrong, we get blamed and it is all under the auspice of service delivery. – City Manager's Office

- "[There have been] 40 protests this year alone in our area [name of area omitted]. The protests had nothing to do with local government. They are linked to provincial housing & Eskom prepaid meters." – Regional Manager
- "They [the province] comes up with housing [projects] but overlook local government in planning but after the implementation the problems come to local government. The planning cycles of government differ." – IDP Manager
- "It is seldom that they [communities] complain about service delivery." Mayor

## LACK OF KNOWLEDGE



 "The biggest problem is the lack of information and knowledge by the Community. They don't know who is responsible for what service delivery, like housing, clinics, ambulance and transport of school children etc. The Municipality is not responsible for these services but the responsibility of National and Provincial Government. The buck is just then passed to the Municipality." - Mayor

# **DRIVERS OF PROTEST**



- There are always underlying issues to service delivery protests – "there is a new shopping centre coming up on provincial land and that land was earmarked for housing. People began to protest when they saw that."
- "When they were evicted and served with notice, the water was cut and then the protest erupted. Council intervened and supplied water."
- "Protests mostly happen when we conduct operations when we cut illegal connections in ward."
- "Ward committee members politick and undermine the sitting councillor so they can get on the council and get a salary"

- "The reasons for protesting apparently some of them are politically inspired and then it is made out to be service delivery programmes."
- "Protests turn violent because police have a forceful hand."
- "The police was perceived as an apartheid police force. Now relatives of inhabitants are in the police. It is a difficult thing for the police as well because they live among the boycotters and stone throwers. Stone throwing is an expression of discontent to show you are not welcome here. Reactions by rubber bullets is provocative. Policing is sometimes left to people who are not qualified [to deal with crowds]."

## IMPACT OF PROTESTS ON THE YOUTH



- "The reasons for protesting apparently some of them are politically inspired and then it is made out to be service delivery programmes. The dangerous thing at this stage is that they are using school kids... and school kids are put in front as cannonfeed [sic]." – Exec Mayor
- "The Youth are engaged in protest, particularly unemployed youth. There is a great idling due to joblessness and the youth who want to study but cannot due to darkness [power failures]."-Regional Director
- "[Due to unemployment] ... when there is a protest, it is sustained for one week or two weeks. People wake up in the morning and see how they can take their protest forward."

## IMPACT OF PROTESTS ON MUNICIPALITIES



- "There is not much damage to property... the protests in the CBD are controlled and are peaceful." – Western Cape
- "When people damage council property we take money that would be spent on other service delivery items so it has an impact... we had a programme in Gugulethu certain individuals do not get their desired outcome so they damaged council property. The estimates for that protest is R24 thousand. This is one case that I am referring to." Western Cape
- "We have had to put on hold our capex projects because communities want houses rather than parks and it is influencing the timing of capex projects. This has implications on how we spend our budgets. Open spaces become gathering points, and the damage that ensues is of concern." – General Manager
- "Township demarcations are changing in the run up to the elections - why the changes and what are the demographic impacts on administration [or the] functioning of municipalities". – Planning manager.
- "The new houses that are being built need to be connected to the grid but what is the point if houses are being provided to people who are not able to pay. ESKOM still demands payment from the council." – City Region Director www.salga.org.za

## REMEDIAL ACTIONS TAKEN BY MUNICIPALITIES



- We have warning systems and once a report comes in, we alert our park rangers who alert the police.
- Communication would diffuse tension. Often communities are advised of new project at the tail end... [we should] commence engagement prior to activity which is what we have done in communities where we are establishing parks.
- Jozi@work: 35 million rand is budgeted to ensure job creation element is prioritised in greening activities. Greening is labour intensive and requires low levels of training. This is a quick win for the City and helps mitigate some of the conditions that give rise to protest.
- "War rooms established by the premier enable us to share information to avoid coordination and communication failures. These are only starting now so judgment may be too soon as to whether they work or not." – City Region Director

## **SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT ISSUES**



- Much protest is apparently related to the disconnection of illegally accessed services in metro areas.
- A significant portion of community protest has nothing to do with service delivery but has origins in provincial functions like housing.
- Competition for land is generating social discontent particularly in land scarce urban areas.
- The youth are being involved in protest in many provinces which destabilises their education.





- Destruction of public property is costing municipalities thousands of Rands per each incident in direct and indirect costs, despite insurance.
- Communication and public participation are the two drivers of protest identified by municipal managers, elected representatives and planners in all districts.
- Coordination between spheres of government is identified as a source of protest action due to the delays and communication breakdowns in service delivery.
- Initiatives to proactively address protest are being launched in many districts and metros to supplement existing structurally-based communications.





- Drivers of protest differ from area to area within the same municipal region.
- Relational resources and local power relationships determine how successful a municipality will be in dealing with community protest.
- The positions of powerlessness local councillors may often find themselves in have implications for democratic accountability and community-council relationships.
- Due to high rates of community protest, South Africa is well positioned to develop good practice models in dealing with and addressing community protest despite the complex and often murky justifications for protest action.

# SALGA/HSRC Roundtable on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 2016



- Malicious politicking and competition over councillor positions
- The extent of violence has escalated in the run up to the elections
- Approximately 20 protests per month were reported in Cape Town and the City was paying out an additional six million Rand per month to clean up the damage caused by protest action.
- In many instances, it is impossible to determine the causes of the protest.
- Many neighbourhoods and settlements are not organised into communities with relationships with councils.
- The destruction of property and the injury to persons were not being met with observable consequences = escalation into a cycle of community violence.

## LOCAL LEVEL RECOMMENDATIONS



- Early response systems
- Proactively identify issues that give rise to community protest action and use CDWs and Councillors to communicate with communities what is being done.
- Engage with communities before projects are planned.
- Improve public consultation and communication processes.
- Actively plan for migration in the IDP
- Pursue densification strategies.
- Synchronisation of government planning cycles using a bottom up approach.
- Promote the IDP as the central planning document of all spheres of government.

## NATIONAL LEVEL RECOMMENDATIONS



- A framework needs to be developed for protest action outside of the Gatherings Act that provides a method encouraging of proactive redress from all spheres of government.
- Local government participation structures must be the primary structures through which redress activities occur. National and Provincial spheres of government must assist to build capacity in public participation structures at the local level, contribute to improvements in coordination between spheres of government and all spheres of government accessible to grassroots.
- Additional resources should be channelled into local government to enable it to perform its service delivery mandates in accordance with the subsidiarity principle.

## WAY FORWARD



- Study has been published electronically and is available on the SALGA website.
- Hypotheses generated from the study will be made available for persons interested partnering with SALGA on research.

## **FUTURE EVENTS**



# SALGA will be hosting a dialogue on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, the purpose of which will be to:

- Develop partnerships that will lead to productive solutions & toolkits that assist Local Government in addressing community protests;
- Share good practices on citizen engagements;
- Determine SALGA's role in addressing community protests in Local Government.





For further enquiries on Study content please contact Justin Steyn at jsteyn@salga.org.za

For further enquiries on the discussion event please contact

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## Towards peaceful elections: Addressing violent protests

By Nomfundo Mogapi Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation 20 July 2016



# INTRO

### • Intro into CSVR

- Dealing with violence for past 25 years
- Issues: Increase in the gruesome and senseless nature of violence
- Increase in state/police violence and brutality
- Linkages between drug use and teenage pregnancy in young people
- Repertoires of the past
- Seen an exponential increase in collective violence (vigilante attacks, xenophobic violence, violent protests)



# ISSUES THAT HAVE EMERGED

• CSVR research indicates;

- 2003: Collective violence as a faultline to democracy
- 2013: As a language to access socioeconomic rights
- 2016: As a currency to access socioeconomic and political rights



#### Why now?

- CSVR has been talking about these issues for over a decade
- Problem still continuing
- Have coordinated voice to integrate an analyses from different perspectives



# Background

- Increase in protest is a good thing
- An indication of an increase in communities' agency
- However the violent protest are the concern
- Linking with elections is even more concerning
- Indication of increasing agitation and stuckness



# Overview of CSVR's research

Research Sites			
Site	Туре	Primary Violence	Secondary Violence
Voortrekker	Rural town	Community protest	Xenophobic attacks
Kungcatsha	Rural town	Community protest	Xenophobic attacks
Azania	Rural town	Community protest	Xenophobic attacks
Slovoview	Urban/RDP/Informal	Community protest & xenophobic attacks	Community protest
Gladysville	Urban/RDP/Informal	Community protest & xenophobic attacks	
Trouble	Urban/RDP/Informal	Community protest & xenophobic attacks	
Bokfontein	Rural informal	Xenophobic violence prevented	Local development, no protest
Ficksburg		Community protest	



#### A model for understanding violent protests "collective violence" (M. Bandiera and C. Hiason-Smith. 2014) Root causes Poverty Long-term Unemployment prevention Inequality History of violent interaction between state and citizens Proximate causes Poor service delivery Medium-term Political conflict and entrepreneurship prevention Poor local governance Accelerators Decelerators The role of the police The role of the police Political Short-term entrepreneurship The role of leaders prevention Subaltern crowds (criminal and political opportunism) The role of the youth Non-violent Collective forms of violence protest action

# ROOTS CAUSES: "Sociopsycho-economic <u>architecture of our society"</u>

	Level of Causes	Causes	Communities					
			1	2	3	4	5	6
	Root Causes	High levels of	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
		unemployment						
		Inequality	Х	Х	Х	х		
		Poverty	x	x	x	x	х	x
		Use of apartheid era		Х	Х		Х	
		protest action						
		History of violence in the		х				
SI	A/R	community						

## ROOTS CAUSES: "Socio-psychoeconomic architecture of our society"

• SYSTEMIC (ROOT CAUSES)

- Unresolved collective trauma: Dignity, humiliation shame, rage grief
- Poverty: shame, humiliation
- Unemployment: Stuckness
- Inequality: Unattainability, rage
   These are about the architecture of our society

Bread and butter issues triggers these painful experience. Stuck in the past, in the now and in the future with no hope for being unstuck

Level of desperation that emerges around unstucking oneself



Proximate	Poor local governance (including):	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
Causes	Corruption	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х
Causes	Internal conflict	Х					
	Politics of excess	Х		Х			
	Lack of communication with communities	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	
	Competition for access to resources	Х	Х		Х	Х	
	<ul> <li>Use of outsiders in official positions</li> <li>Indifference to the needs of the community</li> </ul>	х				Х	
	<ul> <li>Lack of accountability</li> </ul>	X	х	х		X	
	<ul> <li>Poor treatment of community members by officials</li> </ul>	X				~	
	<ul> <li>Use of sex in exchange of opportunities</li> </ul>	X					<u> </u>
	<ul> <li>Nepotism</li> </ul>		V				<u> </u>
	Patronage networks		Х				$\vdash$
	Inadequate leadership	X					$\vdash$
	Gender as an issue in local governance	X	Х			Х	
	Conflict between officials and civic leaders					Х	
			Х			Х	
						Х	
	Problems with services delivery:	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
	• Water	Х		Х			
	Electricity	Х	Х	Х		Х	
	Sanitation	Х	Х				
	• Health	х	Х	Х			
	Education	x	Х		Х	Х	
	Housing	X	X	х	X	X	x
	Lack of recreational spaces		X		X	$\hat{}$	Ĥ
	Political friction in the community						
	Between different parties			х	Х		x
	Within the ANC	Х	х		X		
	Failure of previous peaceful protest actions	X	X	х	X		
	High levels of crime			Х	Х		Х
	Lack of judicial institutions such as a police station				Х		Х
	Low educational levels			х			
	High levels of substance abuse in community			Х			
	Contested border			Х			
	High density of population				Х		
CVD =	High number of foreign nationals				Х		Х
-2VK	Civic organisations take over					Х	Х
he Centre for the Study of	Workers protest action close to the community		Х				

# ACCELERATORS

Accelerators	Political entrepreneurs	X	Х		Х	Х	
Youth involvement			Х	Х			
	Police:						
	Inaction					Х	
	<ul> <li>Use of aggression against protestors</li> </ul>	x	Х	Х	х		
	Use of outside units			Х			
Confused, weak     incompetent	<ul> <li>Confused, weak and</li> </ul>	x					х
	· ·			Х			
	Use of torture				Х		
	Unable to access area						
	Collective violence occurs nearby					х	
	Economic entrepreneurs			Х	Х	Х	



# DECCELERATORS

LeadershipPolice patrol



# RECOMMENDATIONS

- Moral panic approach, looking just at accelerators is not working
- E.g media analysis of the Thswane protests (by Prof. Malose Langa, 2016 CSVR/Wits)
- Violence was a feature of 61 headlines, most of them related to News articles.
- ANC intra-party politics was prominent in 52 headlines most related to Analysis and Leader articles.
- The State and its organisations featured in 40 headlines
- Didiza and her "compromise" candidacy featured in 32.
- Blame for the protests and perceived leaders were the focus of 16 headlines,
- While policing and discipline featured in 12 headlines.



# RECOMMENDATIONS

• Protest is democratic right and should be protected. Differentiate between protest and violent protests

The question is why are they increasingly turning violent

#### • Local government:

- Policy: Creation of policies to address issues of poverty, Unemployment, inequality, and poor service delivery and collective trauma "reengineering the socio-psychoeconomic architecture of our communities"
- Leadership: Listen to people's peaceful engagements, Promote human dignity in how we engage, meeting People's need
- ✤ Systems: Responsive accountable local governance systems.
- Address corruption
- Improve service delivery



Violence and Reconciliation

# RECOMMENDATIONS

• IEC

- Make the electoral code of conduct available.
- Publicize it, ensure it is known by people

#### • Communities

- Community leaders to stand up, know their rights
- Community organising
- Community leaders who are connected to the communities
- Media
  - Report not just accelerators but also proximate and root causes

• Police

Using gatherings acts, strength relationship with local police

#### • Political parties

 Responsible utterances, upholding the electoral code of conduct especially around inciting violence

#### o Business

 Address the disconnect between privilege an communities, know better and invest in addressing the drivers if violent protes



# CONCLUSION

# Working together towards a peaceful SA.



#### At the heart of discontent: Understanding and responding to protest and election violence in South Africa





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