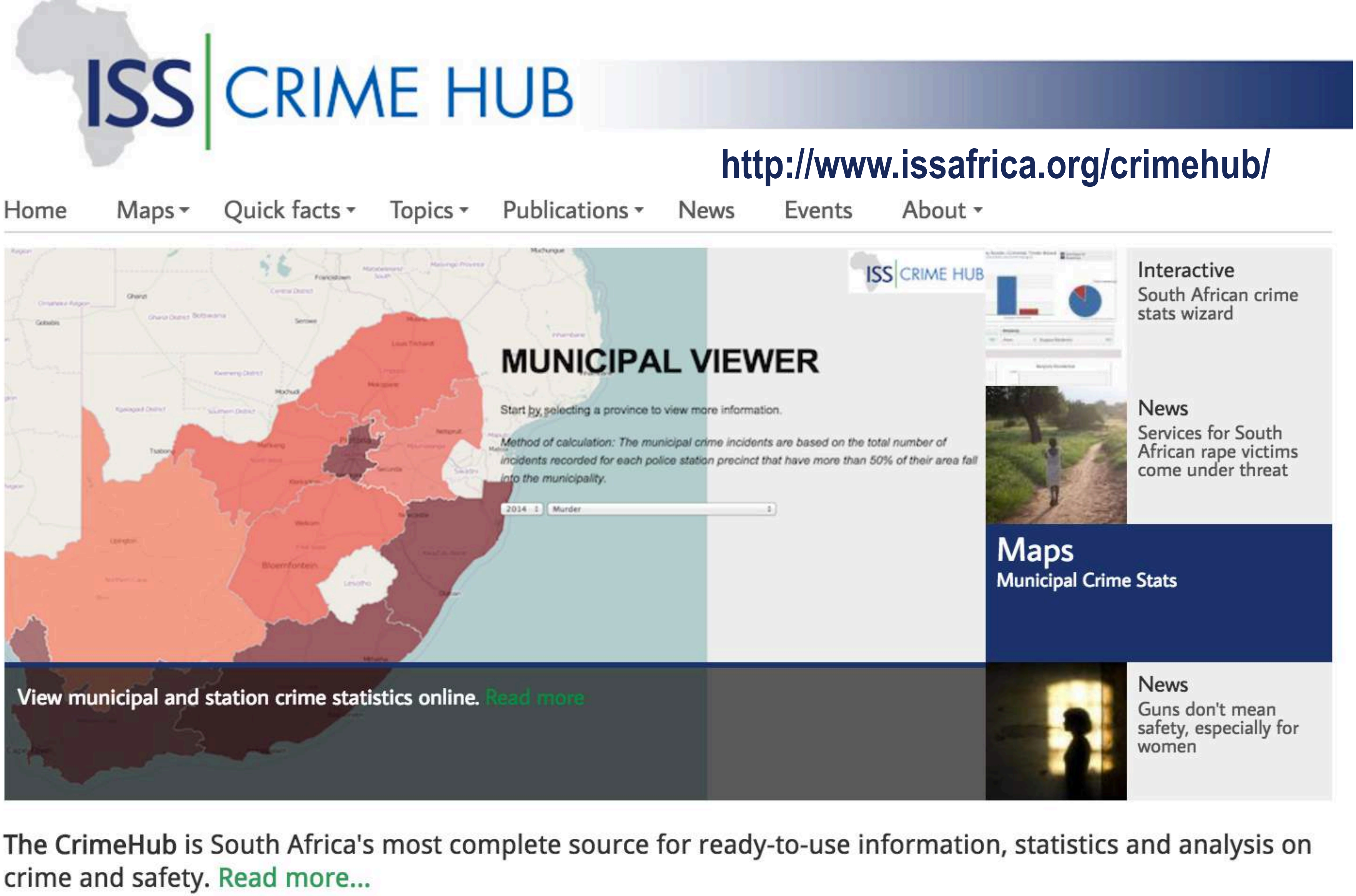
At the heart of discontent: Understanding and responding to protest and election violence in South Africa

Lizette Lancaster

Manager: Crime and Justice Hub - Institute for Security Studies

THE CRIME AND JUSTICE HUB



ISS CRIME HUB

http://www.issafrica.org/crimehub/

MUNICIPAL VIEWER

Start by selecting a province to view more information.

Method of calculation: The municipal crime incidents are based on the total number of incidents recorded for each police station precinct that have more than 50% of their area fall into the municipality.

2014 | Murder

View municipal and station crime statistics online. Read more

Interactive
South African crime stats wizard

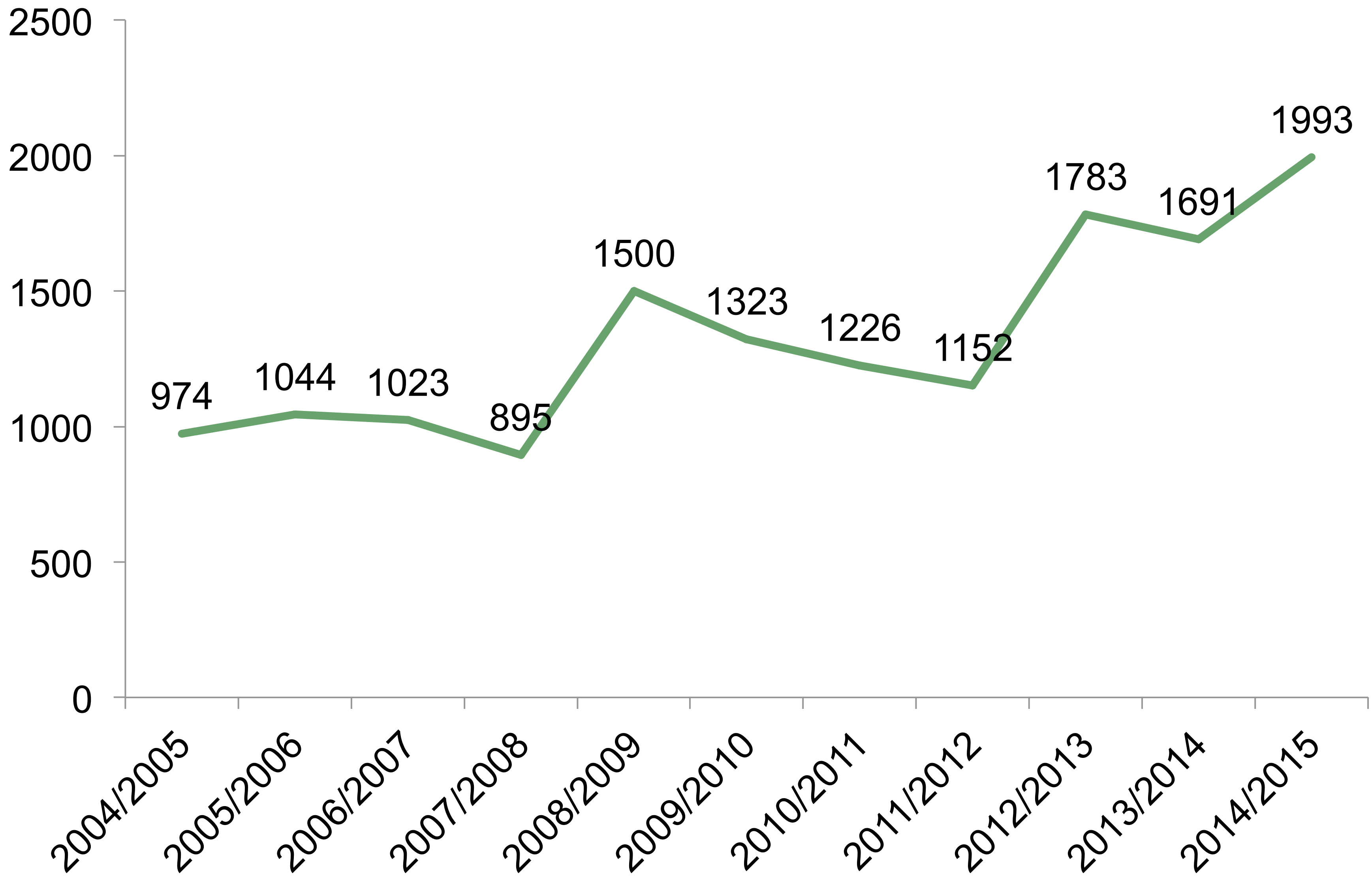
News
Services for South African rape victims come under threat

Maps
Municipal Crime Stats

News
Guns don't mean safety, especially for women

The CrimeHub is South Africa's most complete source for ready-to-use information, statistics and analysis on crime and safety. Read more...

PUBLIC VIOLENCE CASES OPENED



Source: SAPS, 2015

RATIONALE FOR THE PROJECT

The challenges

- Data on and research into ‘public violence’ has been *ad hoc*
- Not often publicly available
- Varies in scope, quality, credibility and reliability

The need

- A publicly available, comprehensive and continually updated database of various types of public or inter-group violence

The benefits

- Allow for a better understanding of patterns, trends & possible correlations between various forms of public violence and other variables
- This would enable all role players, including state organs, to design multi-faceted and appropriate responses to better manage, if not prevent, such incidents

OBJECTIVE FOR THE PUBLIC VIOLENCE PROJECT

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

METHODOLOGY

1. Manual tracking of 100+ media sources online
2. Development of database and variables
3. Manual capturing of information
4. Coding of information
5. Geocoding of all incidents
6. Verification of information
7. Validation of database
8. Mapping of incidents based on geocodes
9. Analysis of data
10. Ongoing refinement of variables, codes & definitions

VARIABLES

- Dates and locations of events
- Descriptions of events
- Categories and main motivation of these protest incidents
- Whether the events were peaceful or violent
- Range of actors involved
- Estimates of the size of the crowd
- Reported fatalities and arrests

DATA LIMITATIONS & CHALLENGES

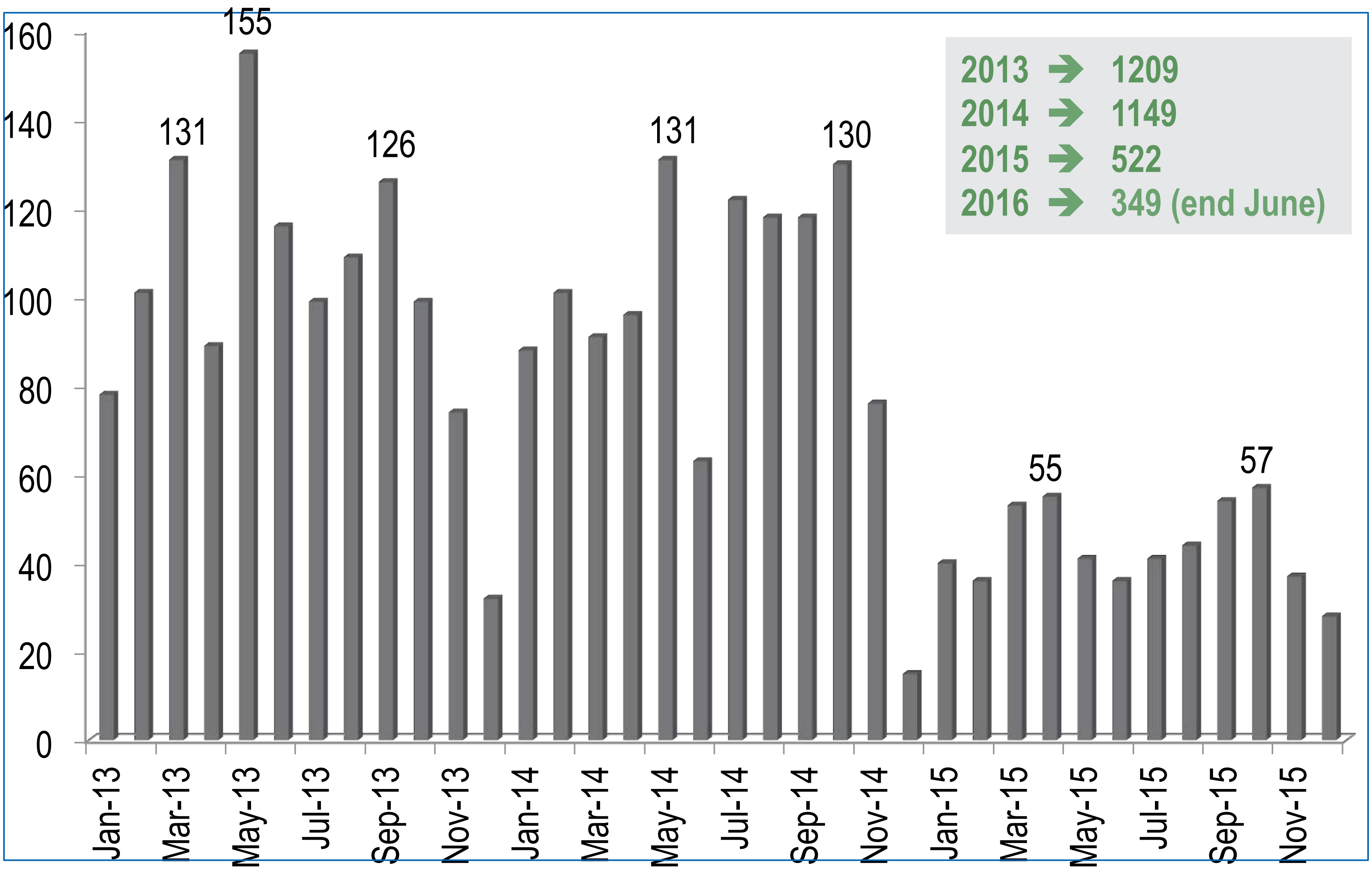
Limitations

- Not all incidents are reported in the media
- Media bias creeps in e.g.
  - Urban/ metro vs. rural
  - More violent incidents are reported
  - English vs. other languages
  - Lack nuanced description
- Issues are complex – drivers and actors may be multiple

Challenges

- Independent verification of incidents
- Definitions
- Complexity of events; lack of detail
- Inclusion/exclusion criteria
- Developing monitoring network

MONTHLY INCIDENTS 2013-2015

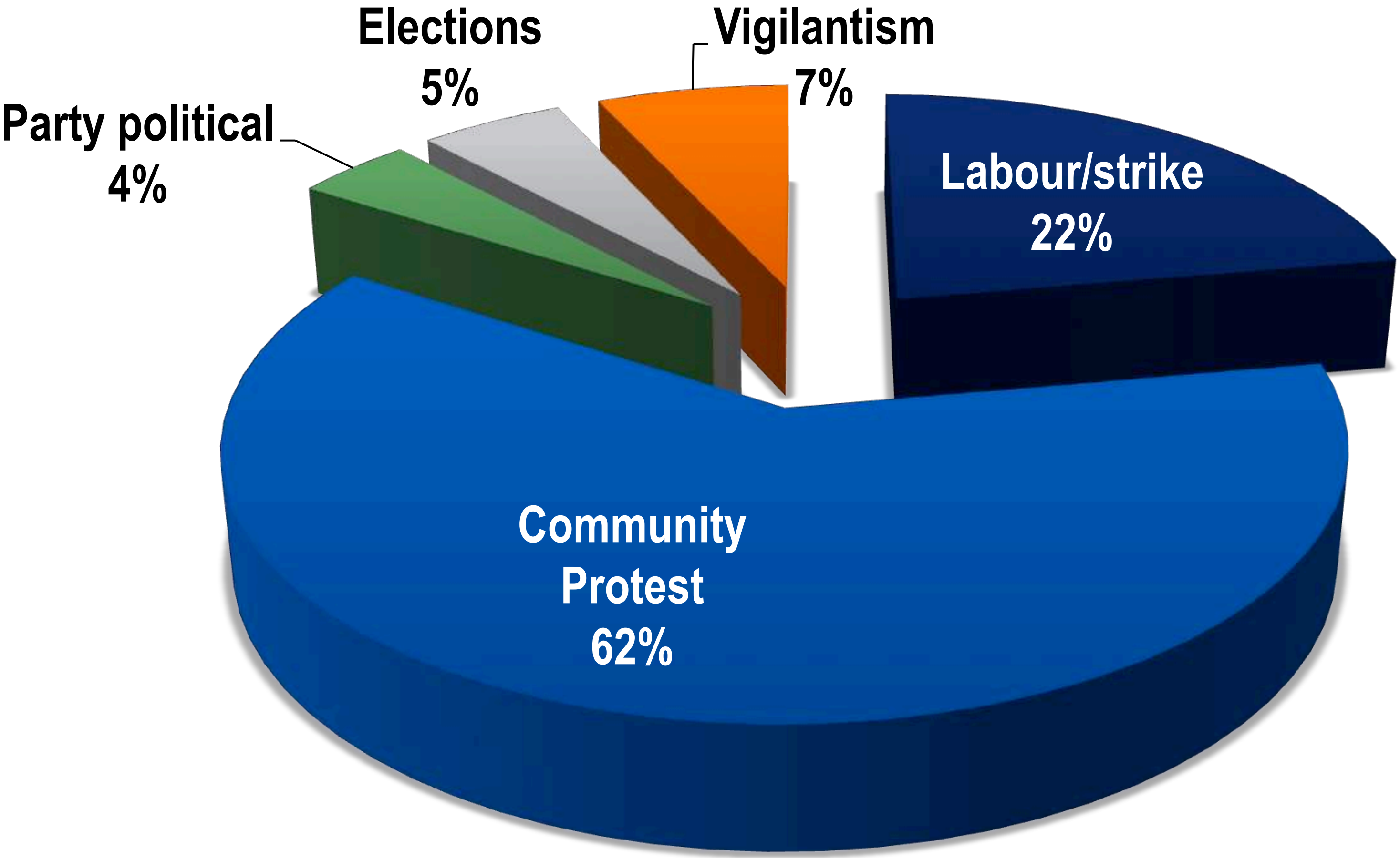


2013 → 1209
2014 → 1149
2015 → 522
2016 → 349 (end June)

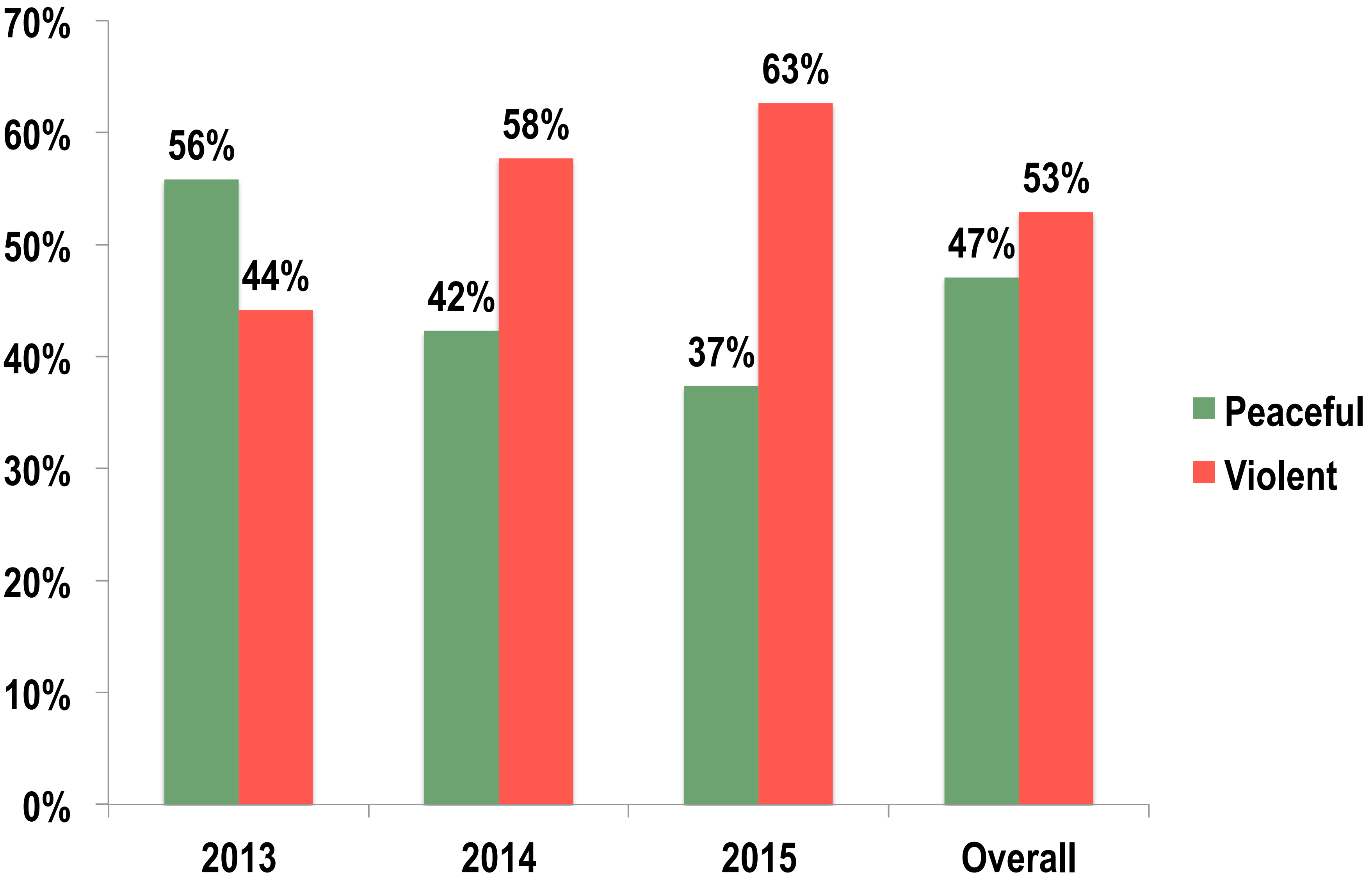
MAIN MOTIVATION OF INCIDENTS 2013-2015

Main Motivation	Number	Percentage	% Peaceful	% Violent
Labour related strikes and marches	641	22%	70%	30%
Anti-crime/ policing related protests	342	12%	71%	29%
Education related protests	265	9%	47%	53%
Unspecified ‘service delivery’	262	9%	22%	78%
Vigilantism	196	7%	3%	97%
Housing related	181	6%	30%	70%
Election related	146	5%	29%	71%
Transport related	129	4%	54%	46%
Foreigner/ xenophobic incidents	120	4%	16%	84%
Party political related protests/attacks	118	4%	35%	65%
Electricity related	65	2%	29%	71%
International causes	57	2%	93%	7%
Water related	46	2%	28%	72%
Business practice (private sector)	44	2%	68%	32%
National causes (e.g rights issues)	41	1%	90%	10%
Land issues	37	1%	35%	65%
Corruption related	32	1%	47%	53%
Sanitation/refuse	31	1%	32%	68%
Environmental	29	1%	90%	10%
Healthcare	26	1%	73%	27%
Demarcation	23	1%	13%	87%
Other	49	2%	31%	69%
	2880	**100%**	**47%**	**53%**

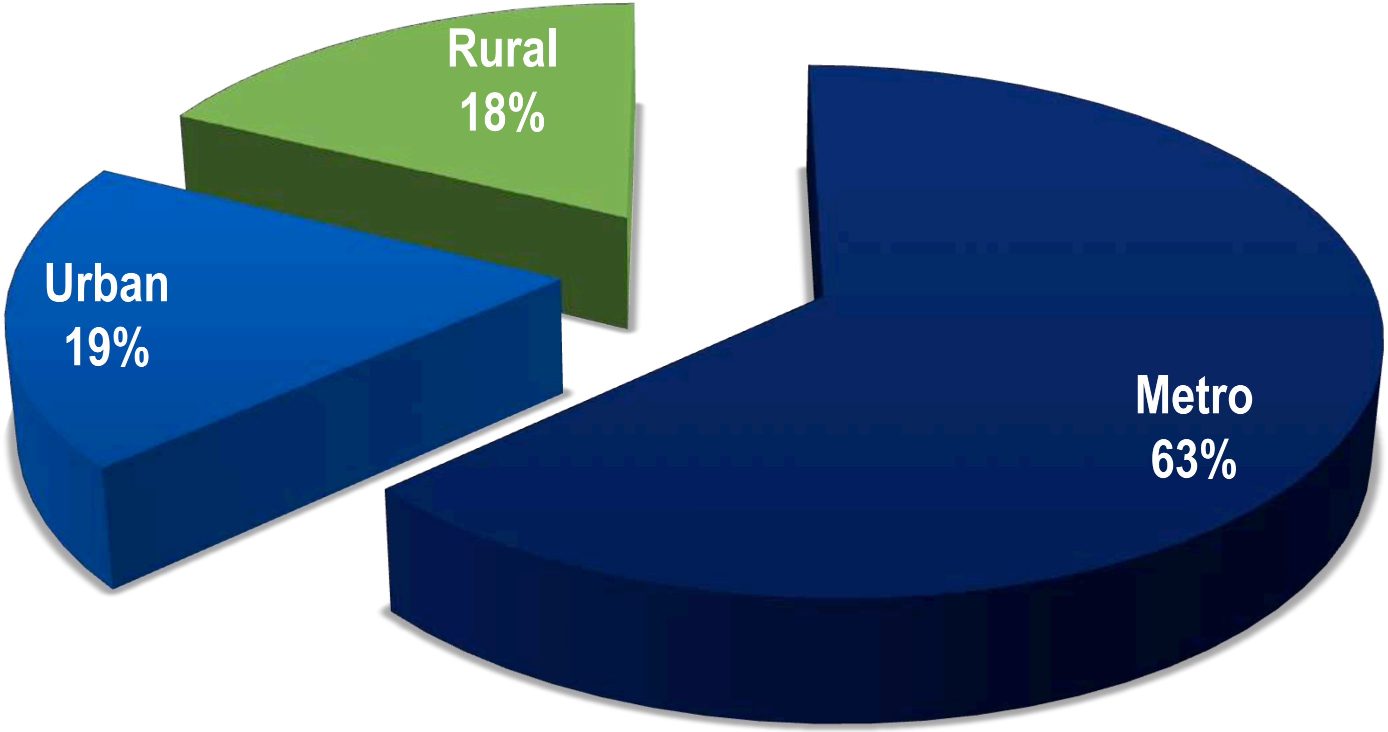
BROAD CATEGORY OF INCIDENTS 2013-2015



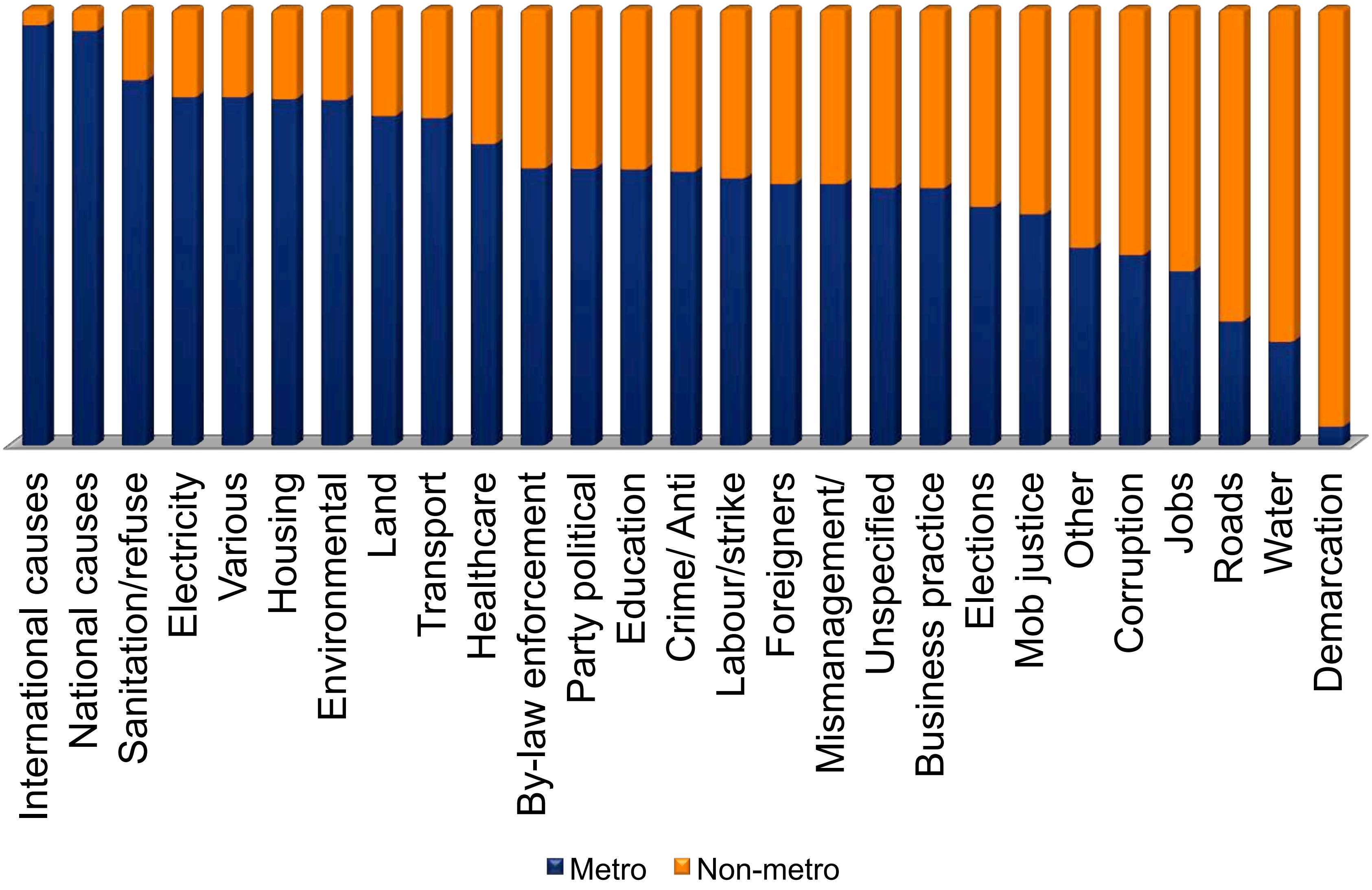
PROPORTION OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS 2013-2015



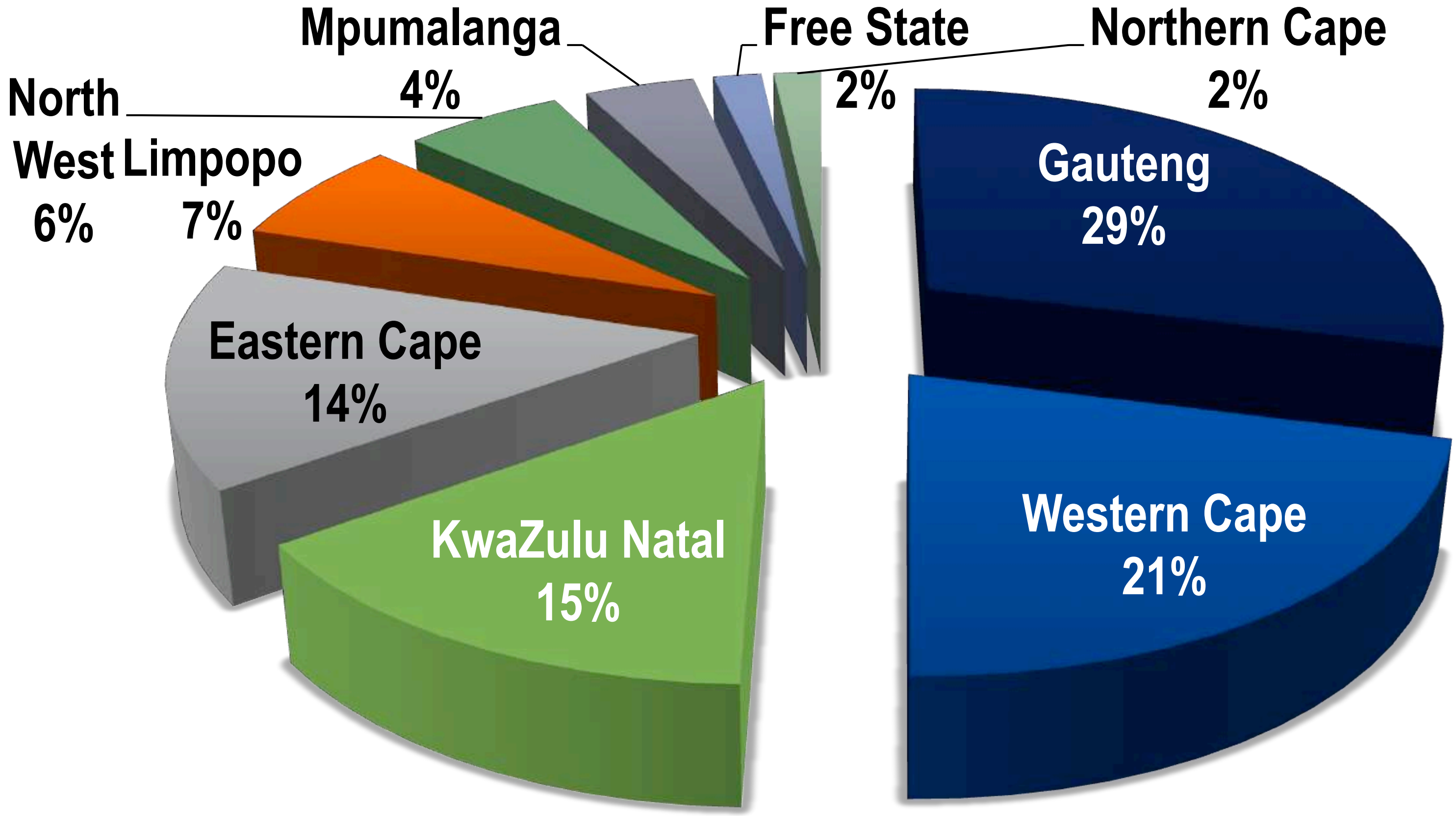
LOCATION OF INCIDENTS 2013-2015



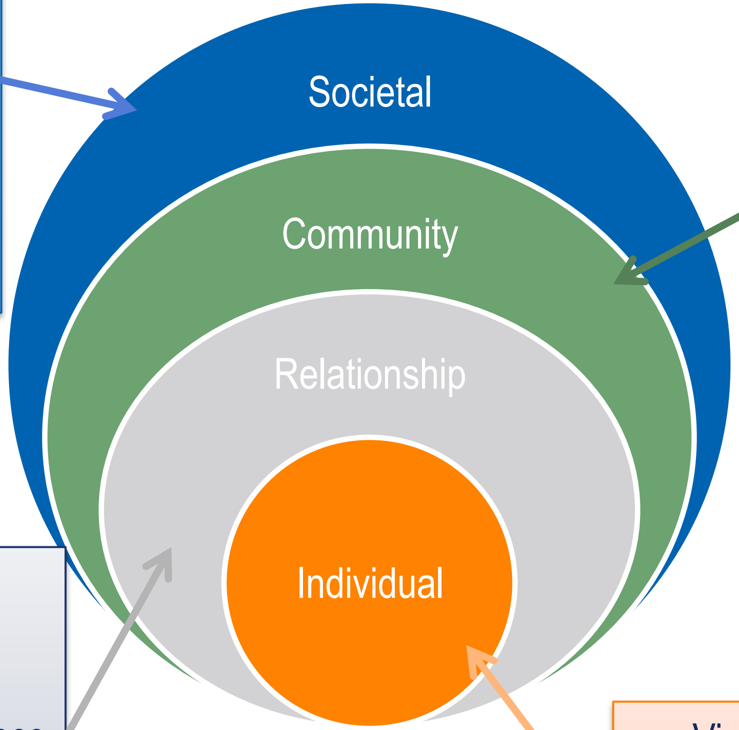
TYPES OF INCIDENTS BY METRO/NON 2013-2015



INCIDENTS BY PROVINCE 2013-2015



RISK FACTORS FOR VIOLENCE & CRIME



- Rapid social change
- Gender, social and economic inequalities
- Poverty
- Weak economic safety nets
- Cultural norms that support violence

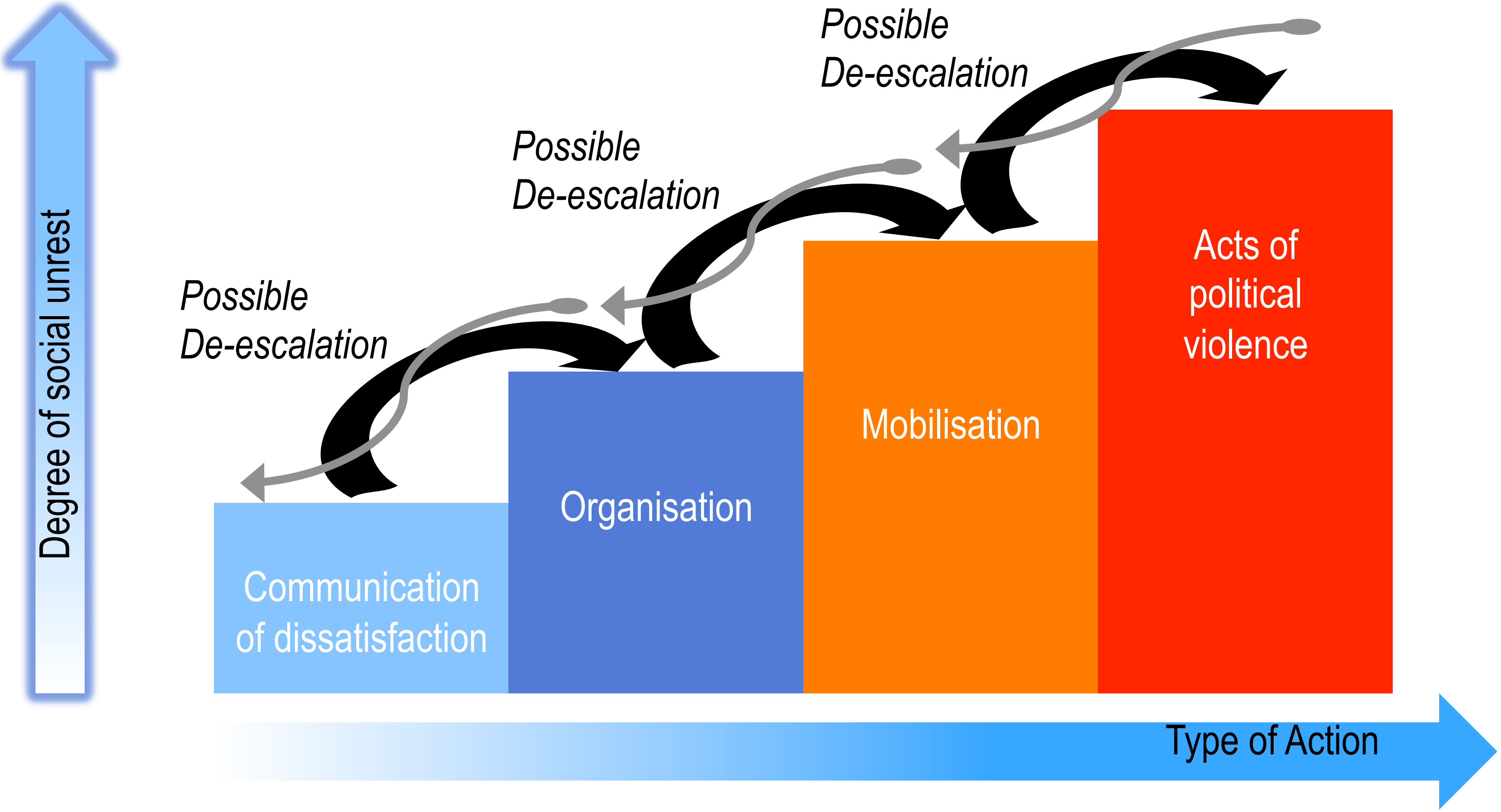
- Poverty
- High residential mobility
- High unemployment
- Local illicit drug trade
- Situational factors

- Inconsistant parenting practices
- Domestic violence
- Friends that engage in violence
- Low socio-economic status of the household

- Victim of child maltreatment
- Psychological/personality
- Alcohol/substance abuse
- Exposure to violence in the home or community

Source: WHO (http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/ecology/en/)

LADDER OF SOCIAL UNREST


Possible
De-escalation
Possible
De-escalation
Possible
De-escalation
Degree of social unrest
Communication of dissatisfaction
Organisation
Mobilisation
Acts of political violence
Type of Action

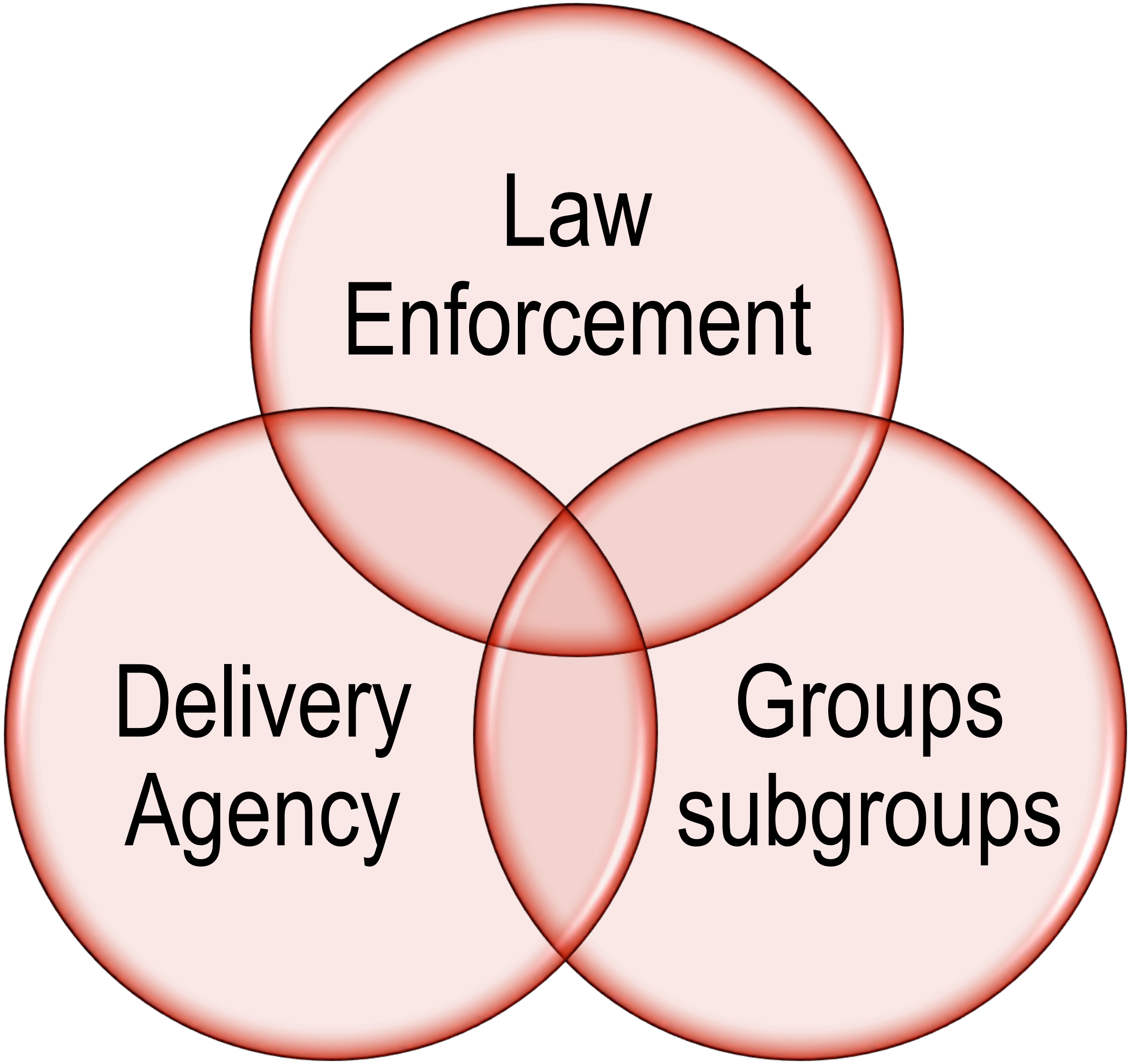
Source: OECD; EU-VRi

POTENTIAL TRIGGERS FOR ESCALATION/DE-ESCALATION

- 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

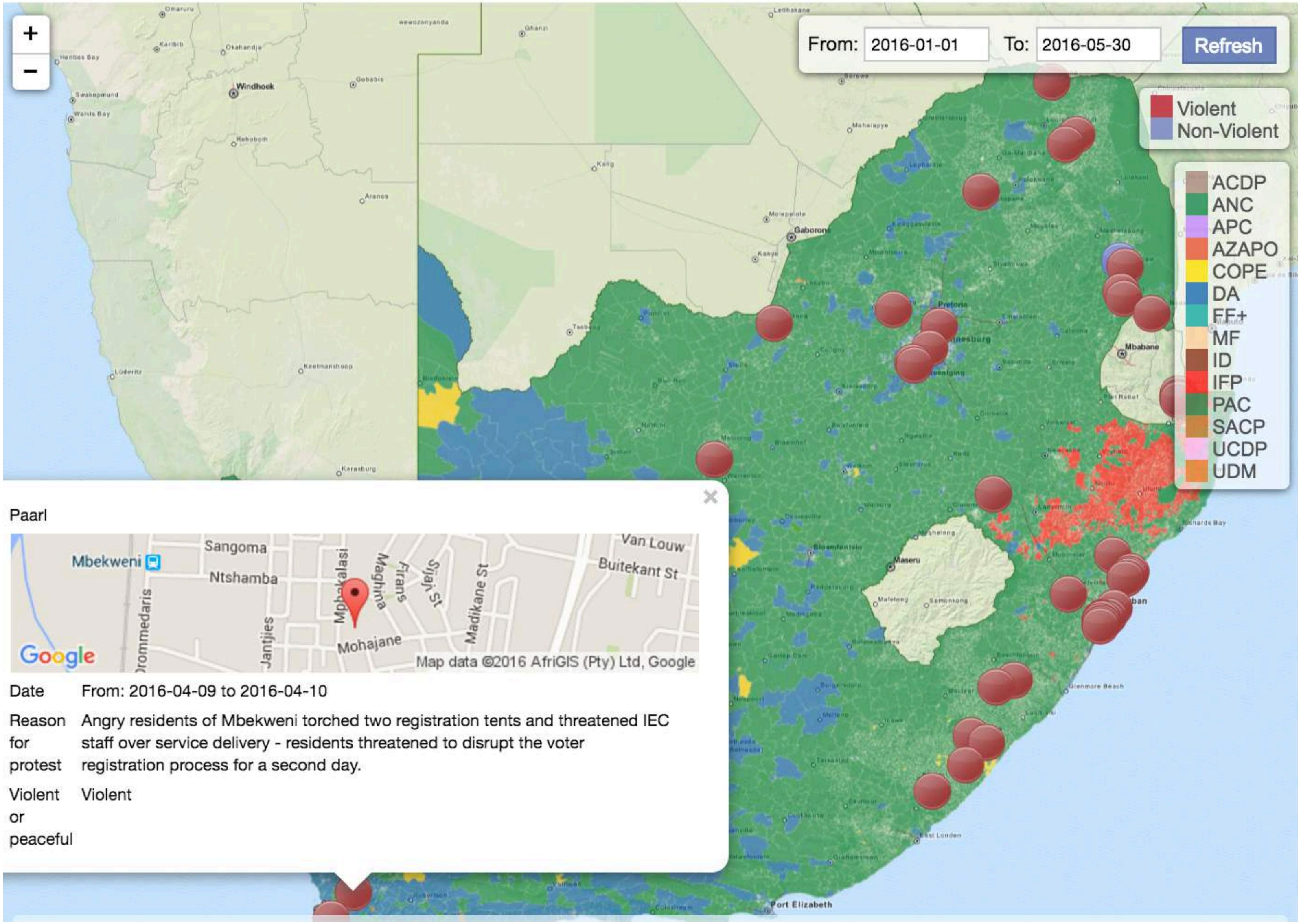


Law Enforcement

Delivery Agency

Groups subgroups

ELECTION VIOLENCE MONITORING AND MAPPING

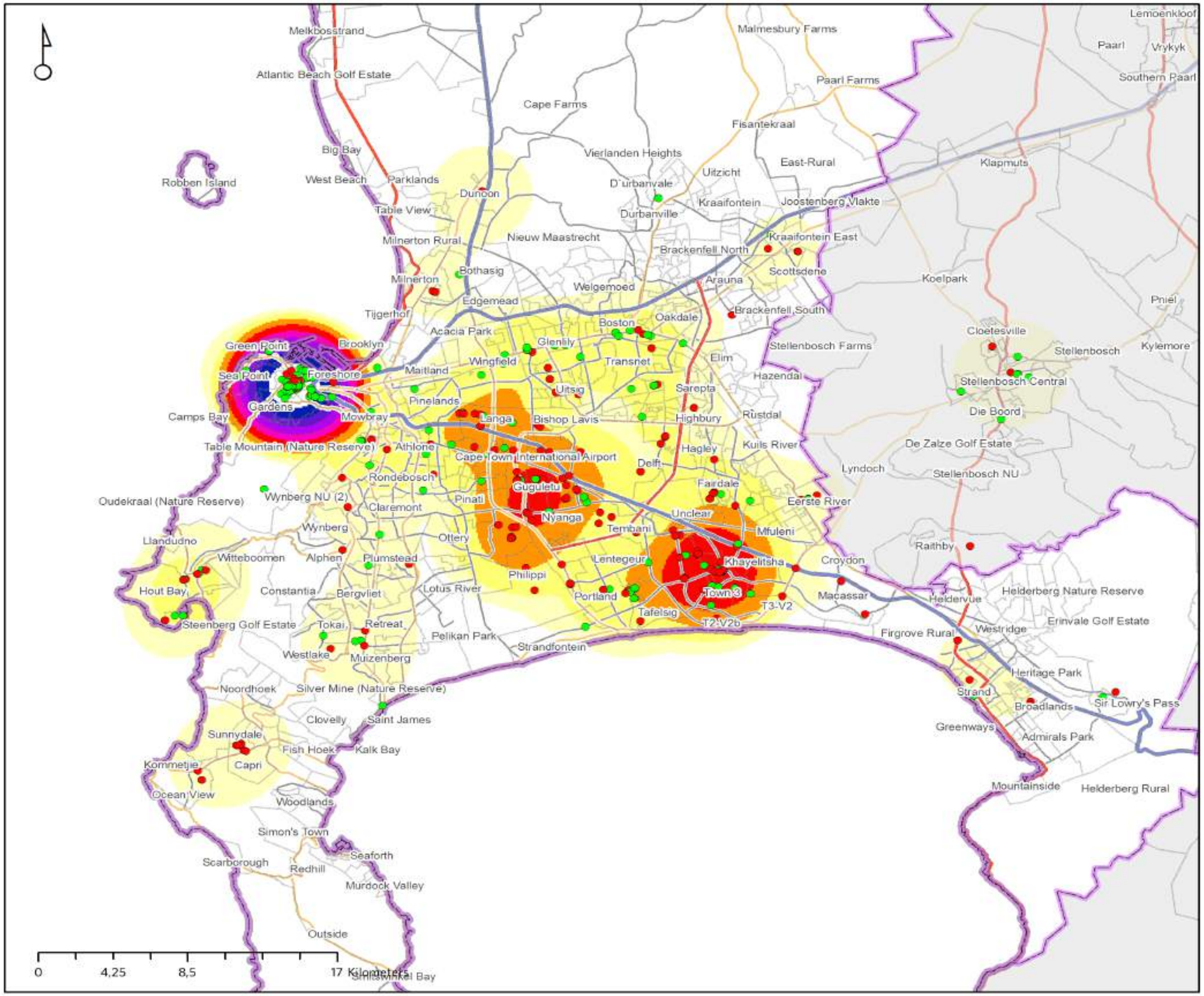

+
−
Refresh
Violent
Non-Violent
ACDP
ANC
APC
AZAPO
COPE
DA
FF+
MF
ID
IFP
PAC
SACP
UCDP
UDM
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Swakopmund
Gaborone
Pretoria
Mbabane
Maseru
Bloemfontein
Richards Bay
East London
Port Elizabeth
Mbekweni
Sangoma
Ntshamba
Van Louw
Buitekant St
Mphakalasi
Maghina
Frans
Sijaj St
Madikane St
Drommedaris
Jantjies
Mohajane
Google
Map data ©2016 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google
×

From: 2016-01-01 To: 2016-05-30

Paarl

Date	From: 2016-04-09 to 2016-04-10
Reason for protest	Angry residents of Mbekweni torched two registration tents and threatened IEC staff over service delivery - residents threatened to disrupt the voter registration process for a second day.
Violent or peaceful	Violent

CAPE TOWN HOTSPOTS 2013-2015



Melkbosstrand
Atlantic Beach Golf Estate
Cape Farms
Malmesbury Farms
Paarl Farms
Lemoenkloof
Paarl
Vrykyk
Southern Paarl
Fisantekraal
Vierlanden Heights
East-Rural
Uitzicht
Klapmuts
Big Bay
Robben Island
West Beach
Parklands
Dunoon
D`urbanvale
Durbanville
Kraaifontein
Joostenberg Vlakte
Table View
Milnerton Rural
Nieuw Maastrecht
Brackenfell North
Kraaifontein East
Bothasig
Milnerton
Welgemoed
Arauna
Scottsdene
Koelpark
Edgemead
Tijgerhof
Boston
Oakdale
Brackenfell South
Pniel
Acacia Park
Green Point
Brooklyn
Glenlily
Stellenbosch Farms
Cloetesville
Stellenbosch
Kylemore
Sea Point
Foreshore
Maitland
Wingfield
Transnet
Elim
Hazendal
Stellenbosch Central
Gardens
Pinelands
Uitsig
Sarepta
Die Boord
Camps Bay
Mowbray
Langa
Bishop Lavis
Highbury
Rustdal
Table Mountain (Nature Reserve)
Athlone
Hagley
Kuils River
De Zalze Golf Estate
Cape Town International Airport
Delft
Lyndoch
Rondebosch
Stellenbosch NU
Guguletu
Fairdale
Oudekraal (Nature Reserve)
Wynberg NU (2)
Pinati
Claremont
Eerste River
Nyanga
Unclear
Wynberg
Tembani
Mfuleni
Llandudno
Ottery
Raithby
Witteboomen
Alphen
Plumstead
Lentegeur
Khayelitsha
Croydon
Hout Bay
Constantia
Bergvliet
Lotus River
Philippi
Portland
Town 3
Macassar
Heldervue
Helderberg Nature Reserve
T3-V2
Tafelsig
T2-V2b
Steenberg Golf Estate
Tokai
Retreat
Erinvale Golf Estate
Westridge
Firgrove Rural
Pelikan Park
Westlake
Muizenberg
Strandfontein
Heritage Park
Noordhoek
Silver Mine (Nature Reserve)
Strand
Sir Lowry's Pass
Broadlands
Clovelly
Saint James
Greenways
Sunnydale
Admirals Park
Fish Hoek
Kalk Bay
Kommetjie
Capri
Mountainside
Helderberg Rural
Ocean View
Woodlands
Simon's Town
Seaforth
Scarborough
Redhill
Murdock Valley
Outside
Smitswinkel Bay
0
4,25
8,5
17 Kilometers

CITY OF CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Public Protest Hotspots

i.r.t. Occurance of Violence

Public Protests

- ● Peaceful
- ● Violent

Clustering of Protests (5 km kernels)

<VALUE>

- ☐ None
- 🟨 Lowest
- 🟨
- 🟧
- 🟥
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟦 Highest

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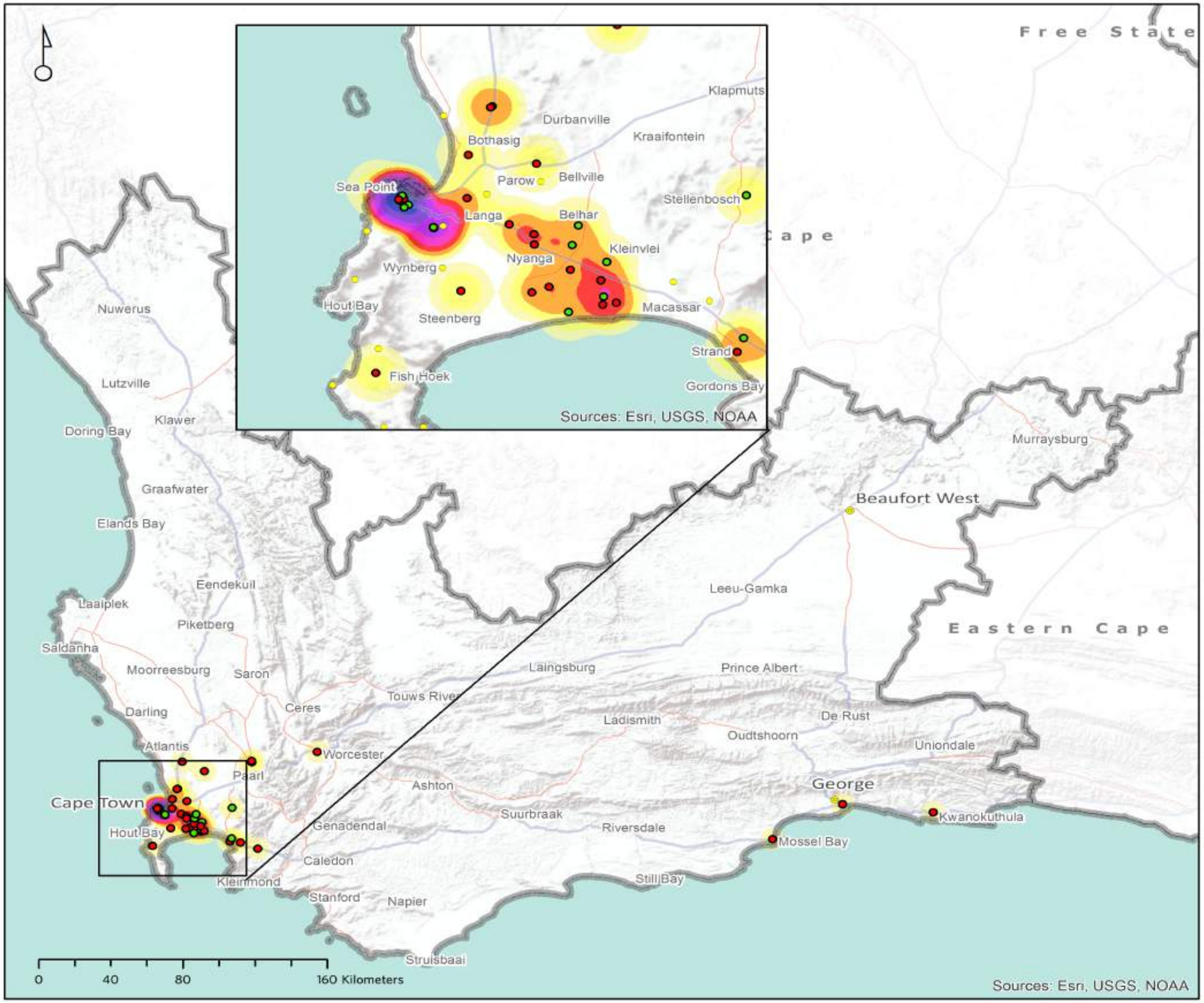
Source: ISS

Map produced on 25 February 2016

WESTERN CAPE ELECTION HOTSPOTS 2016


Free State
Klapmuts
Durbanville
Kraaifontein
Bothasig
Parow
Bellville
Sea Point
Stellenbosch
Langa
Belhar
Kleinvlei
Nyanga
Wynberg
Hout Bay
Steenberg
Macassar
Strand
Fish Hoek
Gordons Bay
Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA
Cape
Nuwerus
Lutzville
Klawer
Doring Bay
Murraysburg
Graafwater
Beaufort West
Elands Bay
Eendekuil
Leeu-Gamka
Laaiplek
Piketberg
Eastern Cape
Saldanha
Moorreesburg
Saron
Laingsburg
Prince Albert
Touws River
Ceres
Darling
Ladismith
De Rust
Oudtshoorn
Atlantis
Worcester
Uniondale
Paarl
George
Ashton
Cape Town
Kwanokuthula
Suurbraak
Hout Bay
Genadendal
Riversdale
Mossel Bay
Caledon
Still Bay
Kleinmond
Stanford
Napier
Struisbaai
0
40
80
160 Kilometers
Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA

WESTERN CAPE

Public Protests

Overall Public Violence 2016 Hotspots

Overall Violence

- ● Peaceful (16)
- ● Violent (33)

Overall Public Violence 10 km kernel (main map)

- ⬜ None
- 🟨 Lowest
- 🟨
- 🟧
- 🟥
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟦 Highest

Overall Public Violence 5 km kernel (insert)

- ⬜ None
- 🟨 Lowest
- 🟨
- 🟧
- 🟥
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟪
- 🟦 Highest

ISS INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

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Source: ISS
Map produced on 20 July 2016

POLITICAL KILLINGS

Date	What happened	Where?	Prov	Affiliation
21-Jan	ANC BEC member in Inchanga was shot and killed, he was contesting a ward councillor position	Inchanga	KZN	ANC
24-Jan	Boy Shozi, ward councillor for eThekwini Metro ward 4, SA Communist Party Young Communist League (YCL) of being part of a group of men who shot and killed two people at the Kwadokweni Sports Grounds during a community meeting.	Inchanga	KZN	ANC
18-Feb	Violent protests amongst dissatisfied ANC members on the outcome of ward candidates nominations have turned out deadly in Pienaar with person shot dead.	Pienaar	MP	ANC
22-Feb	Freedom Park ANC ward councillor Mbuyiselo Dokolwana was killed outside his home infront of his family in 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
24-May	KaMaqhekeza near Komatipoort, EFF member Senzo Thwala was shot and injured, and cars were stoned when ANC members pounced on them before a meeting scheduled to be addressed by party leader Julius Malema.	KaMaqhekeza	MP	EFF
26-May	ANC deputy chairman in Pienaar's Ward 23, Michael "Zane" Phelembe, was shot outside his home on Friday night. In what his friend refered to as a Hit.	Pienaar	MP	ANC
02-Jun	Nathi Hlongwa, ANC branch chairperson in the Edendale area, Pietermaritzburg was shot on after returning from an ANC meeting in iMbali	Edendale	KZN	ANC
01-Jun	Simo Mncwabe was CFO at Mooi Mpofana municipality and was shot just a day before Hlongwa while taking his children 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
09-Jun	The two women, aged 50 and 60, had left an ANC branch general meeting in ward 15 when they were shot, one dead and the other one critically injured	Imbali	KZN	ANC
20-Jun	An ANC member was shot and killed outside the Tshwane Events Centre as the party was set to announce Thoko Didiza as the mayoral candidate for the city.	Tshwane	GP	ANC
21-Jun	Men armed with sjamboks, knobkieries, pointed sticks and golf clubs attacked the EFF members and the media, injuring a journalist.	Thembisa	GP	EFF
21-Jun	Kwanobuhle police are investigating a case of arson after two home made petrol bombs were thrown at a councillor 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
18-Jul	Bongani Skhosana, a ward Cllr candidate in the Umuziwabantu Municipality on the lower south coast, was shot in front of the children while transporting them to school.	Low South Coast	KZN	ANC
18-Jul	ANC ward Cllr candidate Ngobese-Sibisi was shot while on her way to donate goods at a Mandela Day event that took place in Ladysmith.	Ladysmith	KZN	ANC

LESSONS LEARNT FROM 2014 ELECTIONS

- 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

WAY FORWARD – TOWARDS A 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?

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.

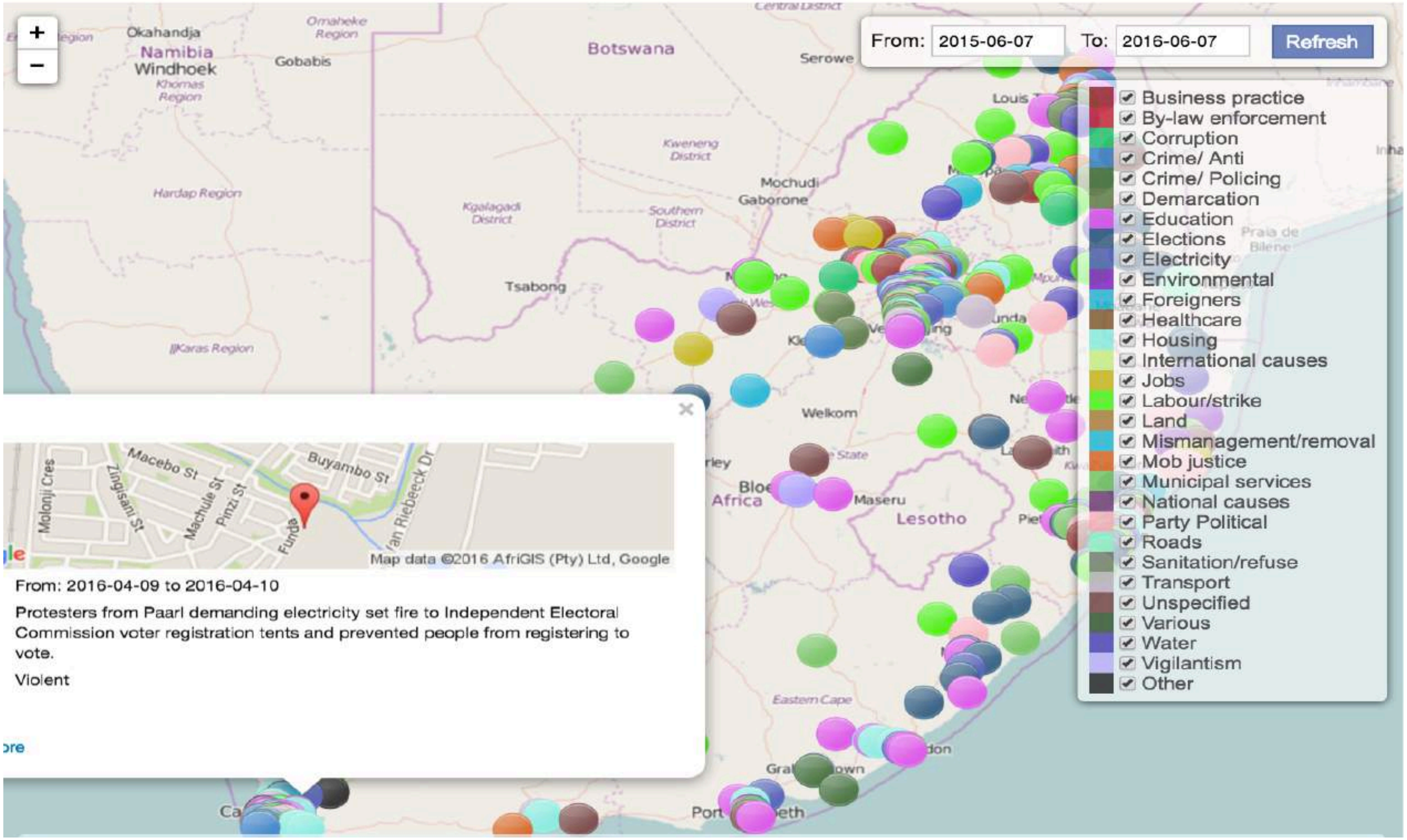
www. issafrica.org/crimehub/papers/at-the-heart-of-discontent-measuring-public-violence-in-south-africa

PUBLIC VIOLENCE MONITORING AND MAPPING PROJECT

Public protest and violence map

View peaceful and violent protest action online

www. issafrica.org/crimehub/


+
−
Okahandja
Omaheke Region
Namibia
Windhoek
Khomas Region
Gobabis
Botswana
Serowe
Central District
Kweneng District
Mochudi
Gaborone
Hardap Region
Kgalagadi District
Southern District
Tsabong
//Karas Region
Welkom
Maseru
Lesotho
Africa
Eastern Cape
Port
Macebo St
Buyambo St
Molonji Cres
Zingisani St
Machule St
Pinzi St
Funda
Van Riebeeck Dr
Map data ©2016 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google

From: 2015-06-07 To: 2016-06-07 Refresh

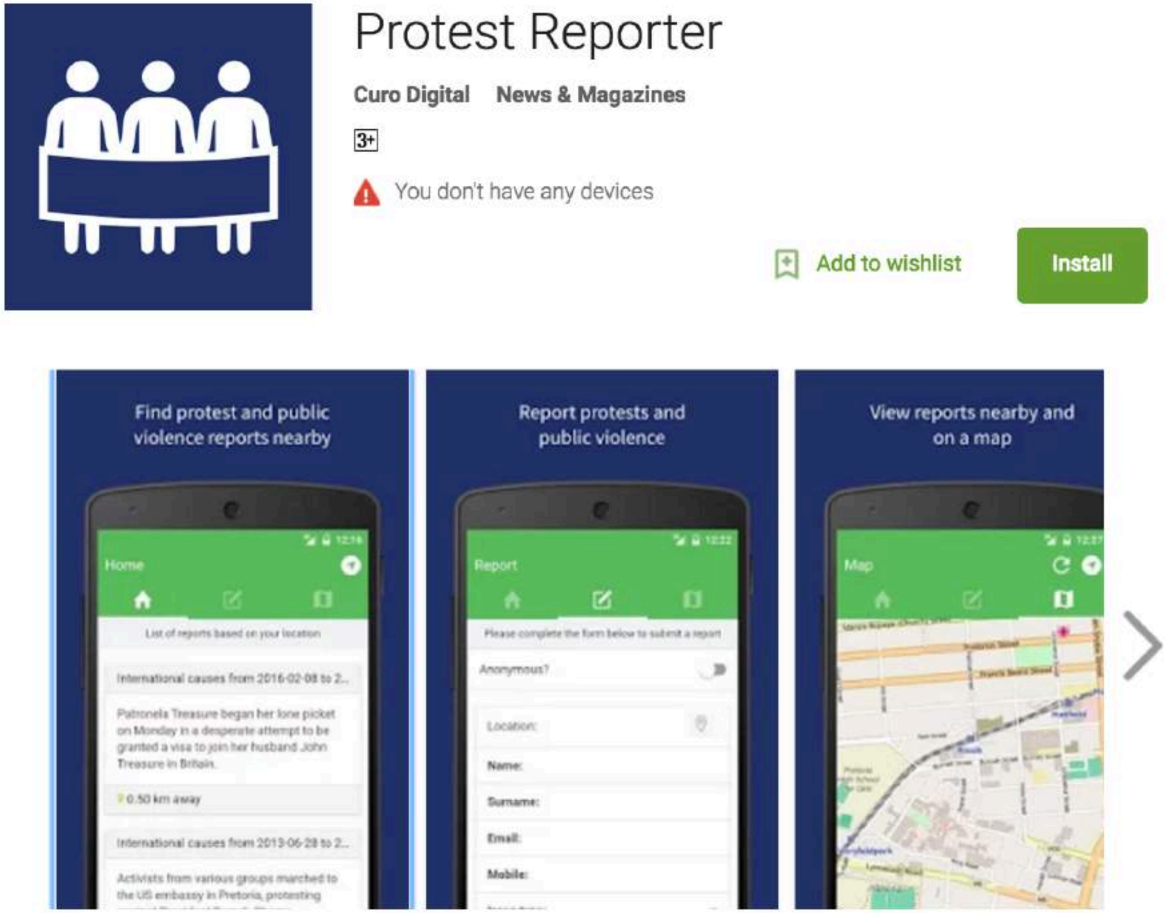
☑ Business practice
☑ By-law enforcement
☑ Corruption
☑ Crime/ Anti
☑ Crime/ Policing
☑ Demarcation
☑ Education
☑ Elections
☑ Electricity
☑ Environmental
☑ Foreigners
☑ Healthcare
☑ Housing
☑ International causes
☑ Jobs
☑ Labour/strike
☑ Land
☑ Mismanagement/removal
☑ Mob justice
☑ Municipal services
☑ National causes
☑ Party Political
☑ Roads
☑ Sanitation/refuse
☑ Transport
☑ Unspecified
☑ Various
☑ Water
☑ Vigilantism
☑ Other

From: 2016-04-09 to 2016-04-10

Protesters from Paarl demanding electricity set fire to Independent Electoral Commission voter registration tents and prevented people from registering to vote.

Violent

SMART PHONE APP



Protest Reporter

Curo Digital News & Magazines

3+

You don't have any devices

Find protest and public violence reports nearby

List of reports based on your location

International causes from 2016-02-08 to 2...

Patronela Treasure began her lone picket on Monday in a desperate attempt to be granted a visa to join her husband John Treasure in Britain.

0.50 km away

International causes from 2013-06-28 to 2...

Activists from various groups marched to the US embassy in Pretoria, protesting

Report protests and public violence

Please complete the form below to submit a report

Anonymous?

Location:

Name:

Surname:

Email:

Mobile:

View reports nearby and on a map

The Protest Reporter mobile app lets you report protests and public violence. The app enables you to view reports around you and on a map.

All verified data will be made available on our website: https://www.issafrica.org/crimehub/public-violence

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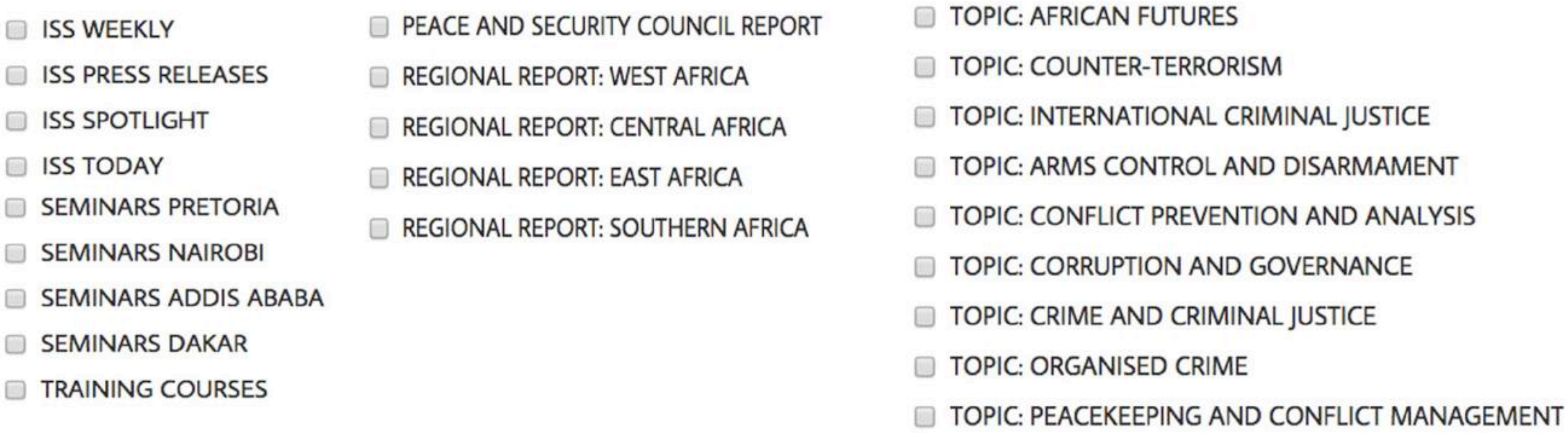

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- ☐ SEMINARS ADDIS ABABA
- ☐ SEMINARS DAKAR
- ☐ TRAINING COURSES
- ☐ PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL REPORT
- ☐ REGIONAL REPORT: WEST AFRICA
- ☐ REGIONAL REPORT: CENTRAL AFRICA
- ☐ REGIONAL REPORT: EAST AFRICA
- ☐ REGIONAL REPORT: SOUTHERN AFRICA
- ☐ TOPIC: AFRICAN FUTURES
- ☐ TOPIC: COUNTER-TERRORISM
- ☐ TOPIC: INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE
- ☐ TOPIC: ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT
- ☐ TOPIC: CONFLICT PREVENTION AND ANALYSIS
- ☐ TOPIC: CORRUPTION AND GOVERNANCE
- ☐ TOPIC: CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
- ☐ TOPIC: ORGANISED CRIME
- ☐ TOPIC: PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

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