

Social Protests and Water Service Delivery in South Africa

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WATER RESEARCH COMMISSION

by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 2004, South Africa has been hit by high volumes of social protests. Protestors claim that they protest over lack of 'service delivery' and water is one of the elements of service delivery. In 2012 the frequency, geographical spread and violence of service delivery-related social protests in post-apartheid South Africa reached unprecedented levels. Water service delivery issues rose in prominence among various reasons cited for protests. While this ascendance is remarkable, grievances over water services are not new. Water service delivery issues have been (and still are) a part of a range of conflated grievances that masquerade under the general rubric of 'service delivery' issues and underpin many rallying calls for social protest action. Although such conflation reflects the inter-relatedness of social services, it also masks the precise nature of the specific water service delivery issues in question.

While protests highlight the prevalence of water services delivery issues in diverse and dynamic local contexts, the crafting of protest narratives and repertoires and the journalistic reporting of most protest events has often obscured the finer details of perceived grievance issues and how these transform into protest action. It appears as if media articles on service delivery protests focus on protests that journalists find to be newsworthy. The most common limitation, however, is that complex permutations of multi-level eruptions, which occur at grass-root level, are often overlooked. These are commonly social protests which are non-violent, in which only a few people participate, and which often include plot and neighbourhood level negotiations and contestations over water and other basic services. The reductionist approaches commonly adopted by analyses that rely on journalistic media therefore give a sense of coherence about protest phenomena but often fall short of providing nuanced understandings, which are critical to effective institutional interventions. The growing visibility of water 'service delivery' issues has thus not yielded clear understandings of the political, economic, social, institutional, historical and cultural environment within which social protests tend to occur, the exact nature of grievances over water service delivery and how grievance issues develop into violent protest action.

This research report presents an outline of research findings on the pathways by which grievances over water services delivery conflate with other factors and develop into violent protest action. The report is based on a survey of the numerous social protests that journalistic and social media reported in the years from 2004 to 2014 and PLAAS researchers identified, catalogued and analysed. One challenge was that it is not easy to identify water service delivery issues among the various grievances catalogued in pre-2012 data because until then, narratives and reports tended to use the umbrella term 'service

delivery’. To resolve the problem, researchers took the term “service delivery” to indicate ‘possible existence’ of water service delivery issues and, for each reported case, verification was made through cross-referencing with data from other secondary sources, such as municipal records on the Water Services National Information System (WSNIS), research reports, anecdotal evidence, related journalistic and social media articles. Other proxy terms included ‘housing’ and ‘sanitation’.

Research findings suggest that four proximate conditions are requisite to the development of water services delivery-related protests (Figure 1). These are 1) Socio-economic contexts characterized by poverty, unemployment, inequality and unhappiness about perceived relative deprivation and/or marginalization; 2) Presence of grievance issues about water services delivery, whether or not these conflate with other issues; 3) Disjuncture (including communication breakdown) primarily between municipal authorities at local levels and water users at plot and neighbourhood levels; 4) Interplay between all the foregoing and other key drivers for protest mobilisation, organization and growth.

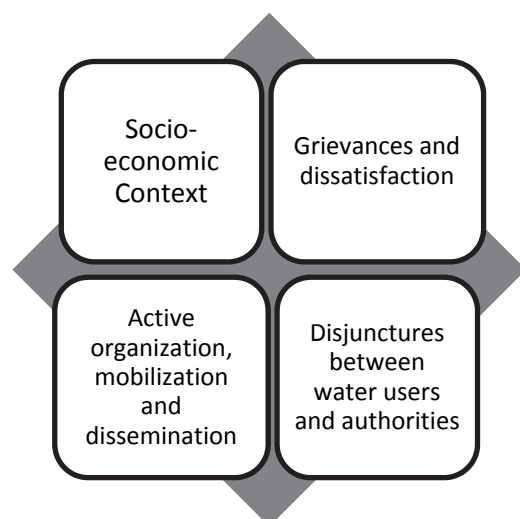


Figure 1 Proximate Conditions for Social Protests associated with Water Services delivery

Social Protest Contexts

Research findings show that the majority of social protests associated with water service delivery tend to occur in low and middle income working-class urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods that are characterized by:

- Poverty, unemployment, inequality and unhappiness about perceived relative deprivation and/or marginalization;
- Dissatisfaction with water services delivery and the delivery of related social services (e.g. sanitation, housing, electricity, refuse removal and roads);

- Disjuncture (including communication breakdown) primarily between municipal authorities at local levels and water users at plot and neighbourhood levels;
- Negative perceptions about governance in general and municipal governance in particular; and
- Municipal capacity constraints in dealing with longstanding backlogs for access to water and related social services (e.g. sanitation, housing, electricity, refuse removal, roads and storm water drains), particularly amid rapid urbanization and a changing demographic profile of citizenship expectations and aspirations.

Although violent protests have tended to characteristically occur in urban areas, this is changing, however, as the trend towards rural people's protests increases. The growing locus of violent rural protests includes commercial farming areas and their service centres (such as De Doorns, Worcester and Robertson in the Western Cape), mining areas and their residential compounds (such as Marikana, Luka Village and Mothotlong in the North West) and neighbouring villages, as well as large and sprawling traditional rural community settlements (such as Umlazi in KwaZulu-Natal). The recent spread of violent protests across the artificial urban-rural divide appears to be transported through both media broadcasts and people's straddled livelihoods, whereby migrant workers returning from urban industrial and commercial centres carry with them the social capital of strategies to enhance the efficacy of engagements with rural local authorities largely perceived to be acquiescent or unconcerned. Civil society has yet to make a significant stamp on the magnitude of rural social protests, while the media has yet to develop robust mechanisms for picking up news about these protests. Rural protests – particularly those that are more peaceable than violent – therefore remain relegated to the 'silent backdrops' of South African society.

Water Services Delivery Issues

A number of water service delivery issues were identified among protest grievances. Among others, these included:

- Problems relating to water supply, even when infrastructure is situated within 200 metres from the household;
- Poor quality of water from existing supply infrastructure;
- Old and deteriorated water reticulation networks;
- Poor operation and maintenance of infrastructure;
- High tariffs (and sometimes too low);
- Intermittent water supplies;
- Lack of monitoring of service delivery by private contractors;

- Perceived and alleged corruption in the awarding of private contracts;
- Water restrictions and disconnections after installation of supplies;
- Difficulties in access at night due to threats to personal safety and security; and
- Comparison with more affluent neighborhoods, which creates feelings of relative deprivation.

However, findings clearly showed that grievance issues, such as above, on their own were not the main cause of protests. Indeed, residents of many low and middle income working class neighbourhoods with relatively high backlogs in water services delivery did not engage in protest action. The question arose therefore what could be driving social protests associated with water service delivery in some but not other contexts?

Key Drivers of Social Protests

Six key drivers of violent social protests were identified. These included:

- Rapid urbanization and a changing demographic profile of citizenship expectations and aspirations;
- Agrarian transformations, which manifest as deagrarianisation, transition from subsistence to commercially-oriented economies and a changing demographic profile of rural labour;
- Unemployment, with surplus labour partly deriving from mine closure in certain parts of the country;
- Negative perceptions about governance in general and municipal governance in particular;
- Emerging politics of engagement, which have increasingly become characterized by new mobilisations by civil society as well as an expansion (often transboundary/trans-continental) of rights-based social networks of aggrieved people's organizations; and
- Journalistic and social media and information and communications technology, which have had a combined effect of amplifying grievance issues, creating public awareness and outrage, and off-setting an accelerated spread (by contagion) of social protests.

Social Protest Pathways

An analysis of social protest pathways shows that at the core of violent social protests that are directly and indirectly associated with water services delivery are grievances relating to access to water services, affordability of services and perceptions about relative deprivation

among historically-disadvantaged residents of low and middle income working class residential areas. However, for grievance perception to develop into protest action there has to be interplay between dissatisfaction and the key drivers outlined above. A critical link in the shift from grievance perception to protest action is disjuncture between water users at residential plot and neighbourhood level and municipal authorities, which are constituted as water services authorities and/or providers.

Disjuncture between water users and authorities can critically predispose people in socio-economic contexts such as outlined above towards protest action. Such disjuncture is often multi-faceted and includes, among other things, poor communication, lack of downward accountability by municipal officials and councillors, and differences in perception between what practitioners consider to be effective ways of rendering water services and what water services users consider as their legitimate needs and expectations.

A common refrain in many protests was that, when residents perceive a water services delivery issue, their first reaction is to peacefully communicate their grievance or dissatisfaction by reporting to relevant municipal authorities. Responses by authorities (or lack thereof) tend to be associated with the quality of governance and are often critical to residents' decisions whether or not to escalate the efficacy of their engagement strategies.

When authorities demonstrate that they are committed to resolving reported grievances, both in rhetoric and action, residents often do not automatically proceed to protest. Rather, they await further communication and/or resolution of the grievance issue. It is only after the waiting time has exceeded residents' limits of tolerance that they may resort to a range of other engagement strategies so as to enhance the likelihood of their grievances being satisfactorily addressed. From this point onwards, a protest pathway can follow any of a multiplicity of scenarios, depending on situational conditions prevailing at a particular point in time. In many instances, residents repeatedly voice their grievances peacefully before engaging in contentious action. The repertoires of contention tend to progress from the more peaceful types, such as petitions and marches, to the more violent forms, such as road blockages, tyre burning, destruction of property and clashes with the police.

Where there is active interaction between residents, civil society and the media, the likelihood is high that protest action will upscale from benign communications with authorities to more confrontational institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of engagement. The former types of challenges to authority tend to be more peaceful and they include formal letters of complaints, meetings with authorities, petitions, hearings, legal declaration of disputes or demands, sit-ins and peaceful marches. By contrast, non-institutionalized forms

of engagement are often violent, with repertoires of contention often played out in particular public spaces or opportunistically timed to coincide with specific events or seasons. They include violent protest marches, road blockades, vandalism of public infrastructure, destruction of private property, injury of persons and destruction of human lives both by protesters and security agents, such as civilian and military police forces. Violent protests can have inadvertent consequences for protesters, instead of achieving the desired goals.

In the absence of drivers such as civil society mobilisation and organization and media role-play, disgruntled residents of formal residential areas and long-established informal settlements may continue for a while longer to peacefully engage authorities through various institutionalized channels until a breaking point or 'threshold' is reached, beyond which the protraction of unresolved grievances becomes unacceptable and/or intolerable. At such point, residents will most likely engage in violent protest action. Such protests then may become 'discovered'. With or without civil society and media involvement, therefore, informal local leadership and organization will emerge outside the ambit of existing political formations. The predication of relationships between these parallel leadership structures and organizations and local authorities upon contention and eroded trust can negatively affect prospects for collective action towards achieving broad-based water security.

In the case of the newer informal settlements, the absence of civil society, media engagement and clear leadership structures similarly creates the space within which informal local leadership can arise and independently mobilize and organize violent protest action. However, such protests tend to be characterised by an accelerated progression from grievance perception to violent protest action, without prior peaceful engagement with authorities. The marginalization of informality effectively closes off access by residents of these informal settlements to institutionalized platforms of engagement and precludes the efficacy of peaceful protest. Conversely, local authorities and formal political leadership structures tend to be reluctant to recognize residents of informal settlements that are established illegally on land with servitudes, state land and private property, for example. In best case scenarios, although authorities may concede and provide basic levels of access to water and sanitation services, the illegality or informality of tenure works against the need for the residents to 'move up the water ladder' and progressively realize their right of access to water and sanitation services. Future protest prospects for geographical contexts with such concessions can be projected by discrepancies between levels of water services delivery that remain stagnant at basic levels while expectations and aspirations within the demographic profile rise.

Traditional rural communities are among geographic contexts that are often beyond the reach of active water services institutions, civil society and media. While many such communities are increasingly served by private water services providers, many others continue to rely on informal water vendors, owing to problems of access and affordability. In some of these contexts, traditional leadership and governance seem to play key roles in keeping violent protests in abeyance. However, with protracted water insecurity, not even traditional leadership can reduce the likelihood of violent protest erupting after risk tolerance thresholds are breached, and the politics of civil society and media engagement come into play. Cases in point include Nandoni and Malamulele.

Conclusion

The issue of social protest is complex, and pathway scenarios dependent on a multiplicity of case-specific contexts, situations, issues and drivers. There are therefore endless permutations of similar protest pathways. What is critical for policy is not so much how to make sense of the multiple pathway scenarios but rather to glean from among the commonly identified key points of disjuncture between citizens and authorities, plausible pre-emptive and remedial interventions. The objective of such interventions would be to address the issues contributing to water insecurity and thereby avert possible future protest action. This applies both to violent and non-violent protests, as well as those 'non-protests', which erupt beyond the scrutiny of the media and dissipate into simmering discontent rather than disappear. Many grievance issues underlying protests in low and middle income working class urban residential areas have 'migrated' along with people moving from these so-called non-protest, water insecure areas.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that although social protests are complex phenomena, for those protests in which water is cited as a grievance issue, a key policy issue is that water insecurity is at the core of dissatisfaction, alongside grievances over the delivery of related social services, poor governance and municipal capacity constraints, especially funding and human resources. Addressing the core grievances about water services delivery therefore requires, firstly, stronger government demonstration of commitment to the social contract that is enshrined in the national constitution. Issues of bad governance cannot be wished away but need to be acknowledged and effectively addressed. It is not clear, however, to what extent this can be achieved, given the existing practice of constituency-based service delivery. Research findings suggest that there is currently an untenable tension in South Africa within the water governance framework in which citizens are expected to be beholden to municipalities that are upwardly accountable to political constituencies rather than downwardly accountable to the civic public realm of water users. The effectiveness of

Presidential provisions for outcomes based service delivery and citizen-based monitoring has yet to be seen, at least in the water services sub-sector.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AbM	Abahlali baseMjondolo
ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti Privatization Forum
BAWUSA	BAWSI Agricultural Workers Union of South Africa
CBD	Central Business District
CCS	Centre for Conflict Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Government and Traditional Affairs
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DA	Democratic Alliance
DPLG	Department of Provincial Local Government (since 2009 called COGTA)
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
HIV & AIDS	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus & Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa/Africa
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IOL	Independent OnLine (news broadcaster)
IWRM	Integrated Water Resources Management
MLGI	Multi-Level Governance Initiative (based at the Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape (UWC))
NEC	National Executive Committee (ANC)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTU	National Taxpayer's Union
ORASECOM	Orange-Senqu River Basin Commission
PEA	Protest Events Analysis
PIA	Project Implementing Agent
RBN	Royal Bafokeng Nation
SACN	South African Cities Network
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHA	South African History Archives
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SANCO	South African National Civics Organization
SAPA	South African Press Association
SAPS	South African Police Services
SJC	Social Justice Coalition
TB	Tuberculosis
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
VPU	Visible Policing Unit
WRIAM	Water Resource Issues Assessment Method
WSA	Water Services Authority
WSIAM	Water Services Issues Assessment Method
WSNIS	Water Services National Information System

WSP	Water Services Provider
ZACF	Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front

1 INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

1.1 BACKGROUND

Water services issues have increasingly featured among multiple reasons given for many of the violent and non-violent social protests that have burgeoned in post-apartheid South Africa since 2004. This study therefore emerged against the background of the escalating frequency and spread of social protests across South Africa (Tapela, 2012; Alexander, 2010; Nleya & Thompson, 2010; Naidoo, 2009; Allen & Heese, 2009; Heese & Allen, 2009; Gouws et al., 2009; Sinwell et al., 2009; Bond & Dugard, 2008; Atkinson, 2007; Johnston & Bernstein, 2007; Botes et al., 2007a,b). With the exponential increase of violent protests in 2009, questions were raised about implications of rampant protest action on South African socio-political stability. This report recognizes but departs from debates about the issue of socio-political stability (Houws, 2008) and suggestions that the proximate conditions for a revolution in South Africa might not fully exist (Tapela, 2012). On the premise that social protests should be seen in light of the National Constitution's Bill of Rights, the report is primarily concerned with the linkage between social protests and water services delivery.

'Service delivery' hypotheses were put forward to advance the view that service delivery problems were at the core of the tumultuous trend (Atkinson, 2007; Johnston & Bernstein, 2007; Botes et al., 2007). For example, Huchzermeyer (2004) linked social protests to increases in service delivery backlogs within urban centres, due to failures by the regulatory paradigm of planning to effectively respond to the proliferation of informal settlements. By contrast, Hart's (2008:692) hypothesis was that cleavages within South African society formed part of greater struggles over the definition and meaning of 'liberation' and 'freedom', and at the same time reflected "expressions of betrayal – intensified and sharpened by obscene and escalating material inequalities – and the crisis of livelihood confronting many in South Africa today". Hart (2009) also argued that within the complexity of the South African local government landscape, the site for service delivery was the "impossible terrain of official efforts to manage poverty and deprivation in a racially-inflected capitalist society marked by vicious inequalities which, since 1994, have become simultaneously de- and re-racialized."

Other scholars (e.g. Atkinson 2007; Johnston & Bernstein, 2007; Botes et al., 2007) questioned the service delivery hypotheses on the basis that such postulations were limited by their over-reliance on a sole explanatory variable for the burgeoning complexity of post-apartheid social protests. The detractors cited a range of other causative and influencing factors, such as privatization of service delivery, marginalization of the poor and the

persisting legacy of inequality in access to water. Exacerbating factors included dysfunctional relationships between citizens and government, and even among government departments (Nemeroff, 2005). Furthermore, Municipal IQ data showed that protests did not necessarily take place in the poorest municipalities (Heese & Allen, 2009). Municipal IQ data also showed that protests did not characteristically take place in municipalities or wards with the worst backlogs in service delivery (Ibid.).

From the perspective of water services governance and planning, the lack of simple correlations between protests and water services delivery thus raised an important question regarding the pre-emption of such unrest (Tapela, 2012). Pre-emption required that an Evaluation Framework be developed so as to enable water governance institutions to more effectively address water services delivery issues before grievances turned into protest action. Although various institutions were already generating useful data to monitor and examine social protests, such knowledge tended to rely heavily upon journalistic reports, anecdotal evidence and South African Police Services (SAPS) reports, which all used different approaches and methodologies. Besides inheriting the distortions inherent in journalistic media reporting, much of the knowledge generated did not yield any clear insights for the water services sub-sector. Pre-emption therefore also required that clear understandings be developed about the linkage between social protests and water service delivery, not so much to identify trigger factors but to determine the critical points at which disjunctures occur between water users at the micro-household and neighbourhood level and water institutions at the meso- and macro-levels. Recognizing the limitations of existing analyses and the inextricable conflation of multiple causes of protests, this study therefore emerged against a background of water sector needs for in-depth, evidence-based research that explicitly uses water services delivery as a lens for developing clear understandings about the complexity of social protests and requisite evaluation framework.

The study was based on understandings that water services delivery had to be recognized to be an integral part of a mix of social services that have been associated with social protests. As such, it would be counter-productive to spend effort trying to disaggregate water issues from sanitation, housing, labour and other related issues. The study was also predicated upon the principle that protests necessarily had to be seen in terms of the National Constitution's Bill of Rights (Chapter 2).

The Bill of Rights makes provisions for the right to the freedom of expression (Section 16:1), the right to peacefully assemble, demonstrate, picket and present petitions (Section 17), as well as the right to the freedom of association (Section 18). Section 16:2 however, does *not* extend the right to the freedom of expression to propaganda for war, incitement of imminent

violence and advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender and religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm. Furthermore, Section 12 of the Bill of Rights makes provision for rights to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right to be free from all forms of violence from public or private sources. Section 9 provides for the rights to equality, while Section 10 makes provisions for the right to human dignity. Further to these, the Bill of Rights provides for political rights (Section 19) and citizenship rights (Section 20). Water and sanitation services issues cut across issues of dignity, equality, freedom of expression, politics, citizenship, association, security and violence. These needed to be unpacked both through rapid appraisals and in-depth research. The study therefore sought to develop clear understandings of linkages between social protests and water service delivery, even within the broader parameters of conflated grievance issues.

The study also considered that although a nuanced examination of social protests was indeed important, the foregrounding of social protest phenomena – as opposed to water services delivery – carried the risk of inadvertently exacerbating the marginalization of many water-insecure communities and households, who have grievances about water services delivery but do not embark on protest action. Studies (e.g. Tapela, 2012) indeed suggest that many localized and/or non-violent social protests hardly ever make it into the centre-stage of news broadcasting platforms. This is particularly true for protests that are non-violent and/or located in rural areas. Owing to observations that the greatest concentration of protests is found in urban rather than rural contexts, as well as logistical constraints to broadening the geographical scope of the investigation, the study was largely confined to urban areas.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Water service delivery issues have indeed risen in prominence among various reasons cited for protests. While this ascendance has been remarkable, grievances over water services are not new. Water service delivery issues have been and still are part of a range of conflated grievances that masquerade under the general rubric of ‘service delivery’ issues and underpin many rallying calls for social protest action. Although such conflation reflects the inter-relatedness of social services, it also masks the precise nature of the specific water service delivery issues in question.

While protests highlight the prevalence of water services delivery issues in diverse and dynamic local contexts, the crafting of protest narratives and repertoires and the journalistic reporting of most protest events has often obscured the finer details of perceived grievance issues and how these transform into protest action. It also appears as if media articles on service delivery protests focus on protests that journalists find to be newsworthy. The most

common limitation, however, is that complex permutations of multi-level eruptions, which occur at grass-root level, are often overlooked. These are commonly social protests which are non-violent and in which only a few people participate.

Analyses that rely on journalistic media tend to give a sense of coherence about protest phenomena but often fall short of providing nuanced understandings, which are critical to effective institutional interventions. The growing visibility of water 'service delivery' issues has thus not yielded clear understandings of the political, economic, social, institutional, historical and cultural environment within which social protests tend to occur, the exact nature of grievances over water service delivery and how grievance issues permute into violent protest action.

Major challenges for the water and sanitation services sector are to develop clear understandings of the post-apartheid protest phenomenon and find ways to pre-empt protests and thereby reduce the sector's contribution to grievances that lead to protest action. The study addressed these two main concerns.

1.3 STUDY AIMS

1.3.1 OVERARCHING GOALS

The overarching aims of the study were to develop:

- Clear understandings of the linkage between social protests and water service delivery; and
- An Evaluation Framework to enable water governance institutions and other stakeholders to more effectively pre-empt and address water service delivery issues before grievances turn into protest action.

1.3.2 STUDY AIMS

The Aims of the study are set out in Table 1.

Table 1 Aims of the Study

AIM 1	To review existing reports and literature on water services and social protests primarily in South Africa.
AIM 2	To characterize the political, economic, social, institutional, historical and cultural environment of localities in which water-related social protests have occurred.
AIM 3	To identify the key drivers of water-related social protests, the roles of organization and mobilization and the dynamics of perceived deprivation.
AIM 4	To clarify the pathways by which perceptions on water service delivery conflate with other factors and coalesce into social protest action.
Aim 5	To make recommendations on requisite institutional mechanisms for enhancing preparedness and dialogue between water users at micro-community and household levels and water services planning by municipalities.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a mixed suite of primary and secondary data sources and research methods. The Protest Events Analysis (PEA) method was used to identify, assess, catalogue and survey protests that were directly and indirectly related to water services delivery. The protest events catalogue drew mainly from secondary sources, principally journalistic and social media reports and, to a lesser extent, scientific research reports, anecdotal evidence and official reports. The catalogue was used to document and map, on an on-going basis, water service delivery-related protests and to eventually develop barometers to gauge protest distributional frequencies and grievances. The study's PEA research findings were contrasted with protest data tracking reports by organizations and institutions, such as Municipal IQ, the MLGI, the Centre for Conflict Studies (CCS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), South African Police Services (SAPS) and others. The study's PEA catalogue was also used as a resource to identify and select possible case study sites for rapid appraisals and in-depth research.

Primary data sources included consultations with relevant institutional actors, field observations, rapid appraisals and empirical research, where possible. Hence, while PLAAS researchers endeavoured to include examples from all the nine provinces of South Africa, the scope of case studies ultimately had to be guided by PEA catalogue data, stakeholder consultations and researchers' principled judgement on the priority of case-specific circumstances. This meant therefore that case study site selection was both self-selective and purposively selective, so as to achieve a fairly representative sample while retaining a measure of flexibility to include new cases deemed worthy of detailed scrutiny as these arose during the course of the study.

Ultimately, case studies for more detailed examination were drawn from all nine provinces of South Africa. Decisions whether to conduct rapid appraisals or in-depth empirical research were often determined by the priority of research issue, financial budget, project time-frames and human resources for getting the work done.

2 SOCIAL PROTESTS IN PERSPECTIVE: A SYNOPTIC REVIEW OF THEORY AND SUBSTANCE

This chapter presents a synoptic review of theoretical and substantive perspectives on social protests in general and in the South African context specifically. The purpose of the review is to set the stage for subsequent s of the study methodology, research findings, analysis, discussion and conclusion. Although the study has been guided by detailed background reading of literature, this chapter's review is deliberately attenuated so as to bring to the fore methodological and substantive aspects of the study rather than to demonstrate scientific rigour in engagement with relevant literature.

2.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1.1 BACKGROUND

Social protests are not a new phenomenon. Classical theorists, notably Aristotle, Tocqueville and Karl Marx, have long postulated that anger with material conditions and the resultant aspirations for better life by the underclass are the ultimate sources of revolt. Marx and Engels defined collective action as an outcome of social structure rather than individual choice. They argued that contradictions between social classes are a historical truth and inevitable. This classical thesis has found expression in contemporary psychology and political science literature (e.g. Ted Robert Gurr), which propounds that frustration leads to aggression. Gurr (1970 in Gurr, 1985) postulated that the actualisation of political violence is preceded by politicisation of discontent stemming from emergence of discontent.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, social protests gained prominence after the ratification of the Bretton Woods Agreement and, following Mohandas Gandhi's advocacy of non-violent protest against colonial oppression. The drive towards accelerated economic growth and industrialisation had resulted in negative social and environmental impacts, which prompted criticism from socialist, environmentalist and poor people's movements in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Amid the "theoretical stocktaking and revision for social theory" that took place during this period (according to Eckersley, 1992), the socialist movements of the 1960s, the Counter-cultural Movement and the New Left, criticised the increasingly technocratic, exploitative and oppressive tendencies of the industrial development paradigm (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). Works like Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* and Jurgen Habermas's *Toward a Rational Society* were particularly instrumental in tracing the source of many of the problems of industrial society and contributed to widening the New Left's agenda to include questions

of life-style, technology and the exploitation of nature (Eckersley, 1992). Socialist movements therefore sought to redress the shortcomings of the development paradigm through lobbying for a focus on more humanistic values, more participation, more democracy and greater involvement of citizens in decision making (Eckersley, 1992; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). In particular, socialist movements of the South advocated for an alternative development approach that was more participatory, more human centred and more indigenous, therefore more appropriate to the problems of the LDCs (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994).

2.1.2 PROTEST THEORIES: SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES

Protest literature can largely be divided into two broad propositions. These are the Grievances and Relative Deprivation Theory and the Resource Mobilisation Theory. For practical purposes, this report does not delve into a detailed review of protest literature but gives greater emphasis to substantive issues. The following outline serves as a broad framing of the concepts that are used to construct the study's research methodology.

Since the ascendance of social movements in the 1960s, the field of study has evolved with the expansion of the case base, leading to more nuanced understandings and revisions of the Grievances and Relative Deprivation Theory (e.g. by Ted Gurr, 1970). Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2010) state that since the 1960s, earlier classical theorists ascribed social protests to 'grievances' stemming from 'relative deprivation', 'frustration' or 'perceived injustice'. Observations, however, were that protests fail to occur in some instances despite profusion of grievances. Grievances were also often held for long periods of time without them erupting into collective action (Tilly, 1978; 1979 in Tindall, 2006). Similarly, although a person's ideological affinity to the goals of a movement increased the possibility of their acceptance of a movement, it did not necessarily predict their recruitment into collective action. Scholars of social movements began to question the effects of grievances on people's participation in protest movements. They proposed instead that the question that should be asked is not so much 'whether people who protest are aggrieved' but 'whether aggrieved people protest' (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). What was needed therefore was for those who hold grievances to get recruited and mobilised. Contact with a recruiting agent was identified as the missing link (McAdam, 1986; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Social movement scholars therefore suggested that 'efficacy', 'resources' and 'opportunities' would predict protest participation.

McAdam's (1986) model for high cost/high risk activism postulates that the key drivers of mobilization are the media, the alignment of individual-movement values, and the

development of ties with other activists. In the same vein, Schusman & Soule (2005: 1098) postulate that individuals belonging to many organizations are more likely get involved in protest action. Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (Ibid.) surmise that the more recent studies have drawn attention to the roles of 'emotions' and 'social embeddedness' (the latter connotating issues of identity). However the exact mechanism that links collective action and social networks is not clearly understood (McAdam, 2003 in Tindall, 2006). The foregoing shifts have led to the development of an alternative theory namely, the Resource Mobilisation Theory (Opp 1977; Opp, 1988; McCathy & Zald, 1977; Klandermans, 1984).

According to Oliver et al. (2003) the development of Resource Mobilisation Theory has been accompanied by a broadening of emphasis from outcomes to consequences of protest and politics. Early research on resource mobilization/political process viewed protest outcomes in relatively simple terms. For example, Tilly's (1978) Polity Model viewed social movements as "challengers who lack...access to decision makers", but "once they succeed [in achieving their objectives] they become polity members with routine access to decision making' (p.218). Gamson (1975, 1990) refined this to a two-dimensional model which entailed, firstly, being accepted as a member of the polity (i.e. having institutional access) and, secondly, gaining new advantages (i.e. achieving policy goals).

Oliver et al. (2003) observe that recent work has "moved beyond the dichotomy of 'success' and 'failure', or even the idea of outcomes and instead considers 'consequences' (p. 219). Underlying this shift is the view that actions can have wide-ranging and unintended consequences. Three broad categories include 'incorporation', 'transformation' and 'democratization'. New theorizing also focuses on the dynamic interaction between movements and regimes. This is largely depicted in terms of the shifting tactics of social control by police agencies and corresponding shifts in responses by protesters. Furthermore, in addition to broadening the conception of political outcomes, scholars have increasingly come to recognize the importance of broader patterns of change in culture, opinions and lifestyles. Hence, the view that social protest movements are 'linear' and 'non-linear' (Gusfield, 1981 in Ibid.) and that they have by-products and unintended consequences, can hardly be described in terms of 'success' and 'failure' and they can have 'spill-over' effects, when one movement assists, influences and/or provides personnel to other movements (Oliver, 1989 in Ibid).

2.2 PERSPECTIVES ON POST-APARTHEID SOCIAL PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African protest politics have had a long history and have been deployed differentially in different historical periods. Given the study's concentration on post-apartheid protest action, it is beyond the scope of this report to give a detailed review of colonial and apartheid era social protests. Nonetheless, although protests have formed an important vehicle during the fight against apartheid, their rebirth and propulsion to the centre of struggles of the post-apartheid dispensation seems to have come as a surprise to many. A majority of the more recent protests are coined as 'service delivery protests' and are reported to emanate from dissatisfaction with municipal service delivery and problems relating to lack of communication between council and councilors, on the one hand, and citizens, on the other.

This section begins with a generalized review of literary perspectives on post-1994 South African protests, then proceeds to present a more focused review of social protests trends since the year 2004, which earmarks the beginning of the upward trajectory of post-apartheid era protests.

2.2.1 SOCIAL PROTESTS AND THE BROADER POLITY ISSUES IN POST-1994 SOUTH AFRICA: OVERVIEW

Despite the adoption of various institutional interventions to address South Africa's post-apartheid macro-economic policy challenges, 'poverty' and 'inequality' persist in South Africa nearly two decades since the ascendance of the democratic state. The recently-launched National Development Plan (NDP) of 2012 sets out a "new path" and vision to eliminate poverty and inequality by the year 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2011). Alongside the long-recognized challenges of poverty and inequality, the NDP and the 'second transition' perspective of the ANC highlight 'unemployment' to be a third facet of the 'fault-lines' of South African society (ANC, 2012). This report considers that, in addition to the variety of issues that the study addresses, it is important to go beyond a narrow focus on social protests and water services delivery and thereby recognize also the broader political economy, governance and macro-economic policy context within which South Africa's water services sector and water sector reforms in general are embedded.

2.2.1.1 Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

From the perspective of political economy, Bene et al. (2009) states that the socio-institutional landscape where water governance reforms are implemented "is in fact the result of a constantly evolving political game, which reflects the current distribution of power

between local actors and their struggle to control the natural, institutional, financial and political resources...In this political battle for power, the poorest and most marginalized are often the losers". Bene et al.'s analysis seems to have direct applications for the inequalities in access to water services in South Africa. However, while the scholars' analysis alludes to an element of dynamism in the struggle for resources, the current progression towards unprecedented levels of social protests is perhaps more succinctly explained through elements of Karl Marx's capitalist theory (*Das Capital*), which states that in a capitalist society the rich population continue to get wealthier while the poor population continue to get poorer. This casts the political dynamics into a retrospective and prospective class-analytic perspective, and captures the progressive divergence between the poor and non-poor classes, among others.

From a retrospective point of view, Bond et al. (2012) state that "Apartheid was, in its nature, both a racial order and a spatial one, and it enforced uneven and combined development in almost imitated forms. The systematic separation of racial groups, the profound underdevelopment of black areas, and the racial segmentation of labour markets suggested to many that the fight against apartheid was coterminous with the fight against capitalism". Furthermore, the conventional mistake by radicals was in thinking that the defeat of one durable but ultimately conjunctural manifestation of racism, apartheid, would bring the capitalist system to its knees (*Ibid.*). Although the apartheid legacy of racialized poverty and inequality still plays a role in the inequality of distribution of resources at present, it seems that the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor might have some implications on the rise of social protests in post-1994 South Africa.

Quantitative understandings of poverty, inequality and unemployment have been enhanced by the use of the Gini Co-efficient as a quantitative indicator of the great gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa. The Gini Coefficient for income increased from 0.60 in 1995 to 0.64 in 2001 (UNDP 2003 in Cullis & Van Koppen, 2007). According to Atud (2012:1), South Africa's gini-coefficient is still at its peak it stands at 0.70 and is one of the highest in the world.

Prior to the government's adoption of 'turn-around' strategies in the build-up to the watershed ANC Polokwane conference of 2009, inequalities were attributed to various factors, including: weak access to basic services by the poor; unemployment and underemployment; low economic growth rates and the weakening of employment generation capacity of the prevailing growth path; environmental degradation; HIV/AIDS; and an inadequate social security system (UNDP 2003 in Cullis & Van Koppen, 2007). Inequality of access to land had been translated into inequality in access to water, since access to water

is often related to land resources (Cullis & Van Koppen, 2007). Furthermore, while the white minority obtained high level access to water-related services, such as domestic water supplies and water supply for productive uses like irrigation, mining and industry, large sections of the historically disadvantaged black community had little or no access to even basic services (Ibid.). Consequently, the black population in South Africa had suffered under a double deprivation in relation to water, with lack of water services compounded by a lack of access to water for economic purposes, including irrigated agriculture (Schreiner and Naidoo 2001 in Ibid.). While there have been impressive post-1994 gains in terms of secure access to water services by historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs) and communities, various case studies (e.g. Tapela (2012; Nleya, 2011) show that there is often a discrepancy between statistical overviews and actual levels of access obtaining socio-economically differentiated local neighbourhoods. For a range of reasons, many impoverished rural and urban neighbourhoods still remain without secure access to water services.

Literature suggests that there might be a linkage between access to water services in rural and urban informal economies in South Africa. For example, the State of the World Cities Report (UN-HABITAT 2006 in South African Cities Network-SACN, 2006) states:

Cities are the engines of rural development in an environment of strong urban-rural linkages. Improved infrastructure between rural areas and cities increases rural productivity and enhances rural residents' access to education, health care, markets, credit, information, and other services. On the other hand, enhanced urban-rural linkages benefit cities through increased rural demand for urban goods and services and added value derived from agricultural produce.

The SACN State of South African Cities Report (2006: 25) points out that over the last two decades informality has been on the rise in cities throughout South Africa, largely as a result of the freeing up of urban spaces after decades of apartheid. The SACN Report sees this informality as taking three forms namely:

- Unregulated and unlawful land use, settlement establishment and unauthorised housing;
- Unregulated small- and micro-enterprises; and
- Casual labour, unregistered employment, moonlighting and multiple jobs (Table 2).

Table 2 Categories of Informal Work Arrangements

CATEGORY OF INFORMAL WORK	DEFINITION
Informal sector	Own-account workers, unpaid family workers, domestic servants and individuals working in production units of between 1 and 10 employees.
Informal employment	Informal wage workers and unpaid family workers, who may work in the formal or the informal sector. The lack a contract, health and pension benefits, and social security coverage.
Informal enterprises	Defined by the nature of regulation in each context: the availability of a licence, and the payment of licences, taxes and fees.
Informal economy	Includes both private informal workers and the informal self-employed as well as employers in informal enterprises.
Source: Bivens & Gammage 2005: 9 in SACN, 2006)	

The SACN Report (Ibid.) further elaborates that cities, with their huge populations and abundance of public space, have provided ideal settings for informal activities, most of which are located in the retail and services sectors. This process of ‘informalisation’ has not been a peripheral event but has increasingly become the norm, largely as a result of the sheer numbers of the urban poor involved. The informalisation process is no longer restricted to the illegal invasion of land by new arrivals to the city or areas populated by the poor, but “the whole fabric and being of the South African city is subject to different degrees of informalisation, formalisation and attempts at re-formalisation” (p. 25). A number of recent case studies (e.g. Nleya, 2011; Tapela, 2012a, 2009; Atkinson) document the effects of informalisation, formalisation and re-formalisation processes on access to water services in South African urban contexts. While these studies show that insecurity of access to water – in terms of quality and quantity – affects both the poor and non-poor, it is the poorest, unemployed and most vulnerable residents of informal urban settlements and isolated rural settlements (Tapela, 2012b) that are most critically affected.

Various analysts (e.g. Alexander, 2010); Naidoo, 2009; SAPA, 2007) frame the political context of social protests in terms of the progression from the ‘Mbeki era’ to the ‘Zuma era’ (Box 1). The analysts argue that inequalities in the distribution of resources have caused a state of wrath that is directed towards government by the poor population of South Africa. This has had a direct effect on the increase of violent social protests from the poor.

“During Thabo Mbeki’s term in office despite faster economic growth the rapid rise of a black middle class, wealth is still not trickling down to the poor, prompting action to uplift a “second economy” characterised by sprawling slums and poverty that is fuelling some of the highest rates of crime in the world. Residents are still engaging in violent protests demanding better housing, faster access to electricity, clean drinking water and sewage facilities”
(SAPA, 2007:1).

Box 1 Excerpt from a pre-Polokwane discussion on the South African policy challenge

Since 2008, when South Africa was hit by a series of protests associated with xenophobia, there has been a sharp increase in protest action in general. Poverty, unemployment and dissatisfaction with the delivery of social services have been cited among the key driving forces behind these protests. For example, the spokeswoman of the ‘Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in SA’, Ms Gwada Majange, stated that some of the six incidents reported were examples of a new type of xenophobic attack, which originated from protests about service delivery or unemployment” (SAPA, 2012:1).

According to Kunene (2010:1) the increase in xenophobic attacks in South Africa cries out not only for effective strengthening of security measures but political accountability and commitment to addressing the root causes of protests as well as lack of decent housing, sanitation, jobs, corruption and political representation for poor South Africans. It appears that the protesters believe that government is not doing enough to improve their standard of living. “Their perception is that their living conditions are poor while there are immigrants who come into South Africa to take away their wealth and jobs” (Kunene, 2010:1). Such incidents bypass the debate whether or not service delivery is really the cause of social protests but it broadens the scope of the discourse.

2.2.1.2 Effect of Intergovernmental Relations on Service Delivery

Tilly (2004:30) defines social protests as democratic and undemocratic repertoires of contention. Democratic contention takes place in or adjacent to prescribed regimes and tolerated forms of political participation. When people are unhappy with government they turn to undemocratic forms of contention in such situations people rarely adopt tolerated forms of political interactions. In light of Tilly’s view above, this section examines social protests and service delivery issue in terms of the concept of ‘social water scarcity’ (Tapela, 2012) and inter-governmental relations. However, this is not to ignore the existence of other factors linked to the causes of social protests.

In 1994 when South Africa became a democratic state, government was faced with the task of transforming a society built on centuries of racial segregation and apartheid, resulting in wide differences in levels of income and development into a state based on equality. In order to achieve equality government had to democratize state institutions, redress inequality and extend services to all people. The transformation and democratization of state institutions entailed the decentralization of authority across three spheres, as prescribed in Section 40 of the Constitution (South Africa, 1996). This section states that “government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated”. The term ‘distinctive’ reflects that each sphere exists in its own right, is the final decision-maker on a defined range of functions and is accountable to its constituency for its decisions. By contrast, the national government is exclusively responsible for national defence, foreign affairs, the criminal justice system, higher education, water and energy resources and administrative functions such as home affairs and tax collection. Responsibility for water services is delegated to district municipalities, who are designated as Water Services Authorities (WSAs). These may either assume direct responsibility for water services provision or delegate this function to Schedule One local municipalities, private water utilities (i.e. water boards) and/or other water service providers.

The bulk of social services, however, are shared competencies between the national and provincial governments. They include school education, health services, social security and welfare services, housing and agriculture. In these areas the national government is responsible for policy formulation, determining regulatory frameworks including setting norms and standards, and overseeing the implementation of these functions. The provinces' function is largely that of implementation within the national framework. Municipalities are responsible for the provision of basic services, such as water, electricity, refuse-removal, and municipal infrastructure. These functions are performed within nationally and provincially set regulatory frameworks. Local government in South Africa is also meant to be the sphere of government exhibiting the maximum levels of participatory, accountable, transparent and representative engagement with communities. According to Layman (2003:23) as a key site of service delivery and socio-economic development, local government should play its rightful role in intergovernmental relations, without its full participation, the vital contribution of communities will be missing. “In many instances local government is not included in the provincial and national intergovernmental relations forums because these forums are not institutionalised” Layman (2003:22).

Another issue relating to the ineffectiveness of intergovernmental relations is fragmented planning, which results in mis-alliance between programme design and community needs

and opportunities. Layman (2003:23) further states that intergovernmental relations forums by themselves cannot constitute co-operative governance, it is the systems and processes they produce and implement in the spheres that make co-operative governance work. According to Kunene (2010:1) many of the protestors are alienated from the state as a whole, not just in local government. Kunene (2010:1) further states that the protests are also about many issues that do not fall within the competency of local government or are not its core responsibilities. They are also about housing, jobs, health, crime and other issues. The protests are about the failures of service delivery of all three spheres of government, even if municipalities are being targeted.

2.2.2 SOCIAL PROTEST TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER 2004

2.2.2.1 Review of Barometric Trends and Analyses

Since the watershed post-1994 defiant protest march in Johannesburg during the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) brought South Africa's "water apartheid" to the fore (according to Bond & Dugard, 2008), waves of violent protests have exponentially increased in frequency and geographical distribution. Studies (e.g. Tapela, 2013, 2012; Municipal IQ, 2012; MLGI, 2012; Alexander, 2012; Ngwane, 2012) show that the year 2012 has been characterized by a significant and unprecedented increase in the spread and frequency of social protests across the country. Protest tracking by the MLGI (Figure 2) shows the dynamism of trajectories by province over a 5-year period from 2007 to 2012.

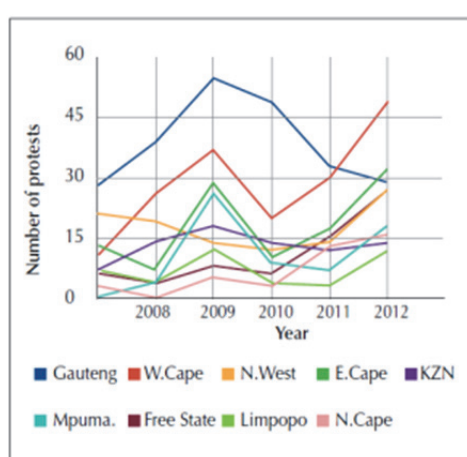


Figure 2 South Africa: Number of Overall Protests per Province, February 2007 to August 2012¹

¹ Source: MLGI, 2012b

The documented trends show that until 2011, Gauteng Province commanded the highest proportion of protests, which peaked in 2009 at approximately 53 protests for the year. Between 2004 and this year Gauteng accounted for almost one-third of protests on the Hotspots Monitor but in 2012 it has fallen to a mere 11% whereas the Western Cape has risen to 25% from a more modest 17% since 2004 (Municipal IQ, 2012b). Indeed since 2012, the Western Cape has become the main hub of protest action, with a record peak frequency of nearly 50 protests for the year, which continues to increase. Similar but less pronounced trends are evident in the cases of the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, the Free State, Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. An anomalous trend is observable in the North West Province, in which the pre-2008 peak, which is often associated with the protests in Khutsong and in the mines, progressively declines until the frequency rises again in 2011, contract to the 2009 spike commonly experienced by all other provinces.

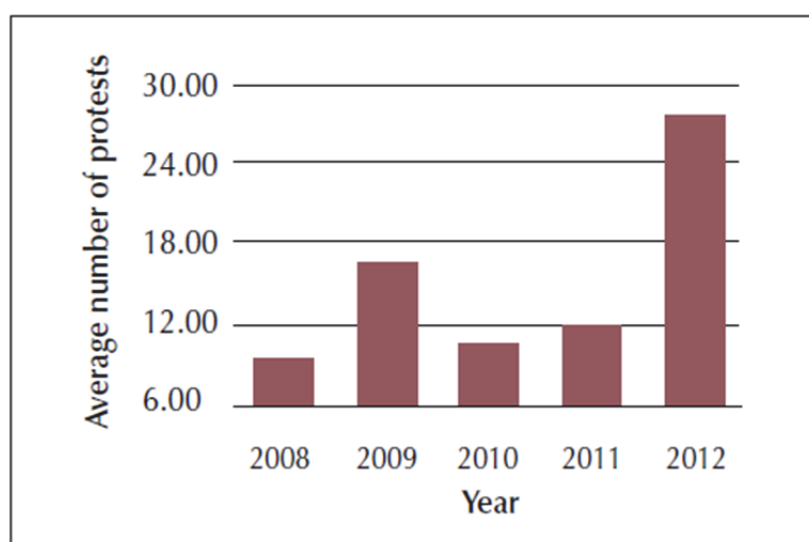


Figure 3 Average number of protests per month, February 2007 to August 2012²

MLGI barometric data analysis (Figure 3) resonates with observations by various scholars and practitioners that prior to the on-going (2013-2015) wave of protests, the frequency of protests peaked in 2009 (Municipal IQ, 2012b; Allan & Heese, 2009; Gouws et al., 2009; Sinwell et al., 2009; Nleya, 2011; Thompson et al., 2011), then dipped in 2010 and 2011 only to spike upwards to the highest ever recorded levels in 2012 (Alexander, 2012; Ngwane, 2012; Municipal IQ, 2012b). These trends have been linked to a number of factors, principally including the ‘timing’ of protest events. Perusal of a multiplicity of media articles

² Source: MLGI, 2012b

and scholarly works since 2004 strongly suggests that the timing of protests is linked to ‘seasons’ and events.

Regarding the seasonal effects, the Municipal IQ (2012b), for example, forewarns that “With winter approaching with its electricity and other service hikes the impatience shown by those who felt e-tolling was an unaccountable service should be heeded. With no time for complacency communities must be heard”. This view is confirmed by the MLGI (2012b), which uses Municipal IQ data but different methods of analysis (i.e. an expanded definition of ‘community protests’). Figure 4 depicts results of the MLGI barometer. These clearly show that with the exception of the year 2010, when South Africa hosted the ‘FIFA World Cup’ in the winter weeks between June 11 and July 11, protests have invariably tended to show a seasonal peak in winter. While the reasons for this trend have largely been based on “informed speculations and scholarly generalizations based on careful study of particular dramatic events” there is a need to move towards “an exact science that strives for reliability and application of a systematic and quantitative methodology based on larger samples and a wider range of protest events” (according to Ngwane, 2012: 8).

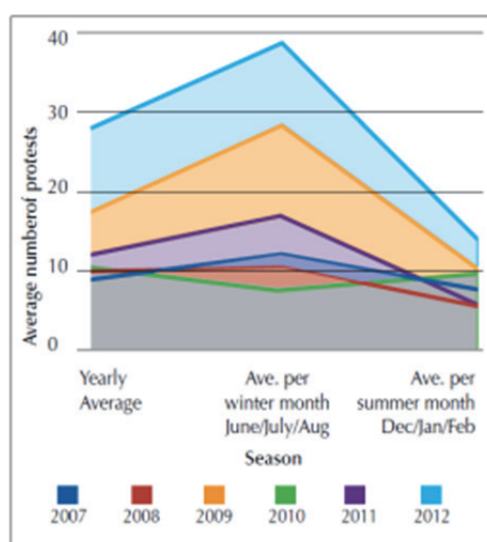


Figure 4 South Africa: Average Number of Protests per month by Season and Year³

Principal among the events that influence the timing of protests are the periodic local and national government elections and the attendant political dimensions of African National Congress (ANC) leadership transitions, particularly from the so-called ‘Mbeki era’ to the ‘Zuma era’ (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Naidoo, 2009). Also linked to these political events are

³ Source: MLGI, 2012b

episodes of intra-political party fracturing. Specific landmarks in this regard include the strife that occurred in the build-up to the 2009 Polokwane congress, led to leadership change and split the ANC into two factions, one of which became a splinter party named 'Congress of the People' (COPE). It is not clear, however, to what extent the poverty-focused discourses that accompanied Zuma's campaign for accession to the Presidency contributed to the 2008 outbreak of widespread xenophobic violence, which mainly targeted black African immigrants in low income townships and informal settlements. It seems plausible though that the same campaign messages that hinged upon popular sentiment to gain political mileage for the Zuma faction became the vehicles by which much of the post-2009 dissatisfaction over unmet expectation has found expression in violent protest action.

The 2012 peak wave of protests was closely followed by the ANC congress, which was held in Mangaung (Free State) in 2013. While intra-party political dynamics at the national level have been a significant recurrent factor, inter-party competition for control over the local political 'action space' (according to Giddens, 1979) has similarly been cited in protests ascribed to ANC and Democratic Alliance (DA) contestations⁴. While 'social' water scarcity (see Tapela, 2012a) might be a real issue in certain localities, the so-called 'toilet-sagas' within municipalities led by both parties in the Western Cape and the Free State attest to the need for research to exercise greater circumspection in investigating the link between social protests and water (and sanitation) service delivery.

The Municipal IQ (2012b) comments that one of the encouraging features of the 2011 protests was a lull around local government elections. The lull, according to the Municipal IQ report, suggests that political engagement with communities can channel frustrations and that protest action is often a last resort. The report further states that "in fact protests often follow failed engagements in which memorandums and petitions are ignored or inadequately dealt with". This summation echoes the findings from rapid appraisals of local level 'hot spots' (e.g. Alexander, 2010).

Other events are more *ad hoc* or are once-off occurrences. High-profile examples among these include the recent public uproar over the introduction of an unpopular and contested e-tolling system in Gauteng and the 'FIFA World Cup' of 2010, which was an international soccer tournament held in South Africa from 11 June to 11 July 2010.

The Municipal IQ (2012b) highlights that a problem with analysing social protest trends is that they "tend to be lumpy" and therefore hard to surmise. For example, both 2009 and

⁴ See the note on Page 2 about the front cover picture of this report.

2011 experienced a rise in the second quarter but both years also had quieter first quarters than that of 2012. By contrast, the busier first quarter of 2010 saw “a tailing off” in the second quarter, which makes a trend hard to construe. The report further comments that that interesting and useful insights on whether or not “the first quarter’s spike will be sustained for the rest of the year” might be discerned through considering the recent past in order to understand the driving forces behind the current year’s (2012) protests, which have “a markedly different provincial breakdown from previous years”. The report concludes by commenting that many protests in 2012 have had complex motivations, with racial and political undercurrents either catalysing protests or adding to their fury.

The foregoing allusion by the Municipal IQ to the anger that characterizes many of the numerous protests that have erupted in the Western Cape in 2012 is succinctly captured in the MLGI (2012b) graphic depiction of an discernible increase in the percentage of violent protests from 2007 to 2012 (Figure 4). The rise in 2012 of violent protests, however, is not confined to the Western Cape but is evident in all provinces except Gauteng (Figure 6). This trend has been marked in all affected provinces except KwaZulu-Natal, which shows a gradual build-up of violent protests.

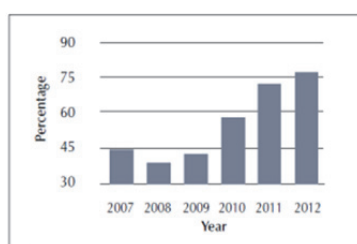


Figure 5 South Africa: Overall Percentage of Violent Protests, February 2007 to August 2012

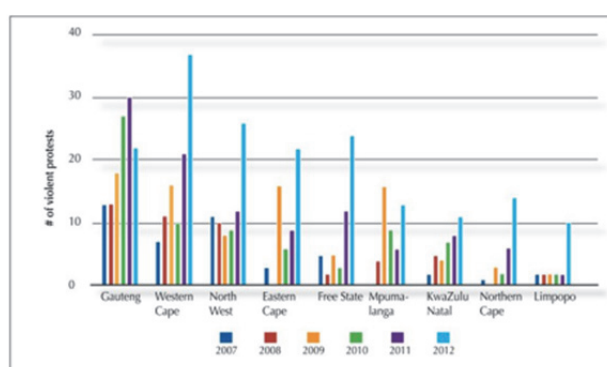


Figure 6 South Africa: Violent Protests per year by Province, 2007 to 2012⁵

⁵ (Source, MLGI, 2012b)

2.2.2.2 Discussion

When the above trend towards violence is juxtaposed with DWA and StatsSA data on access to basic water supply and microbial and chemical compliance (Table 3; Figure 7)⁶, a number of mismatches emerge between the provincial frequencies of protests and reported security of access to water services. For example, KwaZulu-Natal has the lowest level of secure access to water services, and also the most gradual build-up of violent protests among affected provinces. By contrast, the Western Cape has an impressively high levels (99.8%) of water access (theoretically, according to existing statistics whose validity is questioned owing to lack of reliable data on informal settlement populations), and significantly the highest frequency of violent protests in 2012. Comparatively, the Free State is reported to have achieved universal access (100%) to water services, and yet has a relatively high number of violent protests. At the same time, media and scholarly reports clearly show that Free State data differs from the levels of access obtaining on the ground, as evidenced by cases such as Ficksburg and Philippolis, among others (Atkinson, 2007).

Table 3 South Africa: Water Security, in terms of Quality and Access, 2008/9

Province	Microbiological and Chemical Compliance#	Access to basic water supply*
Eastern Cape	96%	54.1%
Free State	99%	89.6%
Gauteng	99%	88.4%
Kwazulu-Natal	85%	63.9%
Limpopo	97%	56.3%
Mpumalanga	77%	72.5%
North West	0%	72.5%
Northern Cape	81%	85.6%
Western Cape	95%	92.0%
Total	94%	74.4%

⁶ Sources: DWA Water Services National Information Systems (WS NIS); DWAF, 2009; StatsSA, 2008:54

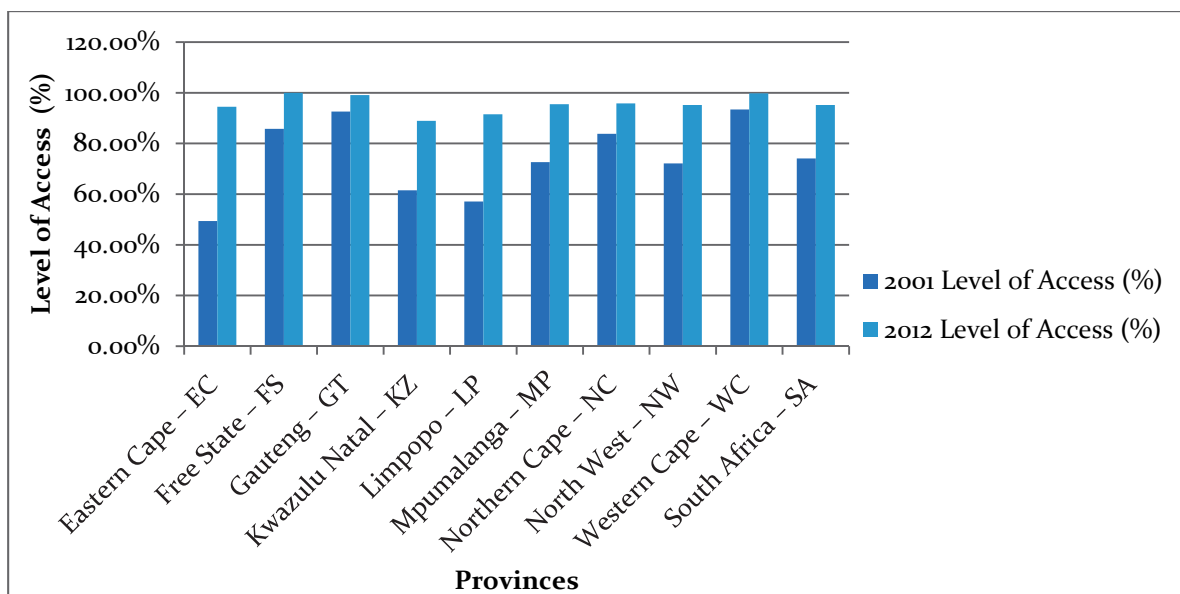


Figure 7 South Africa: Reported Water Access Levels by Province, 2001 and 2012⁷

Similar contradictions are revealed when demographic trends (Figure 8) are compared with trends toward increasing frequency of social protests in general and violent protests in particular. Views have been expressed (e.g. Naidoo, 2009; Hart, 2008; SACN, 2006; Huchzermeyer, 2004; McDonald & Smith, 2002) that municipal water services planning and budgeting have not responded robustly enough to the rapid urbanization, mostly evident in the mushrooming of informal settlements. While this is evidently true in many local instances, from a macro-level perspective, the highest net increase in population from 2001 to 2012 has been in the Gauteng province, where the significantly high peak population of 2012 contrast with the declining levels of social protests in 2012. Such evidence reiterates the need for in-depth and widespread research at micro-levels, both to compliment and groundtruth national, provincial and municipal level overviews.

⁷ Sources: DWA Water Services National Information Systems (WS NIS); DWAF, 2009; StatsSA, 2008:54

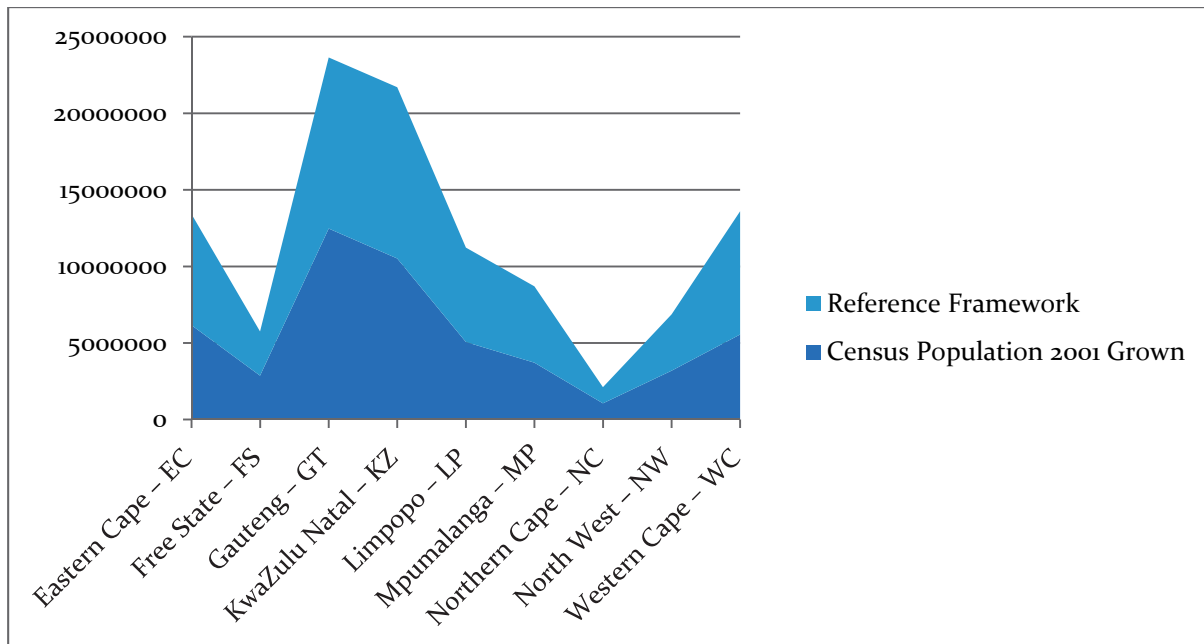


Figure 8 South Africa: Population per Province, 2001 and 2012

While these contradictions might indicate the presence of other underlying factors than water service delivery, they also point to possible mismatches between meso- and macro-level perceptions of ‘access’ and micro-level experiences of unmet expectations of access to water. Indeed Heese & Allen (2009 in Tapela, 2012a), who are affiliated to Municipal IQ, comment that contrary to popular perceptions, Municipal IQ data suggests that protests do not necessarily take place in the poorest municipalities. Data also shows that protests do not typically take place in municipalities or wards with the worst backlogs in service delivery (Ibid.). The contradictions further point to a need for this study’s in-depth research to examine the institutional monitoring arrangements at the local level.

The foregoing point of view is better understood in terms of the World Bank’s ‘Social Accountability Framework for South Africa (The World Bank, 2011) (Figure 9). This framework puts forward the notion of a three-way ‘compact’ between i) the politician/policymaker, ii) the service provider and iii) the citizen/clients. The compact is “the broad, long-term relationship of accountability connecting policymakers to organizational providers [who increase the internal capacity of the state to deliver services. However, the compact] is usually not as specific or legally enforceable as a contract” (p. 33). Within the triad, public sector management reform is the primary instrument often advocated for improving this relationship. As such, reforming the compact can be narrowly interpreted to imply that it is made up of internal public service management systems that can be improved.

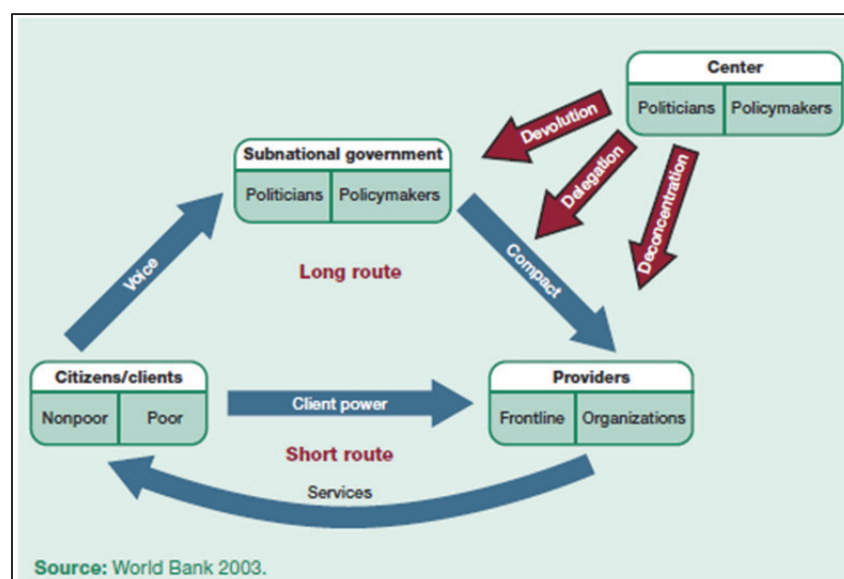


Figure 9 Decentralising Social Accountability Relationships in Service Delivery: The World Bank's Conceptual Framework for Public Sector Reforms

The aforementioned mismatches have led many scholars (e.g. Hart, 2008; Atkinson, 2007; Johnston & Bernstein, 2007; Botes et al., 2007) and practitioners (e.g. Heese & Allan, 2009) to (perhaps justifiably) point out the limited validity of the service delivery hypothesis, insofar as it is advanced as a sole variable for many of the protests. Such scholars cite a number of other causative and influencing factors. Among these, Hart (2008 in Tapela 2012: 40) asserts that amid complexity of the South African local government terrain, the site for service delivery is the “impossible terrain of official efforts to manage poverty and deprivation in a racially-inflected capitalist society marked by vicious inequalities which, since 1994, have become simultaneously de- and re-racialized.”

2.2.2.3 Conclusion

From the protest trends and service delivery hypotheses, such as mentioned above, it might therefore be tempting to deduct – at face-value – that the Zuma Era protests should be construed to be prime examples of a citizenry whose capacity to hold political representatives and public officials accountable is growing and contributing to the deepening of democracy in South Africa. Indeed, organizational and mobilization resources have penetrated historically disadvantaged low and middle income working class urban neighbourhoods through CSOs, whose socio-political networks are transboundary and transcontinental in scope. Such ‘rooted advocacy’ has indeed enhanced local capacities in demanding social accountability, good governance, knowledge management and community dialogue, among others. However, there is perhaps a need to acknowledge that, within the

milieu of on-going engagements between citizenry and authorities, some less overt dynamics might also be at play as various interests reposition themselves within the changing political ecology, so as to stake a claim on resources of high economic value.

The boundaries of the emerging political ecology are global in scope, and not all the actors operate within the centre-stage of public discourse. Indeed, the roles of Civil Society and the Media might be more explicit and easier to discern than those of the 'hidden hand' of powerful economic interests within the on-going restructuring of global political economy. This shadow side to the on-going cacophony of 'aggrieved' voices and the bustle of repertoires of contention raises the need to develop more nuanced understandings about the mobilization and organization of protests, and the pathways through which grievances over water services delivery conflate with other factors to erupt into violent social protest.

Towards addressing this need, there is also a need to recognize the challenges that limit the extent to which a study such as this can develop "clear understandings" about the linkage between social protests and water services delivery in South Africa. The measurement of the study's achievement of this overarching research objective should therefore be based upon the degree to which research develops sufficient clarity about protest phenomena so as to enable the development of practical tools for enhancing – within parameters of the Constitutional Bill of Rights – the governance and governability of water services delivery. The most important contribution by this report is not so much the generation of empirical research evidence but, rather, the Methodological aspect of using understandings gained from research to develop an Evaluation Framework for enhancing preparedness, which was study's second overarching objective.

2.2.3 DIVERSITY OF PROTEST ISSUES ASSOCIATED WATER SERVICE DELIVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The foregoing review of social protest characteristics and trends shows that a diversity of issues has been raised in connection with social protests in general. With regard to grievance issues associated with water services delivery, studies (e.g. Tapela, 2015 – this report; Tapela, 2012; Nleya, 2011; Nleya et al., 2011) identify the following cited issues:

- Problems relating to water supply, even when infrastructure has been developed and/or is situated within 200 metres from the household;
- Poor quality of water from existing supply infrastructure;
- Old and deteriorated water reticulation networks;
- Poor operation and maintenance of infrastructure;
- High tariffs (and sometimes too low);

- Intermittent water supplies;
- Water restrictions and disconnections after installation of supplies;
- Difficulties in access at night due to threats to personal safety and security among others;
- Comparison with more affluent neighbourhoods, which creates feelings of relative deprivation;
- Privatization;
- Frustrations due to poor governance, corruption and failure to address water requirements by municipalities
- Marginalization of certain groups, often HDIs, within municipal areas
- Politicization of water services issues
- Conflation of issues
- Contagion: Role of the Media and Social Mobilization

This list of issues formed the basis for the research design, methodology and analysis of findings.

2.3 REVIEW OF SELECTED PRACTICAL ISSUES

2.3.1 CONCEPTUALISING THE SOCIAL PROTESTS PHENOMENON IN SOUTH AFRICA: CHALLENGES

Due to the increasingly unwieldy complexity of the South African protest phenomenon, as well as the plethora of varying perceptions of trends and perspectives on causal factors and implications for future scenarios, it is becoming more vague what exactly the term ‘social protest’ is commonly understood to mean. It is also increasingly unclear what precisely is being referred to and studied under the rubric of ‘protests’ in South Africa (Ngwane, 2011: 3). The conceptual muddle seems to raise a number of factors, including:

- Differences between definitions that focus on a narrow range of causal factors, such as ‘service delivery’, and expanded definitions that embrace multiple related causes (e.g. Municipal IQ, 2012 and MLGI, 2012b);
- Dynamic and diverse repertoires of protests, which range from singular, dual (e.g. Booyens, 2007; Alexander, 2010), multiple (e.g. Booyens, 2011) to dominant (e.g. Alexander, 2010; Tilly, 2005);
- Varying extents to which protests are violent or non-violent, which is often linked to differences in strategies and tactics employed in the ‘contentious claim-making

routines', such as protest marches, road blockades, threats of damage to property or harm to persons and actual looting, arson and intentional injury of persons (e.g. Municipal IQ, 2012a; MLGI, 2012b), as well as variations between low-key, heavy-handed and violently brutal responses by law enforcement agencies (Municipal IQ, 2012a; e.g. Marikana, Kennedy Road and Carolina);

- Differing perceptions on legality and illegality of protests e.g. by SAPS and the media (e.g. Alexander, 2012; Vally, 2009 in Alexander, 2010) and the commonly assumed guarantees of Constitutional rights to the freedom of expression and participation in demonstrations;
- Differing permutations of protests in the shorter and longer term, which give rise to distinctions between on-going protests and short-lived flare-ups (e.g. Municipal IQ, 2012b; MLGI, 2012b; CDE, 2007); and
- Differences in terminology used in databases of various institutions, including the MLGI, Municipal IQ, University of KwaZulu-Natal's Centre for Civil Society (CCS), the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the SAPS, among others.

In acknowledging the difficulties such complexity poses for the attainment of clear understandings of the South African phenomenon of social protests, Alexander (2010: 26) surmises that perhaps this is best captured by defining the phenomenon as one of 'local political protests' or 'local protests' for short. Alexander's view is that the form of protest actions relates to the kind of people involved and the issues they have raised. From this perspective, he states that protests have included mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, toyi-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with the police, and forced resignations of elected officials.

The complexity of social protest phenomena also presents a number of practical conceptual and methodological challenges to the characterisation of protest contexts and sites in which social protests take place. While there is an established consensus that such contexts tend to be characteristically complex, diverse and dynamic, such characterisation is not particularly useful for clear understandings. It is therefore necessary to unpack the amorphous notion of protest context or 'environment' and thereby delimit the parameters of the study. Towards this end, this section begins by clarifying what the study understood by

‘social protest’ and ‘protest site’, and then proceeds to outline the methodological approach to case study selection and characterisation.

Tarrow (2011:199) defines a social protest as a phase of heightened conflict across the social system with a rapid diffusion of collective action frames, a combination of organized and unorganized participation, and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities. While this definition had useful applications for this study, it also carried some critical limitations and therefore needed to be used with caution.

The first limitation was that the definition conceives of protests as involving two types of diametrically positioned actors namely, challengers and authorities. The hazard of this is that some key actors can become relegated to a blind-spot and thereby escape scrutiny and/or be lumped up as an ill-defined or undefined ‘Third Force’, which is not very helpful. Although the definition of who constitutes ‘authorities’ varies from case to case, this report broadly takes into account the roles of various governance institutions pertaining to South African water services and related sectors. Such institutions include the government departments, municipalities, the private sector, civil society and relevant traditional leadership institutions. Recent policy developments have generated contentious debates about government’s pronouncements that traditional leadership will play key ‘partnership’ roles in service delivery within ‘traditional’ community jurisdictions.

Secondly, definitions such as Tarrow’s (Ibid.) do not sufficiently capture the more complex protests, such as protracted protests, which are not only prolonged but tend to exhibit a series of ebbs and flows of protest action over time, sometimes spanning over many years. Apart from that this demands avoidance of focusing solely on ‘protest events’, the time horizon for social protests examined by this study also cannot be predetermined by excluding protests preceding particular eras, for example, ‘post-1994 era’, ‘Mbeki era’ and/or ‘Zuma era’, since it is possible that some protests might pre-date such cut-off points. To overcome this practical difficulty, the study will document social protests in backward sequence from events occurring in the most recent wave (i.e. 2011 to 2013). The historical background of identified case studies will be traced to determine the duration of each given protest. Such detail, however, is not always obtainable from media reports and therefore requires in-depth empirical data collection. This characterisation is basically a scoping exercise that paves the way for substantive field research.

Thirdly, generic definitions of social protest might not sufficiently capture certain peculiarities associated with South Africa’s historical and contemporary political economy, particularly the legacy of colonial and apartheid forced removals, influx control, racial segregation and

inequitable allocation of resources, as well as the on-going urbanization and struggles for rights to the city and access to resources. These might have spawned peculiar forms of ‘migratory’ protests alongside the more conventionally accepted forms of prolonged protests. In this report, a key defining feature this possible type is that protest issues are either ‘carried’ or encountered by people as they migrate from one place to another. Such protests are therefore not necessarily tied to one specific place, and their ebb and flow to an extent is linked to people’s successive migrations for various reasons. A methodological question raised by this type is whether or not such phenomena can be defined as a sub-category of prolonged protests. If so, then this requires a more flexible approach to the delineation of geographical (i.e. time-space) boundaries of protest environments or contexts as well as more nuanced meanings of the very concept of ‘social protest’ in the South African sense.

Protest sites in this study refer, firstly, to the ‘spaces’ where engagement between protesters and authorities is played out through various narratives and repertoires of political action. Secondly, protest sites refer to the ‘places’ associated with protest issues, events and protesters, such as places of abode, work, worship and other social interaction. In essence, the definition of a protest site can be complex. Protest issues, events and protesters may be located in places spatially disjunct from the spaces where certain repertoires of protest are played out and/or narratives told, such as spaces of celebration, memorialization, policy engagement or other forms of public interaction. An example is the use of main access roads, major public events and renowned monuments as protest spaces for water service delivery and other issues perceived by people who live and/or work in specific places.

2.3.2 ISSUES OF DATA

2.3.2.1 Ethical Considerations

It seems self-evident that sound data provides the basis for effective institutional interventions. Among other things, the issue of data collection by the study raised some critical questions. The first was a methodological question about whether or not such unrest could be accurately predicted, given the observed ‘lack of simple correlations’ in the occurrence of water services delivery-related protests. The second was a particularly sensitive ethical question about the possible uses of research data to exert control and/or silence dissenting voices rather than to enhance preparedness by pre-empting and addressing water services delivery issues before grievances turned into protests. For purposes of addressing the overarching research objectives, practical data issues included problems with the reliability and adequacy of available statistical data, discrepancies in the data sets compiled and/or analysed by protest tracking systems of different institutions,

2.3.2.2 Reliability and Adequacy of Statistical Data

The methodological challenge of dealing with complexity in social protest phenomena is exacerbated by the inadequacy or lack of reliable statistical data to assess the linkage between water services delivery by water institutions and 'access' to water services by users at the micro-levels of the residential plot and neighbourhood. Bond (2004) ascribes the problem to the early 2000s reluctance by DWAF policy-makers and practitioners to develop understandings of linkages between social protests and water service delivery. This has since given way to a broad consensus about the need to resolve the inadequacy of data on water services delivery (Ibid.). Indeed, there have been marked improvements in databases, such as the Water Services National Information Systems (WSNIS), which is run by the Department of Water Affairs (DWA)⁸.

While government investment in strengthening the integrity of water services data is commendable and valuable, the population data component within WSNIS largely retains many of the shortcomings associated with StatsSA Census data, such as accuracy. There are strong indications that, with the post-1994 emergence of rapid urbanization and degriarization, much of the population growth that has occurred within informal water economy contexts has not been sufficiently captured by formal registry systems. Many women and men in informal land tenure and tenancy setting therefore remain outside the ambit of the state, both in terms of meso-/macro-level water services planning and delivery as well as micro-level access to water services. Understandings of the magnitude of this hidden 'social backlog' remain incomplete.

To an extent, the problem of data inaccuracy is linked to the national, regional, municipal and neighbourhood scales of data universes used by official databases, which are not amenable to the micro-level plot and household units of analysis required for developing clear understandings of the socio-political dimensions of 'social' water scarcity and water use in low and middle income working class residential areas (see Tapela, 2012). For example, WSNIS water services delivery-related data from Water Services Authorities (WSAs) and Water Services Providers (WSPs) provides quantitative statistics about delivery achievements and backlogs but does not provide sufficient clarity about the qualitative aspects of user 'access' to these services. A major challenge encountered by the study was that while the available statistical data provided useful overviews at national, provincial and municipal scales, the generalized data did not yield insights on the more nuanced qualitative

⁸ Since 2014 DWA has been renamed the 'Department of Water and Sanitation (DWS)'.

and quantitative water services issues at the micro-level. Hence the rationale to include an empirical research component in the methodological framework of the study (see Chapter 3).

2.3.2.3 Discrepancies in Protest Tracking Data Sets

A survey of literature on protest tracking shows that while there is broad agreement on the qualitative character of protest trends, quantitative information varies markedly across different data sets. This could be due to the different conceptual and methodological approaches use by the various organizations. As Alexander (2010: 26) observes, the varied nature of social protests makes them difficult to quantify, and the problem is exacerbated by the fact that different institutions use different definitions, terminology and methods of data collation and analysis. To illustrate this difficulty, the section reviews selected data compilations by three institutions namely, the Municipal IQ, the MLGI and the South African Police Services (SAPS).

Figure13 shows the number of ‘service delivery’ protests recorded by the Municipal IQ from January 2004 to October 2009⁹. The highest peak was in October 2009 (83 protests) while the lowest point was in 2006 (2 protests). By contrast, Figure 10 depicts the *total* number of protests per year from February 2007 to August 2012, as analysed by the MLGI (2012b).

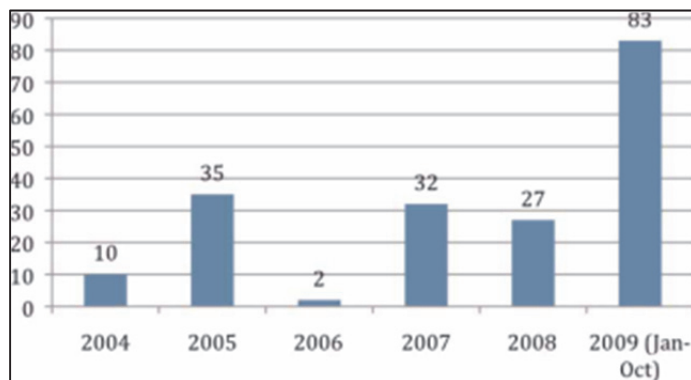


Figure 10 South Africa: Number of Service Delivery Protests, January 2004 to October 2009¹⁰

⁹ This study is exploring ways of obtaining affordable access to Municipal IQ data, which is useful but expensive. Collaboration with the Community Law Centre (CLC) of the University of the Western Cape, which hosts the MLGI, will be further pursued. However, it is currently not clear to what extent PLAAS will be able to obtain relatively raw Municipal IQ data (as well as data from the SAPS, SABC and CCS (UKZN)), to thereby rationalize the prevailing methodological differences in data analysis. Reconciliation of analytical approaches will enable PLAAS to construct contiguous and comparable overviews of protest trends.

¹⁰ (Source: Municipal IQ 2009 in Alexander, 2010)

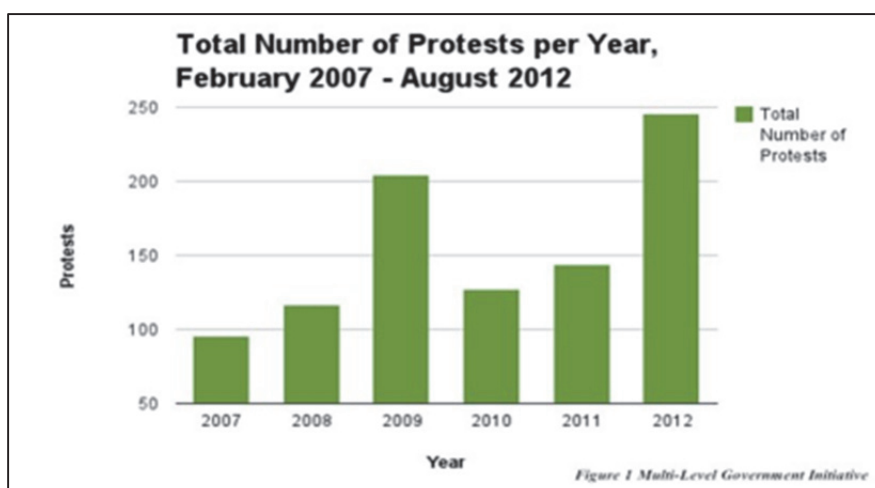


Figure 11 South Africa: Total Number of Protests per Year, February 2007 to August 2012¹¹

Notwithstanding the differences of a few weeks or months in the captured time horizons for the years 2007 and 2009, there are discrepancies between the MLGI barometer (Figure 11) and the Municipal IQ barometer (Figure 10) in the numbers of protests in the overlapping years (2007 to 2009). The Municipal IQ barometer indicates that the three years had 32, 27 and 83 protests respectively, while the MLGI barometer shows the figures as (approximately) 95, 120 and 245 respectively¹². These discrepancies are largely due to differences in the conceptual definitions of the protests captured.

Although both barometers draw from the same raw data compiled by the Municipal IQ, and although both instruments use the term ‘community’ protests, the Municipal IQ focuses on a narrower definition of ‘service delivery’ protests than the MLGI (MLGI, 2012b). Part IV of the MLGI Technical Briefing Note (Ibid.) explains that the Municipal IQ defines a community protest as ‘any “major” municipal service delivery protest where communities oppose the pace or quality of service delivery by their municipalities’. By contrast, the MLGI defines a community protest as ‘any complaint or issue cited by protesters in reports, whether related to the delivery of municipal services or not, over which citizens decide to and actually engage in organized public protest activity’.

While discrepancies such as outlined above pose practical challenges to this study’s efforts to establish a baseline from which to develop the requisite research methodology, the difficulty is compounded by the existence of even greater discrepancies between the

¹¹ Source: MLGI, 2012b

¹² No absolute figures of totals are provided by the MLGI graph (Figure 2), LGB vol 14 (3) and Technical Note.

barometric data above and that of the more comprehensive SAPS records collated through the Incident Registration Information System (IRIS), which is maintained by the SAPS Crime Combating Operations' Visible Policing Unit (VPU) (Table 4).

Table 4 South Africa: Crowd management incidents from 2004/05 to 2011/12¹³

	Peaceful	Unrest	Total
2004/05	7,382	622	8,004
2005/06	9,809	954	10,763
2006/07	8,703	743	9,446
2007/08	6,431	705	7,136
2008/09	6,125	718	6,843
2009/10	7,897	1,008	8,905
2010/11	11,681	973	12,654
2011/12 ³	9,942	1,091	11,033

The SAPS IRIS database uses a completely different set of protest categories, which seem to be determined by law enforcement perspectives. Protests broadly fall into categories such as 'peaceful incident' and 'unrest incidents' (Alexander, 2012; 2010), although it is not known how the distinction relates to that between 'legal' and 'illegal protests (Alexander, 2010: 27). Vally's (2009 in Ibid.) analysis highlights the conceptual vagueness inherent in SAPS data. Protests are also variously described as 'gatherings' and 'public gatherings' (Ibid.). For example, the definition of the latter sub-set (i.e. public gatherings) derives from the Regulation of Gatherings Act 1993, which recognised freedom of assembly and protest as democratic rights, and sought to ensure that these were practised in a peaceful manner. However, the Act did not define 'gatherings'. In practice, though, the term included 'processions' (also undefined) while events involving 15 people or fewer were excluded, as these were regarded as 'demonstrations' (again undefined).

Alexander (2010: 26) cites Vally's (2009:11 in Ibid.) comment that, despite the lack of conceptual clarity in SAPS data, "From a list of 'prominent reasons' for gatherings that the VPU provided to Centre for Sociological Research (CSR) researcher Natasha Vally, it is clear that a large majority of such events were protest-related". Vally's comment is based on the fact that reasons for protest events captured in the list include 'demand wage increase', 'solidarity', 'dissatisfied with high crime rate', 'resistance to government policy', 'mobilising of the masses', 'in sympathy with oppressed', 'service charges', and, finally, 'sporting event'. While the mix of reasons cited reveals that the protests were motivated by a wide array of factors, which include dissatisfactions over services, crime and local political issues, the

¹³ Source: Alexander (2012: 1)

quantitative contribution of each of these factors as a proportion of the total number of incidents is unknown (Alexander, 2010).

Despite the quantitative and qualitative discrepancies between the various institutional data sets, these resources provide valuable information for generating overviews of social protest trends. Such generalized perspectives afford broadranging synopses of trends at the national and provincial scales, but have limited applications for the development of nuanced understandings of protest trends, issues and permutations at the micro-community level, and the design of a robust evaluation framework.

3 METHODOLOGY

The main components of the methodological framework for the study included Literature Review, Protest Tracking and Protest Event Analysis (PEA), Primary Research, Satisfaction Assessment Matrix, Path Analysis, Water Services Issues Assessment Method (WSIAM) and Thresholds for Risk or Impact Acceptance/Unacceptance (Table 5). The rationale for this combination of methods was to avert the pitfalls of over-reliance on media reports, anecdotal evidence and/or isolated case studies. Protest Tracking and PEA provided the breadth of coverage while primary research and the various assessment and analytical methods provided the depth of insights. Figure 12 outlines the Research Design for the Study.

Table 5 Assessment and Analytical Methods Used by the Study

METHOD	PURPOSE
Protest Events Tracking and Protest Events Analysis (PEA)	To systematically map, analyze and interpret the occurrence and properties of large numbers of protests by means of content analysis, using sources like journalistic and social media reports as well as police reports, and linking such information to other kinds of data to study the causes and consequences of protests
Satisfaction Assessment Matrix	To determine the proximate factors for satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with governance, water services and other services and factors; Test the service delivery hypothesis.
Path Analysis Method	To examine pathways of citizens' engagement with authorities, civil society organizations, private sector and/or traditional leadership
Thresholds for Risk or Impact Acceptance/Unacceptance	To determine the position of individual or collective sentiment within the Threshold Graph for Risk or Impact Acceptance/Tolerance and Un-acceptance.
Water Services Issues Assessment Matrix (WSIAM)	To identify and assess key water services issues that could impact on the risk and vulnerability profile of consumers at the micro-community and household levels.

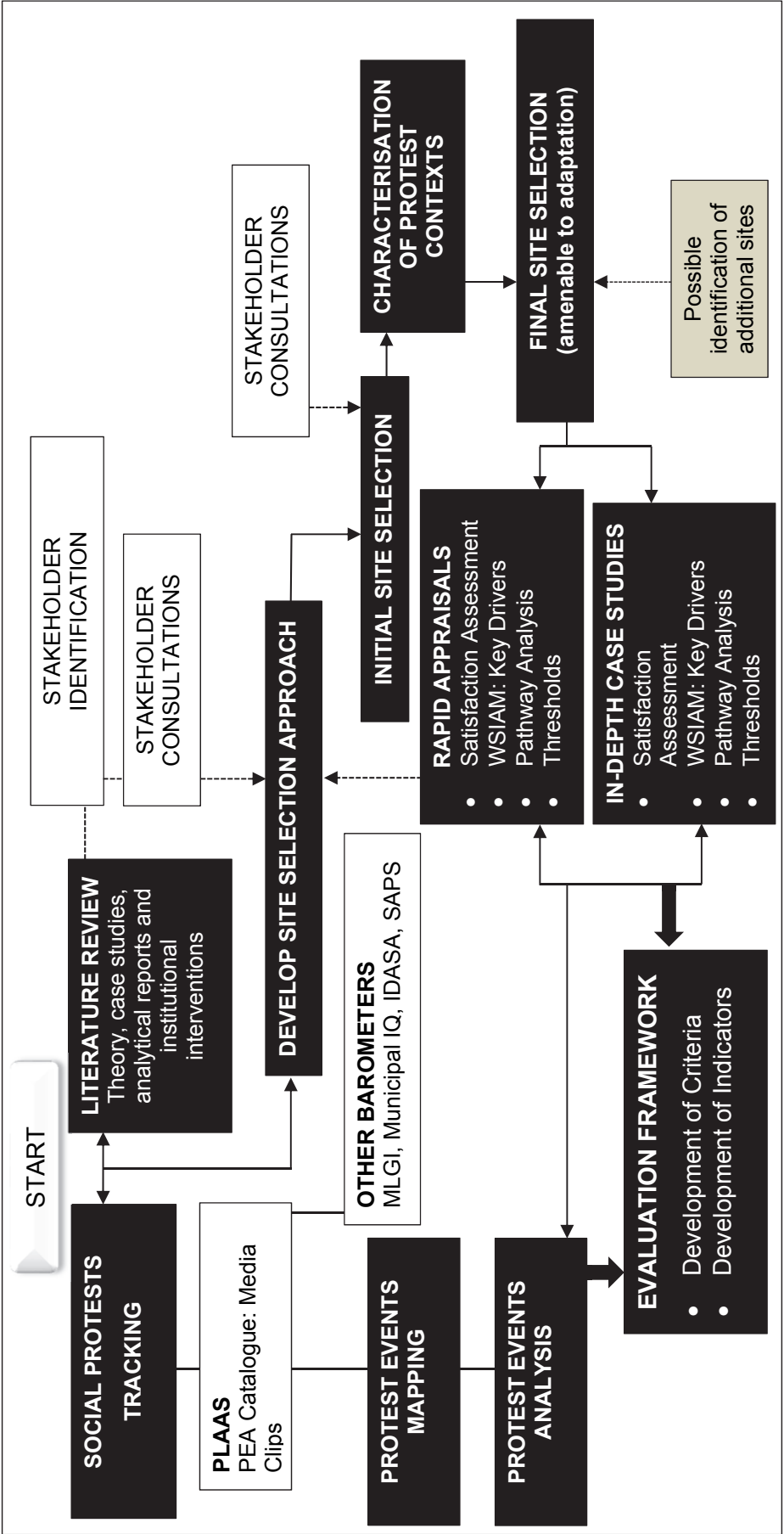


Figure 12 Research Design

3.1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF METHODOLOGY

Protest literature was found useful to developing understandings about the linkage between social protests and water services delivery. Literature sources included scientific and popular publications, research reports and anecdotal references to water-related protests. Both theoretical and substantive literature was examined. For practical purposes, however, this report places greater emphasis on substantive than theoretical literature.

Substantive literature included works by various South African scholars and/or practitioners. Among others, these included Tapela (2012), MLGI (2012), Alexander (2010), Nleya & Thompson (2010), Naidoo (2009), Allen & Heese (2009), Heese & Allen (2009), Gouws et al. (2009), Sinwell et al. (2009), Bond & Dugard (2008), Hart (2008), Atkinson (2007), Johnston & Bernstein (2007), Botes et al. (2007a,b) and Huchzermeyer (2004). Within the water sector, other than the works by Tapela (2012), Nleya & Thompson (2010) and a few others, there was a general paucity of substantive literature pertaining to the specific topic for this study.

Theoretical literature was largely cast into two constructs namely, the Theory of Grievances and Relative Deprivation and the Resource Mobilisation Theory. Among others, some of the theoretical works reviewed included Gurr's Theory of Political Violence (Gurr, 1970 in Gurr, 1985:61), Tilly's Theory of Collective Action (Tilly, 1978 in Gurr, 1985:62) and various theories of 'satisfaction' (Diener, 1994; Deichmann & Lall 2003; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2003; Boulding et al. 1993) and 'protest' (Opp, 1988; McCathy & Zald, 1977; Klandermans, 1984; Gurr 1970 in Gurr, 1985; Tilly, 1979 in Tindall, 2006; Schusman & Soule, 2005; McAdam, 2003 in Tindall, 2006; McAdam, 1986). The above-mentioned list is by no means exhaustive.

The diversity of theories attests not only to the diversity of protest scholarship but also the complexity of the protest phenomenon, and the dynamism of both scholarship and phenomenon. This complexity posed a challenge for the study, but a reductionist approach was also not considered suitable for addressing the Aims of the study. This report emphasizes the substantive rather than theoretical dimensions of protests.

3.2 PROTEST EVENTS ANALYSIS (PEA) AND BAROMETRIC TRACKING

The study drew from the Protest Events Analysis (PEA) method to develop a Protest Tracking System, which involved systematically cataloguing, mapping and analysing

historical and on-going protest events. This approach was necessitated by the high frequency of protests, which made it virtually impossible to rely solely on conventional primary and secondary social research methods.

PEA has been developed in the past few decades to systematically map, analyze and interpret the occurrence and properties of large numbers of protests by means of content analysis, using sources like newspapers and police reports and linking such information to other kinds of data to study the causes and consequences of protests (Koopmans & Rucht, 2002). The theoretical and conceptual foundation of the PEA draws from a range of social science constructs principally, Grievances and Relative Deprivation Theory and Resource Mobilisation Theory. Within and in addition to these grand theories, PEA draws from Modernization: Mass Society Theory; Rational Choice Theory, Collective Action Theories; Appraisal Theory of Emotions; Social Identity Theory; Social Embeddedness and Theory; J-Curve (Davies); Mobilization Capacity; Social Movements as Identity Formation; Resource Mobilization; Opportunity Structure (Tilly) vs Conflict Theory (Gurr); Complexity Theory; issues of Power and Powerlessness; and the 'Timing not structure' perspective.

According to Koopmans & Rucht (2002), the PEA method, as presently understood, began with a few scattered studies in the 1960s and 1970s. Early pathbreakers and practitioners of the methodology were political scientists in search of various social and political indicators (e.g. Russett et al., 1964; Taylor & Hudson, 1972), students of riots (e.g. Gurr, 1968; Spilerman, 1970; Danziger, 1975) and historical sociologists interested in explaining long-term trends of strikes or political violence (Snyder & Tilly, 1972; Tilly, Tilly & Tilly, 1975). From a methodological point of view, the data collected by these scholars was not yet very sophisticated. Their basic idea was to cover many countries, long time periods or a particular wave of extra-ordinary events. Little attention was paid to the selectivity of sources, creation of fine grained coding categories and development of well-documented rules and procedures. On the basis of such pioneering work, some scholars began to engage in methodological discussion, which led to improvements of PEA.

The growing emphasis on events rather than organizations as units of analysis emanates from a widespread recognition of the complexity, diversity and dynamism of social protest phenomena (Oliver et al., 2003). The re-focusing towards events-orientated research has been informed by views that "events are principal points of access to the structuring of social action in time" (Abrams 1982:191 in Tarrow, 2009). Past experience showed that when the focus is only on organizations, studies tended to miss important non-organizational or hidden organizational aspects of collective action (Oliver 1989 in Oliver et al., 2003). Oliver et al. (2003) states that most event-oriented social protest movement studies had been

quantitative (e.g. Tilly, 1995; McAdam, 1994; Koopmans, 1993), and Sewell (1996) argued for an emphasis on events-oriented qualitative historical research.

The study found cataloguing of events for PEA particularly useful in developing broad-ranging overviews and for the adaptive process of site selection for primary research. To counter the information selection biases inherent in PEA events cataloguing approaches, whereby only those protests that journalists and documentation agencies consider newsworthy and appropriate enough to be captured, the study used the PEA method in conjunction with literature review and primary research methods. A number of challenges with PEA remained unresolved though.

Hence, while this report considers PEA to be an appropriate methodological component of the study of social protests and water service delivery in South Africa, there are unresolved questions about what to count as a protest event as there is also no single definition of what a protest event is (Oliver et al., 2003: 221). There are also differing views regarding how far the definition of protest should be narrowed or broadened. Indeed, a key challenge for the study was how far to broaden the unit of analysis, since this has a cascade effect on the time, effort and cost logistics of data collection and subsequent tasks, such as event cataloguing, content analysis, creation of fine-grained coding categories, development of well-documented rules and procedures, as well as conducting primary and secondary substantive research at a broad scale and focus. The danger to be avoided was allowing the study to become unwieldy. A fine balance therefore needed to be achieved between practical expediency and capturing the richness of the complexity, diversity and dynamism of post-apartheid South African social protests, which themselves were further complicated by possibilities of continuity with pre-1994 anti-apartheid protests.

From the above, it is perhaps useful herein to take cognizance of the observation by Oliver et al. (2003) that the majority of scholars favour 'minimalist' definitions for data collection, which include a broad range of events, with factors such as protest size and/or disruptiveness incorporated as control variables. At the same time, however, this report needs to add value by going beyond the current narrowly-defined minimalist protest data analyses¹⁴ to capture data at micro-community and household levels of water use and water services requirements and expectations. The primary research component of the study sought to resolve the latter difficulty.

¹⁴ The exact data collection approaches (including codes and rules) by institutions such as Municipal IQ are not yet clear to this study.

3.3 PRIMARY RESEARCH APPROACH

Fieldwork was conducted both through in-depth case studies and rapid appraisals. Depending on case specific circumstances prevailing at the time of data collection, field research methods ranged from key respondent interviews, questionnaires, participant observation, transect walks and focus group discussions. Owing to observations that the very process of research could itself contribute to triggering protest action, care was taken to ensure that community entry was negotiated mainly but not exclusively through intermediary institutions (e.g. NGOs, CSOs and CBOs) already actively working within the area and/or involved in community mobilization and/or organization. Due to political volatility and/or overriding concerns about personal safety, in certain instances it was ethically inadvisable to openly gather data even through these channels. Researchers were therefore sometimes compelled to suspend fieldwork until such time respondents and researchers felt safe enough to engage in dialogue.

3.3.1 SITE SELECTION PRINCIPLES

Site selection was based upon two key principles namely, adaptation and consultation. Site selection involved consultations with various stakeholders, as well as reference to literature and the study's PEA catalogue. Drawing from Complexity Theory, a key principle for the investigation was that site selection for the study necessarily had to be an on-going adaptive process rather than a once-off exercise. Given the diversity, complexity and dynamism of social protest phenomena, this approach avoided rigidly locking the project to a specific set of pre-determined sites but instead provided sufficient flexibility to timeously adjust to the changing milieu by incorporating new sites while retaining a coherent set of sites for longer term study.

Site selection criteria sought to achieve a balance between depth and breadth of research, as well as the capturing the diversity contexts and the complexity and dynamism of protests.

3.3.2 SITE SELECTION CRITERIA

3.3.2.1 Incidence of protest action

A key criterion was that most of the selected sites should demonstrate evidence of past, on-going and/or envisaged protests, irrespective of whether such action has been reported by the media or not. However, observations have been made that many sites of water-related protests are not necessarily aligned to the severity of water services delivery problems (e.g. Tapela, 2012; Allan & Heese, 2012; Allen & Heese, 2009; Heese & Allen, 2009). For

comparative purposes, a smaller proportion of sites needed to be those characterized by absence of protests amid severe problems of water services delivery.

3.3.2.2 Association with water services delivery issues

A second criterion was that protest action in the selected sites should be associated with water services delivery, directly and/or indirectly. Although PEA catalogue data, which is derived from journalistic media reports, was not easily amenable to identifying such associations, the difficulty was mostly overcome through the use of cross-referencing methods, such as ground-truthing and reference to secondary sources, such as the Department of Water and Sanitation (DWS) Water Services National Information System (WSNIS) database, municipal records and relevant scientific research reports, where available. Drawing from the study's review of literature, issues considered to be directly and indirectly associated with water services delivery included the following, among others:

- Problems relating to water supply, even when infrastructure has been developed and/or is situated within 200 metres from the household;
- Poor quality of water from existing supply infrastructure;
- Old and deteriorated water reticulation networks;
- Poor operation and maintenance of infrastructure;
- High tariffs (and sometimes too low);
- Intermittent water supplies;
- Water restrictions and disconnections after installation of supplies;
- Difficulties in accessing water and sanitation facilities at night due to vulnerability to risks for personal safety and security;
- Comparison with more affluent neighbourhoods, which creates feelings of relative deprivation and deprivation-induced anger;
- Privatization;
- Frustrations due to poor governance, corruption and failure to address water requirements by municipalities
- Marginalization of certain groups, often HDIs, within municipal areas
- Politicization of water services issues
- Conflation of issues
- Contagion: Role of the Media and Social Mobilization

3.3.2.3 Inclusion of Violent and Non-Violent Protests

A third criterion was that site selection should include examples of both violent and non-violent protests. These forms of protest tended to use different repertoires of contention, which could also mean that they might follow different development pathways. An important challenge, however, was how to distinguish between various degrees of violence and non-violence in protest action. The study began by using crude categories of 'violent' and 'non-violent' protests, and subsequently worked towards a more nuanced typology of water-related protests.

3.3.2.4 Distribution across a diversity of spatial contexts

A fourth criterion was that the study should capture, as far as possible, the diversity of spatial contexts. The rationale herein can be linked to two observations by the South African Cities Network (SACN, 2006) that:

- a) *More recently, since the turn of the millennium, thinking has focused not just on cities but on the hinterlands of metropolitan regions – on the areas surrounding cities – and on the linkages between these different spaces. Regional economies that straddle these spaces can prove to be powerful units, consisting of “intricate networks of specialised but complementary forms of economic activity, together with large, multifaceted local labour markets”. The most important of these are ‘regional motors’ of the global economy – they are ‘global city-regions’.*
- b) *Administrative geography often hampers city government. Boundaries and jurisdictional demarcations often distract from how cities really function. The ‘flows in space’ of people, goods, services and capital pay little respect to municipal boundaries. This means that city managers and politicians need a deeper understanding of the functional geography of their cities, not just the administrative jurisdictions for which they are responsible.*

In expanding the focus beyond major urban centres, the study used the categories of settlements outlined in Table 6. These included: Metropolitan Areas; Secondary Cities not yet governed by a metropolitan council ¹⁵; Large Towns that were historically part of 'white' South Africa or constituted old homeland capitals; Small Towns that provide crucial access and services functions; Dense rural settlements, including those displaced and located in former homeland boundaries and elsewhere; and Dispersed and isolated small rural villages.

¹⁵ The National Treasury's draft *Cities Support Programme* (CSP) of August 2011 sets out 22 South African cities (in no ranked order), including all provincial capitals, that are not currently governed by a metropolitan municipality (SACN, 2012).

It was deemed necessary to include case studies located in deep rural areas. This need was informed by findings (e.g. Allan & Heese 2012a; MLGI, 2012) that although almost half (50%) of protest activity since 2004 has taken place in metropolitan areas, which include South Africa's eight largest cities, the greatest absolute backlogs in municipal service delivery are found in deep rural areas. However, logistical constraints and the requirement for investigative rigour both limited case study site selection mostly to urban areas. Nonetheless, attempt was made for site selection to go beyond the centre-stage of urban grievances, which includes low and middle income residential areas within metropolitan centres, and embrace also the outer-lying smaller rural towns and their associated informal settlements.

3.3.2.5 Embracing the Diversity and Complexity of Issues

The fifth criterion for site selection criteria was that the study should embrace the fact that grievance issues directly or closely related to the issue of water services delivery were by nature diverse and complex. This required the study to avoid adopting reductionist approaches, which attempt to simplify but in fact distort the documentation of protests.

Recognising the complexity of social protest phenomena, a choice was made to avoid imposing strict technicist views on the typology and cut-off dates for protests to be investigated, geographic locations to be focused upon, criteria for case study selection and structure of characterisation approach to local protest environments. Rather, a key guiding principles was that case studies should both 'select themselves' and be purposively selected as part of an adaptive process of learning and research. This approach conferred the necessary flexibility for research to respond to findings as they emerged and to capture the evolving complexity and dynamism of social protests.

Table 6 Typology of Urban Settlements in South Africa

Settlement type	Scale and settlement characteristics	Institutional context
Metropolitan Cities	Huge economic base plus the core of economic potential. Highest concentrations and absolute numbers of the urban poor.	Metropolitan government consolidates fragmented municipal history. Urban benefits not yet seamlessly applied to all residents.
Secondary Cities not yet governed by a metropolitan council ¹⁶	Economic potential varies from strong to weak according to sectoral base and geographical location. Rapid urbanisation and some of the most extreme levels of poverty.	Racially divided municipal history, now typically the core of a district municipality. Complex issues of planning and cross-subsidization.
Large Towns once in 'white' South Africa or old homeland capitals	A few are booming, but many are in severe decline. A relatively small number, but crucial elite population, in most cases, employed in the public sector, offers limited rates base. Majority impoverished without land or urban economic livelihoods.	Municipal capacity is stretched, institutional systems are often non-existent. The urban councils are poorly equipped to deal with the complex urban-rural interface of the districts.
Small Towns providing crucial access and services functions	Save for a few small locally significant activities, the economies are in most cases struggling and weak. Work is scarce and prospects for employment of educated youth virtually non-existent.	Municipal and other public services are in most instances weak or non-existent. Councils are virtually incapable of assisting communities. Services offered by the private sector are reserved for the few inhabitants with stable income, often a pension or grant.
Dense rural settlements (including those displaced and located in former homeland boundaries and those located elsewhere)	Often depicted as 'rural' these large non-agricultural areas are characterised by a virtual absence of a modern urban economy and services. Out-migration or split urban rural lifestyles are common.	Prior to 1994 there was no urban administration. The introduction of local government in the post-1994 era has led to a co-existence with traditional leadership control. Capacity is weak.
Dispersed and isolated small rural settlements	Largely 'rural', these relatively small areas are characterised by livelihoods that are mainly based on agriculture and exploitation of available natural resource. There is often a virtual absence of a modern urban economy and services. Out-migration or split urban rural lifestyles are common.	Many are classified as 'traditional communities', in which traditional leadership is envisaged to play more active roles in service delivery and socio-economic development, in 'partnership' with government.

Adapted from DPLG and the Presidency (2003 in SACN State of the Cities Report, 2006)

¹⁶ The National Treasury's draft *Cities Support Programme* (CSP) of August 2011 sets out 22 South African cities (in no ranked order), including all provincial capitals, that are not currently governed by a metropolitan municipality (SACN, 2012).

3.3.2.6 Capturing the Dynamism of Protest Contexts and Events

Preliminary PEA catalogue data showed that the duration, timing, frequency, grievance issues and strategies and tactics of social protests varied within specific sites at scales ranging from major metropolitan areas to localized neighbourhoods. This effectively required the study to include such dynamism among the aforementioned site selection criteria.

Site selection therefore included cases characterized by:

- Long-term and/or on-going sporadic and periodic (or episodic) protests, which dissipate into a temporary lull or low-key expressions of dissatisfaction only to flare up again. Such cases include those in which longitudinal studies have been conducted or where there have been protracted multi-stakeholder engagements and/or institutional interventions;
- Short-term or short-lived once-off incidents of on-going sporadic and/or periodic (episodic) protests, which dissipate into protracted dormancy or extinction.

In certain instances, the latter type of protest seemed to be an episode within long-term protests. A critical point of distinction between different short-term/short-lived protests and long term/on-going protests was that grievance issues had to be completely different and consist of discrete variables in terms of location and timing. In other words, this report concedes to MLGI's distinction between ongoing protests according to duration and location (categories 1 and 2 in Section IV of the MLGI Technical Note, 2012:2), but does not necessarily adopt the distinction based on the consistency of tactics used by protesters. The rationale for the latter decision is that in both the short and long term on-going protests, it has been observed that protest tactics can vary over the space of days, weeks or months, but certain common trends become discernible for each episode or incidence of protest, with violent action often being a strategy of last resort (De Wet, 2012).

3.3.3 OPERATIONALISING THE SITE SELECTION APPROACH

3.3.3.1 Site Selection Process

The researchers used the above criteria to draw up, through internal project team discussions and consultations with identified stakeholders, an initial list of sites to be proposed to the WRC reference group for inclusion in the empirical component of the study. This list served as a baseline resource for further site scoping, selection and adaptation as the rapid appraisals, in-depth case studies and stakeholder engagements progressed. It was envisaged that, although a core of sites would be maintained throughout the duration of the

study, the population of the list might be modified with time. This adaptive approach enabled the initial list of sites, which focused on Metropolitan Areas and other large urban centres, to be expanded to include emerging protest sites, such as De Doorns and Mothotlong.

3.3.3.2 Catalogue of Protest Events: Application

Towards operationalizing the site selection approach, a critical component of the research methodology was the cataloguing of a wide range and large number of protest events reported in journalistic and social media. A key challenge for the study was how far to broaden the unit of analysis, since this had a cascade effect on the time, effort and cost logistics of subsequent tasks of event cataloguing and content analysis, creation of fine-grained coding categories, development of well-documented rules and procedures, as well as conducting empirical research at a national scale. The purpose of the catalogue was to help identify the range of grievance issues; map the frequency, geographical spread and violence of water service delivery-related social protests across the country; and inform the selection of case studies for detailed empirical research and rapid appraisal to ground-truth media reports. These three objectives contribute to the characterisation presented in this paper.

The cataloguing sequence started with the most recent protests (2012 to 2014) going backwards to 2002, when South Africa's 'water apartheid' came to the fore (according to Bond & Dugard, 2008). Data sources included print media (e.g. newspaper, newsletters and barometric data publications), radio and television news bulletins and documentaries, and electronic journalistic media (e.g. electronic/'live' newspapers and RSS feeds) and social networking platforms (e.g. blogs, tweets and Facebook). The expansion of data sources enabled a more rapid access to news about events as well as access to the less conventional information sources that are increasingly used by social movements, protesters, local community groups and civil society organizations, among others. The cataloguing of protest events was complemented by reviews of pertinent scientific and popular literature and consultations with stakeholders. The project's event catalogue was cross-referenced with reports by various institutions, such as the Multi-Level Governance Initiative (MLGI), Municipal IQ, Centre for Conflict Studies (CCS, UKZN), South African Police Services (SAPS) and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). Some of the protest cases were ground-truthed. The catalogued protests were then filtered to exclude protests that had no bearing on water service delivery.

A major challenge to the filtering of catalogued protests was that water service delivery issues are often part of a range of conflated grievances that masquerade under the

generalized rubric of 'service delivery' and underpin many rallying calls for social protest action. Although such conflation reflects the inter-relatedness of social services, it also masks the water service delivery issues in question. The masking is partly due to protest narratives and repertoires that are strategically crafted around a singular rallying issue, thereby muting or silencing other associated grievances. In part, the masking can be attributed to the appropriation and casual use of the term 'service delivery' as a catch phrase, buzz word or short-hand for a range of undefined grievance issues. The problem of masking tends to find its way into journalistic and other media reports, and becomes perpetuated by academic publications and other forms of protest literature. Furthermore, the reductionist approaches commonly adopted by analyses that rely on journalistic media give a sense of coherence and clarity about protest phenomena but often fall short of providing nuanced understandings, which are critical to effective institutional interventions.

Despite the difficulties outlined above, the combination of event cataloguing, stakeholder consultation and cross-referencing with relevant primary and secondary data sources enabled many of the targeted protests to be identified, whether or not media reports specified 'water service delivery' or similar terminology. Out of the research findings, 27 case studies were selected for more detailed scrutiny (Table 2). Effort was made to ensure the representation of violent and non-violent protests; urban, peri-urban and rural protests; published and unpublished protests; long and short-term protests; as well as geographically-anchored and migratory protests. Although this paper gives attention primarily to the violent social protests. The intention is not to further entrench the silencing of non-violent means of engagement but rather to provide meaningful insights from a focused range of case studies.

The socio-economic profiles, historical backgrounds and protest experiences of the 27 selected sites were individually reconstructed. From these profiles, a number of sites were selected for more detailed rapid appraisals and in-depth empirical research. A key objective of primary research was to elicit the perspectives of residents, municipalities, civil society and other role-players about water services delivery issues, and determine how these groups interacted with each other concerning grievances about unmet expectations. Given that protests often occur within South African municipalities that report relatively high achievements in planned water service delivery, this line of investigation sought to identify the points of disjuncture, if at all, between water services development planning at municipal and national levels and water use by the directly-affected households and communities.

3.4 SATISFACTION ASSESSMENT MATRIX

Although South African post-2004 protests have been said to defy simple correlations, it might be possible, to a certain extent, to use multi-scenario approaches to predict the likelihood of social protests in low and middle income urban residential contexts. Two key factors within such multi-scenario perspectives are, firstly, satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with service delivery and, secondly, satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with local governance. This report draws on Nleya's (2010 in Tapela, 2012) Satisfaction Assessment Matrix, which revolves around four hypothetical scenarios that might occur with regards to linkages between water scarcity and people's expectations for water services (Figure 13).

The Matrix consists of two extremes and two intermediate conditions. The first scenario is a case in which delivery of water and other services and governance are both considered by water users to be satisfactory. The second scenario depicts an opposite extreme whereby water users perceive both delivery of services and governance to be unsatisfactory. Intermediate between these two scenarios are two further scenarios (Scenarios 3 and 4) of mixed perceptions. The third scenario is characterized by perceptions of satisfactory delivery of services and unsatisfactory governance. The fourth scenario, by contrast, features perceptions of unsatisfactory services delivery and satisfactory governance.

When there is satisfaction with both services delivery and governance, it is unlikely that there will be protests. However, when dissatisfaction with services delivery coincides with dissatisfaction with governance, the likelihood of protests becomes higher. However, when there is social water scarcity and unsatisfactory service delivery, according to Gurr's construct, intervening 'psycho-cultural' variables, which are said to shape manifestations of deprivation-induced anger, may at first deflect anger away from political institutions, where such institutions are widely perceived as democratic and therefore retain substantial legitimacy among even those suffering from hardship (Tapela, 2012).



Figure 13 Matrix of Satisfaction with Governance, Water Services and Other Services

3.5 PATH ANALYSIS METHOD: QUALITATIVE OUTLINE OF MODEL

The Path Analysis Method used in this report derives from works by scholars (e.g. Dalton, 2009). On the basis of a case study of Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town, Nleya (2010 in Tapela, 2012) identifies a number of factors key elements in protest generation, such as:

- A direct and positive causation between poor service delivery and protests;
- Unfavourable perceptions of service delivery, which play an important role in protest generation;
- Attendance of community meetings, which is associated with higher participation in protests;
- Higher levels of contact with government and municipal officials, which is associated with higher levels of protests; and
- A combination of membership of organizations, higher levels of interest in politics and current affairs and access to various forms of media, which is also associated with higher levels of protests.

The Khayelitsha case study also showed that the linkage between water services and protests is largely mediated through the type of housing residents live in. The type of house, whether part of informal settlements and/or formal housing, is therefore a good proxy for the level of service delivery. Formal houses tend to have internal or yard taps and toilets as well as electricity while informal settlements are generally lacking of toilets and electricity and rely on communal stand pipes for water supplies. Perceptions of service delivery in these tenure and tenancy contexts can contribute to the requisite tinder that enables trigger factors to ignite protest action.

Nleya's Path Analysis model (Figure 14) shows the importance of various factors in the generation of protests activity in Khayelitsha. The findings illustrate that the link between social water scarcity and social protest action does not always follow a linear cause-and-effect path, but operates in unpredictable ways and is compounded by a complexity of factors, including poverty, historical context and degree of satisfaction with service delivery.

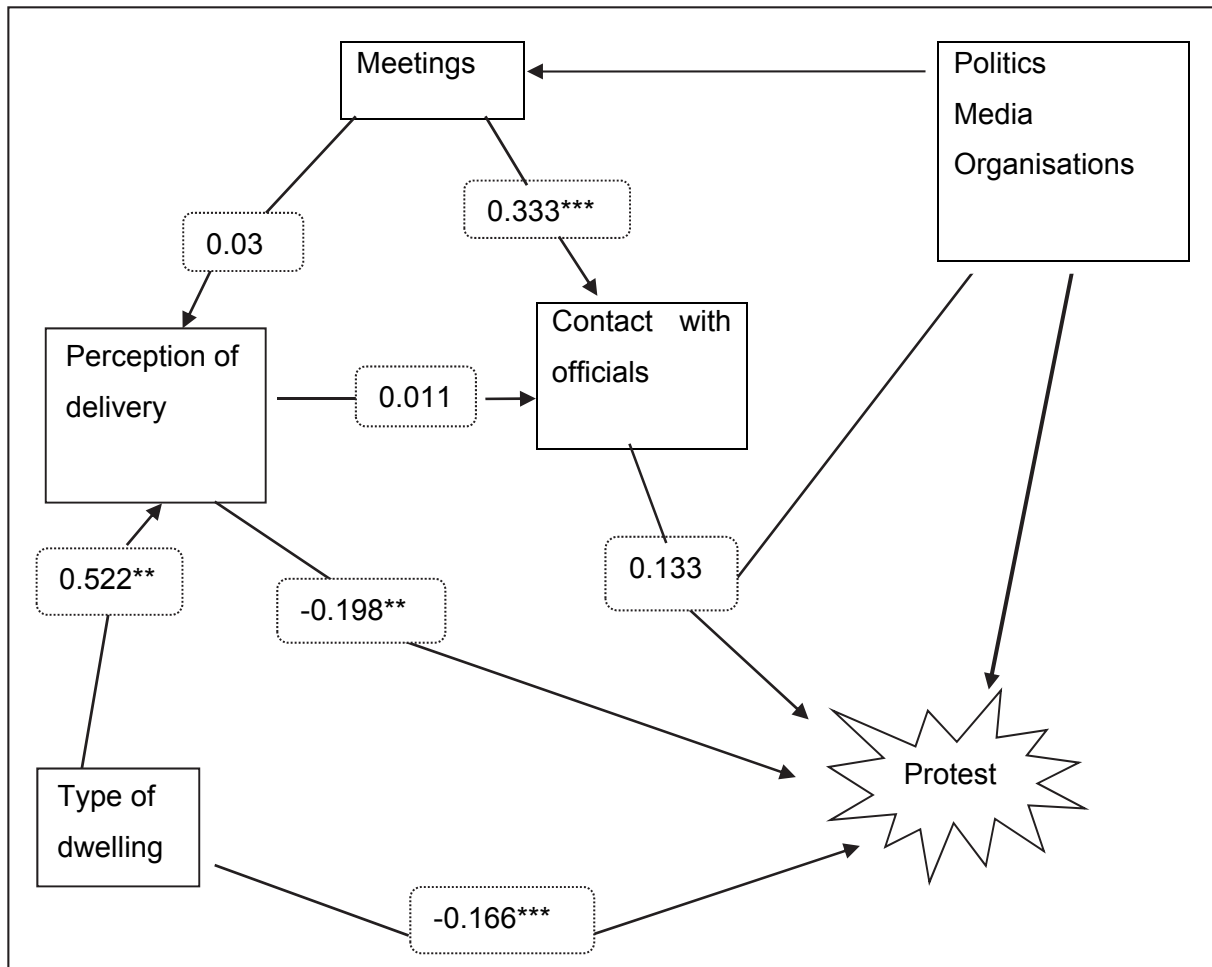


Figure 14 Path Model for Protest Attendance in Khayelitsha, 2010

3.6 THRESHOLDS OF RISK ACCEPTANCE, TOLERANCE AND UNACCEPTANCE: DRAFT CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The notion of thresholds for water service delivery risk acceptance, tolerance and unacceptance emerged in the preceding exploratory study (Tapela, 2012) and is further conceptualized and used herein to complement PEA, Satisfaction Assessment, Path Analysis and WSIAM. The conceptual model identifies two thresholds, namely the Lower and the Upper Thresholds (Figure 15).

Below the Lower Threshold is a Zone of 'minimal acceptable risk', which is often associated with the low level, imperceptible or unperceived risks associated with water services delivery standards and practices that people have grown accustomed to. Since the risks are perceived to be low or minimal, the likelihood of protest directly due to water services delivery is low, even though there could be a prevalence of poor governance by water services authorities. Owing to these factors, water services institutions might continue to

operate under Business-As-Usual (BAU) Scenarios. In such instances, BAU can be seen a comfort zones of sorts.

Above the Lower Threshold but below the Upper Thresholds is a 'middle' zone, which is the Zone of Reducible Risk. In this zone there is still some space for peaceful institutionalised or non-institutionalised engagement between citizens and authorities, and an open a window of opportunity for institutional interventions to resolve grievances and disputes, and thereby reduce risk.

Above the Upper Threshold is a Zone of Unacceptable Risk, in which the margins of risk and vulnerability due to water service delivery issues reach significantly high proportions. Dissatisfaction may also reach high proportions. If there is a sufficient combination with other grievances (e.g. poor governance) and the presence of strong organizational and mobilization capacity, the likelihood of a protest directly due to water services delivery issues is high. For the most vulnerable of individuals, households or communities, such as those with dread diseases e.g. HIV/AIDS and TB, there could be a risk that recovery may become severely compromised or impossible.

The Lower Threshold itself indicates the transition at which the magnitude and costs of 'minimal acceptable risk' become too high to be ignored, tolerated and/or accepted by micro-level communities and households. When the Lower Threshold is approached, people shift away from their 'usual' acceptance of relatively lower levels of perceived risk towards strategies to ensure greater water and livelihood security. Increases in insecurity or concerns about the loss of health, income, job opportunities, quality of life, well-being and other assets give rise to perceptions and concerns that such risk could escalate into a crisis. If the perceived impacts are reducible and reversible within the short term, then such risk is of a Lower Order, as distinguished from the catastrophic and long-enduring impacts of a Higher Order risk.

The Upper Threshold indicates the transition at which continued Lower Order risk shifts from being a reducible risk to being a Higher Order risk, which could be a crisis or disaster. Insecurity or concerns about the losses of health, income, job opportunities, quality of life, well-being and other assets may reach peak proportions. Depending on combinations with other factors, such as governance, organization and mobilization capacity, perceptions and concerns that such risk could escalate into a crisis could result in protest action. At this point, the scope for peaceful means of institutionalised engagements might be foreclosed.

Depending on a range of context-specific variables, the crossing of thresholds could be a gradual process towards tipping point or it might occur abruptly due to trigger factors. Alternatively, it might result from the interplay of both a gradual process and an abrupt trigger factor. Unlike an abrupt eruption, a water services delivery-related problem that gradually progresses from a Lower Order to a Higher Order risk is likely to be accompanied by shifts in coping or adaptive strategies, as people grapple with the shock of unprecedented stress associated with the crisis.

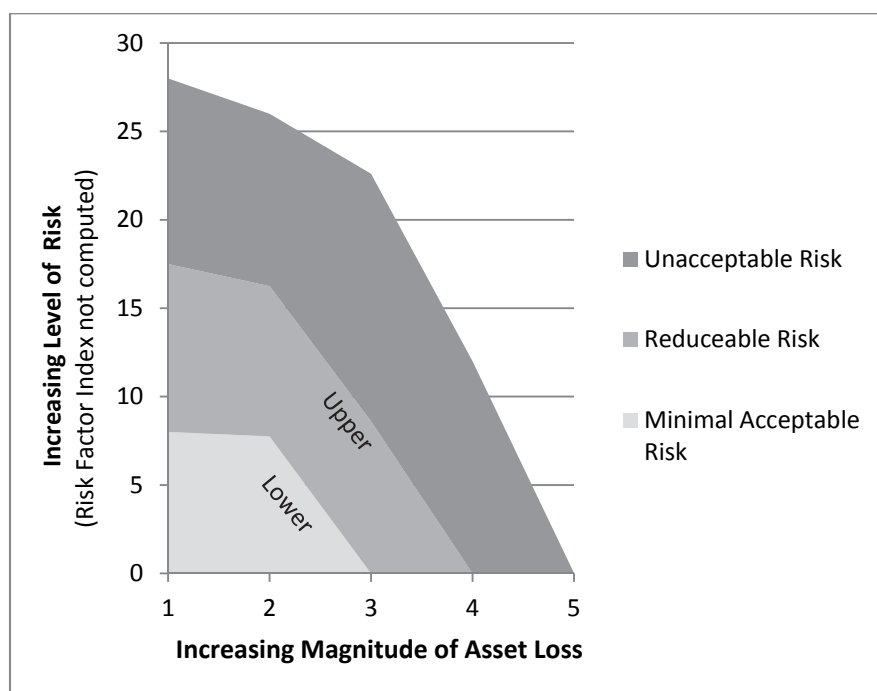


Figure 15 Thresholds of Risk Tolerance, Acceptance and Unacceptance

Before the Lower Threshold is reached, citizen coping and adaptive strategies might include engagement via established institutional arrangements, such as elected or traditional leadership and various governance structures. Such strategies might also include increases in collective or individual self-help mechanisms, such as informal infrastructure (including local legitimization of illegal connections, construction of communal wells and investments in individual boreholes). In certain instances, strategies might also include social protests, but this depends on the complex interplay of a number of factors, including perceived relative deprivation, socio-political organization, marginalization of informality, opportunistic behaviour, contagion, conflation and other less overt factors.

At the Lower Threshold, the success of coping and adaptive strategies depends on the livelihood assets, capabilities and entitlements of communities and households. Since communities and households are socially-differentiated, it is reasonable to expect that those

who are more affluent, capable and secure in accessing their rights have greater resilience and are better able to cope with or adapt to a Lower Order risk and crisis. By contrast, resource-poor communities and households, who lack the requisite capabilities and entitlements, are the ones more likely to founder at the Lower Threshold due to resilience failure. For that reason, social safety nets and social networks might be critical to the survival of the poorest households during Lower Order crises. Indeed, 'crisis' for such households might be part of normal daily existence, which means therefore that there might be a much lower, often invisible, threshold for these households, which co-exists with 'minimal acceptable risk' and beneath what commonly constitutes crisis in public perception.

Without adequate institutional responses during the 'reducible risk' phase, the Lower Order crisis might further escalate to a Higher Order crisis. As communities and households cross the Upper Threshold, socio-economic differentiation becomes less of a determinant of resilience, and impacts of water insecurity engulf whole populations with disastrous or catastrophic effect. There is widespread resilience failure, and a liquidation of many lives and livelihoods. At such point, local people's refusal to accept risk might play out in either despair, survivalist strategies or strongly politicized ways that range from violent and non-violent social protests and civil disobedience to high level conflict and political instability. While the constitutionality of such action might be open to scrutiny, failure by government to meet international obligations to ensure realization of the human right to water might rally international stakeholders (e.g. the UN, SADC and various human rights organizations) behind interests of affected micro-level communities and households.

What seems clear is that further progression along the Crisis Management Scenario can potentially lead to disaster of catastrophic margins. This is when absolute resilience failure is reached, or when losses become insurmountable even in the long term. In such circumstances, the catastrophic margins of risk are unacceptable, not only to the "small" group of local communities and households, but also to institutions dispersed at all levels and in various sectors of the international water governance framework. At such point, micro-level strategies to deal with Higher Order crisis might converge with support from external institutions. This could take the form of 'relief aid' from state agencies, donor and humanitarian organizations.

Convergence could also take the form of agitation for 'rights', whereby human rights and similarly orientated NGOs actively support local people in their struggles to attain water security. At an extreme level, such convergence could lead to a widening of views that question the legitimacy of the state. Given that legitimacy derives only from the extent to which organizations and elected representatives sustain the functions of articulating and

pursuing interests of their constituencies” (Stewart, 1998), it is likely that at the Upper Threshold, such questions could emanate from both within and outside established constituencies.

On the other hand, there might be, even at such point, sufficient political will to institute urgent change in planning practice. While such reform might lead to sustainable outcomes, an earlier (i.e. pre-Higher and Lower Order crises) decision to pursue goals of Sustainable Water Use would seem to entail fewer losses and less suffering and turmoil, and in effect therefore greater water and livelihood security. For that reason, Scenario 3 types of future planning have the greater capacity to achieve goals of IWRM.

3.7 WATER SERVICES ISSUES ASSESSMENT METHOD (WSIAM)¹⁷

The Water Services Issues Assessment Method (WSIAM) used in the study was derived and adapted from the Water Resource Issues Assessment Method (WRIAM), which has been developed by DHI in Denmark and is still being refined (Tapela, 2012). WRIAM forms the part of approaches that are broadly termed ‘Issue Based Water Resources Management’ (Nauri, 2010) and its parent methodology is Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and specifically a method called Rapid Impact Assessment Matrix (RIAM). The study found the WRIAM approach particularly useful, and therefore adapted WSIAM into an ‘issue based’ water services assessment tool.

For working purposes, the study defined water services issues as basic problems that directly affect water consumers, irrespective to their access (or lack thereof) to institutionalized water services provision. This expanded definition enabled the investigation to broaden analysis beyond issues of access to sound water services infrastructure, availability and affordability of water supply services, assurance of water supply, drinking water quality and water services governance, planning, management and delivery. The expanded definition allowed the study to tap into the ‘hidden’ terrain of perceptions, expectations, aspirations, emotions, memory and social networks. While this yielded nuanced insights for the study, it also presented a challenge to the task of developing clear-cut definitions of ‘water services’ issues, especially in contexts where such issues are conflated with diverse, complex and dynamic social protest issues. Nevertheless, WSIAM enabled the assessment of identified ‘water service delivery issues’ within well-defined micro-level contexts, which ranged from plot level, through various types of neighbourhoods (e.g. whole formal townships, housing sections within formal townships, informal tenancy

¹⁷ A detailed outline of the WSIAM method can be found in Appendix 5 of this report.

within formal residential areas, and tenure and tenancy within informal settlements, hostels, abandoned factories, absentee-landlord apartment blocks and within various types of rural settlements). Such issues are easily lost in the multiplicity of issues and the volume of data accruing at higher scales of water services planning, data collection and analysis. Water services issues are defined as basic problems that directly affect users with and without

Given the complexity of quantifiable and qualitative issues possible in any social protest context, a key strength of WSIAM – which indeed derives from the parent logic in WRIAM – is that the method has been conceived to allow the attribution of reasonably qualified quantitative values to more or less subjective judgements, thus offering, simultaneously, an evaluation of a given impact and a figure that can be registered and used later either for re-evaluation or for comparison with other impacts (Nauri, 2010). By extension, WSIAM therefore enables the prioritization of issues in specified water services delivery universes, as part of a structured situational analysis. Furthermore, WSIAM incorporates elements of Vulnerability Assessment, Risk Analysis and Comprehensive Options Analysis. Such analytical frameworks and methods are essential to developing useful practical mechanisms to enhance preparedness and risk avoidance. Table 7 gives an overview of the WSIAM process.

Table 7 **Overview of the WSIAM process**

STEP	ACTION
1	Context Analysis
2	Situation Analysis
3	Participatory Evaluation of Issues
4	Constraint Analysis
5	Identification and Quantification of Risks and Hazards that can affect a Livelihood System
6	Estimation of the Susceptibility to Damage, Loss and Suffering in the Context of Differing Risk and Vulnerability Profiles
7	Comprehensive Options Analysis
8	Pre-emptive or Remedial Action

A combination of WSIAM and WRIAM enables the prioritization of water issues within catchments (or other water planning universes) as part of a structured situational analysis that incorporates elements of Vulnerability Assessment, Risk Analysis and Comprehensive Options Analysis. Such analytical frameworks and methods are essential to developing useful practical mechanisms to enhance preparedness and risk avoidance.

4 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL PROTESTS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER SERVICES DELIVERY: 2002-2014

The term 'geographical distribution' herein refers to the spread of documented social protests and grievance issues across 'time' (between 2002 and 2014) and 'space' (within national, provincial and national universes) of post-apartheid South Africa. The distribution is depicted in GIS maps, tables and graphs, whose raw data is derived from the study's PEA catalogue. The graphic overviews generated through protest mapping contributed to a more effective case study site selection approach, clearer understandings about relationships between social protests and water services delivery, and the development of a methodological approach to identifying grievance issues and constructing an Evaluation Framework for enhancing preparedness.

4.1 BAROMETRIC DISTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIAL PROTESTS

The study used three barometers to track protests associated with water services delivery. These were:

- Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Month
- Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Year
- Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Grievance Issue

The data was collected at national, provincial and municipal scales, and subsequently used to construct Geographic Information Systems (GIS) maps at corresponding perspectives. Owing to the predominance of journalistic reports in the data sources for the PEA catalogue, many of the protests tracked were unavoidably the more violent types. This limitation was consequently addressed through field-based rapid appraisals (ground-truthing) and in-depth empirical research.

4.1.1 NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTS, 2002 TO 2014/2015

Overall, PEA data showed that water services delivery-related protests increased from 2002 to 2014 (Figure 16). Following the marked increase of protests in 2008 and 2009 and a lull from mid-2010 to mid-2011, the steepest gradients were encountered as from mid-2011 onwards. Following the much-publicized violent protest of Mothotlong in the North West Province, in which several protestors died in clashes with the police in January 2014, the volume of protests and journalistic and social media reports explicitly specifying water services delivery as a key grievance issue grew exponentially in an unprecedented manner.

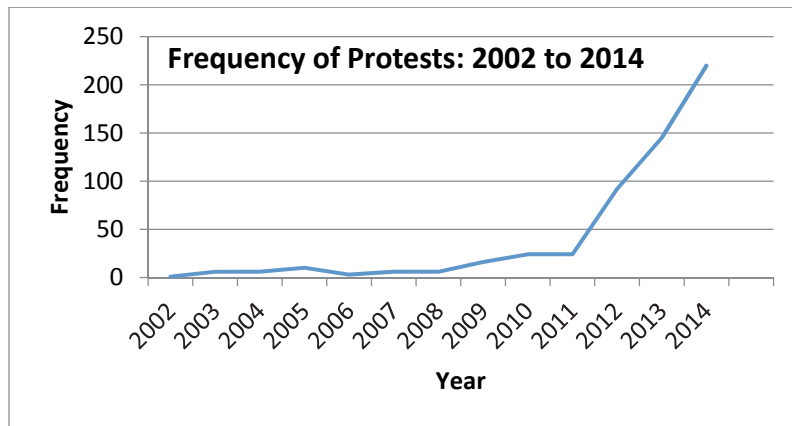


Figure 16 National Frequency Distribution Trend of Social Protests associated with Water Services Delivery, 2002 to 2014

PEA findings also showed that water services delivery related protests generally tended to increase towards the end of or soon after the end of year holiday season, with January and February being the peak months (Table 7; Figure 17). To a lesser extent, protests also showed a tendency towards seasonality, with marked increases in the cold season, particularly in July, and the 'conference' season around August (Table 8; Figure 17). Protests also characteristically increased around the time of other key events, such as elections, international conferences and following high profile violent protests, such as the cases of Marikana and Mothotlong in the North-West Province.

Table 8 National Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Month: January 2002 to January 2015

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	
2002								1					1
2003					1			1		2	1		6
2004			2		1	1				2			6
2005			1		1	2	1				5		10
2006	2										1		3
2007					3				3				6
2008					4				1	1			6
2009						4	6		2	4			16
2010		10	5	3	2	1				1	2		24
2011		5	3	2	1	2	1	5	2	1	2		24
2012	6	5	3	2	17	14	6	19	6	7	5	2	92
2013	32	14	14	5	7	14	6	16	10	18	7	2	145
2014	43	57	23	18	9	16	13	12	11	8	6	4	220
2015	5	5											10
	88	96	51	30	46	54	33	54	39	41	29	8	569

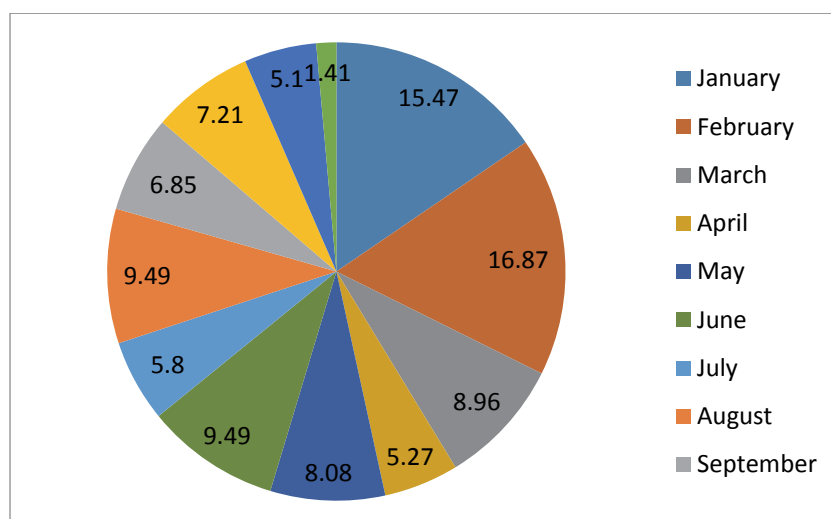


Figure 17 National Percentage Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Month: January 2002 to January 2015

4.1.2 PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTS BY YEAR

Table 9 and Figure 18 show that Gauteng has had the greatest cumulative total number of social protests associated with water services delivery, followed by the Western Cape and then, tied at third position, Mpumalanga the North West.

Table 9 Provincial Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Year

Provincial Distribution of Protests per Year															
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	TOTAL
North West				5		3	3	2	1		12	12	49	1	88
Gauteng	1	6	5	1	2	2	2	4	5	3	8	26	69		134
Limpopo			1						1	1	11	8	11	9	42
Mpumalanga							1	8	11	7	19	11	31		88
Free State				1	1	1				4	4	16	7		34
Western Cape				1				1	5	1	21	45	32		106
Eastern Cape										1	8	22	21		52
KwaZulu Natal				2						5	4	5			16
Northern Cape								1	1	2	5				9
TOTAL	1	6	6	10	3	6	6	16	24	24	92	145	220	10	569

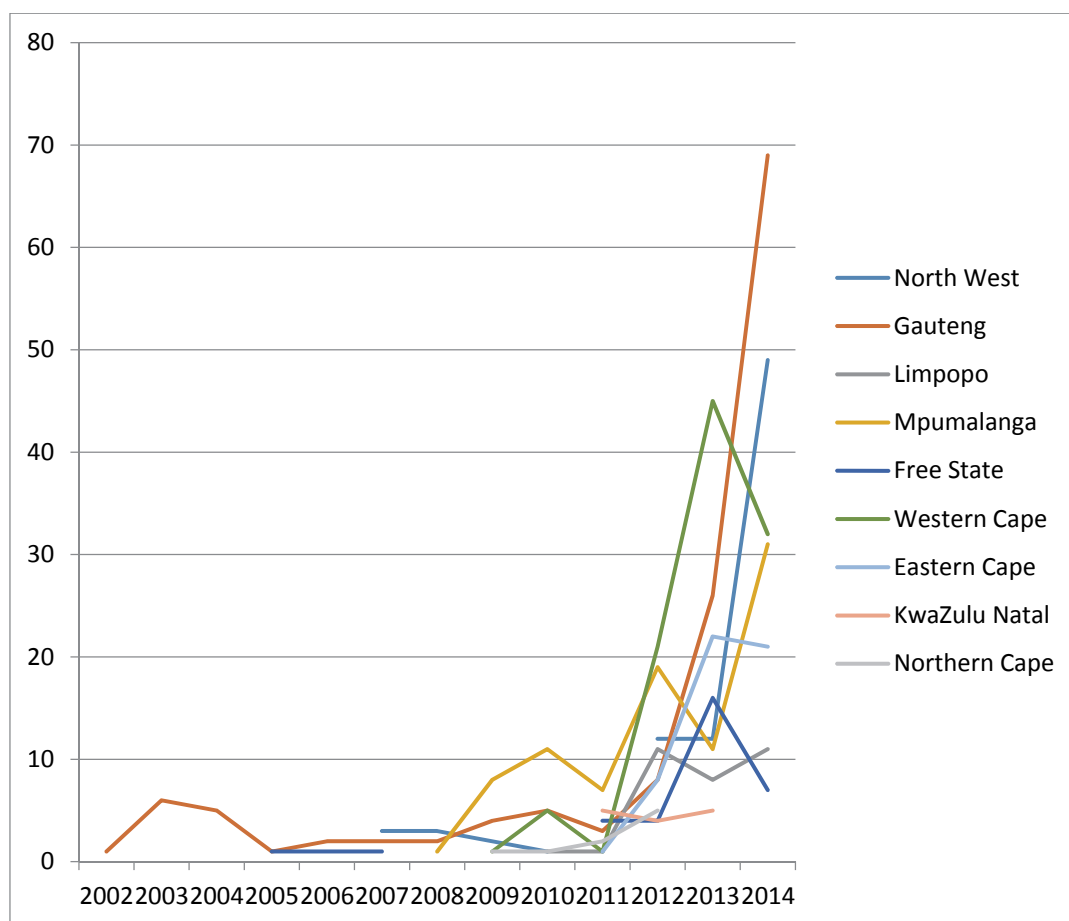


Figure 18 Provincial Distribution of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests by Year

4.1.3 OVERVIEW OF GRIEVANCE ISSUES

Table 10 shows the ranking by province of grievance issues cited by protestors in identified protests directly and indirectly associated with water and sanitation services delivery. In all nine provinces, the issue of ‘service delivery’ was the most frequently cited in media reports. With the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, ‘water’ issues also featured in varying degrees of prominence, ranking among the 5 most frequently cited grievance issues in 7 provinces. The fact that ‘water’ is not cited as an issue in KwaZulu-Natal does not mean that there are no grievances about water services delivery in this province. Empirical research shows that water issues can either be conflated with others under the generic rubric of ‘service delivery’ issues (e.g. in the case of Kennedy Road) or perceptions about water issues have not developed into protest action. The latter is particularly true of traditional rural community contexts. By contrast, sanitation issues emerge fairly prominently in 4 provinces namely Gauteng, Free State, Western Cape and the Eastern Cape. In Gauteng and the Western Cape, they supersede water issues.

Table 10 Ranking of Grievances Cited by Protestors by Province, 2004-2014/2015

North West	Gauteng	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Free State	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	KwaZulu Natal	Northern Cape
Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery	Service delivery
Municipal demarcation	Evictions	Water	Corruption	Municipal rates	Housing	Housing	Labour unrest	Corruption
Water	Housing	Housing	Xenophobia	Corruption	Sanitation	Water	Nepotism	Water
Eviction	Electricity	Electricity	Water	Water	Water	Road infrastructure		Education
Road infrastructure	Sanitation	Unemployment	Unemployment	Sanitation	Electricity	Electricity		
Unemployment	Water	Demand own municipality	Road infrastructure	Against municipal merger	Political disputes	Sanitation		
Taxi fare increase	Xenophobia	Road infrastructure	Nepotism	Nepotism	Poverty	Political disputes		
Health facilities	Women and child abuse	Tribalism	Electricity	Health facilities	Wage disputes	Unemployment		
Wage disputes	Transport tariffs		Road infrastructure	Education	Farmworkers working conditions and wage disputes	Educational staff		
Electricity	Wage disputes		Health facilities	Road infrastructure	Land eviction	Demand own municipality		
Mineworkers disputes	Health facilities		Eviction		Transportation	Corruption		
Housing	Land allocation		Skills development		Land	Nepotism		
Sanitation	Municipal disputes		Education		Working conditions	Eviction		
Municipal disputes	Corruption							
Nepotism	Unemployment							
Crime								

4.2 MAPPING METHOD

The mapping approach adopted the following methodological sequence:

- Protest events cataloguing using journalistic and social media articles in a database;
- Thematic sorting of protest event catalogues by type and scale;
- Clustering 'protest events' into 'protests', for distributional mapping purposes
- Converting protest catalogues into a GIS format;
- Spatial analysis of protest at various scales (National, Provincial, municipal and ward);
- Testing the implications of using this methodology for developing clear understanding and for purposes of an Evaluation Framework for preparedness; and
- Analysis of time series and 'hot spots'

4.3 MAPPING OF TRENDS IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND VISIBILITY OF SOCIAL PROTESTS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER SERVICES DELIVERY, 2004-2014

Figure 19 shows some of the trends in the geographical distribution and visibility of social protests linked to water services delivery over the decade mainly from 2004 to 2014 (See Appendix 1 for a more comprehensive set of maps). Using 'province' as the unit of analysis for mapping, protest catalogue data showed that journalistic media reporting, in particular, has been most instrumental in determining the visibility (or lack thereof) of water services delivery issues amongst a range of other grievance issues. Despite this, Social Media platforms of CSOs, such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) and *Abahlali BaseMjondolo*, have actively countered the biases of profit-driven and 'newsworthy' based reporting by journalistic media houses. Through the use of social media platforms, CSOs have significantly contributed to awareness-creation, protest mobilisation and organization. Their efforts have been actively complimented and influenced by journalistic media reporting, in search of sensationally violent protest stories.

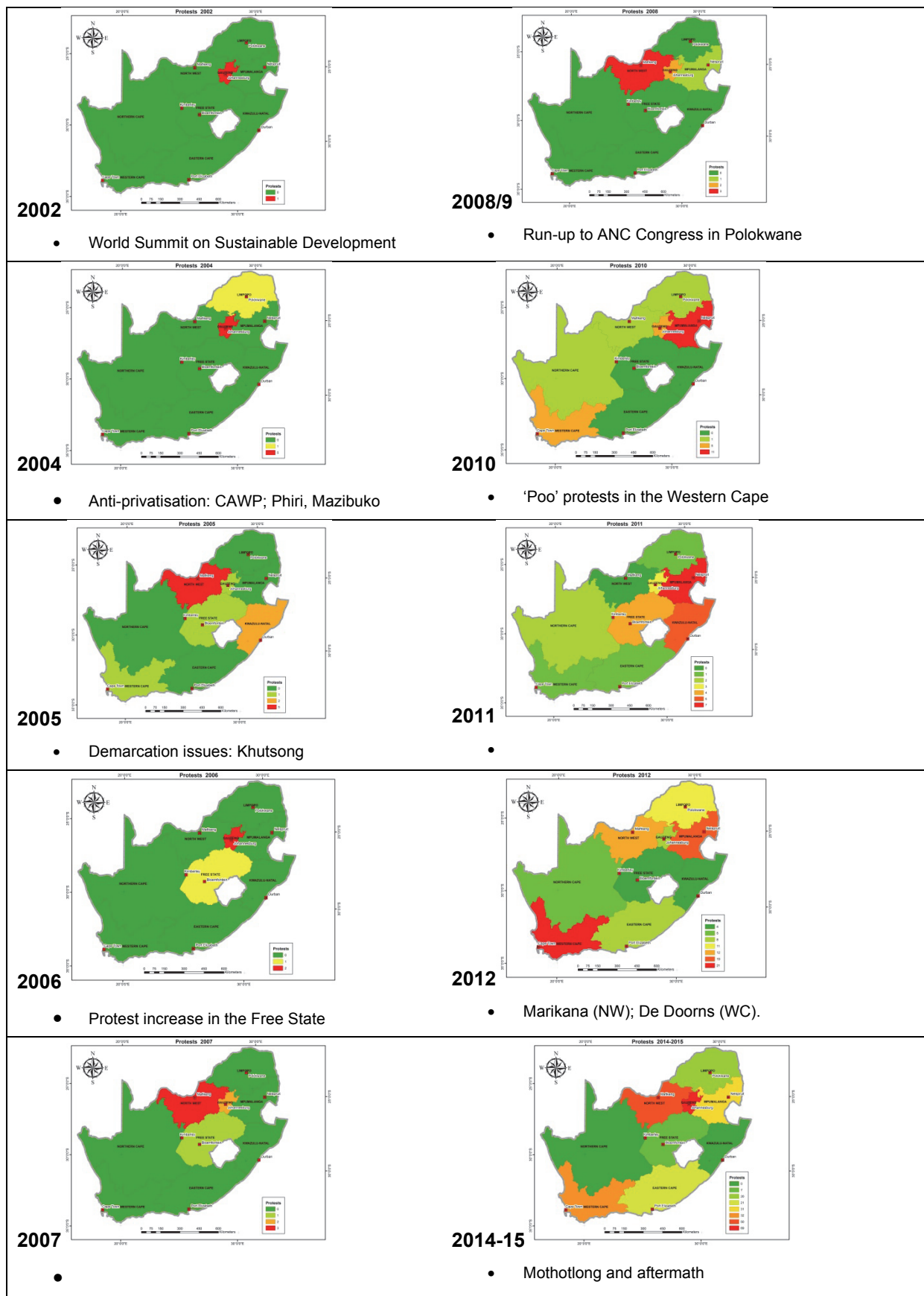


Figure 19 Trends in the Geographical Distribution and Visibility of Water Services Delivery-Related Protests: 2004 to 2014

4.4 NATIONAL OVERVIEW OF MUNICIPAL ‘HOT’, ‘WARM’ AND ‘COLD’ SPOTS FOR SOCIAL PROTESTS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER SERVICES DELIVERY, 2002-2015

Figure 20 below presents a national perspective on the distribution from 2005 to 2013 of ‘Hot’, ‘Warm’ and ‘Cold’ Spots for Social Protests associated with Water Services Delivery (See Appendix 1 for a more comprehensive set of year-on-year maps). The unit of analysis for mapping purposes was ‘municipality’. A methodological challenge was that during the earlier phase of the post-2004 exponential growth of protests, journalistic media reports, which characteristically capture the majority of protest events, tended to lump grievances over housing, water, sanitation, refuse removal, electricity and roads under the umbrella term “service delivery”. In this practice, journalistic reports acted as microphones for amplifying grievance issues and merely captured rather than probed the flagship issues strategically selected by protest organizers for efficacy in obtaining intended results. “Service delivery” was just one among many clichés and mantras that served to blur the visibility of water services delivery issues within the earlier ascendancy of post-apartheid social protests.

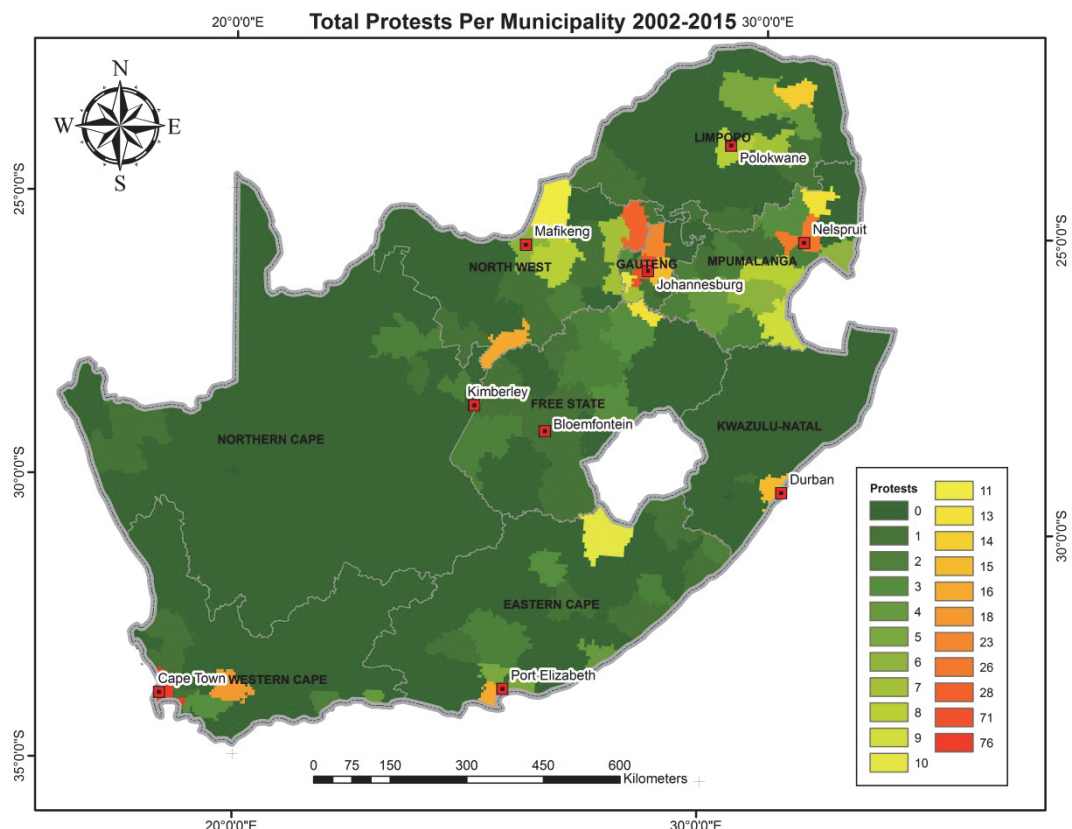


Figure 20 Distribution of ‘Hot’, ‘Warm’ and ‘Cold’ Spots for Social Protests associated with Water Services Delivery, 2005-2013: National Perspective

The study resolved the methodological challenge by using ‘service delivery’ as proxy for relatedness and conflation of grievances over delivery of water and other social services. Service delivery was also taken to be proxy for protests in which grievances were not principally about services delivery per se, but about perceived governance and justice issues within institutions tasked with delivering on South African mandates for redress and development. From that basis, protest catalogue data were analysed so as to identify those social protests directly and indirectly associated and/or conflated with water services delivery. The identified protests were then counted by municipality, and GIS maps generated for the whole country. Some of the findings that emerged included:

- Hot Spots:
 - Metropolitan municipalities of Cape Town, Johannesburg and eThekweni.
 - District municipalities of Thabo Mofutsanyana, Fezile Dabi and Breede Valley.
- Very Warm Spots
 - Metropolitan municipalities of Ekurhuleni and Buffalo City.
 - District municipalities of Mbombela, Gert Sibande and Ehlanzeni
 - Local municipality of Bushbuckridge (within Ehlanzeni District)

Findings such as these were cross-referenced with findings from literature review and stakeholder consultations. From this, the initial list of possible case studies was drawn up. The draft list was subjected to further verification through:

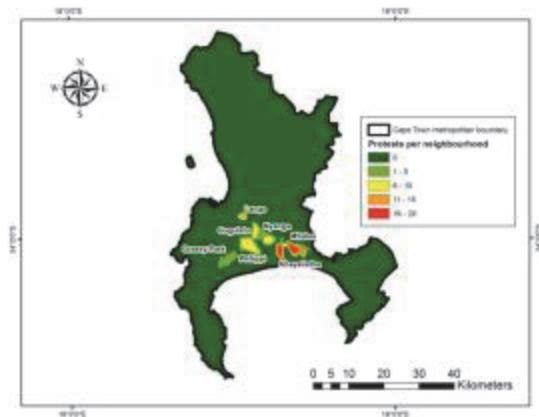
- i. Stakeholder Consultations, which involved members of the WRC Reference Group, relevant chapters of the Water Caucus, municipal officials, relevant non-Caucus CSOs and other researchers; and
- ii. Disaggregation of municipal level protest catalogue data into ward level units of analysis (see Section 4.4 below).

4.5 WARD LEVEL PERSPECTIVE: SOCIAL PROTESTS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER SERVICES DELIVERY, BY SELECTED METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES, 2005-2013

The disaggregation of municipal level protest catalogue data into ward level units of analysis yielded clearer pictures of the specific local neighbourhoods within which social protests occur. This information then helped the researchers to pin-point the neighbourhoods to be selected for more-focused primary and secondary investigation (Figure 21). For example, the ward level residential areas of Khayelitsha, Mfuleni and Langa emerged as hot spots in the City of Cape Town. Langa and Khayelitsha were selected both for the desk-top characterisation of protest contexts and empirical study through rapid appraisals and in-depth field research.

City of Cape Town, 2005-2013

- Hot Spots: Mfuleni, Khayelitsha, Langa
- Warm Spots: Nyanga, Philippi, Gugulethu
- Cold Spots: Grassy Park



Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane, 2005-2013

Johannesburg:

- Hot Spots: Orange Farm, Emfuleni
- Very Warm Spots: Alexandra
- Warm Spots: Diepsloot, Kya Sands, Roodepoort, Lenasia, Braamfontein

Ekurhuleni:

- Hot Spots: Tembisa
- Very Warm Spots: Tokoza, Germiston
- Tshwane: Warm Spot: Mamelodi



eThekweni Municipality, 2005-2013

- Hot Spots: Kennedy Road, Umlazi, CBD;
- Very Warm Spots: Sea Cow Lake, Marrianridge
- Warm Spots: Chatsworth, Inanda, Kwa-Mashu, Mt Edgecombe, Pinetown, Verulam.

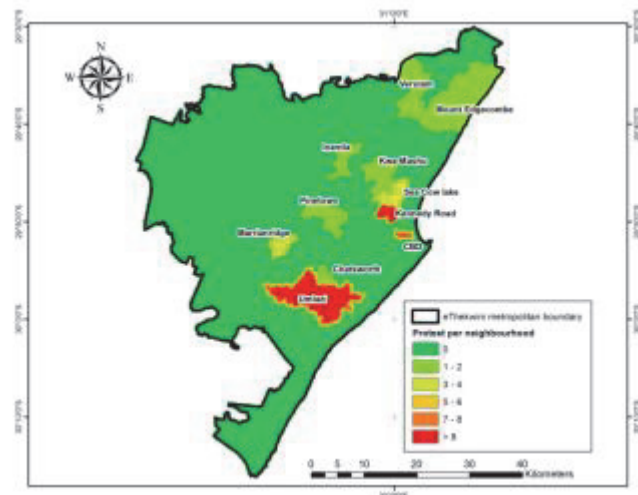


Figure 21 Ward Level Perspective: Distribution of Social Protests Associated With Water Services Delivery by Selected Metropolitan Municipality, 2005-2013.

5 OVERVIEW AND CHARACTERIZATION OF SOCIAL PROTEST CONTEXTS

This chapter characterizes the contexts within which water service delivery-related social protests occur in South Africa. To varying extents, emphasis is on the social, economic, political, cultural and historical features of respective protest contexts. In each case, attempt is made to identify possible water service delivery issues and responses (or lack thereof) by local water users, authorities and other key stakeholders.

5.1 OVERVIEW OF PROTEST DISTRIBUTION, 2002 - early 2015

Figure 22 below shows the frequency distribution of social protests associated with water services delivery from the year 2002 to early 2015. The highest frequency of protests is found in Gauteng Province, followed by the Western Cape. The North West and Mpumalanga come third.

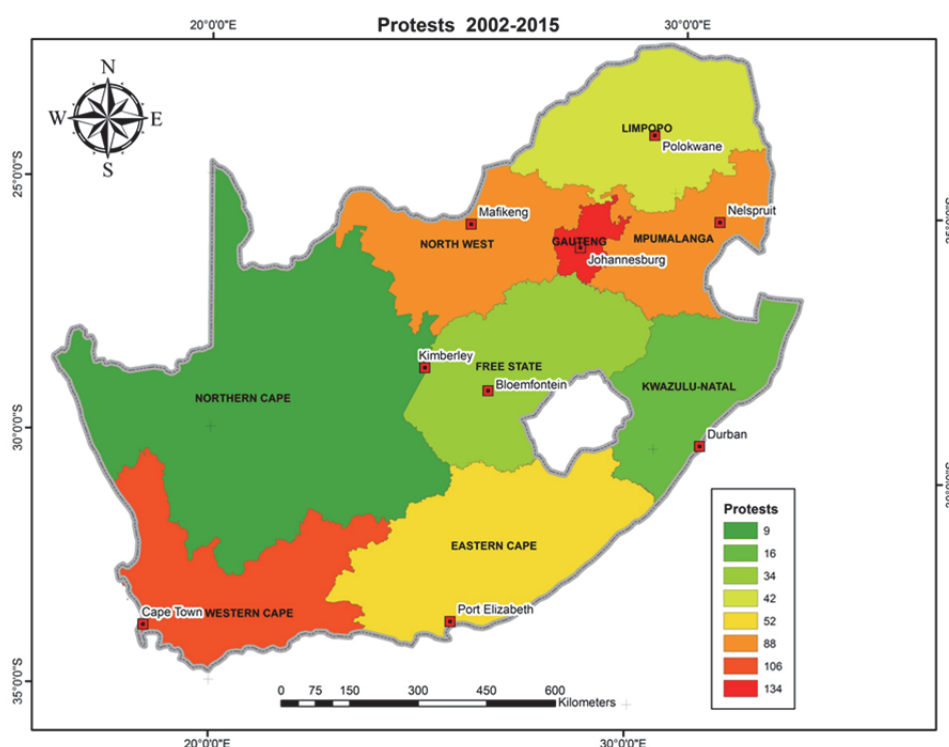
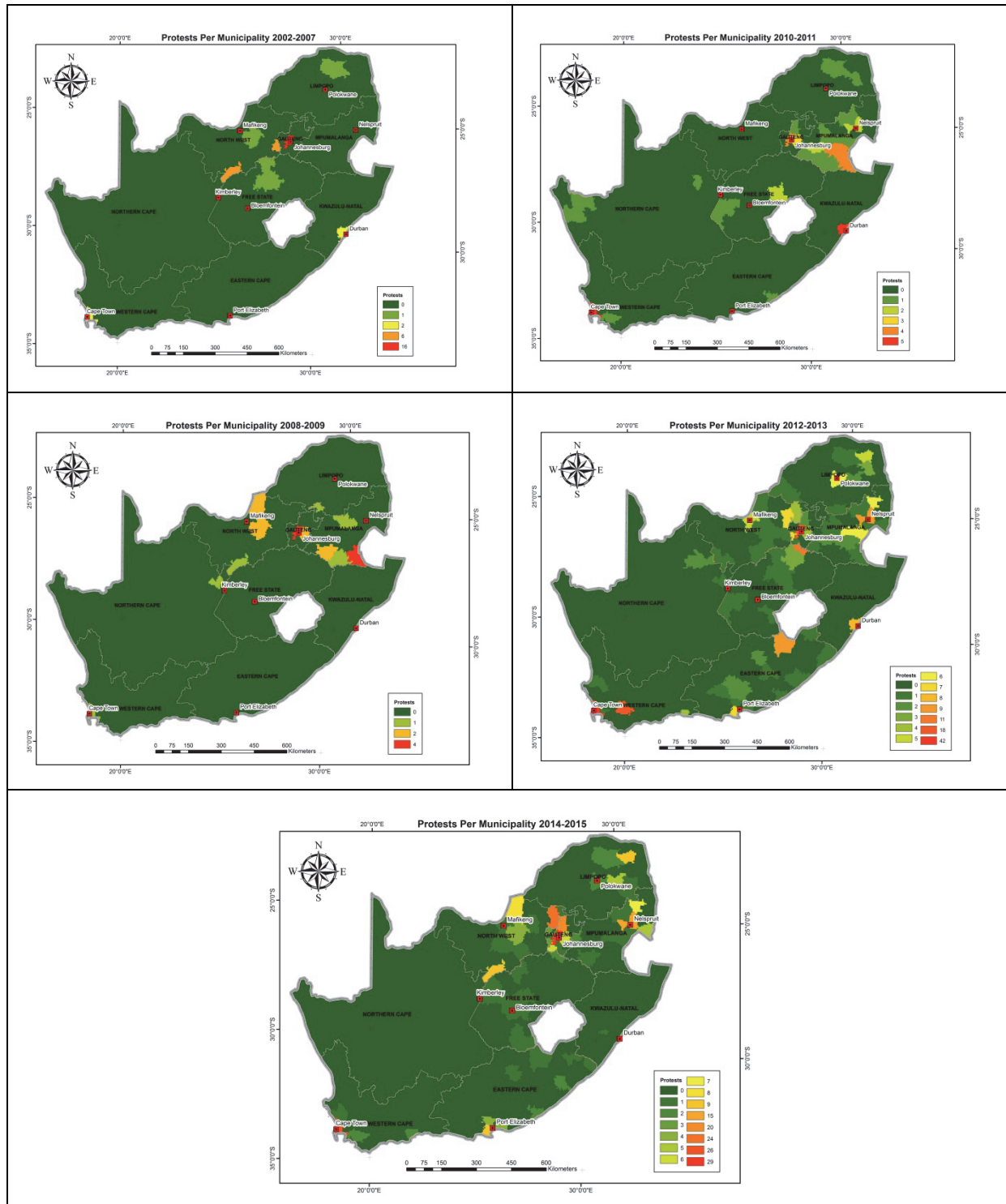


Figure 22 Distribution of Social Protests associated with Water Services Delivery, 2002 - early 2015

Cross-referencing this data with 2011 Census results, which the department of Water and sanitation uses for planning, the least protest-prone province is the Northern Cape. Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape Province respectively have the highest number of households with no access to piped water, and relatively low frequencies of protests. By contrast, the Western Cape and Gauteng have some of the highest levels of access to piped

Some localities are characterized by periodic flare-ups, and such places can be described as protest-prone. Yet other localities either maintain a constant glow or a perpetual lack or low level of protest action. The overall picture is one of an orchestrated interplay of grievance factors and repertoires of contention that produce a peculiar sense of unsettled peace (mind the oxymoron).



5.3 CASE STUDY SELECTION

Table 9 presents an overview of the 24 selected case studies. The selection draws variously from the project's events catalogue, literature review, field observations and consultations with relevant stakeholders. The selection in Table 11 gives a fairly broad representation of the different categories of settlements classified by an adapted combination three key institutional frameworks and structures namely, National Treasury's Draft Cities Support Programme (CSP) (SACN, 2012) and the DPLG¹⁸ and Presidency (2003 in SACN State of the Cities Report, 2006) (Table 12).

Table 11 Selected Case Studies: Overview

PROVINCE	CASE STUDY	DISTRICT/METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY	LOCAL MUNICIPALITY
Free State	Sasolburg	Fezile Dabi	Metsimaholo
	Parys		Ngwathe
	Ficksburg	Thabo Mofutsanyana	Setsoto
Western Cape	Khayelitsha	Cape Town Metropolitan	-
	Langa		
	Crossroads		
	Mtshini Wam		
	Klapmuts	Cape Winelands	Stellenbosch
	De Doorns		Breede Valley
	Zwelethemba (Worcester)		Breede Valley
	Vermaaklikheid	Eden	Hessequa
Eastern Cape	Flagstaff	O. R. Tambo	Ngquza Hill
	King William's Town	Buffalo City Metropolitan	-
	Sterkspruit	Joe Gqabi	Senqu
	Walmer	Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan	-
Gauteng	Alexandra	City of Johannesburg Metropolitan	-
	Orange Farm		
	Kya Sands		
	Tembisa	Ekurhuleni Metropolitan	-
North West	Rooigrond	Ngaka Modiri Molema	Mahikeng
	Mothotlong	Bojanala District	Madibeng
Limpopo	Nandoni	Vhembe	Thulamela
Kwazulu-Natal	Sea Cow Lake/Kenville	eThekweni Metropolitan	-
	Umlazi		
	Umbumbulu		
Mpumalanga	Kanyamazane	Ehlanzeni	Mbombela
	Carolina	Gert Sibande	Chief Albert Luthuli

¹⁸ DPLG now called COGTA

Table 12 Typology of Urban Settlements in South Africa

Settlement type	Scale and settlement characteristics	Institutional context
Metropolitan Cities	Huge economic base plus the core of economic potential. Highest concentrations and absolute numbers of the urban poor.	Metropolitan government consolidates fragmented municipal history. Urban benefits not yet seamlessly applied to all residents.
Secondary Cities not yet governed by a metropolitan council ¹⁹	Economic potential varies from strong to weak according to sectoral base and geographical location. Rapid urbanisation and some of the most extreme levels of poverty.	Racially divided municipal history, now typically the core of a district municipality. Complex issues of planning and cross-subsidization.
Large Towns once in 'white' South Africa or old homeland capitals	A few are booming, but many are in severe decline. A relatively small number, but crucial elite population, in most cases, employed in the public sector, offers limited rates base. Majority impoverished without land or urban economic livelihoods.	Municipal capacity is stretched, institutional systems are often non-existent. The urban councils are poorly equipped to deal with the complex urban-rural interface of the districts.
Small Towns providing crucial access and services functions	Save for a few small locally significant activities, the economies are in most cases struggling and weak. Work is scarce and prospects for employment of educated youth virtually non-existent.	Municipal and other public services are in most instances weak or non-existent. Councils are virtually incapable of assisting communities. Services offered by the private sector are reserved for the few inhabitants with stable income, often a pension or grant.
Dense rural settlements (including those displaced and located in former homeland boundaries and those located elsewhere)	Often depicted as 'rural' these large non-agricultural areas are characterised by a virtual absence of a modern urban economy and services. Out-migration or split urban rural lifestyles are common.	Prior to 1994 there was no urban administration. The introduction of local government in the post-1994 era has led to a co-existence with traditional leadership control. Capacity is weak.
Dispersed and Isolated small rural settlements	Largely 'rural', these relatively small areas are characterised by livelihoods that are mainly based on agriculture and exploitation of available natural resource. There is often a virtual absence of a modern urban economy and services. Out-migration or split urban rural lifestyles are common.	Many are classified as 'traditional communities', in which traditional leadership is envisaged to play more active roles in service delivery and socio-economic development, in 'partnership' with government.

Adapted from DPLG and the Presidency (2003 in SACN State of the Cities Report, 2006)

5.4 CHACTERIZATION OF SOCIAL PROTES CONTEXTS

The foregoing case-by-case characterization confirms the view that protest environments vary. Protest contexts display case-specific peculiarities as well as commonly shared histories, grievances and engagement strategies. Violent protests are the most commonly evident, while innovative and non-violent strategies are much fewer. Violent protests are typically associated with low and middle income working class neighbourhoods. Non-violent protests tend to occur in a broader diversity of socio-economic settings.

¹⁹ The National Treasury's draft *Cities Support Programme* (CSP) of August 2011 sets out 22 South African cities (in no ranked order), including all provincial capitals, that are not currently governed by a metropolitan municipality (SACN, 2012).

5.4.1 TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL PROTEST CONTEXTS

Research findings show that the majority of social protests associated with water service delivery tend to occur in working-class urban and peri-urban localities characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment, inequality, relative deprivation, marginalization and disjunctures (including communication breakdown) between water services development planning at municipal and national levels and water use at local household and community levels, irrespective of the political party affiliation of local government. Such disjunctures can predispose people in affected localities towards protest action. They are often multi-faceted and include, among other things, differences in perception between what practitioners consider to be effective ways of rendering water services and what water services users consider as their legitimate needs and expectations. In many of the cases examined, residents expressed frustrations over unmet expectations for water services, lack of downward accountability by municipal officials, corruption, indifference and lack of monitoring and censure of non-compliance by water services authorities and officials. Practitioners vocalized frustrations over wasteful water use, unaccounted-for water (water loss), infrastructure theft, breakdown and obsolescence of infrastructure and lack of financial budgets for repairs of existing infrastructure and/or development of new infrastructure to accommodate burgeoning demands offset by rapid urbanization.

5.4.2 VIOLENT PROTEST CONTEXTS

The study also revealed that violent protests, in particular, often take place in urban and peri-urban formal housing areas and informal settlements in which dynamics around poverty, unemployment, population growth, inequality, relative deprivation, marginalization, injustice, indignity, identity and histories of struggle activism by predominantly black residents coalesce with unmet expectations for water and related services as well as uncertainties due to drivers of change, such as mining-based economic decline, shifts in agricultural and industrial production systems, multi-scale political trajectories and rising food prices. Coupled with perceptions that there seem to be no effective measures to deal with municipal councillors and officials who are perceived to be corrupt, incompetent and not downwardly accountable, such foment easily develops into anger and possibly protest action. This is not a rule of thumb however, since water service delivery issues in similar contexts can generate markedly different engagement strategies. Despite this, the critical role that water service delivery issues potentially play in protest prone environments should be recognized.

For the working-class populations in such localities, the lack of adequate and reliable access to clean and sufficient amounts of water touches ‘too close to home’. Since many residents

of such localities often cannot afford to procure alternative sources, such as bottled water, living with 'social water scarcity' can mean living with vulnerability to disease and the indignity of not being able to bath as required. It can also mean living with the hardship of having to scrounge for water, which wastes time that could be put to better use. Many of the effects of water service delivery problems cascade into other domains of existence, such as work spaces and gendered social relations. Put simply, it is not easy to go to work, look for work or find work when a person has not bathed or washed their clothes. Scrounging for water, often at water points far removed from home and at times when it is not safe to walk about in the dark, can be a source of vulnerability particularly for women and girls, who play greater roles in conveying water under such circumstances. Cast in light of South Africa's troubled history, issues such as these that make water service delivery a critical aspect of engagements to resolve disjunctures between disgruntled citizenry and authorities in working-class environments such as outlined above.

5.4.3 NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL PROTEST CONTEXTS

By comparison, non-violent protests tend to be associated with black and white working class neighbourhoods characterized by differing perceptions of relative deprivation. In the predominantly white neighbourhoods, relative deprivation is seen in relation to past experiences of municipal service delivery, which are perceived to have been better than that provided by the post-1994 (and often ANC-run) municipalities. These relatively more affluent sections of the population tend to adopt institutionalized engagement strategies, often declaring legal disputes against municipalities and thereby withholding rate payments from municipalities in order to self-provision water services. In historically disadvantaged informal settlements, groups of black, coloured and Indian residents have adopted self-help strategies with the active support of non-governmental and civil society organizations (NGOs and CSOs). Such people share the same challenges faced by their compatriots in similar contexts elsewhere within the same or other municipalities but have adopted completely different strategies of addressing grievances. Although it is clear that such strategies require well-formulated mobilization and organization strategies and the support of municipalities, particularly with respect to budgets and project implementation, further research will try to elicit clear understandings of this particular type.

5.4.4 'NON-PROTEST' CONTEXTS

This report suggests that there might perhaps be a third category of protests, which could be termed 'non-protests' owing to the invisibility rather than non-existence of grievance issues.

Non-protests also embrace the many grievances that are violently and/or non-violently expressed within localities and/or informal social networking platforms but never ‘discovered’ and amplified by journalistic media or other outsiders. Non-protests therefore possibly fizzle out as ‘non-events’. Although not much is known about them, it is possible that non-protests constitute the largest of the three categories of grievance expression. In a constitutional democracy, such as South Africa strives to be, such possibility raises grim implications about the integrity of the institutional framework that carries the democratic ideal, and the openness and efficacy of the engagement space when the governance and delivery of water and associated services fall short of expectations.

5.4.5 UNPRECEDENTED DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL PROTEST SPACES

There are new and different trends that have impacted on the increase of social protests in the Western Cape. Significantly, commercial farming areas have been gripped by protracted violent protests that are unprecedented in South African farming history. Although these farmworker protests are flagged as labour unrest over wage disputes, grievances over water service delivery are among 21 substantive issues underpinning the rallying call of “R150 per day”. In the lull following the farmworker protests, attention has reverted to the on-going wrangling over service delivery grievances in the City of Cape Town.

5.4.6 DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN WATER SERVICES DELIVERY AND SOCIAL PROTESTS: PARTY POLITICS, THIRD FORCE, DATA INSUFFICIENCY AND/OR A QUESTION OF RIGHTS TO THE CITY?

The one issue commonly discussed in media is political disputes. According Municipal IQ, many Cape Town residents claim that their city is the best-run metro in the country, and many residents of other metros lament the fact that they do not have the privilege of former mayor Helen Zille and the Democratic Alliance’s (DA’s) wisdom. The other end of the political (and at times social) spectrum, however, is characterised by many other residents of Cape Town who claim that the DA looks after only the rich middle-class suburbs “clinging to the edges of the mountain”, while ignoring the townships of the poor majority that sprawl across the desolate, fire and drought-ridden Cape Flats and also the division between the DA and African National Congress (ANC).

Dissatisfaction over relative deprivation and marginalization by specific groups of township residents and informal settlement dwellers raises questions about black citizen’s democratic ‘rights to the city’ but is not unique to Cape Town. Grievances over the historical legacy of inequalities in access to water and other social services persist and have indeed often led to

violent and non-violent protests in many similarly racially-segregated local contexts elsewhere, often under ANC-led municipal governance. Among the numerous cases of this, a few examples include Ficksburg, Sasolburg, Parys, Carolina, Nelson Mandela Bay, Johannesburg, Durban, Sannieshof and Philippolis. In such cases, different actors often allude to the politicization of protests or ascribe protests to political in-fights among local ANC leadership and contestations by aspirant local leaders seeking accession into office through non-institutionalized means. Mention is also made of the 'Third Force' and, in the case of Sannieshof, the 'Taliban'. The foregoing account suggests that water service delivery challenges of Cape Town and similarly racially-segregated and rapidly urbanising localities across South Africa require shared understandings and solutions of water service delivery issues across existing divides. Critically, they need national government to urgently follow-up on its budgetary commitments regarding investments in urban development as a means to reducing racial and class-based inequalities (2013 Budget Speech by Finance Minister, Pravin Gordan).

5.4.7 DISPELLING THE URBAN LEGEND ABOUT PROTEST CONTEXTS: RE-EMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL RURAL COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Although a lot of attention is given to violent protests in urban and peri-urban localities, mainly due to journalistic media reporting, there has been a recent expansion of violent and non-violent social protests into rural areas hitherto perceived to be the 'silent backdrops of South African society'. This trend dispels certain long-held romanticist notions and picture-postcard constructs of rural areas as bucolic idylls, where grapes and cherries and 'picanninies' grow. The eruption of rural protests indeed appears to mark a critical turning point in rural people's engagement with authorities. It also underscores the need for water services planning and development practice to take into account the rural-urban linkages that persist amidst rapid urbanization, decline of mining towns, shifts in industrial and agricultural production systems, evictions of commercial farmworkers and farm-dwellers, rural-urban and cross-border migrations and the globalization of social networks, among others. Within this rapidly changing social milieu, South African citizenry no longer seems content to divest the responsibility of tackling issues of marginalization, deprivation and injustice to an amorphously 'representative and democratic' local government.

Despite the recent inroads protests into rural areas, the bulk of protest action continues to take place in urban and settings characterised by poverty, unemployment, inequality, marginalization and varying perceptions of 'relative deprivation'. Deprivation is seen in terms of unmet expectations, comparisons of perceived past and present quality, quantity, accessibility and reliability of water services, as well as comparisons between socio-

economically differentiated neighbourhoods within the same municipal jurisdiction. Although physical proximity of socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods often produces a steeper gradient of perceived relative deprivation and a propensity towards deprivation-induced anger (Tilly, 1990), in many instances protests fail to occur despite profusion of grievances over water and associated service delivery. Further research will find out why residents of some neighbourhoods adopt violent engagement strategies while others opt for non-violent protest action.

5.4.8 UNRESOLVED CHALLENGE OF PROTEST CONTEXTS THAT DEFY CLEAR-CUT CHARACTERIZATION

The in-depth primary research component of study uncovered a peculiar sub-category of protests that largely remains invisible to perfunctory appraisals, and indeed seems to defy clear-cut distinction. This took the form of 'migratory' protests, which move from place to place as aggrieved or dissatisfied HDI residents migrate from one low or middle income residential area to another, multiple times over the years, carrying within their inner mental, emotive and spiritual persona long-standing grievances without relief. The decision by such individuals to embark or not in protest action as well as the strategies used to engage or not with authorities, might be influenced by their past experiences and prevailing circumstances and states of mind, emotion, identity or other factors. It is not easy to pin down such types of migratory protest to any time-and-space bound geographical context.

6 KEY DRIVERS OF SOCIAL PROTESTS, ROLES OF MOBILIZATION AND ORGANIZATION AND DYNAMICS OF PERCEIVED DEPRIVATION

This chapter presents and discusses field research findings on the key drivers of social protests, the roles of mobilization, organization and the media and dynamics of perceived deprivation in selected case study areas. The research objective was to identify the key drivers of social protests, roles of organization and mobilization and dynamics of perceived deprivation, in selected case studies. Case studies examined herein include Sebokeng, Alexandra and Orange Farm in Gauteng Province; Sasolburg, Parys and Ficksburg in the Free State Province; De Doorns, Zwelethemba (Worcester) and Nkanini (Khayelitsha) in the Western Cape Province; and Umlazi and Sea-Cow Lake/Kenville in KwaZulu-Natal. The chapter begins with a description of research methods and approaches used.

6.1 RESEARCH METHODS AND APPROACHES

For this qualitative component of the study, Participatory Action Research (PAR) was used in conjunction with conventional scientific research methods. Research methods broadly included focus group discussions and interviews with key resource persons, which sought to illuminate local-level perspectives, expectations and aspirations regarding access to water and related services, individual and group motivations to participate in protest action, extent of social organization and mobilization, role of the media, institutional arrangements, perceptions on deprivation, satisfaction and relationships with governance structures, as well as other context-specific factors. The specific choice of research approach and methods differed according to context.

A decision was taken to allow greater flexibility in the use of field data collection methods. This was informed by preceding background research by this study, which showed that although local protest contexts were commonly low to middle income urban residential areas occupied by predominantly black populations, these contexts were also markedly in case-specific conditions. Some localities were politically-charged and potentially unsafe, yet others were largely peaceful and socially cohesive. Some localities were deemed to be 'over-researched and yet others under-researched. Government, civil society and media attention also varied from place to place, as did the relationship between residents and institutional structures, actors and network. There was also the real possibility of susceptibility to crime and mistrust, among other challenges. The fact that data collection was conducted during the course of year 2013, which precedes the envisaged municipal elections scheduled for 2014, meant that a flexible and precautionary approach was more

expedient than a rigid and misconceived 'scientifically correct' approach. The former afforded researchers the leeway to adapt and operate in markedly different local contexts. To avoid the danger of an unstructured research approach, however, a common framework for data collection was developed for use as a guideline by researchers.

The selection of case studies was informed by this study's Protest Event Analysis (PEA) methodology, which included a nationwide catalogue of protest events, literature review, field observation and stakeholder consultation. As far as possible, collected data was triangulated with information from various other sources, such as municipal records. The project's WRC-PLAAS Water Currents Policy Dialogue Seminar, which was held in Pretoria on 13 September 2013, also provided a useful platform to share, learn and engage with researchers working on similar issues and methodologies in other South African institutions.

Key drivers were identified through examining linkages between societal expectations and aspirations for access to water and related social services, on the one hand, and planning and implementation at municipal and regional levels. Performance indicators for water supplies in South Africa were understood in the context of the 'water ladder', which is also expressed as the 'Progressive Realization of the Right to Water and Sanitation' (RSA, 2003; SAHRC, 2012; 2013). This concept starts with people being moved from lack of infrastructure to the installation of basic water services, namely, communal water taps within a 200 metre radius of the homestead. This stage is followed by yard taps and finally the internal taps. However, owing to observations that municipal performance is often problematically equated to improvements in access to safe water (Zerah, 2000; CALS, 2009), the study's investigation attempted to define what institutional performance relates to in the context of societal expectations. Some of the factors considered included, among others, the following:

- Problems relating to water supply, even when infrastructure is situated within 200 metres from the household;
- Poor quality of water from existing supply infrastructure;
- Old and deteriorated water reticulation networks;
- Poor operation and maintenance of infrastructure;
- High tariffs (and sometimes too low);
- Intermittent water supplies;
- Water restrictions and disconnections after installation of supplies;
- Difficulties in access at night due to threats to personal safety and security; and
- Comparison with more affluent neighborhoods, which creates feelings of relative deprivation.

In identifying the roles of organization and mobilization and the dynamics of perceived deprivation in water-related protests, data collection took cognizance of Oliver & Maney's (2000) argument that there is a triadic interface between politics, media and protests, wherein the media is not a neutral cataloguer but an integral part of politics and protest, interwoven with events. To varying degrees, the following factors were examined:

- Level of socio-political organization in selected sites;
- Involvement of organized working classes in protest action;
- Engagement with civil society, including social movements and social networks (e.g. South African Water Caucus and National Taxpayers Union (NTU), among others, regarding commonly shared perceptions of deprivation, unmet expectations and dysfunctional relationships between citizens and government; and
- Roles of the media in protest generation, documentation and diffusion.

6.2 FINDINGS FROM THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE

6.2.1 DE DOORNS

- ☐ Location: Breede Valley Municipality, Gauteng Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 01 to 05 July 2013
- ☐ Student researcher(s): Mr Darlington Sibanda and Ms Bukiwe Ntwana
- ☐ Research Assistants: Mr Sizwe Mxobo, Ms Timalizge Zgambo and Mr Rolly Ngandu

6.2.1.1 Introduction and Background

De Doorns is a small rural town which lies in the Breede Valley Municipality in the Western Cape Province, 27 km north of Worcester (Passop Report, 2010). The town lies in the Hex River Valley of the Western Cape. It is located 40 km from Cape Town. It is an area of economically thriving wealthy deciduous fruit agricultural export activity but within this town, there is a contrast of widespread poverty. Its economy is almost entirely based on agriculture, consisting primarily of the farming of table grapes (Passop Report, 2010).

In August 2012, farmworkers mostly residing in the low and middle income residential areas of De Doorns launched an unprecedented social protest, which enacted through a series of violent events, to demand a wage increase. The "R150 per Day" mantra became the iconic symbol of the protest. This mantra emerged, however, from a deliberate strategy by protest mobilizers and organizers to select, for the sake of efficacy and impact, a flagship issue and actively use it to capture the commitment of hitherto docile farmworkers, the attention of journalistic and social media as well as public interest. In reality, the farmworkers' demand

for a minimum wage of R150 per day, as opposed to then-prevailing earnings of approximately R70 to R80 per day, was underpinned by a list of 21 substantive grievances, among which were issues of poor access and unaffordability of water services.

Indeed, evidence from the ground indicates that De Doorns has been on edge for a long time. This largely under-reported story is confirmed by various CSOs that were actively involved in the protests. According to Passop, an NGO that played a central role in mobilizing and organizing the protest, the frustration that boiled over into the xenophobic violence was not driven solely by labour concerns, but also to a large extent by housing and service delivery frustrations of the local South Africans (Passop Report, 2010). This view also resonates with that of other CSOs, such as the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants South Africa (CoRMSA), Black Sash and Oxfam, who assert that the main issues fuelling unrest namely, the lack of basic services, influx and overcrowding, are long term and entrenched problems which need to be properly addressed (CoRMSA, Black Sash & Oxfam report (2010).

At this juncture, it is perhaps worth pointing out therefore that the term “farmworker protest” commonly used to categorize the De Doorns case is a misnomer, since many non-farmworkers also participated in the protest. Their participation underscores the fact that the protest grievances were far broader than the often-cited farm labour issues.

6.2.1.2 History of the De Doorns Social Protest

The recent wave of violent social protest in the De Doorns can be traced back to the fractious policies of the past. The historical social and economic inequalities of the colonial and apartheid eras have resulted in stark disparity of wealth and poverty, racial cleavages and incomplete social justice since 1994, particularly for the marginalized poor. Rob & Davies (2009) link the increase in evictions to the introduction of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) (1997).

With the large scale eviction of farmworkers from commercial farmland following ESTA as well as broader shifts in the organization of agri-food systems, the populations of rural townships, such as De Doorns, have burgeoned at rates far exceeding the available municipal resources and services. Following the off-loading of farmworker populations, the small sleepy rural town of De Doorns has rapidly developed a large low-income peri-urban informal settlement that services the increasing seasonal labour needs of the commercial farming sector.

While some residents of the newly-emerged informal settlements permanently stay throughout the year in De Doorns, many others seasonally migrate in and out of the area in response to changing patterns of labour demand and availability of casual work. During the summer peak season (October to April), the population in De Doorns' low and middle income residential areas increases exponentially, which places a huge demand on available social services, such as housing, water, sanitation and refuse removal.

By contrast, municipal financial arrangements have not robustly responded to the recently emerged population growth and its seasonal trends. Indeed, municipal governance and management functions seem to have remained entrenched in a historical time capsule, wherein institutional actors have continued to act out 'business-as-usual' scenarios amid an unfolding crisis scenario. The racial dimension to this institutional inertia seems fairly evident. It runs counter to the country's constitutional democracy and, for the water services sector, the globally-accepted Dublin Principles for Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM).

The evident categorization of labour by race and ethnicity, according to Rob & Davies (2009), is reflective of a society that has largely remained fractured despite its emergence from the segregationist apartheid and colonial eras. As government has failed to deliver on promises of education, jobs and decreasing inequalities, which were expected to provide a new and 'better' life, service delivery protests of communities have re-emerged, reminiscent of past anti-apartheid street demonstrations (Buur, 2009, 30). In the case of De Doorns, however, although the history of discontent has been long-enduring, farmworker protests are a new development. Implications of this are therefore that the history of the landmark De Doorns social protest is effectively a short one, which requires close scrutiny of the key drivers, mobilization, organization and media roles, as well as the dynamics of perceived deprivation.

It is also worth noting that the August 2012 to early 2013 protest in De Doorns was preceded by xenophobic attacks in 2008, whereby thousands of African foreign nationals, mostly Zimbabweans, were attacked and displaced from the informal settlements and housed in an emergency camp. Owing to the targeting of this violence towards African immigrants rather than the direction of engagement towards authorities who were not delivering on obligations, promises and services, such action came to be dubbed 'xenophobia' when in fact it was a case of grievously misdirected social protest. Should this fact be taken into consideration, then the history of social protests in the De Doorns has a longer history than the so-called "farmworker protest" would seem to suggest.

6.2.1.3 Outline of ‘Service Delivery’ Problem: Grievance Issues

Since the landmark protest, debates have raged on about the proverbial ‘stick that broke the camel’s back’. Such debates, however, miss the point that in cases such as this, the trigger factor is not as important as the existence of at least one grievance issue that constitutes the ‘tinder’, as it were. Without such tinder, protest action of the magnitude seen in the De Doorns becomes unlikely. Although the protest narratives and repertoires in De Doorns were clearly crafted around the wage issue, this study found that there were 21 substantive issues that were strategically muted and encapsulated in the rallying call, “R150 a day!” (Tapela, 2013).

Substantive protest issues included, among others, issues of poor access to water services and sanitation, for workers still based on farms, and issues of affordability of water services, for evicted farmworkers resettled in agri-villages and rural townships. According to Nosey Pieterse, who played a visible role in protest formentation, a particularly poignant issue was the lack of housing for farmworkers, some of who slept in horse stables and lacked secure access to water and sanitation. Moreover, farm owners were responsible for supplying the workers with basic services since they deduct money for basic service payments from the farmworkers wages. However, the farmworkers did not receive access to the basic services that they were paying for. Neither did they get access to free basic electricity and water, which they expected to get at the end of the month, as many South Africans do.

This section presents empirical research findings on water-related service delivery issues that underpinned the social protest in De Doorns. Since the research objective was to gain clear understandings of the key drivers of protests, the roles of mobilization and organization and dynamics of perceived deprivation, the strategy adopted was to conduct field surveys in three low income residential areas of De Doorns, which are mostly occupied by black and coloured residents and where many of the protesters live. Such areas included formal and informal housing areas within the town of De Doorns and Stofland informal settlement on the peri-urban fringe across the N1 highway and linked by a bridge to De Doorns.

6.2.1.4 Water Access and Quality of Services

Research findings were that virtually all the households occupying formal houses had in-house taps. These respondents indicated that although they have easy access to water, their bills were too high. They explained that they could not afford to pay for water services since they mostly relied on social grants from the state and on the low incomes from farm labour, which tended to be seasonal.

Nearly half (45%) of the households surveyed in all three formal and informal residential areas accessed water from communal stand pipes (i.e. taps located on the streets). In the formal residential areas, researchers noticed that some of the respondents from formal houses had considerable numbers of informal tenants, who mostly occupied shacks in their backyards. Some of the homesteads had small vegetable gardens in their backyards, which were irrigated with potable water from water services infrastructure narrowly intended for domestic use. The yields from these gardens were said to supplement household food supplies and incomes. Both the backyard tenants and gardens seemed to explain the high levels of water consumption, which led to the high bills.

Despite having large numbers of tenants, the respondents also highlighted that water was never cut off because they could not pay their bills. This seemed to imply one or both of two possibilities. Firstly, that these residents could indeed afford to pay their water bills but cost recovery by the municipality was slack, perhaps due to capacity constraints or other factors. Secondly, that there could be some illegal water connections that the respondents would not disclose. Given that the overcoming of trust issues associated with disclosure of sensitive information such as this often requires long-term research engagement with respondents, this study was not able to unpack the social dynamics underlying the respondents' statements. Attempts to interview Breede Valley Local Municipality's infrastructure manager on this and other issues were also not successful as the particular official would not engage with researchers²⁰.

For the informal tenants and informal settlement dwellers, who largely relied on communal water taps (i.e. 'standpipes'), the average walking distance to these taps was 50 metres. Lack of in-house or yard taps was particularly problematic for the chronically ill, who needed easy access water in order to take their medication but found it difficult to walk the distance to the communal standpipe (Figure 24).

²⁰ Feedback was that there were fears within the DA-led municipality that the research project might reveal information that might be used by others against the party, especially with the municipal elections envisaged for 2014. Such fears were directly linked to an incident prior to this research, whereby findings concerning the municipality's emergency sub-standard water service provision to poor residents was misrepresented and publicly used to discredit the DA (akin to the 'toilet saga' in Cape Town). Owing to that report, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) seems to have taken the decision to host its second hearings on the 'Progressive Realization of the Right to Water and Sanitation' in the Western Cape (November 2012) within the Breede Valley Local Municipality, specifically in Worcester's Zwelethemba Township.



Figure 24 **Example: 62 year-old chronically ill coloured resident with medication, who finds it difficult walk to communal standpipe to access water**

Although these residents did not pay for water services, their main challenge was that lack of proper drainage often resulted in water flowing from the communal standpipes to flood their yards and houses, thereby posing a health hazard (Figure 25). Many of the dusty streets in Stofland informal settlement were typically flooded with water (Figure 26).



Figure 25 **Flooding of streets and yards**



Figure 26 **Water flows down street in Stofland**

The study also found that repairs to infrastructure breakdown rarely took many hours, with majority of respondents saying that water supply is normally restored within a few hours.

None of the occupants of informal housing paid for the repairs. By contrast, occupants of formal houses indicated that they sometimes privately called their local plumber if they needed their problem to be solved faster.

Research findings from a residents' meeting in held in De Doorns on 4 July 2013 revealed that water in all the three sites was not only used for domestic purposes, but was central to livelihoods. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the plight of almost 300 women farmworkers, who recently had been dismissed from employment by a local farm-owner. Issues discussed included the fact that job losses impacted negatively on farmworkers' lives and, in particular their ability to pay for services and other costs of living. Probed about alternative livelihood sources, respondents pointed out that since they had no secure access to land and water, they were unable to start any small-scale crop and livestock production ventures. At best, they currently could only maintain small vegetable gardens in the backyards, but for those living in formal houses the cost of using potable water was prohibitive.

6.2.1.5 Sanitation

Grievances over poor sanitation services were listed among the 21 substantive issues that underpinned the De Doorns protest rallying call of "R150 per day". Residents occupying formal houses used shared yard toilet facilities that were connected to the town's sewage reticulation systems. The sharing arrangement was such that groups of seven households each used one toilet, which the municipality had constructed in the plot of one of the households in the group. There was a lot of discontent over this arrangement. Residents complained that access to these toilets was not assured and largely depended on relations of goodwill between the registered occupants of the said plots and their neighbours. These shared toilets were often inaccessible whenever neighbour relations were not good and/or when tenants required access to the toilets. Consequently, many affected residents were compelled to resort to open defecation in the bush. Either way, there were widespread deeply-felt grievances over the indignity of having to continually negotiate and beg for access to these shared public toilets and to content with the ever-present possibility of having to resort to relieving oneself in the bush.

Informal tenants and informal settlement dwellers mostly relied on communal chemical and flush toilets, which were located on public spaces in the outskirts of residential areas, some distance away from shacks and township houses. Affected residents were compelled to walk distances of more than 100 metres to relieve themselves, even at night. Apart from exposure to the risk of criminal attack especially at night, accessing these facilities was challenging for

the sickly, the elderly and mothers of very small children, who found difficult to cope with the distances involved.

Furthermore, the usage, operation and maintenance of communal sanitation infrastructure were poor. Chemical toilets were rarely cleaned or emptied by the municipality and were consequently often dirty and unsanitary (Figure 27). The sense of ownership of communal sanitation infrastructure among residents was generally low.



Figure 27 Dirty communal chemical toilet in De Doorns, 2013

Flush toilets frequently became blocked, thus spilling sewage and waste water onto the streets and public spaces and rendering residents and children, in particular, vulnerable since they tended to play in the streets and open spaces (Figure 28).



Figure 28 Sewage spillage from communal flush toilets onto streets and open spaces is a source of vulnerability, particularly for children.

6.2.1.6 Governance Issues and Strategies Used in Engagements with Authorities

Findings showed that the political and social landscape in De Doorns is polarised in many ways. One issue that came out during the research was that public perception by many residents in low income residential areas was that local councillors were involved in criminal activities and corruption. During a community meeting attended by the researchers, one respondent said,

“Farm-owners are organising RDP houses for their workers, now that we have lost our jobs, will ever get a house?”

Another respondent also said the major problem is the local councillors:

“They are very corrupt, they (connive) with farm owners to determine who gets employed...They are labour-brokers themselves!”

Yet another respondent warned that:

“Councillors in De Doorns can easily get you killed.”

A coloured respondent stated that the councillor, who is believed to be very corrupt, once laughed at him when he approached the council offices to ask for assistance with the provision of toilets and houses.

The fear of councillors in De Doorns was echoed by several residents, who were unhappy about what they perceived to be a general lack of transparency, accountability and poor service delivery. When respondents were asked if they thought politicians cared them, a small proportion agreed that politicians cared, some disagreed and others declined to respond purportedly out of fear of their local councillors. Some of the respondents knew their local councillor by name while others did not. In general, levels of engagement between citizenry in low income residential areas and elected councillors seemed to be generally low.

6.2.1.7 Key Drivers of Social Protests in De Doorns

From the foregoing, key drivers of the De Doorns protest seem to have included farmworker evictions, municipal inertia amid rapid urbanization and shifting trends in farm labour practices and behaviour, discontent over low wages and poor and/or unaffordable social service delivery (including water), and crystallization of protest mobilization and organization roles by CSOs and grievance amplification roles by journalistic and social media.

What was also notable was that the strike action was driven by two different labour organizations, namely, BAWUSA (whose public face became Nosey Pieterse) and COSATU-affiliated FAWU. During and after the protest, there prevailed allegations that the protest was mainly driven by political disputes. Pieterse asserts that such claims were false. The respondent further comments that it was only “when the situation in De Doorns area was burning that the politicians cared to visit the area but in the past when there were no protests they never cared to visit”²¹.

Other drivers have included the relatively large population of African immigrants, mainly from Zimbabwe and Lesotho, who have not only jostled for job opportunities with local South Africans but have also played key roles in conscientising and mobilizing, alongside local CSOs, fellow South African farmworkers to embark on protest action to claim their democratic rights.

Underlying the whole fabric of the De Doorns protest, a critical driver has been the unfolding changes in global agri-food systems. Business practices of these systems, which revolve around creating and maintaining economically and technologically ‘efficient’ value chains, have deepened the vulnerability of farmworkers. Irrespective of South African citizenship or immigrant status, most casual and/or temporary seasonal workers have had to adjust to living with insecure employment and the emergence of ‘labour brokers’, who further whittle away any remaining semblance of job security. In general, this has kept “workers trapped on the edge of poverty with no job security, written contracts or work benefits, and with long hours and poverty wages (ActionAid, 2005)”.

When grievances over poor water and sanitation service delivery, unaffordability of social services, lack of housing and perceptions of relative deprivation and injustice were added into this mix of drivers, it was perhaps inevitable that carefully orchestrated protest mobilization and organization would trigger the desired action in De Doorns. In other words, the tinder was already there.

6.2.2 ZWELETHEMBA TOWNSHIP, WORCESTER

- ☐ Location: Breede Valley Municipality, Gauteng Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 01 to 05 July 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Mr Darlington Sibanda and Ms Bukiwe Ntwana
- ☐ Research Assistants: Mr Sizwe Mxobo and Ms Timalizge Zgambo

²¹ Interview with Nosey Pieterse at PLAAS, February 2013.

6.2.2.1 Introduction

Zwelethemba Township is a low income residential area situated in the south-eastern part of the town of Worcester, 120 km north-east of Cape Town along the N1 highway to Johannesburg. Zwelethemba is one of 25 residential areas in Worcester (Table 13). The township is in the Breede Valley Local Municipality, which is the authority responsible for water service delivery in Worcester. Being the largest town in the Western Cape's interior region, Worcester serves as the administrative capital of the Breede Valley municipality and as regional headquarters for most national and provincial government departments. Possessing a shopping mall, a well-developed central business district (CBD) and infrastructure, the town also serves as the hub of the Western Cape's interior commercial, distribution and retail activity.

Table 13 Residential Areas in Worcester

Name of Residential Area				
Old Town	Parkersdam	Paglande	Langerug	Hospital Park
Reunion Park	Hospital Hill	Fairy Glen	Roodewal	Riverview
Esselen Park	Zwelethemba	Worcester West	Roux Park	Van Riebeeck Park
Victoria Park	Noble Park	Meirings Park	Panorama	Hexpark
Johnsons Park	Somerset Park	Mandela Square	Fairway Heights	Rolihlahla Informal

Violent social protests have erupted in Zwelethemba in recent years since 2008, when grievances over a range of issues, including water and related social services, became expressed as xenophobic attacks. Although Journalistic reports have tended to characterize the spike in protest events from August 2012 to February 2013 as labour disputes, this study's primary research revealed the more recent social protest was in fact underpinned by a broader set of issues, including grievances over water and sanitation services.

6.2.2.2 Historical Background

Zwelethemba Township is a relatively new development in the history of Worcester, which was officially established on 28 February 1820. Although black African people arrived in Worcester prior to the Second World War²², their population exploded at the end of the war as larger numbers of men migrated from rural communities to work in the many construction projects that sprang up around the town. These new arrivals settled in a squatter camp at

²² Black population in Worcester District was 1236 in 1936.

Parkersdam, which later evolved into the present-day formal housing area of the same name. With accession of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party into government, the apartheid regime introduced racial segregation, thereby separating various communities into specific residential areas. While the so-called 'coloured' people were consigned to Roodewal (1350 'sub-economic' dwelling units) and Riverview (584 'economic' units), and Indian traders were resettled downtown on Durban Street, black people were relegated to Zwelethemba Township. The township had 524 sub-economic dwelling units, 300 economic units and 2 hostel schemes with 1274 units for housing single persons. The people of Zwelethemba were not viewed as permanent residents, and their population growth was kept in check through influx control regulations.

Following the abolition of influx control in 1986, Zwelethemba's population grew exponentially, and the problem of housing shortage ensued. Alongside these developments and in the absence of favourable municipal responses, informal tenancy and tenure emerged, with a growing number of new arrivals resorting to living in backyard shacks and informal settlements. The burgeoning population combined with institutional inertia to exert immense pressure on existing water and sanitation services infrastructure, resulting in frequent system breakdowns and social discomfort in the township. This trend appears to have been protracted way into the post-apartheid era in the mid-2000s. Around this time, the Breede Valley Local Municipality allocated nearly R 56 million over a period of 5 years (2007-2011) to wards 16, 17 and 18 in Zwelethemba for the construction of a new water supply and sewage reticulation system. No budget allocations were made towards meeting the demands of rapid population growth in the informal settlement.

6.2.2.3 Outline of 'Service Delivery' Problem: Access to Water Services

According to Breede Valley Local Municipality IDP (2007-2011), the provision of effective, efficient and sustainable water services to consumers is a core service of the municipality. It is therefore the responsibility of the local municipality to ensure that all consumers in its area of jurisdiction receive at least a basic level of water and sanitation services, as specified by the South African Water Services Act (WSA) 108 of 1997. It is against institutional frameworks and arrangements such as these that access to water services in Zwelethemba is examined.

Worcester as a whole (including Zwelethemba Township) is supplied from three (3) water sources, namely, Stettynskloof Dam, Fairy Glen Dam and the Hex River. Water from the Hex River is used for irrigation purposes in schools and sports grounds. The river water is also conveyed through a canal system to many plots (or 'erven') in the older parts of town.

This infrastructure is relic of the old water supply system used in the early history of Worcester. The Fairy Glen and Stettynskloof dams were constructed later in 1910 and 1952 respectively in catchment areas within the surrounding mountains. The quality of water from these sources is said to be good. The two dams provide the bulk of water supply to Worcester, mainly by gravity flow (Breede Valley Municipality IDP, 2007-2011: 81).

Research findings showed that more than half (60%) of Zwelethemba's Ward 16 residents relied on communal standpipes and/or their neighbours' private yard and in-house taps for water access. Furthermore, all formal houses surveyed had in-house water supply. However, new Mandela Square section, which is an informal settlement located on the outskirts of Ward 16, was the worst hit in terms of poor access to water services. It was mainly these residents who felt completely neglected by government. One elderly but sickly middle-aged female respondent said:

'If my neighbour is not around then I don't get water. I cannot walk long distances because my legs are swollen.'

To overcome the hardship of conveying water from communal and private sources located at a distance from one's own homestead, some residents had resorted to connecting private hosepipes to communal standpipes and thus more easily conveying water into their yards and houses (Figure 29).



Figure 29 Use of hosepipes to ease the hardship of conveying water from communal standpipes, Zwelethemba

Zwelethemba respondents also indicated that there were days when water services were completely unavailable. Of the 30 respondents interviewed, a large proportion (40%) ascribed their occasional lack of access to water services to system breakdown, either underground or above the ground. A smaller but significant proportion (30%) stated that their occasional lack of access to water services was often a result of water cut-offs due to failure

to pay water bills. An even smaller proportion (15%) stated that they sometimes went without water if their neighbours decided to lock the gates to their plots, thus restricting access private water points. This often happened at night, when these plot owners considered it to be too late in the day to fetch water.

6.2.2.4 Sanitation

A third of the respondents indicated that they had unsatisfactory sanitation facilities and that they were likely to take to the streets over the issue. These Zwelethemba residents relied on chemical toilets, which were observed to be rarely cleaned or emptied. Although the Breede Valley Municipality IDP for 2007 to 2011 reports that “most of the dwellings have a flush toilet system connected to a sewerage system or a septic tank”, this study found that there was a significant number of households that did not have any access to toilet facilities. Effectively, the backlog for water and sanitation services was higher than what official reports suggest. Many of these households resided in Ward 16, where more than half (60%) of households did not have toilet facilities at all. There were also 329 households who still used bucket systems in Zwelethemba. Ward 10 had the highest proportion (128 or 38.9%) of these, followed by Ward 18 with 51 households using bucket systems (Breede Valley Municipality IDP 2007-2011 : 29).Owing to poor maintenance of the bucket systems, a substantial number of these toilets were disused and residents used the bush to relieve themselves. With the high rate of crime in the area, this practice made these residents – and women and children especially – vulnerable to rape and indecent assault. A female resident from Mandela Square informal settlement reported that she grew up using a proper toilet and was therefore unable to use the bush. Consequently, she was compelled to walk at least one kilometre from the informal settlement each day to use the flush toilet in her parents’ formal house in Zwelethemba.

6.2.2.5 Governance Issues

Governance-related issues dominated the grievances that protesters cited. Most (79%) of the respondents expressed their distrust of politicians. The reasons cited included corruption and misuse of public funds. Many (40%) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that politicians were corrupt, while a few (less than 5%) strongly disagreed. Some of the sentiments voiced by different respondents in Zwelethemba’s Ward 16 were as follows:

“All political parties are the same. No political party will ever change the situation!”

“Everyone wants to be in power, and once they get what they want, all the promises come to nothing.”

Furthermore, there were widespread views that the councillor for Ward 16 (or New Mandela) was hardly ever available and residents complained that they were not able to communicate their grievances. A particularly sore point for the respondent protesters was that residents had to ask for water from their neighbours and if it was late at night, neighbours refused open their gates and doors for them. Respondents blamed the local councillor for not tackling the problem of poor access to water services.

6.2.2.6 Description of Engagement Strategies

The case of Zwelethemba shows that aggrieved residents used both institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of engagement with authorities. While the violent protest that raged from August 2012 to early 2013 – often termed the ‘De Doorns farmworker protest’ – is an example of the non-institutionalized forms of engagement, institutionalized engagements seem to have included a number of unreported formal meetings (Figure 30) as well as the much-publicized South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) hearings on the Progressive realization of the Right to Water and Sanitation.



Figure 30 Residents’ meeting in Zwelethemba Township, June 2013

On 27 November 2012, the SAHRC convened the second and final hearings for the Western Cape Province in the Zwelethemba community hall. There was heavy police guard prior to and during the hearings, which involved institutional actors from key government departments and the City of Cape Town, CSOs, NGOs, CBOs, Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), journalists, researchers, interests groups and individuals. The morning sessions

proceeded smoothly through in-depth and insightful sharing of grievances, case examples and suggestions. According to SAHRC Deputy-Chairperson, Ms Pregs Govender:

“Communities spoke of high levels of rape in areas with poor sanitation provision; homes where the same pipe that drains the toilet supplies the water for cooking and washing; children who constantly struggle with diarrhoea from dirty water; and many other stories of despair.

The SAHRC also heard from civil society groups who described lack of maintenance rendering provided toilets unusable; leaks not repaired by the municipality leading to astronomical water bills charged to households with no income; lack of adequate sanitation being the most significant reason for absenteeism of girls from schools; the monopoly of large commercial farms on river water; and the failure to transform local water boards,”(SAHRC 2012).

The afternoon session was disrupted, however, by the arrival of Western Cape Premier, Ms Helen Zille. The impromptu social protest that erupted at this point effectively brought the peaceful meeting to a premature end, as Zille refused to concede to protesters’ heated demands for her to leave the hearings (Figure 31). Notwithstanding, the situation described by Pregs Govender highlights the deprivation-induced anger that historically disadvantaged people living low income urban residential areas, such as Zwelethemba Township, harbour over continued lack of access to adequate water and sanitation services.



Figure 31 Impromptu social protest erupts upon the arrival of Democratic Alliance leader at the SAHRC Hearings in Zwelethemba, November 2012

6.2.3 NKANINI (KHAYELITSHA)

- ☐ Location: City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality, Western Cape Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 26-30 June 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher: Mr Darlington Sibanda

6.2.3.1 Introduction

Nkanini informal settlement is located on the south-western outskirts of Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town. Khayelitsha Township is situated 35 kilometres south of Cape Town central business district (CBD). The township is bordered by the N2 highway to the north and the False Bay to the south. The township is the largest in Cape Town, with a population presently estimated to be approximately 1.2 million (Umthawelanga, 2011:2).

People began settling in Nkanini in October 2003. During the first month, there were relatively few (30) shacks, which the City of Cape Town threatened to demolish. When this did not happen, other people took this as a signal for them to move into the area. In December 2003, a significant number of people moved into the site. Currently there is sketchy official information on the population and service backlogs of Nkanini. Consequently, discussions often place Nkanini under Khayelista Township, which is only partially helpful. However, an Urban Landmark study reports that since the establishment of Nkanini in 2003, nearly 16% of households have traded their shack dwellings for an average price of R1 350 (Urban Landmark, 2010).

Waves of social protests have rocked Nkanini since 2007 and residents have claimed that government is taking too long to respond to their demands. From 2009 to 2011, a series of violent protest events rocked Nkanini as residents demanded electricity from the City of Cape Town. The flagship issue of electricity was underpinned by a range of municipal service delivery and governance issues.

6.2.3.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problem: Water access

The City of Cape Town's reports state that high levels of access to basic services have been attained for water supply, solid waste services and cleaning, and refuse removal (The City of Cape Town 2011-2012 IDP Review). Indeed, the majority of residents in Nkanini access their water from communal standpipes. Of the 30 respondents interviewed in this area, most (80%) used shared communal standpipes located in the streets, while a very small number (3%) relied on yard taps (Figure 32). The standpipes were sometimes located further than

200 meters from dwelling units, and some of such standpipes served more than a dozen households. Respondents pointed out that crime was a major problem in Nkanini, and residents, who had to walk several metres away from their dwelling units to access water services, particularly at night, were vulnerable to crimes like rape and robbery. Sometimes, access was constrained by over-crowding many household members sought to collect water from the same source and the same time. One female resident in Nkanini, whose livelihood is to manually wash clothes for people from as far as Wallacedene (Kraaifontein) said, “I have to wake up very early in the morning to catch a train so that I can go and pick up clothes to wash. Sometimes when I arrive in Nkanini our standpipe is so full of people that I fail to finish my work.”



Figure 32 **Examples of different locations of water taps in Nkanini, 2013**

6.2.3.3 Water Infrastructure

According to respondents, communal standpipes were installed without consulting local residents hence some of the standpipes were located very far from where people stay. In addition, the number of standpipes installed was far too low compared to the number of households in the area. As a result, some standpipes were over-subscribed with high numbers of households, some of whom had to walk more than the mandatory 200m.

In addition, infrastructure provision by the municipality did not seem to be matched by water users' sense of ownership and responsibility for the use, operation and maintenance of infrastructure. No one really cared how much water was used by whom and for what. Consequently, burst pipes and leakages often went unreported and unrepaired for days or weeks (see cover photo). Part of the problem was that none of the residents was directly responsible for monitor issues such as this. This problem was compounded by poor cell phone reception in Nkanini, which compelled residents to move to specific places in order to call or receive a call. The need for residents to walk distances from their dwelling units to obtain cellphone reception and thereby report water supply breakdown placed them at risk to

criminal attacks and effectively posed a disincentive to such responsible citizen behaviour. Often therefore water losses went unreported and unaccounted for.

6.2.3.4 Sanitation

Sanitation was one of the most contentious issues in Nkanini. Beyond the centre-stage of the much-publicized sanitation-related protests (also called “poo protests”) over uncovered flush toilets and bucket latrines in sections of predominantly black low income townships in Cape Town, Nkanini’s toilet saga largely went unreported and therefore below the radar of public scrutiny. The bucket system in Nkanini has indeed been a key grievance issue for the waves of protests have rocked the informal settlement since 2007. Since sanitation is closely linked to water services, this study therefore sought to develop clear understandings of the sanitation issues, which residents claim the government has taken too long to respond to.

Research findings suggest that most (over 81%) of the Nkanini residents use the bucket system, such as the ‘pota-pota’ bucket (Figure 33). Respondents stated that there was widespread dissatisfaction over the use of the bucket system. In some households, a large number of people shared the use of single bucket toilet, which the municipality emptied twice a week. A large number of news and social media articles captured by this study’s Events Catalogue attest to the unhappiness and deprivation-induced anger felt by residents in neighbourhoods such as Nkanini. In one *City Press* (2012a) article, a resident reportedly retorted, “Go and give Zille [the bucket toilet] and see if she uses that...” In another *City Press* (2012b) article, the ANC used racially implicit language to accuse the DA of giving “more attention to dogs than people.” The jostling of political parties, among many other actors, suggests that the prevailing political economy and political ecology surrounding water and sanitation service delivery is complex and should be seen against the background of historical colonial and apartheid political economies as well as the post-apartheid institutional set-up.

The observed dissatisfaction and anger seems to be strongly linked to a disjuncture between, on the one hand, Nkanini residents’ expectations for social services and quality of urban life and, on the other hand, municipal responses to growing needs associated with rapid urban population growth. The notion of ‘relative deprivation’ plausibly describes this disjuncture. Most (over 90%) of the respondents indicated that they had moved from the Eastern Cape within the preceding five years. They brought with them expectations of a better life. While they quickly discovered that residents of more affluent former white and coloured suburbs lived comfortably, they also perceived the stark contrast with their own pervasive condition of deprivation. Many began to question the *status quo* that seemed to

perpetuate their discrimination nearly two decades after the collapse of apartheid. Through the residents engagement with advocacy organizations, these residents also began to ponder the notion of 'rights to the city' as well as the authorities' respect of their constitutional rights to be treated as citizens equal to other groups of people who live in Cape Town.



Figure 33 Pota pota bucket toilet, Nkanini

6.3.2.5 Electricity

Lack of electricity was mentioned as one of the main causes of protests in Nkanini. Prior to the research in June 2013, the whole section of Nkanini did not have electricity and residents relied on illegal connections from railway electricity cables and street lights. The fact that this break in electricity transmission did not automatically lead to a social protest suggests that there might be specific sets of variables or proximate conditions that might permutate into fully-fledged protest action. In this case, the fact that residents coped with the challenge by devising ploys – albeit illegal – that enabled them to continue accessing electricity might need to be examined alongside the issue of municipal responses to the problem.

The background to current grievances is that from 2009 to 2011, Nkanini as residents embarked on a violent social protest to demand electricity services from the City of Cape Town. The outcome of the series of protest events was a positive response in 2012 from the City of Cape Town. The Executive mayor, Ms Patricia de Lille, convened a meeting attended by more than 1000 people “under a marquee constructed on open land next to the settlement”²³ where she announced that the city council had set aside R5 million to pay

²³ [URL: http://thenewage.co.za/52036-1011-53-Nkanini_residents_to_get_electricity](http://thenewage.co.za/52036-1011-53-Nkanini_residents_to_get_electricity)

Eskom to electrify the area in three phases. She further stated that the electrification project would, as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), employ about 30 residents, who would work on Nkanini's enumeration plan. Although the residents were not happy with the delays to project inception, they peacefully accepted de Lille's admission there had been a delay in beginning the first phase of electrification and the reason she gave for the delay. The city council's positive response to the grievance issue and mayor's open communication style and community engagement approach both seem to have played a key role in averting further protests about electricity in Nkanini.

By the time this research was carried out in June 2013, nearly 31% of Nkanini households had electricity in their homesteads. However, the rest still lacked access to electricity and they believed that the City was dragging its feet. Field observations also showed that many households had illegal connections. However, respondents from such households invariably denied that they owned and used electrical appliances, such televisions or radios.

6.2.3.6 Schools

One of the five main grievances mentioned by Nkanini respondents was the lack of schools for their children. There were no primary and secondary schools in the area, and residents were forced to send their kids to schools in Makhaza, Mandela Park and Kuyasa. The entailed extra burden of transport costs for their children further entrenched their desperation over the seemingly slow pace of service delivery. Further to that, one respondent argued that their kids were now being targeted by gangs. On further investigation of this matter, the researcher discovered that the main gangs, the Vuras and Vatos, had territorial boundaries which meant that anyone coming from another section of Nkanini could be suspected of belonging to the other gang's stronghold and therefore attacked. The Khayelitsha schools, which children from Nkanini attended, were recording higher incidents of gang violence. According to one of the school administrators, the gangs waited for learners at the school gate and then attacked them. The vulnerability of children to gang-related crime was said to be a serious concern for many Nkanini residents. Although the extent to which this concern has been conflated with grievances over water, sanitation and electricity services in social protests is not clear, but there might be a possible link. Research will engage further with the Social Justice Coalition and other members of the Western Cape Water Caucus.

6.2.3.7 Roles of Protest Mobilization and Organization

Social protests in Nkanini and the rest of Khayelitsha Township have been characterised by relatively high levels of organisation and the involvement of organised working classes.

Local councillors, including those suspended by the DA-led Cape Town City Council, and other political leaders affiliated to the ANC have led the violent protests. Consequently some of the councillors have been arrested, such as when they participated in the recent dumping of human waste at the Cape Town International Airport. This case peculiarly goes against conventional views in the Western Cape that “Councillors very often display accountability only to their political parties and fail to guard the interests of all citizens” (Fairshare, 2001: 4). It is possible that the councillors might be trying to save their political skin, as explained by one respondent: “...he has to be one of us; he can’t have a nice house when we are in shacks, otherwise we will vote him out”. However, given the jostling for power between the ANC and the DA in the Western Cape, it is also possible that the councillors’ involvement is largely politically expedient. Beyond self-interest, the possibility of councillors genuinely pursuing the interests of their constituencies cannot be ruled out.

Some political voices have alluded to the ‘Third Force’, whose objective seems to be to make the DA-led Western Cape ungovernable. However, CSOs that have played a central role in protest mobilization and organization have clarified the distinction between the protest events and repertoires that they planned and acted upon with the aggrieved communities and those run-away repertoires of contention that unfolded as violent disposal of bucket toilet waste at the airport. The latter, according to CSO activists, were led by certain members of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL). The youth wing of the ANC has indeed admitted its role in organizing the latter version of “poo protest”. In pursuing its intention to make the Western Cape “ungovernable”, the youth league’s dumping of human waste at the Cape Town International Airport was clearly a shock tactic intended to capture the attention of both the nation and international community. This accounts for the New Age Newspaper’s (2012) statement that the demonstration was ‘stage-managed’.

Among various local CSOs, the Social Justice Coalition appears to have played a key role in spearheading the protests and engagements associated with water and sanitation services in Cape Town. The Social Justice Coalition has used both formal and informal institutional engagement platforms. On the one hand, protest action has largely been an informal form of engagement with authorities. Formal engagement, on the other hand, has included submissions to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for Water as well as the first and final SAHRC hearings on the Progressive Realization of the Right to Water and Sanitation, which for the Western Cape Province were held in Cape Town CBD and Zwelethemba Township in Worcester, respectively. The Social Justice Coalition has also engaged with communities and conducted research on chemical toilets, commonly known as ‘Mshengu’ toilets. The organization’s research findings have shown that the company contracted to provide

sanitation services associated with the Mshengu toilets has not fulfilled its contractual responsibilities. According to Social Justice Coalition, the SAHRC hearings provided an opportunity for affected residents and support organizations to talk about their experiences with 'Mshengu' toilets and present their findings from a recently completed social audit. Three institutional entities assisted Social Justice Coalition with the audit. These were Ndifuna Ukwazi, the International Budget Partnership and the Society for Social Audit, Accountability and Transparency in India. The audit investigated whether or not the contracted company had met the terms of agreement between Mshengu Services and the City of Cape Town. The municipality had already paid Mshengu R126 million to install and maintain chemical toilets across the City, but the company had not delivered sanitation services as expected. Using these findings, the Social Justice Coalition engaged authorities as well as journalistic media. Furthermore, the CSO published research findings in its website and social media platforms. Such robust engagement appears to have been critical to effective protest mobilization and organization. However, the precision of purpose and preparation was not immune to capture by other vested interests that used the opportunity presented by on-going protest action to drive their own messages home to authorities, opponents and local, national and international public in general.

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that there is a complexity of issues and motives for protest mobilization and organization. This complexity is conflated with party politics, politicians and political representatives, who bring with them their own issues and motives that may or may not be external to grievance issues at hand. It is therefore not easy to clearly define the roles of key role-players without examining the nuanced pathways through which protests have unfolded.

6.2.4 ANALYSIS OF KEY DRIVERS OF SOCIAL PROTESTS

6.2.4.1 Meetings as Strategies for Engagement

Residents of Nkanini in Khayelitsha seemed to be more politically robust and prone to violent protests than many other residents of Khayelitsha Township. All the respondents linked this trait to their frequent attendance of street committee meetings as well as ward meetings. Respondents from Nkanini reported that they regularly met as street committees or with the councillors. Most (almost 70 %) of the respondents stated they met at least once per month with the local councillor. In addition, they also met as street committees several times a week. This was also confirmed by the fact that when the researcher visited the councillor's home, he always found small groups of people also intending to meet him.

6.2.4.2 Governability: Disjuncture between Poverty and Governance

In order to gain a clearer perspective on the linkage between social protests and water service delivery in localities such as Nkanini, it is necessary to go beyond the narrow confines of semantics. Water service delivery needs to be seen as a lens for highlighting the broader political economy issues around resource and rights allocation and deprivation, which have historically driven and continue to drive social cleavages in South African society. In the constitutional democracy that emerged following the fall of apartheid nearly two decades ago, the disjuncture between poverty, which prevails in areas like Nkanini, and 'governance', whose effective implementation continues to elude authorities, seems to have grown into a chasm. With deepening poverty and widespread perceptions of poor municipal governance, social protests have emerged as preferred engagement strategies for the marginalized urban poor and CSOs grappling to turn things around. Irrespective of political capture and Third Force allegations, the persistence of unmet expectations around poverty eradication and good governance have together become a key driver of social protests. The protests themselves articulate the fact that effective tackling of poverty and other requirements for redress is not just a question of governance but also of governability (see Kooiman, 2008). Citizens can use their constitutional right to the freedom of self-expression and thereby render a poor governance scenario ungovernable.

Nkanini is a low income residential area. Many of the residents lack basic social services and household material assets. They are mostly poor. Nkanini women, men, children, the chronically ill and the disabled are all vulnerable in various ways and to varying degrees. Granted, local authorities have made an effort to provide these informal settlement dwellers with access to basic water and sanitation services. The municipality has also responded positively to their needs for electricity, for example. However, their stake in the city of Cape Town remains precarious since they lack secure tenure and tenancy rights. There is an overall belief among Nkanini residents that politicians do not care for their plight, especially when it comes to services. As Alexander (2010:37) points, "protests reflect disappointment with the fruits of democracy.....People can vote, but all too often elected representatives are self-seeking and real improvements are few". For reasons such as this, Nkanini residents have joined other similarly aggrieved people living in Khayelitsha and neighbouring townships and together violently protested against perceived deprivation, injustice and poor governance. They have demonstrated a remarkable degree of political activism, which shows a consciousness that staking claim for their democratic rights to the city and access to basic services, such as water and sanitation services, is inherently a political process that requires a range of strategies, tactics and repertoires.

Such political activism was demonstrated during one research interview, when a respondent stated, “Zille and DA don’t want blacks in Cape Town, and we will fight until we get what want!” The flipside of perceptions of exclusion was not so much inclusion, but the vocalized intention by Nkanini residents to hold their ANC councillors to account. They threatened that they would vote their elected councillor out of office should he be seen to be pursuing his own self-interest at the expense of his constituency (couched as the councillor having to be “one of us” and not having “a nice house when we are in shacks”).

The fact that sentiments such as these have emerged against the backdrop of an unprecedented increase in the frequency of protest action in the whole Cape Flats region perhaps attests to shifts towards newer mobilizations and different forms of engagement from those preceding the lead up to the Zuma era. Meetings with councillors, engagements with authorities in ‘hearings’ and violent and non-violent social protests have become revived as strategies of choice for marginalized people claiming their democratic rights from institutions largely perceived to be entrenching rather than transforming the apartheid legacy of segregation.

6.2.4.3 Enablers (as opposed to Drivers)

The distinction needs to be made between the key drivers and enablers of protests. Enablers would seem to include key role-players in protest organization and mobilization. They include formal and informal support institutions and organizations, such as CSOs and residents associations, institutional actors such as councillors and politicians, institutional networks such as Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and the Water Caucus, among others. Another key enabler is access to journalistic and social media and telecommunications.

Access to media and telecommunications contributes to residents’ awareness of government programmes or other projects. A problem commonly cited by Nkanini residents was lack of electricity. Hence they could not watch television or listen to radio programmes. In addition, very few of them could actually afford newspapers. This hampered their participation in discussions pertaining to issues that affect them. They also felt that this probably also contributed to distorting their relationship with government

The research however also found that most of the households in Nkanini did not disclose correct information when it came to access to media like radios and television. The reason seemed to be linked to the prevalence of illegal electricity connections, which was practised by most of the households in the area. So to disclose that they have televisions and radios will raise questions about the source of energy. The researcher also happened to observe

inside some of the homes and saw various electricity appliances such as televisions. This goes to show the extent the community can go to protect themselves from outsiders getting information.

6.3 FINDINGS FROM KWAZULU-NATAL

The study conducted field surveys in two areas, namely Umlazi and Sea-cow Lake/Kenville

6.3.1 UMLAZI

- ☐ Location: Umlazi AA and BB Sections, Durban, eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality
- ☐ Date of field research: 17 to 19 July 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher: Dr Walter Musakwa
- ☐ Name of research assistant: Mr Armstrong Dzomba

6.3.1.1 Introduction

This study surveyed the community of Umlazi, which lies 10 km south of the Durban CBD in eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality. Umlazi is situated close to Durban South Industrial complex, which occupies an 8 km stretch of land from the Bayhead District of the main harbour southwards. Like several other locations in Durban and its surrounding areas, Umlazi is covered by rugged hilly terrain and a network of rivers.

Umlazi is one of the largest high density townships in Durban. The township is subdivided into about 26 sections and each subdivision is represented by an alphabet. The particular context of our study was, however, sections A and B. The decision to select these designated sections was based on an analytical of land tenure and tenancy within the Umlazi township area. Umlazi is characterized by a representative mix of self-constructed formal houses, low cost houses provided by the government and informal structures by self-settled residents. These variations allowed for a textured sample for the study.

6.3.1.2 Background

There have been reports of service delivery-related protests in the Umlazi area. An article entitled 'Umlazi uprising faces bullets arrests' by the Mail & Guardian (2012) reported that service delivery protests in Umlazi date back to August 2011. This statement has yet to be tested, however, since the media does not catalogue all protests, particularly those that are non-violent. However, many of the township residents are reported to be poor, with high levels of unemployment and low incomes. The township has historically been characterized by relatively low levels of socio-economic development and a narrow range of social

services, which included a clinic, a police station and a sports stadium. Squatter camps presently occupy about a third (30%) of the housing area in Umlazi. Previously this proportion was higher, but many of the shacks have been demolished in order to make way for the construction of RDP houses. Which shacks still commanding a significant share of the spatial area of Umlazi, there have been reports of poor delivery of water and sanitation services. Other issues have included unemployment, housing and the growth of informal settlements.

Similar to recent developments in some of the townships within South African metropolitan council areas, such as Orange Farm in Johannesburg, Umlazi has over the past few years increasingly become a focus of private sector and government investment. The township has seen rapid socio-economic development through the construction of new shopping complexes, libraries, schools and universities of technology, such as Mangosuthu Coastal College and Umlazi Coastal College. The strategic objective of investments in educational infrastructure, for example, is to provide Umlazi's children and youth with easier access to relatively low-cost and high quality education, thus enhancing their skills and chances of getting higher income employment and breaking out of the poverty trap.

6.3.1.3 Outline of Service Delivery Problem

Respondents were satisfied with the delivery of water services. However, the amount of money paid monthly for water services was an object of dissatisfaction, particularly among households with large numbers of people living on the plot.

Protests over service delivery issues in Umlazi were underpinned by broader grievances about unemployment and under-participation in political processes for planning and developing water infrastructure. Umlazi protests were therefore largely associated with poor municipal governance. For instance, information on community participation was either inaccessible or misinterpreted by community members. Residents expected their elected representatives to tackle and deliver on employment targets and security in neighbourhoods, the latter to reduce crime. However, some respondents expressed lack of confidence in their local politicians, namely, Ward Councillors. They did not consider them committed and capable enough to represent their interests, including the problems highlighted above.

6.3.1.4 Reflection on Field Research Findings

There is overwhelming evidence showing that involvement of residents in the political processes involving water infrastructure is deficient. The vast majority of the respondents revealed that they were not aware of the existence of opportunities, more so such as ones

they could participate in. The general stance that respondents held towards participation in planning (not restricted to water infrastructure alone), was that their suggestions would merely be trivial thereby rendering their input symbolic. In addition, interviewees were more prepared to reveal their monthly water expenditure yet intriguingly not compliant in showing the fieldworkers their water bills (this was the case in ALL the households). Mild complaints against the survey related to its length. Most female respondents indicated to the fieldworkers that they would have wished to quickly finish with the survey so that they would resume with their domestic chores.

On a more positive note, interviewees seemed very composed, especially when answering questions to do with politics, democracy and socio-economic issues in the latter part of the questionnaire. Although a significant number of responses concerning political affiliations and satisfaction with service offered by political institutions showed a general dissatisfaction with the ANC, eThekweni Municipality and Ward Councillors alike, they were accompanied by utterances confirming future loyalty. The fieldworkers were well received in all the households visited referred to. Notably, upon skipping some households as per the dictates of the sampling method followed, many who saw the fieldworkers wielding clipboards and conducting surveys, in their anticipation, questioned the purpose of their activity and selective behaviour. Moreover, some household heads and members, who were present when we carried out the interviews, wanted to know the immediate benefit of their participation in the survey. Others were keener to reveal to us their other challenges, which were completely unrelated to our research quest. To such respondents, we were less helpful but recommended them to visit Social Workers.

6.3.2 SEA-COW LAKE, KENVILLE

- ☐ Location: Kenville-Sea Cow Lake Informal Settlement, Durban, eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality
- ☐ Date of field research: 22 to 26 July 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher: Dr Walter Musakwa
- ☐ Name of research assistant: Mr Armstrong Dzomba

6.3.2.1 Introduction

Kenville/Sea Cow Lake is an informal settlement located adjacent to the Springfield Park Industrial complex, 5 km northwest of the Durban CBD. In addition, the site of this settlement constitutes the main watershed for the Umgeni River and is therefore largely etched by dozens of streams.

Concerning residential composition, Kenville/Sea-Cow Lake (like Umlazi) consists of medium and high density residential sections. The housing typologies vary dramatically from informal structures to upmarket residential dwellings. In Kenville/Sea-Cow Lake, about a third (34%) of residents live in formal housing, nearly two-thirds (63%) live in informal housing and a very small proportion (2%) live in traditional mud and thatch dwellings (UN Habitat, 2007). A significant proportion (38%) of the households in informal settlement areas of Sea Cow Lake/Kenville are headed by women (UN Habitat, 2007). The existence of informal settlements and the high percentage of women-headed households are some of the proxy indicators that residents of this locality are possibly poor.

In many ways, Kenville/Sea-cow seem to have been suspended in a time-capsule, whereby the legacy of historical racial segregation has remained etched into the social landscape long after the apartheid and colonial machinery has been dismantled. This is by no means unique to this locality, but has become a commonly encountered grotesque spectre that lingers on, in caricature of the post-apartheid dispensation in many urban contexts across the country. In Durban, Sea-cow Lake is a predominantly black informal settlement located close to Kenville. Kenville is de facto divided into two distinct sections. The more affluent section consists of a collection of houses and duplexes that have seen their better days in a by-gone era, and are presently occupied by a predominantly Indian population. The less affluent section of Kenville is an informal settlement that consists mainly of shacks, which are predominantly occupied by black people. The racial dimension to the socio-economic differentiation of Kenville's two residential sections has emerged as an underlying cause of discontent for some of the residents.

The specific unit of analysis for this field study was households. Accordingly, the household heads, spouses or de-facto senior persons were considered competent to respond to the survey questions. Often, researchers interviewed wives as husbands were absent in the household. Several households were headed by unmarried women.

The settlement pattern in this area is mostly haphazard and researchers mainly relied on a cluster sample for the selection of households. The arrangement of housing structures in relation to certain water points in this community, however, gave a remote outline of a certain degree of rudimentary planning in this settlement. This in any case was useful to a great extent in formulating 3 clusters of up to 10 households and aided us in setting to create a context from which we collected the data.

Researchers were introduced to this community by a key local resource person, whom the researchers identified. The South African Water Caucus also provided useful insights on

how to approach the community. Equally important to gaining entry into the community, researchers largely gained permission through “informed consent” to proceed with the interviews verbally. Most respondents would collaborate by conceding to the researchers’ request to ask them, ‘a few questions concerning water service delivery’. Respondents rarely insisted on researchers’ recital of the questionnaire preamble (ethical statement and disclaimer).

6.3.2.2 Background

Sea Cow Lake/Kenville is one of the nine settlements that fall under the Duikerfontein area, which was incorporated into the City of Durban in 1932. Sea Cow Lake is approximately 8 km from the City Centre. It is close to the Umgeni River, the railway line, the Coronation Brick, the Northern Sewage Works and the City Boundary. According to the Group Areas Act, these areas were declared for Indian ownership and occupation in 1959. The name ‘sea-cow’ is based on the Afrikaans word ‘seekoei’ which means ‘hippo.’ It is said that there were hippos in the former times (UN Habitat, 2007). This location is now a large dry area with only parts which become marshy seasonally. Although there are informal settlements in this area, they are not easily visible.

As Tapela (Appendix 1 of this report) points out, a challenge encountered in attempting to characterize the background to this case study is that information about Kenville/Sea Cow Lake seems to be outdated and might not relate to the current situation. The UN Habitat (2007) notes, “Umlazi and Kenville/Sea Cow Lake are areas that have not been researched to a great extent by the eThekweni Municipality”. While this creates gaps in characterization by this report, the lack of reliable data itself presents an opportunity to develop clear understandings and perhaps new insights to enhance existing knowledge and practice.

In 2007 Sea Cow Lake had a population of 14 748. In 2007 Kenville/Sea-Cow Lake’s gender distribution was as follows: females 50, 4% and males 49, 6%. A study conducted by the eThekweni Municipality in 2003 and 2004 entitled ‘Quality of Life Survey’ stated that in 2004, many households were made up of less than 6 members. The average household comprised of 4.5 members. The study also found that more than 50% of the population had a matric certificate. However, only 11% of the population had tertiary level education. This suggests that residents of Sea Cow Lake might generally have low chances of being employed in higher income jobs. While this might have possible negatively effects on the socio-economic status of many of the residents, it also seems to have a bearing on the levels of service delivery in their location.

6.3.2.3 Outline of Service Delivery Problem

Research findings were that there was generally widespread satisfaction with water service delivery and access to water points in Kenville. There was also satisfaction with the availability of water and time taken to repair damaged systems in the rare case of this occurring. However, some respondent residents noted that access to hygiene was not equitably distributed among residents. Given that the toilet/bathroom facilities in the section with informal structures were container type lockable structures, some residents had no access to the keys for these. They largely coped by sharing keys with neighbours or friends. Given the frequency with which they needed to use the toilet, they found this arrangement disempowering and inconvenient.

While there was an evident connection between water and other unmet services rendered to the residents, respondents were generally unaware of their water services issues and had almost never participated in any community water and/or communal infrastructure development and/or planning program. Rather, the main of the problem for residents of Kenville/Sea-Cow Lake seemed to be issues pertaining to governance, unemployment, inadequate housing, and lack of electricity. Many of the residents, particularly in the informal settlements, had to make do with illegal electricity connections. Lack of adequate housing was a major concern as many respondents reasoned out that most of the challenges they faced were due to poor housing and would automatically be resolved if they secure better housing. Other grievances existed on a localised level. For instance, these included violence, theft and late closure of taverns, which was said to spur criminal activities. Such grievances appeared to be the yardstick or threshold by which residents gauged the performance of local leadership and law enforcement personnel.

Regarding unmet expectations, residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of employment opportunities for the youth, poor services such as refuse collection in informal settlements and slow pace of provision of housing for informal settlement dwellers. There were strong community claims that residents in informal settlements were ill-treated and largely neglected because of their race. The Ward Councillor, who was politically affiliated to the Democratic Alliance (DA), allegedly ignored grievances of informal settlement residents, where support for African National Congress (ANC) was significantly strong and where almost all residents were black South Africans.

Furthermore, there was a racial inflection to the expressed grievances. While residents of the predominantly black informal settlement of Sea-cow Lake felt aggrieved about their perceived neglect, residents of the predominantly black informal settlement of Kenville

seemed to exhibit a deeper secret hatred for the other racial group (i.e. Indian in ethnic origin), which resided in a separate section of Kenville. The former group perceived the latter to be more affluent than themselves, who were historically and currently more disadvantaged as black residents of Kenville informal settlement close by. Indeed, at a glance the duplexes and formal houses in the predominantly Indian section of Kenville seemed better than the shacks in the predominantly black informal settlement section. However, closer scrutiny revealed that most of these dwellings were in fact old, jaded and dilapidated and spoke of a past glory rather than any present notion of affluence. This reality nonetheless did not assuage the deep-seated anger induced by a sense of relative deprivation, which was accentuated by close geographical proximity and a history of segregation. The DA councillor apparently lived in this 'privileged' section and was perceived to be generally selective and partial in addressing black informal settlement dwellers' expressed dissatisfaction with services delivery and other challenges.

6.3.2.4 Reflections on Field Research

During field observation and note taking, researchers were able to detect a number of pointers from the verbal responses and non-verbal cues exhibited by the interviewees and even so from who refused to be interviewed. While the majority of the people who consented to participate in the survey were very keen to do so, they had a real hope that their participation would prompt imminent change especially in certain areas of their lives they had challenges. Some indicated to researchers that they were hoping the entire survey would focus on service delivery in detail (i.e. beyond water only). Researchers reminded them that their main subject of interest was water service delivery and, to an extent, sanitation.

Many respondents were not comfortable with disclosing to researchers precise information concerning the type of energy they used for lighting and cooking. This seemed to be linked to the fact that they mostly relied on electricity illegally connected to their structures. Male respondents in general were less interested in responding to the survey, citing that it was either too long or that the questions were repetitive. Additionally, concerning gender and age profiles, it was more apparent that fetching water was particularly a domain of female and younger household members. Residents were more familiar with the functions and performance of local civic organisations than they were with national ones. This was exemplified in the question that required respondents to evaluate the performance of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). Very few respondents were familiar with this organization.

6.3.2.5 Summary and Conclusion

In summary, there is almost widespread satisfaction with water service delivery and access to water points in Kenville and Sea-cow Lake. It must be pointed out, however, that people in the sample were generally unaware of their water services and had almost never participated in any community water and/or communal infrastructure development and/or planning project or program. Rather, the linkage between adequate housing and secure access to water services was clearly articulated. Indeed, access to adequate housing was widely considered to be a key component of the solution to service delivery challenges.

The connection between unmet expectations for water, housing, electricity, sanitation, refuse removal and crime prevention, on the one hand, and institutional responses, on the other hand, emerged more strongly in terms of a localized governance issue in Kenville and Sea-cow Lake. Perceptions were that the local councillor tended to ignore concerns expressed by impoverished black people living in informal settlements. By contrast, he exclusively pursued the interests of more affluent people within his own narrow political and racial constituency.

On a day-to-day basis, however, unemployment and lack of adequate housing emerged as overriding concerns for most of the residents. In some instances during the process of field research, much younger women would pursue male researchers for an opportunity to be interviewed as they were under the impression that they were enlisting people for job openings. Despite that most respondents tended to downplay or not mention unemployment and poverty without being prompted, this indicated that the need for employment and income perhaps occupied an important position in the ranking of challenges facing the Sea-cow Lake/Kenville community.

6.4 FINDINGS FROM GAUTENG PROVINCE

6.4.1 ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

- ☐ Location: City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 2 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.4.1.1 Introduction and Background

According to Kotze & Mathola (2012) Alexandra township was established in 1905 and is Gauteng's oldest township. It is situated about 12 km north-east of central Johannesburg. The township is bordered by commercial and industrial zones to the north. Presently, the

township is a densely-settled residential area, and comprises 8 500 formal houses, 3 400 shacks, three hostels, 25 000 flats and a number of old factories (Ibid.). Wilson (2012) however estimates the number of shacks in Alexandra to be about 20,000. Alexandra's residential area can be divided into four sections, which each have distinct housing and socio-economic characteristics. The sections are:

- Tswe'tla and Old Alexandra, the poorest and most densely-populated area, comprising mainly of shacks and dilapidated hostels;
- The East Bank, redeveloped in the 1980s and accommodating five percent of the population (middle class);
- Tsutsumani (initially called the Far East Bank), redeveloped to support the All-African Games; and
- River Park, accommodating a middle-income community where the unemployment rate is lower than the township's average of 60 % (Kotze & Mathola, 2012).

A major challenge in Alexandra is over-population, which directly negatively impacts housing, water service delivery and hygiene in the area. The rapid increase in population is caused by the influx of people from different parts of South Africa and other African countries, who migrate to Johannesburg with the hope of finding employment. The township lies next to some of the wealthiest areas of Johannesburg, making the severe poverty and deprivation in the township a stark contrast particularly to the wealth of Sandton, which is located 3 km away, and older low density suburbs within the vicinity, such as Houghton Estate, Oaklands and Norwood.

6.4.1.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problem: Housing

Alexandra has a range of service delivery problems, which include water access, sanitation, housing, infrastructure and illegal dumping. This section describes the strategies used in engagements with authorities and the anticipated/observed outcomes and responses from the latter. An outline of the outline of the history of violent and non-violent social protests in the area and the aims of protestors will be given.

Due to the rapid increase of the population of Alexandra, housing is a major challenge in the area. The existing dwellings are congested, owing to the rapid increase in population relatively to provision of housing. Residents claim that lack of housing leads to difficult living conditions, which negatively affects their quality of life. Lack of housing has led to overcrowding in household plots, where surplus people are accommodated in backyards and other types of informal housing. For instance, due to the huge housing backlog, residents have entered into arrangements with owners of disused factories to occupy this type of

infrastructure for housing purposes. Informal residents sub-divide these factory buildings to accommodate as many families as possible. Furthermore, informal houses have also been built in the yards of factories (Figure 34). Although residents are adamant that their occupation of the factories is based on agreements with factory owners, to whom they pay rent, they also acknowledge that factory owners have largely abandoned the buildings and they are therefore often unclear about who owns the factories. Currently some of the residents, often those that are relatively new in the yard and mostly foreigners, pay rent to a syndicate that has hijacked the buildings. These informal tenants highlighted their concerns over the insecurity of their tenure and the stigma of being seen as illegal squatters, who have hijacked the factories.



Figure 34 Slum jostles with factory accommodation in Alexandra

Due to their “illegal” occupation of the factories, the factory residents struggle to access services under their informal housing circumstances. They do not have electricity and the Metropolitan council (or ‘Johannesburg Metro’) does not make provision for their sanitation and water services requirements. Instead, those residents who live in formal housing have illegally connected the informal tenants to the existing water reticulation and sanitation systems (see photograph on report cover).

Informal tenants and residents state that the Metro is determined to evict them from their informal housing, which they continue to strenuously resist. However, some among them were forcefully removed by the Metro through coercive “assistance” by the Red Ants security guards. Residents seem to have learnt from the plight of those who were forcefully removed,

who were supposed to be given alternative accommodation but for over one year have instead been housed in four big tents (Figure 35). The tent-dwelling residents complained about disruptions to their family life as men and women slept in different tents. They also expressed concerns about health and hygiene, particularly since there was a dumping site right next to the tents, which attracted rats. Other grievances were the lack of sanitation facilities, which compelled informal residents to either relieve themselves in the bushes or ask neighbours living in formal housing for use of their toilets. Open defecation exposed tent dwellers to the elements, which was a particularly unpleasant challenge in winter. Residents reported that in August 2013 two children had died probably as a result of exposure to the cold winter weather. Moreover, residents living in tents have to cook outside in the unhygienic environment, with rats and a dumping site nearby.



Figure 35 Tent housing in the Malboro section of Alexandria

6.4.1.3 Water Access

Residents argue that due to the high population there are high water cuts in the area especially during weekends when most people are not working and more water is used for doing laundry, cleaning and other domestic uses. High migration into Alexandria has led to high water demand as the water supply system supplies more people than it had been designed for. Moreover, the many residents, including those residing in the factories, access their water through illegal connections (Figure 36). This leads to regular water cut-offs by the Metro as it tries to limit its costs through water used in illegal connections for which it does not receive any revenue (Figure 37). Residents, however, explained that whenever the

Metro cut-off their water supply they would just reconnect it with the assistance of community members that know how to reconnect the pipes.



Figure 36 **Illegal tap connection, Alexandria**



Figure 37 **Municipal water saving device used to reduce wastage at a communal tap, Alexandria**

The shortage of housing in Alexandria has led to increased inequality in access to water services. Access to housing and financial resources provides some residents with the means to illegally connect themselves and get access to water services and sanitation (Figure 4). By contrast, those who have no access to housing and/or cannot afford the costs of illegal connections struggle with basic access to water and sanitation.

Some residents have illegal water connections inside their houses, meaning they enjoy a level of service that is at the top of the water ladder even though this has been illegally attained. Residents who have illegally connected water find it difficult to engage with municipality as customers when there are water cuts. Residents stated that they would want

to pay for their water services so that they do not have to deal with water supply interruptions and so that they are able to engage with the Metro regarding access to water, particularly water supply interruptions.

6.4.1.4 Sanitation

There are areas in Alexandra with no sanitation facilities. Residents in these areas use the bush to relieve themselves. Some have taken the initiative to build and connect their own toilets to the sewer system, which has a further impact on infrastructure breakdown. Other residents have done illegal water connections that include water borne toilets in their houses. This means that they enjoy levels of water and sanitation services that are at the top of the water ladder even though this has been illegally attained. Yet other residents have no access to sanitation at all. As in the case of access to water services, housing shortage and socio-economic status in Alexandra have given rise to increased inequality in access to sanitation services. Those that have the means can simply illegally connect themselves and get household access to water and sanitation whilst those that cannot afford to do so struggle with basic access to water and sanitation. Illegal connections also create a major challenge for the Metro in terms of its ability to effectively plan for water and sanitation. Women's hostels are particularly problematic in that poor access to water and sanitation services has negative implications for women's health, hygiene and dignity (Figure 38).

6.4.1.5 Infrastructure

Infrastructure challenges in Alexandra include leaks from pipes and taps, which are mainly caused by illegal connections, theft and poor maintenance from the municipality. In areas such as Marlboro, where residents live in factories, people access water by buying their own material and connecting pipes to those of the municipality in order to access water. Most of the time the material used is of poor quality and oftentimes it leaks. Furthermore, the regular disconnections of illegal connections by the municipality and re-connections by the residents cause further damage to the infrastructure.

Alexandra also faces challenges of theft of copper taps by drug users, which the municipality replaces with plastic taps that break and leak often as they are not of sufficiently good quality. The Metro has failed to maintain water infrastructure in large parts of Alexandra. Residents claim that if a pipe or tap is leaking in an area the Metro refuses to fix it if no one in that particular plot owns a title deed. This leads to water wastage, lost revenue for the Metro as well as infrastructure damage as community members are forced to fix their own leakages.

Leaking infrastructure is a major challenge and has caused floods in most parts of the area. The study found that despite all the flooding caused by leaking taps and blocked pipes and sewage systems in the area, residents of Alexandra hardly see this as a major factor when protesting. The reason given by residents is that the leaks do not really have a major impact on them since they do not pay for water and they hardly run out of water.



Figure 38 **Accumulation of effluent around women's hostels, Alexandra**



Figure 39 **Illegal refuse dumping site in Malboro, Alexandria**



Figure 40 **A few residents meet to discuss issues of common concern, Alexandria**

6.4.1.6 Illegal Dumping Sites

Alexandra is full of illegal dumping sites due to failure by the municipality to collect refuse (Figure 39). This problem poses a danger to the safety and health of children, who play among the rubble. The refuse problem also adds to the prevailing conflation of service delivery challenges.

6.4.1.7 Roles of Organization and Mobilization

During the apartheid era, Alexandra was often the site of anti-apartheid political struggle. Despite such history, post-1994 Alexandra has remarkably had relatively few violent service delivery protests compared to many similar contexts across South Africa. This study surveyed Alexandra's protests since 2007. Findings showed that protest action has been associated with interplay of roles by different institutions, actors and groups (Figure 40). These have included local groups or organizations (e.g. residents' associations), municipalities, political parties and councillors, civil society organizations (CSOs), the media and police.

Critically, however, CSOs have played various key roles in the organization and mobilization of different protests over the years. For example, the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF) not only

organized and mobilized protests against lack of housing and related social services in 2007, but also disseminated journalistic articles on social media advocating for the rights of protesters and legitimacy of their grievances (see Box 2²⁴).

Box 2 Example of CSO Advocacy Report on Social Media

'Housing Protest in Alexandra'

Residents, who have long been waiting for proper housing and who have met with, and marched on, Johannesburg city council officials endlessly over the last few years, are fed-up and are demanding that these empty & half-built council flats be given to the community immediately.

There is a heavy police presence in the area. Residents have vowed not to leave until Gauteng MEC for Housing – Nomvula Mokonyane – comes to address their demands. In a *pathetic and unsuccessful attempt* to address the residents' demands for proper housing, the City of Joburg, earlier today, dispatched 3 councillors and 2 junior housing officials to the area.

Residents *rightfully refused* to move until the Joburg mayor and/or the Gauteng MEC for Housing come to address their demands.

The City of Joburg has promised that this will happen by 09h00 tomorrow morning. *In the meantime, the residents will continue their occupation.* – (APF, 2007)

By contrast, CSOs such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South African National Civics Organization (SANCO), Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF) and Keep Left all voiced views and/or advocated that the 2008 xenophobic protests, which conflated grievances over service delivery with African immigrant issues, should have been directed towards authorities rather than foreign nationals. To a greater extent, however, there seem to have emerged new mobilizations by CSOs and other key stakeholders around long-standing grievances over poverty, poor living conditions, violence and poor service delivery. Such mobilizations revolve around the government-led Urban Renewal Project (URP).

Alexandra's the URP includes approximately 200 projects, some of which are related to environmental and human skills development while others focus on the upgrading of housing and services within the township. The Alexandra Renewal Project is designed to uplift the area and undo the legacy of racial inequality. In a period of ten years since its inception, the Alexandra URP has spent R1.9 billion. Approximately 14,500 housing units have been constructed and three hostels re-modeled to accommodate families. Electricity, water and sewage upgrades have also been implemented, with the result that 70,000 households have benefited from improved and reliable access to services. Along the Jukskei River, which has

²⁴ NB: Italics have been used to highlight the CSO's use of language in advocating for the rights of protesters.

hitherto been an eye-sore due to waste dumping and a source of vulnerability due to seasonal flooding, a green park with walkways has been developed and bridges constructed across the river. Furthermore, all roads within the township have been tarred and several widened (Kotze & Mathola, 2012).

Despite these achievements, this study confirmed earlier findings by Kotze & Mathola (Ibid.) that people's attitudes reveal a persistence of high levels of dissatisfaction with service delivery. Field research found such attitudes to be particularly prevalent among residents of Tswe'tla and Old Alexandra, which comprise the poorest and most densely-populated area made up mainly of shacks and dilapidated hostels. Such dissatisfaction was largely about grievances over the provision of services, such as housing water supply services and infrastructure, sanitation and illegal dumping of waste. Given the rapid appraisal method adopted for data collection in this case study, this report makes reference to more detailed findings by Kotze & Mathola (2012), whose assessment of levels of satisfaction also includes electricity, recreational facilities and health services among services-related grievance within the residential area (Table 14). As already mentioned in Section 1.1.3, although housing emerges as the greatest source of dissatisfaction, it is strongly associated with grievances over water and sanitation services.

Table 14 Satisfaction Levels on Social Services Delivery in Alexandra, 2012²⁵

Variable	Satisfied (%)	Neutral (%)	Dissatisfied (%)
Housing	28.3	0	71.8
Sanitation	46.8	5	48.2
Water supply	51.8	1.8	46.5
Electricity	26.8	3.3	69.8
Health facilities	28.2	6.8	65
Education facilities	35	23.3	41.7
Recreational facilities	21.6	25	53.3

6.4.1.8 Local People's Strategies of Engagement and Protest Organization

Community members said they had been attending ward committee meetings and meetings called by councillors. However, they found that the focus of the councillors was mainly on

²⁵ Source: Kotze & Mathola (2012)

party political issues rather than developmental challenges and service delivery. Some residents accused councillors of spending more time in community meetings talking about the shortcomings of other parties rather than concentrating on the community's needs. Moreover, community members also accused councillors of only being interested in enriching themselves and abandoning communities that had elected them. Residents in the tents felt betrayed by the Metro and their councillor as they had been evicted on the understanding that they would be given alternative housing. Instead when they asked about this, the Metro and councillors asked for their identity documents and accused them of not being South Africans.

Residents have since formed their own street and housing settlement committees centred on pressurising councillors and the Metro on the needs of communities. These committees have been crucial in their fight against evictions in Alexandra. When the Metro threatened to evict residents of informal housing such as those in the factories, these committees also played a central role in organising social protests against the Metro and forced removals.

The engagements that the residents in Alexandra have had with the Metro and councillors have reportedly not borne fruit in terms of leading to better housing and basic services, such as electricity and water and sanitation. Instead, residents are still largely illegally housed and therefore not being serviced by the Metro. Nonetheless, social protests have had some positive outcomes for residents in that the Metro has not continued with its eviction campaign. However, this is likely to be a short reprieve given that the issues that forced the Metro to act, which included illegal occupation of land, housing and accessing of services, are still prevalent and are still leading to financial loss for the municipality.

6.4.2 ORANGE FARM

- ☐ Location: City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 4 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Mr Lesego Loate, Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.4.2.1 Introduction

Orange Farm is situated 50 km south of Johannesburg and was established in the mid-1980s as a spill-over settlement from Soweto. Although facing huge challenges of unemployment, poverty and HIV/Aids, which has left many families without breadwinners and adult care givers, the Orange Farm community is strong, proud and vibrant; focused on a bright vision for their children's future. It is a community that offers hope in the face of

sometimes desperate circumstances²⁶. The settlement is home to some 350 000 people, who mostly live in shacks, are mostly unskilled and living without visible means of subsistence. The settlement also has the highest number of gravel roads in the country. Surprisingly, Orange Farm also has one of the highest matric pass rates in the country.

Over the past few years, the settlement has been a target for huge amounts of developmental funding and its inhabitants are among the most civic minded in the land (Tapela, 2013: 60). According to Habitants for Humanity (2013) sections 1 and 4 of Drieziek farm form part of the sections of Orange Farm that have not been proclaimed but are in the process of being proclaimed.

6.4.2.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problem

This section outlines the service delivery problems found in Orange Farm. These include water access, sanitation, electricity, and infrastructure. Moreover, this section will give a description of strategies used in engagements with authorities and the anticipated/observed outcomes from the authorities. An outline of the history of violent and non-violent social protests in the area and the aims of protestors will also be given.

6.4.2.3 Water Access

Water access challenges in Orange Farm relate mainly to issues of inadequate quantity and total lack of water supply. In Drieziek 4 people have no access at all to water services. They have to walk a long distance to ask for water from one of the community members. Having only one person to assist with water supply for a large number of households means that everyone in the community goes to the same individual to ask for water and they spend hours in a long queue. The community in Drieziek 4 used to access water from a communal standpipe. However, thieves started to steal the copper taps and sold them for drugs. Following the interruption of water supply, people decided to do illegal connections from the communal standpipes to their houses, which has caused the underground water pipes to burst and cause flooding in the area (Figure 41). A recent SADC-supported Local Government Turn Around Strategy (LGTAS) strategic partnership initiative piloted in certain sections of Sebokeng has helped to curb significant water losses (Figure 42)

²⁶ Source: www.stjohnsfoundation.co.za



Figure 41 Flooded road due to burst water pipe, Orange Farm



Figure 42 Sebokeng streets are mostly free from flooding due to Sebokeng Local Municipality's turn-around strategy

To deal with these illegal connections the municipality would adjust the pressure so that water came out in small quantities and usually these would often be drips or, in some instances, the water would not come out at all. In order to access water, residents now have to go to other sections such as Drieziek 1 to ask for water. Some of the old women pensioners are compelled to pay helpers R90 to get water for them using a 20 litre drum, which is conveyed dangerously from across the Golden Highway. However, due to challenges of unemployment, many residents do not have the means to pay someone to get water. Furthermore, the risk of crossing the highway has made it difficult to find people who are willing to carry water across the Golden Highway.

6.4.2.4 Sanitation

Sanitation challenges include lack of proper sanitation facilities, residents in Drieziek 4 use pit latrines, which they had to dig for themselves (Figure 43). Residents claim that they handed in petitions to the municipality over a contractor, who was hired to work on the

sewage pipes in order to install proper flushing toilets in the yards but never finished the work. The answer the community received from the municipality and councillor was that the community of Drieziek 4 chased away the contractor. According to the community these allegations are not true. The community members argue, “Why would we chase away the contractor when we need water and toilets”. It emerged that the municipality ended the contractor’s appointment before project completion and did not inform the community about the reasons behind the termination of the contract.



Figure 43 A self-made pit latrine, Orange Farm

6.4.2.5 Infrastructure

Orange Farm lacks water infrastructure because, as stated above, the communal standpipes that were installed were subsequently vandalised by drug users, who stole the copper material to purchase drugs. The affected taps and pipes were never replaced by the municipality, leaving the community without any water access. The other challenge found in Orange Farm is that of poor road infrastructure. Residents claim that due to the lack of proper tarred roads during the rainy season it is difficult for cars and people to use the roads. This has a negative impact on households’ livelihoods as some have lost their jobs due to lack of work attendance.

6.4.2.6 Electricity

Residents claim that they experience frequent electricity challenges due to that the transformer installed is working below requisite capacity. Consequently, it keeps on tripping and exploding, which both damage residents’ electrical appliances. The municipality has employed a contractor who illegally connected electricity in the area. Residents claim that

they had a problem with one of the transformers for the street lights, which exploded. When Eskom employees arrived to fix the electricity problem they found that, according to their records, the area was not supposed to have any street lights and Eskom subsequently shut down electricity supply.

Other issues include theft of electricity cables by drug users. The area also faces challenges of high illegal electricity connections. Residents claim that they do not have a vending station nearer to the community, where they can buy the electricity. Therefore they have decided to illegally connect the electricity, which means that they never have to pay for this service.

6.4.2.7 Description of Strategies Used in Engagements with Authorities

Residents stated that meetings had been held with the councillors. However, these seemed not to have resulted in the anticipated outcomes regarding water access, sanitation and electricity challenges. Moreover, numerous meetings had consistently been held concerning the need for proper sanitation facilities. Through the long process of meeting with councillors, a meeting was called whereby an official from the Department of Housing was supposed to attend to collect a petition prepared by the community concerning the firing before finishing work of a contractor, who was installing sewage pipes. The said official did not arrive, however. The community ultimately took the petition to the Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing, with a 21 day time frame to respond. However, no response was given before and after the 21-day deadline expired. The lack of response angered the community.

6.4.2.8 Outline of the History of Social Protests and Water Service Delivery in Orange Farm

Orange Farm residents claim that they had to start protests in order for the municipality to listen to their grievances, which included the needs for installation of water supply taps, proper sanitation facilities and electricity in the area. They cited the example of a protest that was held in 2008, whose grievances included lack of water and sanitation services, tarred roads and electricity. The protest was organised by the ward committee and women were mainly the protest leaders and rank-and-file. The protest was violent. Furthermore, it affected innocent people driving through the Golden Highway. This was because stones were thrown at cars, resulting in accidents. Some among community members were arrested during the protest. An additional factor that impacted on the violence in the protest events was the division between SANCO and the ward committee, which held meetings at different times thus causing a division in the community. The different discussions between the SANCO and

the ward committees created a certain division between community members specifically the youth and old generation. The youth were the more violent.

Protestors claim that the protests yield the desired results even though not all their needs were met. There are areas still lack basic water, sanitation and electricity, and no tarring of roads has taken place in Orange Farm yet. Protesters further stated that if the protests were not violent the municipality would not have responded to their needs.

6.4.3 SEBOKENG

- ☐ Location: Emfuleni Local Municipality, Gauteng Province
- ☐ Date of field research: 6 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.4.3.1 Introduction

Sebokeng is the largest of the six townships in Vaal Triangle, was established in 1965, when 18772 housing units were erected there. The settlement is situated beyond Evaton on the road between Johannesburg and Vereeniging. Between 1973 and 1983, the township, like other residential area in the Vaal Triangle, was controlled by the then Oranje-Vaal Administration Board. Since its inception, Sebokeng was the administrative headquarters for six townships, which make the Lekoa municipal authority, which was instituted early, 1984. The increase of the rent and services without wishes of the residents, led to protest and major demonstration where lives were lost. Homes and businesses belonging to councillors, particularly in Sebokeng and Sharpeville were gutted down. Community and youth groups who were prominent among the civic associations and youth congresses, called upon residents to refuse to pay the increased rentals and the support for the boycott was overwhelming. Organizations involved included the Vaal Civic Association, the Sebokeng Civic Association, the Vaal Students Congress and Azanian Youth Organisation. Some owed allegiance to the United Democratic Front and others to the black consciousness movement.

With its rich history of protest movements, Sebokeng, like many poor urban areas in South Africa, faces among other challenges, unemployment, poverty, drugs, poor education system, crime and health (HIV/AIDS and TB). Sebokeng is under the Emfuleni Local Municipality, since Emfuleni is in close proximity to the Vaal River, water provision for the area is mainly done from that river. Historically the operations and management of Water Services have been under the control of Emfuleni and Sedibeng through the Lekoa Water

Company. Emfuleni Local Municipality is the Water Services Authority (WSA) with Metsi-a-Lekoa the Water Services Provider (WSP). The bulk water supply utility is Rand Water Board.

Over the past years Emfuleni has experienced negative publicity due to spillage of sewage in the Vaal River. This problem is due to deterioration of the sewer infrastructure, vandalism of cables at sewer pump stations and a maintenance backlog. These problems are addressed and over the past two years R 35 Million has been spent on the refurbishment of sewer infrastructure, preventative maintenance and network upgrading. Spillages have to date been reduced to manageable levels (Figure 36), but the process to minimize and eliminate spillages will continue. The network of both Water and Sanitation is old and getting overworked. The age analysis of the networks varies from 60 -70 years, this is also across the Municipal area. The Municipality has about 52 Pump Stations in its area which are 50 years old. This goes for the Sewer network in Vereeniging. In the Sebokeng and Evaton area, there are pocket of recently installed Water and Sewer network.

Payment levels for water and sanitation services are low and expenditure high. This shortage of funds causes operation and maintenance of infra-structure to be low, which leads to water losses and sewage spills (Emfuleni Local Municipality IDP, 2007/2012). In terms of illegal dumping, a backlog of 100,000 cubic meters of general waste mixed with soil is still lying mainly in the previous disadvantaged areas of Emfuleni and still needs to be removed.

As part of Emfuleni's turn-around strategy, a decision was taken by Council to reinforce the provision of water services in Emfuleni's area of jurisdiction through the establishment of Metsi-a-Lekoa, which is a locally-based water utility that acts as water service provider (WSP) to the local municipality. This decision was however taken on the understanding that the new entity will ensure financial turn-around and sustainability through economies of scale, operational efficiency, effective financial planning and customer services management. However, Metsi-a-Lekoa only abstracts and purifies a small amount of the required quantity directly from the Vaal River. Most of the potable water required by Emfuleni is supplied by Rand Water (Emfuleni Local Municipality IDP, 2007/2012).

Thus this section aims to outline service delivery problems in Sebokeng these include water access, electricity, and illegal dumping. Among other things, this section will describe both the conventional and newer mobilization strategies used in engagements with authorities. The observed outcomes from responses by authorities after they have engaged with community will also be outlined.

6.4.3.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problems: Water Access

Issues of water access in Sebokeng include both the quality and quantity of water services in the area. The impacts on the quality of water are caused by the sewage spills which runs in the Vaal River basin and by illegal dumping from community members who also dumps in the river streams. This has a major negative impact on the quality of water which runs through to households. In terms of the quantity, due to lack of maintenance and aging infrastructure underground pipes are leaking in the area and most of the water is leaked away before it reaches households, leaving many households with no water supply. Moreover the water meters installed in Sebokeng are also leaking which has a negative implication on household water supply and municipal rates which tends to be high. This further impacts on residents inability to pay their municipal rates since Sebokeng has challenges of high unemployment. In dealing with the low rate of payment the municipality disconnects water supply in households who cannot afford to pay this has further caused residents to illegally connect water.

6.4.3.3 Sanitation

Challenges of sanitation in Sebokeng are found in sections in which some people use pit latrines and others still use the bucket system. In an area faced with challenges of HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis using pit latrines and buckets as means of sanitation facilities is seen as harmful to the victim as well as other household members.

6.4.3.4 Electricity

According to residents due to the high unemployment rate in the area there is a high rate of illegal electricity connections in Sebokeng. This further causes an overload on the transformer which results to frequent electricity cuts in the whole area.

6.4.3.5 Unemployment

Apart from challenges of poor basic service delivery, unemployment has a major impact on the lack of affordability of basic services which negatively impacts municipal cost-recovery systems. Residents believe that major contributors to the high employment rate in the area are the shopping complexes built by the municipality in partnership with private institutions. Community members claim that they are against the building of complexes in Sebokeng because these complexes negatively affect small businesses in the area. A number of small businesses had to close since they were not generating any profits, people were buying from the shopping complexes. This has negatively affected residents' livelihoods in Sebokeng.

Moreover, the municipality is accused of allegedly employing people from outside Sebokeng, which leaves residents unemployed and frustrated.

6.4.3.6 Description of Strategies Historically Used in Engagements with Authorities

Residents claim that they have historically engaged with their councillors over the issues of water access, electricity and sanitation. In the past, the councillors seemingly did not know their duties. After discussions with councillors, there would be no improvements in the status of service delivery challenges in the area. Furthermore, poor responses to community grievances were affected by internal disputes within the municipality.

6.4.3.7 Outline of the History of Violent and Non-Violent Social Protests

Residents claim that there have been a number of social protest events in the area, there was a violent protest in May 2013 and the last protest which was also violent was in July 2013, these protests were over poor basic services which mainly included water access (quantity), electricity access and unemployment in the area. Residents state that the protests are informal in that they do not hand in a memorandum to the municipality before protesting. The protests are mostly violent residents in Sebokeng claim that they have tried peaceful protest demonstrations in the past but the municipality did not respond to their needs. Therefore, to residents violence will yield better responses from the municipality.

6.4.3.8 New Mobilization and Engagement Strategies: Emfuleni Water Conservation and Demand Management Project

More recently, however, this study found that a new three-year public-private partnership (PPP) pilot project has been initiated in Emfuleni, with the objective to effectively implement water conservation and demand management, thus enhancing water security for both residents and other users in the Orange-Senqu River basin. The project was initiated in 2011 under auspices of the Orange-Senqu River Basin Commission (ORASECOM), with seed funding of R10 million. Half (R5 million) of this funding comes from the SADC Transboundary Water Management Programme and is managed by GIZ, while the remainder (R5 million) is co-funded by SASOL, which is an energy producing private company. The partners are ORASECOM, Emfuleni Local Municipality and SASOL, and the project implementing agent (PIA) is WRP consultants.

The Emfuleni project pioneers a development partnership that demonstrates how a public-private sector cooperation model can be established to incentivise and leverage private investment for public water infrastructure and for building the capacity of municipal service

providers. This intervention addresses the problem of massive water losses in Emfuleni municipality, which has been losing 44% (or 36 million m³) of its water supply per annum. Within the first year of its inception, the PPP project achieved significant water savings of 2 million m³. This was done through intensive community mobilization and the employment and training of a total of 75 young 'water warriors' and plumbers from the locality. From the 15 water warriors recruited during Phase 1, the project has proceeded to employ 30 water warriors and 30 plumbers in Phase 2, with a 50/50 gender balance for the two teams combined. The water warriors conduct community awareness and mobilization activities and, in the process, identify leaks within homestead and community water and sewage reticulation systems. The plumbers then follow up and repair all identified leaks. Estimates were that each homestead lost 200 m³ of potable water per annum through leakages. Following the initiation of the Emfuleni Water Conservation and Demand Management project, these losses have been reduced to around 10-15 m³ per year, which represents a saving of R1000 per homestead. Owing to community engagement and mobilization by both the water warriors and local leadership, Sebokeng residents have accepted the value of water saving devices and meters (Figure 44). For purposes of ensuring sustainability of funding, the project Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) stipulated that the municipality would ring-fence the money saved and use it to augment seed funding as well as continue with water conservation and demand management activities into the post-project phase.



Figure 44 Water meter in a homestead in Sebokeng

With the shift from violent social protest action to newer mobilization and engagement strategies, it has yet to be seen how this remarkable intervention, which is renowned to effectively resolve many of the grievances associated with poor water and sanitation services, will affect the pattern of protests in Emfuleni. For studies of service delivery-related social protests, this case will possibly yield useful insights for testing the service delivery

hypothesis and, in particular, shed light on the linkage between protests and water service delivery, perhaps also relative to other factors.

6.5 FINDINGS FROM THE FREE STATE PROVINCE

6.5.1 PARYS

- ☐ Location: Ngwathe Local Municipality
- ☐ Date of field research: 9 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Mr Lesego Loate, Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.5.1.1 Introduction

Parys is a small town in the Northern part of the Free State Province. It is situated along the banks of the Vaal River and close to the N1 highway, near the Vaal Toll Plaza. The town was established in 1876. Parys forms part of the Ngwathe²⁷ Local Municipality, which is the largest local municipality of Fezile Dabi District Municipality. Ngwathe Local Municipality is situated in the northern part of the Fezile Dabi District Municipality, previously known as the Northern Free State. The local municipality has a geographical extent of 7055 km². The five main towns in Ngwathe municipality are Parys, Vredefort, Heilbron, Koppies and Edenville. The total urban population, according to the municipal IDP, is 122 099 (Ngwathe IDP 2012). It is estimated that approximately 43. 5% of the population is unemployed and 65. 6% of the people are living in poverty.

The urban areas are surrounded by rural areas. Land use around Parys is predominantly agricultural, with farms producing corn, tobacco, sorghum as well as livestock, such as cattle and sheep. The town has a strong commercial sector and provides the district with a wide range of social services, which include health, education and professional services (Lemoko, 2011). Following demarcations by the Demarcation Board of South Africa, the local municipal area was divided into 19 wards with 38 councillors.

The local municipality is the water services authority (WSA) while the Rand Water Board in Parys is the water services provider (WSP). Water is extracted directly from Vaal River and treated in the municipality's purification plant. Amid municipal estimates that to be currently at 92% Ngwathe's IDP (2012) states that the municipality aims to improve water services, which it to 100% by 2014. Ngwathe Local Municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) specifically singles out water as a key service delivery issue. With specific regard to Parys, although most (15160 or 97.8%) of the 15 500 households in Parys have access to water,

²⁷ "Ngwathe" is the Sesotho name for the Renoster River.

the crux of the problems seems to be associated with reports that the 'Blue Drop' rating for the local municipality dropped from 45.37 in 2011 to 20.59 in 2012.

The municipal IDP further shows that sewer plants in Tumahole township in Parys are running beyond designed capacity, and 912 households still using the bucket system. There are 14 989 households with access to electricity as per the municipal IDP. Therefore, this section aims to outline the main service delivery challenges of the main service delivery issues of the study, these include; poor water access, sanitation, cost-recovery systems, and health facilities. The section will also describe strategies used in engagements with authorities and how the authorities reacted to these strategies. Thirdly, this section will outline the history of violent and non-violent social protests in Parys.

6.5.1.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problem

Social protests in Parys appear to have been associated with dissatisfaction over water and related social services. Parys faces challenges of poor water access, sanitation, cost-recovery systems, and health facilities.

6.5.1.3 Water Access

Challenges concerning dissatisfaction over water access in Parys include both quality and quantity issues. Water quality is extremely poor that it has become life-threatening to residents. Residents claim that the water comes out of their taps looking muddy. Apart from that, residents claim that the water is often salty due to excessive use of the alkaline used to purify the water. Residents claim that their water supply is not suitable for human consumption, but is suitable for flushing and doing house chores.

Areas such as the old Vuka location, which was established before 1984, do not have any water supply in their homes. In areas such as these, the municipality has installed the huge green Jo-jo tanks as a means to supply water to residents (Figure 45). In these areas, the Jo-Jo tanks are filled by the municipality on a weekly basis. Residents feel that these tanks are worse than the water accessed from the tap in terms of quality and quantity. The tanks have been in place in these areas for many years and they have never been cleaned. Consequently, the water comes out with worms. If residents cannot afford to buy alternative water, they are forced to use this contaminated water for consumption.

The Jo-jo tanks' taps are not positioned at the very bottom of the tank (see Figure 46), which means that there is always some water that stays behind even when the tank is empty. Residents say this is part of the problem that leads to worms. The residents also complain

that accessing water through tanks has significantly limited their access to and usage of water. The water in the Jojo tanks is insufficient to meet the needs of communities that are dependent on them. One of the challenges with Jo-jo tanks is that it leads to water hoarding, as community members try to get as much water as possible before it runs out. This drives up water demand due to the limited availability of water. This has negative effects on those residents who lack the means for storage of water, such as money to buy buckets and drums. These suffer the most and are likely to be the poorest members of communities that depend on water from the Jo-jo tanks.

Parys residents are generally dissatisfied with water access in the area, irrespective of their socio-economic status. Those who live in the low and middle income neighbourhoods, such as Tumahole, have lost hope that they will ever have proper water access since they have been experiencing the challenge for over 15 years and nothing has been done to improve the situation. In Sisulu Ward 11 the taps have been installed for years in residents' yards but they are dry and have never dispensed water ever since their installation.



Figure 45 **One of the large jo-jo water tanks installed by municipality, Parys**



Figure 46 Jo-jo tanks' taps not positioned at the very bottom of the tank contribute to contamination of water

Some among Parys residents are fortunate enough to afford to buy water. They buy it from a local dealer called Oasis. The dealer purifies the same municipal tap water using the private company's own chemicals and re-sells it to the community for R3-R4 per 5 litres (Figure 47). However, while the more affluent residents can afford to use cars to convey purchased water, poor people are forced to walk long distances from their houses to Oasis to buy water. Effectively, poor women and children often lose time they could have spent pursuing education and livelihoods development. This negates the equity goals of water service delivery. Furthermore, this also deepens gender inequality, which does not bode well for community building and cohesion.



Figure 47 Privately-purchased household water supplies and storage drums, Parys

6.5.1.4 Sanitation

In Parys there are locations such as the Sisulu Ward 11, which do not have any access to sanitation. According to residents, in order to relieve themselves they have to make use of buckets inside their homes or in the bush. Implications for this include health risks for households and risks of rape and harm to women when they have to use the bush to relieve themselves. Residents claim that they need proper flushing toilets in order to improve their living conditions. However, seeing that Parys faces challenge of water access, which are linked to sanitation and sewage disposal, this might place further demand on waters services and further challenges on the sewer systems, which are already running beyond designed capacity. However, given the negative implications of lack of basic sanitation on the health, safety and security of household members, particularly women and children, this problem requires urgent attention. For the same reason, residents are therefore demanding proper sanitation facilities.

6.5.1.5 Cost Recovery Measures

Residents claimed that there is a serious challenge with billing, which has resulted in some households having inflated arrears. Those residents with yard taps claim that the municipality hardly comes to read the water meters and the people employed to do the meter readings are not trained for the job that is why they end up with high water bills. An old pensioned woman stated that she paid her municipal bills in full but suddenly after sometime she was told she owed the municipality R36000 when she went to inquire about the high bill she was told that the municipality has not been charging her ever-since 2009 (Figure 48). She claims that she has reported that she is an old pensioner with no husband and she cannot afford to pay the bill but, in return, they cut her water off if she skips payment.

Date	Reference Number	Description	Old Reading	New Reading	Consumption	Rate	Amount
2012/12/1		BALANCE BILLED					R36,000.00
2012/1/18	74000	INTEREST ON ARREARS - PARYS					R3,000.00
2012/1/18	42000	ASSESSMENT RATES RESIDENTIAL PARYS					R3,000.00
2012/1/18	42000	V.A. VALUE EXCLUSION					R3,000.00
2012/1/18	44000	WATER CONSUMPTION RESIDENTIAL - PARYS	7145.000	7155.000	5.000		R3,000.00
2012/1/18		REFUSE REMOVAL RESIDENTIAL - PARYS					R3,000.00
2012/1/18		SEWER RESIDENTIAL - PARYS					R3,000.00
2012/1/18		BASIC WATER RESIDENTIAL - PARYS					R3,000.00
2012/1/18		VAT					R3,000.00
							R36,000.00

Figure 48 Inflated water bill, Parys

Residents who get water access from the Jo-Jo tanks are also billed every month for water. Some residents in Parys stated that they had had their electricity supply cut off as a result of owing disputed arrears for their water bills. This means that indigent households are faced with either paying water arrears that they dispute or illegalising their access to municipal services by relying on illegal connections. This shows bad governance in terms of poor management of service delivery systems, in particular, the interface between functions of water services and finance. This further reveals the existence of related issues of sustainability of services, which are caused by the municipality's inability to recover costs due to unfair and unaffordable billing systems. With poor cost recovery, the financial capacity of the municipality to reinvest in infrastructure operation and maintenance (O&M) has further been severely restricted. This study could not ascertain, however, whether the municipality possessed sufficient human resource skills, technical capacity and alternative funding sources to complement cost recovery.

6.5.1.6 Health Facilities

Field data collection on health facilities in Parys focused on the low to middle income residential areas, which appeared to have poorer services than the more affluent, former white residential areas. Health facilities within Tumahole Township consist of a day clinic, which closes at night. If anyone requires emergency treatment at night, people have to travel all the way to the town centre, where the hospital is located. Ambulances take their a long time to arrive and those people without alternative means of transport have to watch some of their family members passing away with no one to take them to hospital at night. Given the prevailing challenges of poor water quality, the rate of people getting sick in Parys is high and residents feel that having a day clinic as the only health facility in the township is not enough. They expect the municipality to build a hospital or extend the operating hours of the existing health facility to 24 hours, 7 days a week.

6.5.1.7 Description of Strategies Used in Engagements with Authorities

Parys' residents' expectations of proper water services, improvement in sanitation, improvement in cost recovery systems and access to health facilities are not yet met. Parys has been dealing with poor water quality for 15 years. Residents have been attending meetings called by councillors and the municipality to deal with the water issues but still their water access is extremely poor. They claim that when they go to municipal offices to report service delivery issues they are sent from one person to another without proper feedback.

Residents claim that meetings are held regularly by municipal officials to address the challenges of water services. There are meetings also held with ward councillors. However, in the residents' views, councillors are not efficient in performing their tasks. While meetings are well attended, they have not led to any solutions. The councillors hardly hold meetings to give feedback concerning challenges which were discussed in previous meetings. This creates frustration within the community in that consultation is not meaningful or even important for creating solutions centred on people's needs. Members of the community have also engaged individually with the municipality but still there is lack of service delivery in the area. Residents state that in one of the public meetings convened by the municipality, an announcement was made that the water was clean and suitable for consumption and one of the officials demonstrated by drinking a glass of water. However, after some time people started getting sick again from drinking the water. This created mistrust between the community and its leaders.

6.5.1.8 Outline of the History of Social Protests Related to Water Service Delivery

Residents of Tumahole Township in Parys stated that in the past they have protested over water access, which has been the major issue in the area. After unfruitful engagement with the municipality, they protested and the protests were violent. However, none of the protests yielded the required outcome, which was proper water service delivery. Residents eventually got tired of protesting without any improvement in their basic services. The last protest over basic services specifically water was in the year 2000. Apart from protest fatigue, community members said that people are choosing to leave Parys. This is especially true for the youth, who tend to migrate to other places. Since the youth are critical for mobilisation and participating in the actual protests, this trend has dealt a serious blow to the community's ability to use social protests as a strategy to realize their needs and expectations for water and related social service delivery. According to respondent residents, this difficulty is compounded by the fact that Parys is located in the periphery of the economy, whereby there is no major economic infrastructure that the community can threaten to grab the attention of provincial and national politicians and officials.

Community members highlighted that municipal officials protested in July 2013 to force the removal of their municipal manager, who was perceived to be corrupt, and stop the recruitment of people from outside Parys. Many residents saw these protests, which dealt expressly with internal municipal issues, as bad for municipal services as employees not only abandoned their responsibilities but also actively sabotaged municipal services in order to provoke the involvement of communities in their protest. This was their way of mobilising

the community to participate in the protest. Some community members thought the municipal workers' protest would assist their own service delivery aspirations and thus they got involved in the protest. This shows that the community makes tactical alliances in the institutional and political environment to achieve their service delivery goals. However, many others did not participate in the protest, since they felt that municipal workers were using them for their own agenda. This example illustrates the extent of institutional dysfunction, wherein internal systems for human resource grievance management have broken down to the extent that municipal officials can protest for the removal of their superior.

6.5.1.9 Aim and Objectives of Protesters

The aim of community protests, as opposed to municipal worker protests, has largely been to improve their water services. However, after seeing no improvement following protests, Parys residents have felt discouraged and lost hope. Their main protest aims were never achieved. Furthermore, the aim of those residents who participated municipal manager workers' protests to improve both the quality and quantity of their water services was also not achieved. However, the municipal workers achieved their objective of removing the municipal manager.

6.5.1.10 Institutions Involved in Social Protests

Residents claim that there used to be community based organizations (CBOs), such as street committees and concerned groups, who were the organizers of social protests in Parys. However, due to the lack of responsiveness from the municipality and frustrations from community members, these organizations no longer exist. Even though the community has not achieved its water service delivery goals evidence suggests that rather than simply being 'tools of politicians', communities have become political actors in their own right in Parys. They have actively engaged with the political process in order to further their own water and service delivery interests, but continue to face challenges and protest fatigue.

6.5.2 SASOLBURG: ZAMDELA TOWNSHIP

- ☐ Location: Zamdela Township, Sasolburg, Metsimaholo Local Municipality
- ☐ Date of field research: 8 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Mr Lesego Loate, Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.5.2.1 Introduction

Sasolburg is a large industrial town located in the heart of world renowned coalfields in the far north of the Free State province of South Africa. This modern and predominantly industrial town is located in close proximity (20 km) to the nationally well-known industrial areas of Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark. Sasolburg/Zamdela urban area is 340 km from Bloemfontein and 80 km from Johannesburg. Administratively, Sasolburg is part of Metsimaholo Local Municipality, which itself is situated in the northern part of the Fezile Dabi District Municipality Region. The total estimated population of residents in the Metsimaholo Region, according to municipal council preferred data, is 134 410.

Sasolburg is further sub-divided into three areas: Sasolburg “proper”, Vaalpark and Zamdela. Zamdela is a secondary city which was established close to the industrial area of Sasolburg (south east of the plant) in order to accommodate black employees, at that time exclusively men, who migrated from rural areas in search of employment (Vaal Triangle Info, n.d.). Furthermore, Vaal Triangle Info (n.d.) states that these men were accommodated in single sex hostels.

The Group Areas Act prevented blacks from settling permanently in so called white areas at that time and thus family members were not permitted to migrate with employees to Zamdela. The influx of people from rural areas into Zamdela in the 1990s was there associated with changes in the political dispensation of South Africa. Availability of housing and land subsequently became major concerns for the local municipality (Vaal Triangle Info, n.d.). Although the Department of Housing and Local Government has granted funds for the upgrading of hostels into family units, the shortage of housing is still a problem.

According to residents, Sasolburg is one of the richest towns in Free State. This is one of the major causes of influx of people from different areas, who migrate to Sasolburg to find jobs. The rapid growth of urban population in Sasolburg has exacerbated the challenge of housing. Owing to housing shortage, people have started to illegally build shacks on servitude land, where underground sewage and water infrastructure is laid. According to Metsimaholo Local Municipality, this has negatively impacted water and sanitation delivery in the area. According to a non-governmental organization (NGO) named ‘Free State

Processions of Youth²⁸, unemployment among the youth has increased over the years in Zamdela due to the influx of people moving to the township to seek jobs in surrounding industrial companies. According to the Metsimaholo IDP (2012/2017) the total number of households in the area is 37 320. There was an increase of 9.3% in the registered number of indigents from 7 657 in 2009/10 to 8 371 in the 2010/11 financial year. All municipal residents receive free basic water. Indigent households receive a total of 10 kilolitres per month while the rest of the households receive 6 kilolitres of free basic water. As per the municipal IDP, everyone at the end of the 2011 financial year every household had access to both free basic water and electricity.

In terms of water quality, the municipal IDP shows that most respondents described water quality as free from bad smells (95%), good to taste (94%), clear (93%) and safe to drink (93%). In all instances, more than 9 out of 10 respondents agreed with these sentiments. Also, in all instances, only a few respondents described the quality of water as either having bad smells (5%), bad to taste (6%), less clear (7%) and unsafe to drink (7%). There were no considerable differences when this question was disaggregated by geographical area. That means residents in all parts of Metsimaholo Local Municipality rated the quality of water highly, irrespective of socio-economic differences between residential areas.

6.5.2.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problem

From the available data, access to water services is evidently not a problem in Sasolburg. During the 2010 WPS respondents were asked whether they had experienced interruptions to their water service in the past. Most respondents, nearly three quarters (73%) indicated that they had not experienced any interruptions in their water service. Just over a quarter (27%) of respondents indicated that they had experienced such interruptions in their water service. Despite these remarkable achievements in access to water services, 266 households had no access to basic sanitation and 1000 households had no houses. There were also concerns about an envisaged merger between Ngoate and Metsimaholo local municipalities, which raised fears about a possible decline particularly in water services as well as service delivery in general. This section aims to outline of service delivery challenges in Sasolburg's Zamdela Township. These include cost-recovery, water infrastructure, and housing.

²⁸ This NGO provides various services to youth, such as delinquency prevention services, teenage pregnancy prevention, drop-out prevention and youth centres.

6.5.2.3 Water and Sanitation Infrastructure

This challenge includes leaking water and sanitation infrastructure, damaging of water infrastructure through illegal connection and theft of water infrastructure. According to the municipal officials the leaks are caused by aging infrastructure and the poor quality of infrastructure installed by contractors employed to build the government Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses. This shows lack of effective inter-governmental coordination and therefore poor cooperation between institutions dealing with housing and water services. Moreover, the municipality finds it challenging in terms of finances and institutional capacity to regularly replace sanitation pipes which are damaged by illegal connections caused by residents. This also points to lack of effective awareness-raising by the municipality on the role of illegal connections in damaging infrastructure.

Furthermore, the infrastructure challenge illustrates that services that are not in line with the needs of communities can lead to their rejection by the affected communities, which creates additional cost implications for the municipality. The challenge of delivering water services is also connected to theft of infrastructure in the area. Copper pipes often are stolen as well as the water meters. One of the pump stations in the area was vandalised and parts of the transformer were stolen as well as the copper. This highlights the difficulties of providing water services in communities with high numbers of indigents and crime.

Other infrastructure challenges include non-uniformity in the placing of water metres. Some water metres are placed outside yards whilst others are inside yards. The water metres placed outside of yards are damaged more regularly than those that are inside yards. Residents also inadvertently damage their neighbours' meters when they burn grass in their yards, since fire sometimes extends to the neighbours' yards thus destroying water meters. Sometimes some residents purposefully damage their own water metres to frustrate the process of water metre readings and thus accurate water billing. This shows that there is an unwillingness to pay for water services amongst some residents necessitates more community awareness programmes to highlight the importance of cost recovery for sustainable water services. Having issues of lack of funding in the municipality, replacing damaged and stolen infrastructure puts additional strain on the municipality.

6.5.2.4 Cost-Recovery

The municipality as the WSA has an agreement with Sasol for it to assist in the supply of water to Sasolburg. The water supply in Sasolburg is therefore privately provided by Sasol in cooperation with Rand Water as the WSP, and residents claim that it is of good quality.

Sasol took the responsibility of ensuring that water supply in Sasolburg is of high quality as its way of giving back to the community since it is responsible for air pollution which negatively impacts the health of residents. Residents in Zamdela say that they are satisfied with their water quality and quantity. However, there are those residents who live in informal settlements, have illegally occupied land and are struggling to access water services. The municipality deems it difficult to legally provide water services under such circumstance hence they are poorly serviced. In the rest of Zamdela Township, there is some dissatisfaction over high water rates. This is a serious challenge given that the municipality has a high indigent population. Residents state that the fact that water is privately supplied pushes affordability of municipal rates for water services beyond the means of the urban poor. On average, municipal water rates range between R200-R400 per month.

6.5.2.5 Electricity

High charges for electricity are another source of grievance for the residents of Zamdela Township. Residents stated that since their electricity is sold directly by the municipality the charges are higher than normal ESKOM charges, which they are supposed to pay for electricity. The high municipal charges have caused residents to illegally connect electricity. This puts the municipality at financial risk and destabilises its ability to generally provide sustainable municipal services.

6.5.2.6 Housing

On the 8th of August a social protest against housing issues erupted in Sasolburg while the research team was conducting field research in the area (Figure 49). Residents of Zamdela Township held a peaceful protest march to the offices of Metsimaholo Local Municipality in Sasolburg. They were aggrieved about the municipality's decision to demolish the old hostels in which they lived. They were also unhappy with the municipality's planned offer to relocate them to newly-built apartment blocks, where they would pay rental fees of around R300 per month. Instead, they expressed their preference for municipality to build and allocate to them new RDP housing, which they would occupy for free. The housing issue, in this instance, was not conflated with other service delivery issues.



Figure 49 **Sasolburg's Zamdela Township residents on a protest march against corruption in housing service delivery, 08 August 2013**

6.5.2.7 Description of Strategies Used in Engagements with Authorities

Residents have used a variety of strategies to engage with the municipality. These include attending meetings called by the municipal officials and councillors, forming local civic groups, such as concerned residents associations and CSOs, and participating in violent social protests. In the recent municipal demarcation-inspired protests; residents utilised these structures in their varied engagement strategies. A local NGO called the Free State Processions of Youth alerted residents to the proposed merger of Metsimaholo Local Municipality and Ngwathe Local Municipality after the story was reported in a local newspaper.

The community became unhappy that there had not been sufficient consultation and felt it should have been part of the decision making process. The Free State Processions of Youth NGO organised a meeting with the municipality and no consensus was reached in the meeting. The lack of inclusion of community views in decision making even after engagement led the community to engage in violent social protests. The fact that the community was not consulted about the merger and no consensus was reached in the meeting fuelled anger from residents. Residents therefore embarked on a protest march to Metsimaholo municipal offices in Sasolburg. A key issue from the community during the social protests was that residents felt that they too would end up experiencing the same water challenges that Ngwathe Local Municipality and the people of Parys currently contend with if they agreed to the merger. This illustrates that consultation by the local municipality

could have created awareness of Sasolburg people's concerns about perceived threats to their water services and thus averted the social protests.

6.5.2.8 Aim and/or Objectives of the Protesters

The aim of the protests in Sasolburg was to stop the merger between Ngwathe and Metsimaholo. Protesters feared that if the merger took place Sasolburg had much to lose in terms of quality services and development in the area. Their request was granted in August 2013.

6.5.2.9 Anticipated/Observed Outcomes

When Sasolburg/Zamdela residents protested against the failure by authorities to engage them, as a key primary stakeholder, about the merger between Metsimaholo and Ngwathe Local Municipality, they anticipated a number of results. Firstly, they expected their concerns to be heard and addressed, especially about a possible decline in water and related social services but also about corruption, which could inadvertently be 'imported' from Parys's Ngwathe municipality. Secondly, they expected that their expression of dissatisfaction would be seen as legitimate exercise of their constitutional freedom of expression. They also expected that their municipality would amend the earlier non-inclusive behaviour and respond in a more accountable manner to the local constituency. Ultimately, the protesters expected that the intention to merge Metsimaholo and Ngwathe Local Municipalities would be scrapped. Since the merger ultimately did not happen, it might be surmised that the protesters successfully attained the objectives and outcome that they sought. What need further examination is the implications of this case for future strategies to improve water and other service delivery in poorly performing municipalities. The case of Sedibeng in Emfuleni Local Municipality, Gauteng, suggests that innovative PPP initiatives might be a better option than mergers, which carry the risk of spreading poor performance to hitherto well-performing localities.

6.5.2.10 Outline of the History of Social Protests associated with Water Service Delivery

Residents claim that until the protest against the municipal merger, they had never had to protest over water services in Sasolburg. They have indeed always been satisfied with their water quality and quantity and quality of access to water services. They explain that the protests which took place on the 20th of January 2013 in Sasolburg's Zamdela Township started after a public meeting regarding the proposed merger of the Metsimaholo Municipality and Ngwathe municipality in Parys. The community felt undermined by the lack

of consultation and as well as allegations that municipal offices and departments were to be moved to Parys and all the municipal workers were not going to be subsidised for relocating. Residents of Sasolburg believe that Sasolburg is the richest town in the Free State and there is a company which is expected to invest 4 million in developing the area. Residents feared that if Metsimaholo, which is their local municipality, was to merge with Ngwathe, then the benefits from the envisaged socio-economic development would be directed towards Parys instead of Zamdela. Furthermore, Sasolburg residents consider Parys to be in bad shape owing to challenges of poor service delivery and corruption, and are consequently loathe to be associated with that. Ngwathe municipality allegedly owes Eskom several millions of Rands and Sasolburg residents believe that the merger was pushed by perceptions that the mayor of Sasolburg comes from Parys and he probably wanted to improve his own hometown. The proposed merger of Metsimaholo (Sasolburg) and Ngwathe Local Municipalities (Parys) was seen by community members in Sasolburg as a means of using Metsimaholo Local Municipality to solve Parys's water services challenges.

Beyond the above-mentioned concerns, there were other social attitudes and voiced grievances underpinning the protests, which were difficult to fathom. One such example was the reasoning that since Sasolburg's bulk water provision is privately provided by Rand Water in connection with Sasol, to merge with Ngwathe would mean that Zamdela would end up compelled to consume the same muddy and salty water from Parys, which was a risk they were not willing to take. Although those who upheld this view could not clearly explain the mechanisms by which this process would unfold, they nonetheless felt aggrieved and fearful of the merger. It is possible that perspectives such as this were part of the momentum created by community mobilization. However, well-argued reasons for protest may have become distorted and diluted as the message spread to the wider community, ending up as shorthand rhetoric that was not clearly articulated but nonetheless fuelled protest action. The fact that such vaguely reasoned perception was real in the minds of some people required that it should be addressed.

This important dynamic was not factored into media reports as a major influence of the protests against the merger, which took place in 2013 in Sasolburg. The protest events were so highly violent in Zamdela that some of the big wholesalers (Shoprite U-save) were burnt down. Residents believe that if the protests had been peaceful then they would not have yielded the results that they wanted. This points to the premium that protesters place on the importance of efficacy.

Water service and general service delivery issues in Parys are indeed dire, as shown in Section 2.1 of this report, and residents of Zamdela Township in Sasolburg are therefore

perhaps rightly despondent about the ability of Ngwathe Local Municipality to change the situation by itself. Zamdela residents claim that allegations by journalistic media were false that there was a third force behind the protests, which was alleged to be the hidden political driver. Rather, respondents assert that the community was angry because decisions about the merger were made on behalf of the community without any consultation.

6.5.2.11 Institutions Involved in the Social Protests

In Sasolburg/Zamdela, NGOs played a vital role in mobilizing and organizing protest events. They became a key driver encouraging and influencing the protests. Municipal workers were also part of the groups that influenced the protests. However, their role was undermined by feared of losing their jobs if they went against the wishes of the municipal manager to merge the two municipalities. Their anger was mostly towards the possibility that should the merger be successful, then they would have to move to Parys since all municipal offices were going to be moved to Parys.

6.5.3 FICKSBURG

- ☐ Location: Metsimaholo Local Municipality
- ☐ Date of field research: 11 August 2013
- ☐ Name of researcher(s): Mr Lesego Loate, Ms Bukiwe Ntwana and Mr Sizwe Mxobo

6.5.3.1 Introduction

Ficksburg is situated along the Highlands Route in the Eastern Free State. Although the town was proclaimed in 1867, the known history of the area dates back to the times when the ancient San people roamed the area, prior to settlements by bantu peoples, Voortrekkers and European settlers. During the colonial era, government encouraged white settlers by offering them land, horses, guns and ammunition in return for their settling along the border of the new territory. This discouraged the Basotho from crossing the border, burning farms and stealing cattle. Today Ficksburg is known as the “gateway to Lesotho” and the Katse Dam. The town has a large cosmopolitan population and an economy that is based chiefly on mixed agriculture, concentrating mainly on asparagus, cherries and deciduous fruit. Other crops are farmed on a smaller scale. Presently there is renewed attention to growing apples, with more farmers than ever planting apple trees (Ficksburg Cherry Capital of the World, n.d.).

Setsoto Local Municipality is responsible for rendering social services in Ficksburg. The local municipality is situated in the eastern Free State within the boundaries of Thabo

Mofutsanyana District Municipality. The local municipality area measures 5 948.35 km² in extent and comprises four urban areas. These are Ficksburg/Meqheleng, Senekal/Matwabeng, Marquard/Moemaneng and Clocolan/Hlohlolwane, as well as their surrounding rural areas²⁹. The census of 2011 estimates the total population of Setsoto Local Municipality to be approximately 112 599 people. Of this, 13 230 people live in Ficksburg.

According to the Setsoto Local Municipality IDP (2013/2014) the municipality provides water services to most (87.8%) of the residents in its jurisdiction. The rest of the unserved population accesses water from alternative water sources, such as boreholes (7.4%); springs (0.4%); rain water harvesting tank (0.3%); dams, pools and other open and stagnant water sources (0.5%), rivers and streams (0.1%); water vendors (0.9%), water tanker (1.8%) and other unspecified sources (0.8%). The municipal IDP further shows that more than half (56.6%) of the population has proper sanitation with flushing toilets, while a small proportion (4.1%) have no access to sanitation. The rest of the population uses other facilities, such as pit latrines, chemical toilets and bucket toilets. More than half (55%) of the refuse is removed by the local authority and/or private companies, while a smaller proportion (32.5%) of waste is disposed through illegal dumping.

6.5.3.2 Outline of Service Delivery Problems

Field research findings show that Setsoto Local Municipality faces huge challenges of bad governance, which have negatively impacted service delivery in Ficksburg. Community members raised concerns about municipal jobs being sold and in some cases women being forced to sleep with officials for employment opportunities. Respondents were aggrieved that municipal officials and contractors were allegedly reaping the financial rewards through colluding in tender processes yet residents, who constitute the local communities, had to live with the consequences of poor quality work related to these projects. The service delivery challenges in Ficksburg include water access, electricity, infrastructure, housing, and refuse removal.

6.5.3.3 Water Access

Residents in Ficksburg are unsatisfied with their water access in terms of quality and quantity. Residents stated that the water quality is poor, and it has been like that for four years. The water is not properly purified and it has a bad smell. Residents find it difficult to

²⁹ The hyphenated names denote the former white area and its associated predominantly black township.

consume the water due to the smell and most of the people buy water for drinking but for cooking they use the tap water. Those who cannot afford to buy water boil the tap water but that is also a challenge for some as they lack electricity. There are vast areas in Ficksburg where people have completely no water access, but they are billed every month for water. Some residents steal water from neighbours at night and this has caused conflicts within the neighbourhood since some have to pay for water services that others use freely and surreptitiously. The water cut-offs happen regularly depending on the ward or section, meaning that some sections have water whilst others do not. Alongside these problems, a significant amount of water seems to be lost due to leakages in the existing water infrastructure. Many roads in Ficksburg were found to be flooded with water draining from burst and leaking pipes (Figure 50).



Figure 50 Flooded roads due to burst pipes or leaking infrastructure, Ficksburg

6.5.3.4 Electricity

Electricity challenges in Ficksburg are mainly found in areas with no access to electricity, where residents cannot afford to buy electricity and where there are frequent electricity cut-offs. The residents who lack the means to buy electricity resort to illegally connecting electricity. Electricity cut-offs happen twice a week, and these are said to be linked to overload on the transformer, which is caused by the illegal connections.

6.5.3.5 Infrastructure

Grievance issues pertaining to infrastructure were associated with municipal tendering processes and employment practices, which were perceived to be unfair in terms of equal opportunity. Some respondents said tenders are allocated according to whom one knows in the municipality and not according to the contractor's expertise. Consequently, Ficksburg is full of leaking underground water and sewage pipes, which were installed by a contractor who lacked expertise and experience in the O&M of water and sewage systems. The hiring of the unqualified contractor is viewed to have actually damaged the infrastructure of Setsoto Local Municipality in Ficksburg, such that raw sewage often spills out onto the street. Not only does this impact on the quality of water and sanitation services and life in the area but residents are also exposed to illness and disruption of their livelihood activities. Another impact of leaking water and sewer infrastructure is livestock in the area drink from the streams into which the leaking sewage drains. In one instance, members of a household found a baby nappy in a cow's stomach when it was slaughtered. This has caused people to go to areas outside Ficksburg when they need to buy livestock for funerals, rituals and other occasions, to the detriment of livelihoods of local livestock farmers.

6.5.3.6 Housing

There are allegations that, through connivance with municipal officials, people who have been on the housing waiting list for years have had their houses effectively "stolen". The mechanism by which house stealing is done is that, funds intended for constructing houses for those qualifying people on the waiting list are illegally diverted towards building houses on other people's plots, and such houses become illegally occupied by the owners of these plots. The bona fide house-seekers, who have often waited for many years for their allocation of houses, are thus consigned to perpetual lack of housing possibly for the rest of their lives. People obtain houses illegally by bribing officials. This means that many poor people in need of houses do not receive them as they do not have the financial resources to bribe municipal officials.

Furthermore, some respondents claimed that they had even had their houses, which they occupy, illegally sold to others. Concerns were also raised that people from Lesotho are buying up many of these illegally attained houses as they had the financial resources to bribe officials. Some of the RDP houses have been left at the foundation phase, with no one accounting for what happened to the rest of the funds or building material, and no one accounting on whether or not the building project was inspected and/or the contractor paid.

Such incidents suggest that bad governance in Ficksburg has undermined the rule of law, democratic governance, accountability and sustainable development. They breach the social contract between citizens and public officials, and this has grave consequences for effective governance. Moreover, the case of poor local governance in Ficksburg seems to be a consequence of the broader collapse of governance in other spheres within South Africa, which, according to Pillay (2004), perpetuates continued governance failure.

6.5.3.7 Refuse Collection

Ficksburg is full of illegal dumping sites. The municipality does not collect waste although residents are charged for refuse collection every month. Children often play with the waste and the water from the broken sewage pipes. This has negative affects the health and hygiene of members of local households, particularly the children.

6.5.3.8 Description of Strategies Used in Engagements with Authorities

Residents state that they have been engaging through meetings with ward councillors as well as the municipality over the poor services rendered to them, including water. However, several engagements with the ward councillors and municipality did not bring about any change in the quality of basic services rendered to the community. After that, residents took the decision to embark on protest action.

6.5.3.9 Aim and Objectives of the Protesters

The aim of Ficksburg protesters in April 2011 were to improve access to water services, in terms of quality and quantity; infrastructure, with respect to leaking sewage and water pipes; housing; refuse collection; and electricity services. However, the field study findings reveal that there has not been any service delivery improvement in Ficksburg. Residents are still unsatisfied with their living conditions.

By contrast, Ficksburg protesters in the social protest of September 2011 were demanding that the municipality should release the full report on a recent probe into the affairs of the municipality. Only a shortened version of the report had been released within a Setsoto municipal council meeting, which led to the walking out of DA and Cope councillors.

It is worth noting that the earlier and latter protest aims and objectives, however, were not mutually exclusive but closely linked. Protest issues, engagement strategies and repertoires of contention generally tend to change with changing circumstances and time. In this case, the shooting of protest leader, Mr Andries Tatane on 13 April 2011 during a service delivery related protest clearly was a key factor in the shifting character of the Ficksburg protests.

6.5.3.10 Institutions Involved in the Social Protest(s)

The April 2011 protest was organised by community members and street committees. The September 2011 protest, by contrast, was organised by the Ficksburg Ratepayers' Association, the DA, the Congress of the People (Cope) and the Setsoto Concerned Citizens group. Church leaders also took part in the protest.

6.5.3.11 Outline of the History of Violent and Non-Violent Social Protests Associated with Water Service Delivery

When asked to narrate the story of what happened during the protest of April 2011, residents of Ficksburg began by responding that when people see media reports about violent protest events in the area, think that the community acted unreasonably. However, before engaging in violent protests, Ficksburg residents first engaged with councillors and municipal authorities on more peaceful grounds. However, they found it frustrating to present their grievances to the councillors and municipal officials and hand in petitions without receiving any response. This fuelled up the social protest events which took place in April 2011. Moreover, residents were violent because they believed that after so many years of living under very bad service delivery conditions, lack of improvement and no response from officials. They therefore considered that the only way to capture the attention of officials was to be violent. The protests were over a number of service delivery issues. These included water access (quality and quantity), infrastructure (leaking sewage and water pipes), housing and refuse collection.

In September 2011 the protest event which took place in Ficksburg was peaceful. A report released by Sesotho municipality in Ficksburg indicated that the local authority was in disarray, with no proper management and financial control. The report also revealed that the municipality was unstable because of widespread theft, fraud and corruption. The investigation further found that Supply Chain Management Department staff was often coerced by senior managers into making purchase orders that went against policy (Independent on Line (IOL), 2011).

6.5.3.12 Anticipated and Observed Outcomes

Although residents hoped that the April 2011 protest would yield an improvement in social services, what unfolded was a yield of tragic consequences, most evocatively and publicly portrayed in events surrounding the killing of protest leader Andries Tatane. More than 40 of the 4000 protesters were reportedly arrested by the police for public violence. A result of this particular protest event was that the spotlight of South African and international journalistic

and social media became focused on service delivery issues in Ficksburg and similar contexts elsewhere in the country. As debates and discussions raged on, civil society, public opinion, opposition political parties and government brought pressure to bear on the police and ANC-led municipality to provide explanations and the ANC government to institute a full audit.

On 15 September 2011, residents of Ficksburg marched to the Setsoto Local Municipality office to protest against alleged corruption in the council, and to demand full disclosure of results. Although the protest was planned to be peaceful, consequences were that the police arrested 15 protest leaders ahead of the planned protest, and altercations subsequently erupted between protesters and the police.

By early 2012, the 15 arrested protesters were still awaiting prosecution. There persisted unreliable water supply in Meqheleng, which was at the centre of service delivery protests led by the Meqheleng Concerned Citizens (MCC) group in April 2011. Similarly the dysfunctional sewerage system and blocked toilets that had been also high on the protesters' list of complaints was still being used.

In May 2013, approximately 2 years after the death of Andries Tatane, The recently-appointed Setsoto municipal manager, Mr Tshepiso Ramakarane, acknowledged that the claim of poor service delivery was justifiable, the situation overwhelming, and that it was not right that 17 years after 1994 Ficksburg residents still had a bucket system. The municipal manager was quoted as saying:

"I don't condone looting and all the other issues that accompany demonstrations, but I understand why the people of Meqheleng took to the streets. Their concerns were legitimate. They wanted and have a right to clean water. That's what we have been working towards."

Furthermore, there were evident social service improvements in all the municipality's four urban areas namely, Ficksburg and the neighbouring township of Meqheleng, Senekal/Matwabeng, Marquard/Moemaneng and Clocolan/Hlohlolwane. Tatane's home township of Meqheleng had newly paved roads, piped water and sewerage system. By contrast, Clocolan/Hlohlolwane streets remained dusty, human waste still ran in the streets and residents were still beholden to the bucket toilet system. There were plans to spend R18.6 million on a water reservoir construction project, which was envisaged to resolve water service challenges for the entire local municipal area. This reservoir would increase Setsoto Local Municipality's water storage capacity by 10 megalitres, from 4 megalitres to 14 megalitres. This was intended to ensure everyone in the local area got adequate access to

water. Since the two described protests were inter-linked, it might be said that both protest events achieved their intended goal despite the negative consequences.

6.6 DISCUSSION

6.6.1 KEY DRIVERS: DE DOORNS, ZWELETHEMBA AND NKANINI, WESTERN CAPE

The following section outlines preliminary research findings covering the following research sites; De Doorns, Zwelethemba (Worcester) and e Nkanini (Khayelitsha). The research findings are discussed comparably under four broad themes namely, governance, access to water services, infrastructure and livelihoods.

6.6.1.1 Governance

According to Pillay (2004) good governance is a fundamental right in a democracy and it implies transparency and accountability. Good governance entails an administration that is sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people and is effective in coping with emerging challenges in society by framing and implementing appropriate laws and measures. Bad governance lacks the strict rules of transparency and accountability. In this report; the elements of bad governance include nepotism, corruption, mismanagement of public funds and the lack of public participation in government issues. One of the driving forces which have led to poor service delivery in Ficksburg is bad governance within the municipality caused by corrupt officials. There are allegations that, through connivance with municipal officials, people who have been on the housing waiting list for years have their houses effectively stolen as they are illegally built on someone else's plot and therefore illegally occupied by the owner of the plot. People obtain houses illegally by bribing officials. This means that some poor people in need of houses do not receive them as they do not have the financial resources to bribe municipal officials. Furthermore, some people claimed that they had even had their houses which they are occupying illegally sold to others.

Concerns were also raised that people from Lesotho are buying up many of these illegally attained houses as they had the financial resources to bribe officials. Such incidences prove that bad governance undermines the rule of law, democratic governance, accountability and sustainable development. It breaches the contract between citizens and public officials, and this has grave consequences for successful government. Moreover, it is a consequence of a collapse of governance and is a cause of its continued failure (Pillay, 2004). The tendering processes and employment opportunities were also identified as not being fair in terms of equal opportunity. Some respondents said tenders are allocated according to whom one

knows in the municipality and not according to the contractor's expertise. For instance, there were leaking sewage pipes which were installed by a contractor that lacked expertise and experience in the O&M of sewage systems. Respondents in Ficksburg were aggrieved that municipal officials and contractors were allegedly reaping the financial rewards in terms of colluding in tender processes yet they, as communities, had to live with the poor quality work related to these projects. In Ficksburg, community members raised concerns about municipal jobs being sold and in some cases women being forced to sleep with officials for employment opportunities. Furthermore, in 2011 an executive summary was released that indicated the Sesotho municipality in Ficksburg was in disarray with no proper management and financial control. The report revealed that the municipality was unstable because of widespread theft, fraud and corruption. The investigation further found supply chain management department staff was often coerced by senior managers into making orders against policy (Independent on Line 2011).

Pillay (2004) states that there is a growing culture of 'tender preneuring', which relates to greedy entrepreneurs exploiting weaknesses in accountability systems in the public sector. Corruption is the main factor which drives the other bad governance factors (nepotism, misuse of funds, and lack of public participation). Pillay (2004) describes corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. This refers to gain of any kind – financial, in status – and it could be gain by an individual or a group, or those linked with such an individual or group.

Furthermore another key factor of bad governance is the lack of public participation in government issues. In order for municipalities to serve communities it is important for them to interact and engage with communities about their needs in order to deliver the necessary services. The practice of public participation was far from effective and often was seen by communities as a contributor to social protests. In Alexandra community members understood ward committees as structures of participatory decision making and engagement and had utilised these to engage with councillors and decision makers, however, they felt that ward committees failed to facilitate solutions to their water and service delivery challenges. Furthermore, community members voiced frustration about poor communication that occurred through participatory decision making structures such as ward committees; they highlighted their water and service delivery issues but did not get adequate feedback on their concerns. They also decried the politicisation of ward committees leading to discussions that focused on discrediting opposition parties rather than water and general service delivery challenges. Concerns were also raised about community members who do not belong to the dominant political party not being taken seriously when voicing their water

service delivery challenges in ward committee meetings. In Ficksburg, some community members went further and voiced not only a lack of trust in ward committees but also in their councillors. Consequently community members utilised social protests as another means of communication. Indeed, some community members in Alexandra viewed social protests as a means to gain access to more senior politicians and officials to put pressure on councillors and municipal officials.

In Orange Farm the lack of engagement of communities on their water service delivery challenges was seen to be part of political infighting over state resources and thus an outcome of corruption. Community members viewed the lack of communication and engagement as a purposeful effort to prevent transparency and accountability. Community members complained about how they had to bear the brunt of poor service delivery decisions as contractors were repeatedly stopped from implementation due to procurement irregularities and political infighting.

The effect of this was that community members did not trust their councillors and viewed them as only caring about their own interests. The lack of trust between the councillor and the community was at such a low point that the councillor did not feel safe attending community meetings without the police for protection. Community members said that the current councillor and the previous one were threatened with physical violence because they prospered at the expense of the community. This creates a catch 22 as a councillor that feels under threat of physical violence will not want to engage with the community thus continuing to negatively affect community engagement and service delivery. The importance of public participation is further demonstrated in the case of Sasolburg where lack of public participation from both officials and councillors was a major trigger in the social protests events which took place early in 2013 over the municipal merger between Metsimaholo and Ngwathe municipality. Residents claim the first time they heard of the merger was when it was reported in a local newspaper. The community felt undermined by the lack of consultation. The community of Sasolburg believe that if they were consulted about the merger the outcome would have been different, there would not have been any protests and the merger might have happened. However, the mere fact that they were not told about the merger and the other factors that were connected to the merger fuelled the anger of the community. Any form of consultation that was made after that became useless since residents were angry.

This is in line with some respondents in Parys, Alexandra and Orange Farm's view that councillors and appointed municipal officials do not care about their challenges but are only concerned about what they can get from their municipal positions. Some community

members in Ficksburg referred to their ward councillor as “a liar.” This shows the lack of trust between municipal officials and communities. In Parys, community members highlighted that municipal officials have gone on strike to force the removal of their municipal manager and have tried to mobilise the community to join their strike. This illustrates institutional dysfunction as internal systems for human resource grievance management have broken down to the extent that municipal officials can strike for the removal of their superior. These strikes dealing with internal municipal issues were seen as bad for municipal services as employees would not only abandon their responsibilities but would also actively sabotage municipal services in order to provoke the involvement of communities in their strikes. In Parys and Orange Farm respondents stated that areas that either had no water supply, intermittent water supply or basic level of service water supply (communal standpipe) households were billed every month for water. In these cases some community members have stated that they cannot pay for water services they have not received or that are not reliable in terms of supply and quality. Residents further claimed that there is a serious challenge with billing which has resulted in some households having inflated arrears. This presents a major problem as residents become insecure about access to the whole basket of municipal services due to them being seen as being in arrears for their water bills. Some residents in Parys stated that they had had their electricity supply cut-off as a result of owing disputed arrears for their water bills.

This means that indigent households are faced with either paying water arrears that they dispute or illegalising their access to municipal services by relying on illegal connections. Bad governance is not entirely lost to the media as a possible cause of social protests. However, the media sometimes fails to highlight the complexities of bad governance and how it interrelates with other community issues. The media sometimes prefers to simplify issues and loses sight of how they are a dimension of and interrelate with bad governance. For instance, though bad governance was a key driver in the social protests in Ficksburg early 2011, it was not factored as one of the key causes of the social protests which took place and claimed the life of Andries Tatane by media. This shows how sometimes bad governance as a collection of governance issues can sometimes get lost when the media looks to simplify a maelstrom of issues. Issues of bad governance captured the media’s attention in Ficksburg in Sesotho municipality in a different protests event when residents marched to municipal offices in September 2011 specifically against corruption within the municipality (Sapa, 2011). Issues of bad governance were also featured in the municipal merger protests which took place in Sasolburg the media reported nepotism as one of the key drivers of the protest and the residents of Sasolburg verified this claim being true. The community of Sasolburg claimed that their mayor came from Parys and by merging the two

municipalities (Metsimaholo and Ngwathe) it would be possible for him to employ people from Parys and boost the economy of Parys. The reason behind the Sasolburg protest illustrates that communities also base their protests on political calculations. Communities should not be seen as passive but actually active participants in local politics. Communities navigate the political terrain, make decisions on actions and form alliances based on their own political goals. This is especially true in circumstances wherein communities feel they are on their own and cannot depend on their elected political representatives to advance and protect their interests.

A community member in Ficksburg stated that they are ready to ally themselves with a “corrupt” political figure as they view that individual as the best opportunity to better their water service challenges. Moreover, the same community member in Ficksburg highlighted the heterogeneity of communities in complaining that older community members were less open to changing their political allegiances to achieve the community’s water and general service delivery goals. This proves what Mananga (2012) states that among the major challenges facing local government are acute problems of institutional capacity, mismanagement of funds, high levels of corruption and a lack of public participation. These are key challenges hampering performance at the local government sphere.

All respondents in the household surveys held in De Doorns, Zwelethemba and Nkanini indicated that they were not satisfied with the level of service delivery and they blamed their grievances on governance. Residents of Nkanini in Khayelitsha Township were more politically robust and prone to violent protests than those of De Doorns and Zwelethemba. Most of the residents in Nkanini had lived in the Cape Town area for less than 7 years. Prior to that, many had migrated from the Eastern Cape Province. A few had originated elsewhere. By contrast, many residents of Zwelethemba residents had lived in the urban area for a long time, sometimes for several generations. Many others were seasonally migrant workers, who resided temporarily in the township before leaving for destinations elsewhere and returning in the fruit picking seasons. A similar pattern was observed in De Doorns, although the latter had a larger more recently arrived black population.

There was an overall belief that politicians did not care about the plight of residents living in low income residential areas. This comment was often made with particular regard to service provision for those urban areas predominantly occupied by historically disadvantaged black people. Some of the sentiments voiced by different respondents were:

- *They (politicians) only think of themselves.*

- *Politicians are always protected by police, so we have to fight even the police.*
- *All political parties are the same! No political party will ever change the situation!*
- *Everyone wants to be in power, and once they get what they want, all the promises come to nothing.*
- *When I approached the council offices to assist with the provision of toilets and houses, they just laughed at me!*
- *To be heard in this country you must be violent!*
- *I have been going to the offices to report the issues of water but he is never there.*
- *He [the local councillor] cannot dare stay in a nice house when the community is in shacks. If he does that, we will vote him out!*
- *Zille and DA don't want blacks in Cape Town, and we will fight until we get what want!*
- *We have fought the issue of electricity and we won, now we have electricity, what is left to fight is (access) water and acceptable sanitation.... There is no human dignity.*
- *Regarding shared access to public water infrastructure in private plots: If your neighbour is sleeping or not home, then you can't have water! We have been in this situation for a long time.*
- *I have to wake up very early in the morning to catch a train so that I can go and pick up clothes to wash. Sometimes when I arrive in Nkanini our standpipe is so full of people that I fail to finish my work.*

Despite views that politicians tend to forget their responsibilities once they are in the office, the majority of respondents agreed that they felt free to choose or join any political party they want. However, when it came to the fact that their lives had not improved, some expressed the opinion that there was no democracy. Researchers also noted that majority of the respondents are aware of the importance of political processes in realising their rights.

Most of the respondents in the survey knew their councillors by name. This could be influenced by the purposive sampling approach used by the study, which selected respondent who had participated in protest, supported protesters and/or engaged with protest issues. In Zwelethemba's Ward 16, most respondents said the councillor was never

available whenever they tried to call him. By contrast, Nkanini's councillor still stayed in a shack, although researchers observed that the shack contents (i.e. furniture, appliances and other material assets) reflected a socio-economic standing of someone who lives a comfortable life. Probed to explain why the councillor had chosen to remain in a shack when he could afford formal housing, one respondent quipped that the councillor could not dare stay in a nice house when his community lived in shacks because if he did so, the residents would vote him out. By contrast, responses by residents of De Doorns low income neighbourhoods revealed the existence of very polarised small town, whereby local councillors were feared and said to be involved in corruption and criminal activities, as well as lacking in accountability.

Although councillors in all three cases were often said to exercise power in ways accountable to themselves and their political parties rather than downwardly accountable to their local constituencies, it is also true that councillors sometimes have become the first victims of social protest. This was witnessed in Soweto and Tlokwe municipalities, for example, when residents burnt down houses owned by councillors during violent protests. Despite generally negative perceptions about councillors, these and other political leaders also are reported to have played an important role in organising recent violent protests in De Doorns and Nkanini. Research findings show that residents are aware of the irony that councillors are often seen as corrupt, but when it came to violent protests, these actors sometimes assumed leadership roles in organising the protests.

6.6.1.2 Infrastructure

Development experience and literature e.g. Chamber, 1992; 1995) stress the importance of community participation at various governance levels in decisions about issues that affect them. The survey found that in all three cases, respondents indicated that the water infrastructure was installed by the local municipalities with little or no consultation with the local communities. None of the residents had played any role even in connecting water services to their stand. One observation was that little or no effort was made to engender within communities of residents a sense of responsibility regarding water use and infrastructure operation and maintenance. No one really cared how much water was used by whom and for what purpose. The open access scenarios resulted in burst pipes in all the three sites under study. While burst pipes in Nkanini burst were not repaired on time, majority of the respondents from De Doorns indicated that every time there was a burst pipe, repairs were done within a few hours and water supply was soon resumed. In Zwelethemba, the study noted that the municipality tended to delay providing the necessary water infrastructure once informal dwellings were constructed. The furthest section of

Zwelethemba, called New Mandela, still lacked water after several years of people staying there.

According to Solomons (2013) South Africa faces the challenge of ageing infrastructure, among other challenges in the water sector, and this has a direct impact on water service delivery in township areas. The study discovered adding to issues of ageing infrastructure, challenges of water infrastructure in areas such as Ficksburg's Katlehong township are exacerbated by other factors such as bad governance and thus irregular procurement processes that lead to the appointment of contractors that are inexperienced and not adequately skilled to deal with operations and maintenance (O&M) of water and sewage infrastructure. Consequently, the contractor has actually damaged the infrastructure of Setsoto Local Municipality in Ficksburg with raw sewage spilling out onto the street for four years. Not only does this mean community members in the area then fail to receive water service delivery but are also exposed to illness and damage to their livelihood activities. For the municipality the bad governance that led to an inappropriate contractor being given the work has also cost it financially as it now has to do the same work twice and four years on it is likely to be more expensive to execute. Instead of extending water services or bettering the level of service the municipality will be forced to do the same work that was poorly executed and caused infrastructural damage four years ago.

Ficksburg's poor infrastructure is a common challenge as incidents of leaking taps are high and some water meters are installed outside yards and are thus damaged by cars and cows resulting in underground pipes leaking. This particularly affects indigent households badly because they incur unnecessary municipal debt and the municipality does not have a good response time in fixing leakages. The municipality also struggles with reading metres meaning that the water bills that it sends out are highly questionable. Moreover, for a high indigent population municipality dealing with water quantity challenges for its residents, the scale of water leakages means that it is bound to struggle to recover costs and to reinvest in infrastructure O&M. The water cuts happen regularly depending on the ward or section, meaning that some sections have water whilst others do not. In Sebokeng residents claim that in summer sewage pipes burst and cause a wet land in the area and this is a health hazard to residents. The water infrastructure is also leaking and the municipality has done nothing to fix it. In areas such as Alexandra where there are further challenges of "illegal" plot occupation and non-payment of municipal rates, the municipality refuses to take responsibility for the leaking and broken water infrastructure and leaves it upon the community. Residents claim that the municipality only fix leaking pipes or taps only if the person reporting the leaks has a title deed. If there is no title deed the municipality lives the

responsibility of the leaking infrastructure to the residents residing in that particular plot. The residents refuse to take responsibility for the infrastructure, due to the financial obligation attached to fixing the infrastructure and therefore majority of the taps and pipes have been leaking for more than a year. While in Alexandra leaking infrastructure is a major challenge and has caused floods in most parts of the area. The study found that with all the flooding in the area caused by leaking taps and blocked pipes and sewage systems residents of Alexandra hardly see this as a major factor when protesting. The reason given by residents is that the leaks do not really have a major impact on them since they do not pay for water and they hardly run out of water.

In some parts of Alexandra and Orange Farm there are areas without any infrastructure at all. This is the main cause of illegal water connections. The illegal water connections in Orange Farm Drissick 4 have negatively impacted the underground water pipes and have caused frequent pipe bursts. To deal with illegal connections the municipality would adjust the pressure which causes the water to come out in small drops and sometimes no water comes out of the taps at all. This was one of the factors which the residents of Drissick 4 protested about as from 2010-March 2013 which was not captured by media.

Moreover, one of the major challenges concerning water infrastructure discovered in Free State and in Gauteng is the theft of existing infrastructure. The findings of the study revealed that infrastructure is a major factor for poor water supply. In the social protest which took place in Ficksburg in 2011 poor water infrastructure was a key issue and media overlooked this issue.

The reason given in media reports was service delivery, however in every protest there is a trigger as much as service delivery might have been an issue but there are components of service delivery which tend to trigger the protests and in Ficksburg poor water infrastructure was one of the triggers. Residents indicated that they have been reporting the leaking infrastructure among other services delivery issues for years and the municipality has not been responding. The anger and rage towards the municipality led to the protest. In all 6 study sites (Alexandra, Orange Farm, Sebokeng, Sasolburg, Parys and Ficksburg) there is a huge problem of drug use. The drug users steal the copper taps and pipes and sell them in order to buy drugs. Municipalities end up installing plastic infrastructure in these areas and this infrastructure is not strong enough and therefore it does not last, which negatively affects water access in the long run

6.6.1.3 Access to Water Services

Research findings affirm the commonly held view that water is not only crucial for domestic purposes, but it is also a source of livelihood for most households in informal settlements, such as Nkanini in Khayelitsha Township of Cape Town, Mandela Square in Zwelethemba Township of Worcester and Stofland in De Doorns. Most of the formal houses had access to all available social services, including water and electricity. By contrast, informal tenants and informal settlement dwellers had either less secure or no secure access to basic water and sanitation services as well as housing. Many tended to connect themselves illegally to existing supply lines.

The majority of respondents indicated that they accessed water through connection to or use of the municipal system. Many of the households accessed water from a communal standpipe, which often served many households. A problem was that communities were often not consulted about the positioning of water and sanitation infrastructure, which were thus sometimes located at distances of more than 50 metres. Another problem was that some residents often had to wait for several minutes at a standpipe in order to access. A particularly sore point in De Doorns and Zwelethemba was the issue of insecure access to shared water supply taps that were installed in other people's plots. Residents decried the inconvenience and indignity of having to continually negotiate – particularly at night – access to shared public infrastructure that was privately controlled, for reasons difficult to fathom.

A common complaint was that lack of proper drainage often resulted in water flowing from communal standpipes and flooding streets, yards and houses. Water bills were said to be too high and many people could not afford since they relied on social grants from the state and low income jobs. In De Doorns, however, despite high water consumption due to large numbers of informal tenants living in backyards and non-payment for water services, water supplies were never cut-off. Municipal cost recovery constraints were not clarified. While the pleas about inability to pay might be true for the poorest of household, in many instances such pleas could not be taken for granted.

From the point of view of municipalities, one challenge was that the myriad of informal dwelling units that continually grew in number, sometimes exponentially. The rapid pace of urbanization often outstripped the available financial resources, land and existing water infrastructure, thus making it difficult to extend water service provision to households either deep inside or in the outskirts of densely-populated and unplanned informal settlements. Participatory mapping by communities, municipalities and relevant stakeholders can

potentially play a critical in developing and upgrading water (and sanitation) services in such areas.

In five of the study sites water has been reported as one of the key drivers which have led to protests. Unlike the other five sites Alexandra is the only site which continues to face water backlogs but does not perceive this as a major concern since residents illegally connect water and do not pay any municipal water rates. The one site which stands out with extremely poor water quality and quantity is Parys. Parys has a long history of post 1994 service delivery protests. However, the area has not had community driven service delivery protests in a long time, the last social protest was in 2000.

The Sasolburg merger protests put Parys back into the spotlight with regards to social protests concerning lack of service delivery. Media reports gave more attention to issues of nepotism, corruption, poor service delivery as the main causes of the protests and water was conflated with all these factors. However, the study found that poor water quality and quantity were major factors which led to the protests, this was highlighted by residents of Sasolburg where they stated that they are not willing to merge with Parys for a number of factors and poor water quality is one of their major concerns. An NGO representative in Sasolburg stated that, their water is privately provided by Rand Water in connection with Sasol and if Metsimaholo was to merge with Ngwathe it meant that they were to consume the same muddy and salty water from Parys and that is a risk they were not willing to take. This important dynamic was not factored into the media reports as major influences of the merger protests which took place in 2013 in Sasolburg. This viewpoint in itself illustrates a lack of community engagement and civic education on water service delivery as municipal boundaries do not necessarily mean that all municipal residents utilise the same water treatment works and waste water treatment works systems. Thus Parys and Sasolburg could have continued using different water systems. The water quality in Parys is suitable only for flushing and doing laundry and not for consumption.

Those residents that can afford have the means to buy water for consumption from a local dealer called Oasis. The dealer purifies the same water from the municipal supply system and then sells it to the community for R3-R4 per 5 litres. However, those who cannot afford to buy drinking water are forced to drink water that is not adequately purified. This clearly puts an extra financial burden on poor people and means the local municipality is failing to be the agent of social transformation, especially equity, that they were envisioned to be as it is not providing quality services to poor people. Moreover, poor people are forced to walk from their houses to Oasis to buy water meaning that women and children are likely to lose time for education and livelihoods development. This negates the equity goals of water

service delivery. Furthermore, this also deepens inequality which does not bode well for community building and cohesion.

In other parts of Parys residents get water from the huge green JoJo tanks that are filled on a weekly basis by trucks. These tanks have been placed in the areas for years and they have never been cleaned consequently the water comes out with worms and community members are forced to use this water for consumption if they cannot afford to buy water. The Jojo tanks' taps are positioned not at the very bottom of the tank meaning that there is always some water that stays behind even when the tank is empty and community members say this is part of the problem that leads to worms. Community members complained that accessing water through tanks had significantly affected their water usage as the water in the Jojo tanks is insufficient to meet the needs of communities that are dependent on them. One of the challenges of the Jojo tanks is water hoarding, as community members try to get as much water as possible before it runs thus driving up water demand due to the limited availability of water. This means that community members that lack means for storage of water suffer the most and these are likely to be the poorest members of communities that depend on water from the Jojo tanks.

Furthermore, these issues have led to the formation of organizations such as the Rate Payers Union who have taken the responsibility of service delivery from the municipality and paid private contractors to perform basic service delivery duties. The proposed merger of Metsimaholo (Sasolburg) and Ngwathe Local Municipalities (Parys) was seen by community members in Sasolburg as a means of using Metsimaholo Local Municipality to solve Parys's water services challenges. Though the water service and general service delivery issues in Parys are dire, the community seems very despondent about its ability to change the situation itself. In Parys residents claim that they have protested over water quality and quantity in the past. The last protest in the area was in the year 2000. Parys has been dealing with poor water access for 15 years. Residents claim that they are tired of protesting without seeing any improvement in their water access. Apart from protest fatigue, community members say people are choosing to leave Parys.

This is especially true for the youth which is a serious blow to the community's ability to use social protests to achieve their water and general service goals as youth are critical for mobilisation and the actual protests. Parys is also in the periphery of the economy meaning that there isn't major economic infrastructure that the community can threaten grab the attention of provincial and national politicians and officials. After years of no protests in the area media reports stopped giving attention to the area, however, in the 2013 municipal

merger protests which took place in Sasolburg, media reports began to pay attention to Parys.

In many of the study sites, in both Gauteng and the Free State water issues are often linked to other service delivery challenges during protests. Municipalities are responsible for not just water services but other basic services such as refuse removal and electricity supply. As presented in media reports the issue of water quality and quantity has been linked to other service delivery issues such as, refuse removal, hygiene factors, electricity and when conflated together these issues can lead to social protests. Ficksburg is one of the many areas in South Africa which has extremely poor general service delivery. Ficksburg has been dealing with the issues of poor service delivery for years without any reports of social protests, residents were suffering in silence. Residents claim that the municipality failed to respond to their grievances and anger build up which led to the 2011 violent protest. There was a long period of engagement through councillors, ward committees and ward meetings before residents decided to embark on protestation. These failed to reach the desired results in terms of improved service delivery. The community mobilised itself into committees over this period to facilitate engagement with councillors, ward committees and in ward meetings. The media reported the protests as revolving around service delivery and this was generally correct in that the protests were not over a particular basic service but rather service delivery in general.

However, the key grievances which led to the protests were bad governance, lack of housing and poor water quality and quantity, and leaking water infrastructure. The water in Ficksburg smells bad and there are cases of people from outside the community, as well as babies and children, falling sick due to drinking water. People buy water for drinking but for cooking they use the tap water. Those people that cannot afford to buy water either boil it or in cases where they cannot even afford electricity, they are forced to drink the water as it is. In other areas there is no water access at all and people have to ask from other community areas for water. Some community members have clashed due to “water theft” as some households that have water will refuse to share it because they also have to pay for it, this sometimes leads to those in need “stealing” water at night whilst people in the house are asleep. There is an area of Ficksburg’s township where leaking sewage pipes have led to raw sewage spilling out into the streets. This has been going on for four years and is the result of a maintenance tender being given to a poorly skilled and inexperienced contractor. Furthermore, roads have potholes, and the area is also full of dumping sites because the municipality fails to collect refuse consistently meaning community members have to dump their own waste which often leads to illegal dumping. Illegal dumping has led to health

problems, especially for children. It has also negatively affected local business as those involved in livestock rearing now struggle to sell their cows as they drink from the stream contaminated by raw sewage. Moreover, they also eat some of the rubbish that has been dumped leading to community members preferring to buy their cows from farms instead of buying from other community members. After the 2011 protests things are still the same in Ficksburg, people are scared to protest and they are also angry after the death of Andries Tatane. With all these service delivery challenges residents claim that all they get from the councillors are threats that if they do not vote for their party in the coming elections they will lose their RDP houses and social grants.

Furthermore, in Alexandra due to the housing backlog caused by among other factors increase in population in the area, residents decided to occupy old factories and some were evicted and were placed in tents. Issues of housing fall under the national sphere and it has been a major factor of social protests in areas such as Alexandra as reported in media reports dating as far as 2007.

6.6.1.4 Water and Sanitation Issues Conflated with other Grievances

Mananga (2012) states that the high levels of unemployment and poverty exacerbate dissatisfaction concerning poor service delivery, including water services, particularly in poor urban areas where unemployment and poverty are endemic. Despite the relative successes of the post-apartheid South African Government, the country still faces serious challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. These are some of the key factors which have culminated in citizens taking to the streets to raise their dissatisfaction over the problem of poor service delivery. In Sebokeng other factors which influenced the 2012 social protest in the area were the employment of people from areas outside, small businesses opened by foreign nationals and building of shopping complexes in the area. All these factors have impacted the unemployment rate in Sebokeng. Residents claim that due to unemployment the youth in the area has nothing productive to do with their lives and they have turned to drugs. Moreover to improve their livelihoods residents have opened up small businesses in which they sell goods to the community but most of these business had to close due to foreign nationals who opened businesses in the area and sell goods at lower prices compared to the business owners from the community. During the protest the foreign business owners are victimised, and their stores vandalised. Furthermore residents state that the government has further influenced the unemployment rate by building shopping complexes which affect small businesses in the area. Residents believe that public officials benefit from the tender processes attached to the building of the shopping complexes.

In Orange Farm residents claim that the March 2013 protest was over lack of response from government over a petition about a contractor who was hired to work on the sewage pipes in order to install proper flushing toilets in the yards. The protest turned violent due to anger from the youth came from which was over high levels of unemployment and lack of development in the area.

6.6.1.5 Relative Deprivation

A key factor often overlooked by media as a cause of social protest but on which many scholars, such as Patrick Bond, have written about is the notion of relative deprivation. Often times the notion of relative deprivation is found in poor urban areas, where residents tend to compare their standard of living with the high income earners. This has been a key driver of social protests in many urban townships. The case of Orange Farm show how relative deprivation in the same area but different vicinities can trigger protests. In Drissick 4 people have no access at all to water services, they have to walk a long distance to ask water from one of the community members. Having only one person to assist with water supply everyone in the community goes there to ask for water and they spend hours in a long queue. While in Drissick 1 residents have access to basic service delivery including water service.

These issues together with other service delivery challenges irrputed social protests in Orange Farm. Protesters failed to understand why one area of Orange Farm has access to services and the other has none. Orange farm has been protesting over similar issues over the years. The trends show that as from 2010 Orange Farm was protesting over the same issues which they protested over in 2013. According to a 2010 report in the Mail and Guardian 2010 residents of Orange Farm took to the streets and protested over unfinished road infrastructure projects and sewage which was flooding the streets. Contractors who were awarded government contracts did not finish the projects.

The last protest in the area was in March 2013 (Good Friday). The protest was organised by SANCO, and no request was put forward to the municipality to have the protest. The protest was over a petition which was sent to the Gauteng department of housing with a 21 days' time frame to respond and there was no response, the lack of response angered people. The petition was about a contractor who was hired to work on the sewage pipes in order to install proper flushing toilets in the yards because people of Drissick 4 are still using pit toilets. The municipality ended the contractor's contract before finishing the job so people

wanted to know why this happened. The answer the community received from the municipality and councillor was that the community of Drissick 4 chased away the contractor. According to the community these allegations are not true; they argue “why would they chase away the contractor when they need water and toilets”.

6.6.1.6 Political Issues

Political disputes have been reported as one of the key drivers of social protests from 2011-2013. The role of politics in social protests is much more complex than the predominant narrative of politicians taking advantage of communities and inciting them to protest. Though communities such as Sasolburg and Orange Farm stated that media reports of social protests having political drivers was not true; the reality is more nuanced. On the one hand, it is clear that communities protest in order to improve their standard of living and water and general service delivery. In order to achieve this, communities navigate political terrain. On the other hand, communities have to deal with amongst other; councillors, political parties, participatory decision making structures and government institutions. These positions, structures, processes and institutions are directly and indirectly connected to politics. Thus it is unrealistic to think that communities are not affected in their decision making and actions by political issues and considerations.

However; evidence suggests that rather than simply being tools of politicians, communities are political actors in their own right, engaging in the political process in order to further their own water and service delivery interests. For instance, in Parys, community members stated that municipal employees tried to pull them into their protest in July 2013 for the removal of the municipal manager even though it was centred on internal institutional issues (the recruitment of people from outside Parys) but some community members thought it would assist their own service delivery goals and thus they got involved. In Alexandra, community members viewed social protests as a means of escalating pressure on political representatives that otherwise seem to not prioritise their water and general service delivery issues. This demonstrates that members of communities are politically astute enough to know what actions create pressure on political decision makers to act. Though community members in Alexandra acknowledged the disruptiveness of social protest tactics, such as blockading highways, on other citizens' rights; they viewed these spoiler tactics as critical to forcing politicians to respond to their needs. The political astuteness of community members in their use of social protests as a means for political engagement to achieve their water and service delivery aims can also be seen in the way communities target economic infrastructure that affects the larger local, provincial and/or national economy. In Alexandra and Orange Farm community members stated barricading of roads (such as the Golden

Highway in the case of Orange Farm) was an integral part of their social protests tactics. This clearly has economic ramifications that are bound to create political pressure. In places that are not integrally connected to the economy; such as Ficksburg and Parys, more community members seemed to view social protests as having failed to better their water and general service delivery.

6.6.1.7 Disjuncture in Perceptions by Water Services Authorities and Water Users

Key drivers of social protests associated with water services delivery – indeed other related social services – include disjunctures between the views and interests of water users and authorities. Such disjunctures are often multi-faceted and include, among other things, differences in perception between what practitioners consider to be effective ways of rendering water services and what water services users consider as their legitimate needs and expectations.

6.6.1.8 Municipal Capacity Constraints

Various factors continue to hamper service delivery thus increasing social protests. These factors include issues relating to bad governance such as corruption, maladministration, nepotism and mismanagement of municipal funds. There are also issues relating to insufficient municipal funding allocation for the restoration or replacement of infrastructure that have reached the end of their life span. Moreover there are also challenges of inadequate maintenance budgets, which could be attributed to the municipalities' income base in order to enable the maintenance of existing water infrastructure. This has resulted in infrastructure break-down living many low income areas without water services. Additionally municipalities also face challenges of lack of skilled human resource capacity. The lack of expertise has left many municipalities inadequately staffed, resulting in deteriorating service delivery over the years, and leaving many communities with inadequate access to basic services (Mananga, 2012:3).

Furthermore, some municipalities lack adequate funds to carry out their constitutional mandate to improve water service delivery, some just resort to underspending the allocated funds due to a lack of leadership skills (Mananga, 2012:3). This is mainly evident to the lack of skills in project management and financial management, and this has prevented certain water related projects from being started or completed. The challenges of Bad governance, lack of funding, ageing infrastructure and issues pertaining to operations and maintenance

hinder water service delivery and the unmet expectations by communities caused by these challenges have shown to have an impact on social protest demonstrations.

6.6.1.9 Protest Organization and Mobilization

It appears that many of the more visible and violent protests have been characterized by relatively high levels of organization, involvement of organized working classes and in contexts of perceived deprivation, unmet expectations and uncertainties relating to national and global economic downturns. Documentary evidence shows that social movements, such as the Coalition Against Water Privatization and Anti-Privatization Forum (CAWP/APF) and Abahlali base Mjondolo (ABM), have engaged with various water related issues, such as privatization, marginalization of the poor and dysfunctional relationships. By contrast, non-violent protests have largely been associated with disputes declared by urban-based rate-payers' organizations, which are affiliated to the National Taxpayers Union (NTU). Such disputes have revolved around poor municipal delivery of water and related services.

The extent to which organized mobilization, mainly by social movements and to a lesser extent by NTU, contributes to the spread of social protests has been debated. For example, it is not clear to what extent the diffusion of social protests from the Free State Province to other parts of the country can be ascribed to such organizations or to the role of the media. Myers (2000) argues that information technologies form a vital linkage in the transmission of messages about protests. The role of the new information technologies, such as internet, email and cellular phones, is that of increasing accuracy when reporting their plans, activities, goals and ideology to constituents (Ibid.). It has also been postulated however that mass media, especially television and radio have played an important role in the dissemination of protests (Booyesen, 2007). Oliver & Maney (2000) argue that there is a triadic interface between politics, media and protests, wherein the media is not a neutral cataloguer but an integral part of politics and protest, interwoven with events. A question that needs to be answered is: What distinguishes dynamics of non-violent urban protests, such as those of Philippiolis and Sannieshof, from the majority of violent urban protests?

6.6.1.10 Perception Gap between Constitutionality and Illegality of Protests

While the South African constitution safeguards the right to the freedom of expression, protests often straddle the terrain between institutionalized and non-institutionalized engagement. Violent protests are often construed by law enforcement agencies to have 'crossed the line', and have increasingly been met with brute repressive force from the police. Such responses indicate that social protests might be viewed in certain circles as

‘revolts of the poor’ (Alexander, 2010). In a constitutional democracy, such as South Africa strives to be, such perceptions raise grim questions about the integrity of the institutional framework that carries the democratic ideal, and the openness and efficacy of the engagement space, particularly when the governance and delivery of water services and associated social requirements fall short of expectations. A critical question perhaps is how to channel the renewed energy among citizenry into tangible gains for water services governance and delivery, and a deepening of democracy.

Within low and middle income urban residential areas predominantly occupied by black Historically Disadvantaged Individuals (HDIs), non-violent protests can be part of initial forms of citizenship engagement with authorities, which may or may not escalate into violent protest action depending on various factors. Within middle income urban residential areas predominantly occupied by white populations, non-violent protest can take the form of litigation and declarations of disputes. In rural low and middle income residential areas mostly occupied by HDIs, non-violent protests may take the form of institutionalized hearings and petitions, but in general the voices of marginalized rural women and men largely go unheard.

There are anomalies to these observations, however. For example, there has been a rise in violent rural protests since 2012. There have also been instances whereby rural residents (e.g. Bafokeng’s Luka village in the North West) have adopted strategies such as declarations of demands, which have hitherto been the preserve of white segments of urban populations.

Lest this characterization be construed to imply that protest action is the most popular form of engagement between dissatisfied South African citizens and authorities (among other key stakeholders), this report proposes that the most prevalent responses perhaps are those in which water services deprived rural people continue to devise coping strategies as well pay the costs of living in water insecure contexts. Such people occupy the silent backdrops of South African society, too far removed from the corridors of power, the centre-stage of amplified urban grievances and the cacophony of journalistic and social media. For this reason, this report among the foregoing cases a few examples from the less visible rural contexts, such as Nandoni, Umbumbulu and Vermaaklikheid. The report has also included the less visible urban contexts, such as Sea Cow Lake/Kenville.

6.6.2 PERSPECTIVES OF KEY ROLE PLAYERS: CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

6.6.2.1 National Tax Payer's Union³⁰

According to the chairman of the National Taxpayers Union (NTU), the union is an NGO that was established in 1996. The main duties of the Union are to give legal advice to people about their rights in terms of the Municipal Systems Act, Municipal Structures Act, the Constitution and any other governmental legislature. The Union does not have a provincial structure. It consists of a number of local structures in designated areas, with the main structure being the national. A person can only join the national structure if they live in an area where there is a local structure and if they are members of the local structure. If there is no local structure in the area an individual can contact the chairman of the union and become a member of the national structure. The joining fee is R200 for a five year period and R20 per annum for each household member.

According to the chairman municipalities do not want to be associated with the union, due to the corrupt behaviour within municipalities that the union might discover. Therefore there are no relations between municipalities and the union. In areas like Parys where there are extreme cases of poor water quality and quantity. The chairman describes these as shocking dreadful and claims that the municipality was furious when it heard that they visited the treatment plant. The treatment plant is in dire conditions the doors are broken there are insects (spiders) and these have major negative implications on the water quality. The cause is not due to ageing infrastructure it is due to poor maintenance of the treatment plant. Furthermore, there was a hearing in July 2012 in Ngwathe the Human Rights Commission also attended the hearing and the National Payers Union had the opportunity to present the challenges of water within Parys and the recommended solutions, however after the hearing there were no steps taken to improve water services in Parys. According to the National Tax Payers' Union this has proven that government and all its relevant institutions (HRC) do not care about people's needs.

When an area has water challenges they report to the designated local structure chair of the union. The main method used by the union to address service delivery challenges is engaging with the relevant municipality about the issues, however this has seemingly not yield any results for majority of the areas. After engaging with the relevant municipalities without any positive improvements the union then chooses to look for a service provider that

³⁰ Interview with NTU Chairman, Jaap Kelder. Date: 31 October 2013

will render services to them and pay the money to that services provider directly or take other relevant steps in order to ensure the municipality is held accountable for poor service delivery. The union has gone to the extent of taking photographs of some of treatment plants as proof of the dire conditions the plants are in and submitted them to DWAF. DWAF's response to the grievances was just to issue directives. The municipalities perceive the union as a white racist organisation with the aim of creating problems for government. However, through all the relevant steps and processes taken by the union there has not been any improvements in water service delivery in all the designated areas mainly Parys. The only area which has improved in terms of water services after the union intervened is Bethlehem. The chairman states that the local structure of the union in Bethlehem is very active. The improvements in basic service delivery mainly water benefited all residents in Bethlehem and not only the union members.

In conclusion the chairman strongly stated that the union is there to assist people who want to be assisted and not people who join the union and expect everything to go their way without any active participation. The case of Parys further shows the lack of activeness from residents. According to the chairman there is not much that the union can do in Parys if the residents are not willing to take the initiative in holding the municipality accountable. He further claimed that the only time South Africans will wake up and realise that water quality is a major challenge is when the country faces water pandemics and people start dying.

6.6.2.2 South African Water Caucus

The South African Water Caucus is a network of CSOs and NGOs who play various advocacy and policy and community engagement roles in the South African water sector. The network consists of provincial structures, with the umbrella body being the national caucus. Members of the Water Caucus SA were instrumental in ensuring entry by researchers into many (though not all) of the study sites. In KZN, Western Cape, Gauteng and the Free State, the caucus gave researchers key tips and pointers on how to approach the community. From preliminary discussions with caucus members, it emerged that some localities had been over studied while others had not received attention from research. For example, over-researched case studies such as De Doorns and Umlazi were contrasted with under-researched places such as Kenville/Sea-cow Lake and many others, including rural areas.

The Water Caucus also acknowledged the importance of this study, given the prevalence of water and related service delivery and governance issues. For example, the diarrhoea outbreak in Durban and the bucket toilet-related protests in Cape Town, among a range of

related grievances, were said to highlight the importance of sound water and sanitation governance and service delivery. Caucus members also hoped that the study would lead national dialogues that seek to provide solutions in water service delivery. This study, in collaborated with the WRC and convened a Water Currents Policy Dialogue Seminar in Pretoria on 13 September 2013. Overall, the Water Caucus acknowledged and endorsed the research approaches and ethics and expressed a willingness to engage with the research process.

6.6.2.3 Other Civil Society Organizations

Not all civil society organizations actively involved in protest mobilization and organisation are affiliated to the Water Caucus or the National Taxpayers' Union. For example, organizations such as People Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), BAWSI Agricultural Workers Union of South Africa (BAWUSA), Social Justice Coalition (SJC) and Women on Farms Project (WFP) contributed to highlighting, among labour issues, farmworker grievances over water and sanitation both on-farm and off-farm. PASSOP was instrumental in steering grievances away from xenophobic/Afrophobic sentiments towards a collective stance on labour issues and service delivery grievances affecting low income wage workers, irrespective of their country of origin. BAWUSA's Nosey Pieterse provided the evidence that labour issues were critical but underpinned by a range of 21 other grievances, among which water and sanitation were prominent. In the metropolitan areas of Cape Town and eThekweni (Durban), Abahlali base Mjondolo, among others, has cited water among service delivery issues since 2005. Abahlali base Mjondolo and SJC have also been actively involved in both institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of engagement over sanitation issues in the City of Cape Town. In Gauteng, Orange Farm Water Crisis Committee and APF's Coalition Against Water Privatization (CAWP) have ensured that water issues form a key part of citizenship engagement with authorities.

6.7 CONCLUSION

The study confirms widespread recognition that the issue of social protest is complex. It is challenging to state the exact main issue which has continued to impact and influence social protests in South Africa. Nonetheless, key drivers of social protests associated with water service delivery were found to include issues of governance, access to water and sanitation, infrastructure, political disputes, conflation with other service delivery issues (e.g. housing backlog, electricity and refuse removal) and conflation with other grievances (e.g. poverty, unemployment, inequality, urbanization, labour issues and social services affordability)

(Figure 51). The study further shows that water is a major key driver in the social protest events in each of the three provinces, even though media in some instances fails to report water as a major concern.



Figure 51 Overview of Key Drivers of Social Protests

Protest organization and mobilization roles are largely played by CSOs and sometimes involve local councillors. However, the roles of CSOs differ according to organizational interest and objective. For example, CSOs, NGOs and CBOs affiliated to the South African Water Caucus play strong advocacy roles, mainly championing the cause of disgruntled residents and communities, who are the majority of historically disadvantaged black people living in low and middle income neighbourhoods, including informal settlement dwellers and informal tenants. Protests mobilized and organized by organizations affiliated to the Water Caucus tend to be range from peaceful to more violent forms.

By contrast, the NTU represents the interests of a narrower constituency of mainly white privileged classes living in the more affluent neighbourhoods. In each given urban area, members of the NTU declare disputes, which legally enable them to withhold rate payments from municipalities deemed to be poorly performing. The withheld funds are placed in trust accounts and used to pay contractors privately hired by the specific chapter of the NTU. These private contractors supply basic services parallel to the municipality in areas such as Parys, Sannieshof, Philippolis and many other towns. Since South African urban centres are mostly characterized by high levels of unemployment, particularly for historically disadvantaged individuals (HDI), this NTU-led strategy makes matters of cross-subsidization more challenging and further negatively impacts on the poor. At the same time, non-performing municipalities have lost the moral high ground and legitimacy to claim that they represent the interests of citizens. In the final analysis, 'when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers'. In this case, it is the poorest among HDIs who suffer most the consequences of both municipal non-delivery and NTU action. These urban poor cannot

afford to buy bottled water or to join the NTU action. They and their not much better-off neighbours in poorer neighbourhoods are thus compelled to endure hardship, indignity and compromised quality of life.

From the foregoing, the water service delivery challenge in South Africa has a racial face. Many of those who continue to live with the legacy of a racially-skewed historical political economy are black, who were deprived of allocations of quality water services infrastructure during colonial and apartheid eras and who continue to grapple with inequality in water services delivery. The water service delivery challenge also has a gendered face. Those most vulnerable to the effects of unsatisfactory water service delivery and governance are women, girls, chronically ill, disabled and young children. Irrespective of affiliation to NTU or Water Caucus, the mobilization and organization roles of CSOs, councillors and other key stakeholders need to tackle head on the racial and gendered faces of South African water service delivery. Without that, achieving constitutional imperatives for ensuring the human right of access to water, as a universal right, might not be tenable.

Social protests demonstrate the dynamics of just how much a citizenry disgruntled with governance institutions can render their localities ungovernable. While protests do not necessarily indicate the crystallization of proximate conditions for socio-political instability in South Africa, it is important for all role-players, and political leadership in particular, to realize that the social contract between the state and citizenry is sacrosanct and must be diligently honoured and pursued. Without that, no amount of laagers, arks and enclosures will preserve a status quo that is perceived to be unjust. No amount of persuasion or distraction will convince those people deprived of water services (and other basic and strategic resources and opportunities) to give up their constitutional right to express in various repertoires their dissatisfaction.

Pervasive issues of corruption, as discussed in the report, are a foundation of many other key drivers of social protests and should be effectively dealt with. The risk of not paying heed to the voiced pleas and anger is to become irrelevant and allow South Africa to go onto an uncharted trajectory. Yet there is hope. Government turn-around strategies and, more recently, the initiative to 'Strengthen Citizenship-Government Partnership', through mechanisms such as 'Citizen based Monitoring', indicate a conscientious effort to bring service delivery governance into alignment with governments constitutional obligations and macro-economic policy goals.

7 SOCIAL PROTEST PATHWAYS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses a case study approach to clarify the pathways by which grievances over water service delivery conflate with other factors and coalesce into social protest action. Pathway Analysis is applied to the case of Mothotlong, and serves as a basis towards exploring a practicable Evaluation Framework for preparedness. The Path Analysis Method used in this report derives from models developed by scholars such as Dalton (2009) and adapted by South African scholars (e.g. Nleya, 2010 in Tapela, 2012).

The report starts from the premise that social protests do not just erupt and happen overnight. In many protest demonstrations citizens have reported that they have taken the necessary paths in engaging with the relevant institutions of community engagement before protesting. Often these do not yield the necessary outcomes, as in many instances there are political disputes within many of these institutions. In other instances, there are challenges of maladministration and corruption within municipalities that tend to hinder service delivery. In some of the protest demonstrations civil society organizations, ward committees, street committees often drive the protest. However, in some of the protests it is certain individuals that influence others to start the protest and this can happen in social network platforms and in some instances consensus is reached within a meeting among community members to start protesting. The report builds upon background work by Nleya (Ibid.), who examined protest attendance in Khayelitsha and attempted a statistical analysis to predict possible pathways that a given protest given particular combinations of factors.

7.1.1 QUANTITATIVE PATHWAY ANALYSIS MODEL: REVIEW

From an empirical case study of Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town, Nleya (2010 in Tapela, 2012) identifies a number of factors key elements in protest generation: These include:

- A direct and positive causation between poor service delivery and protests;
- Unfavourable perceptions of service delivery, which play an important role in protest generation;
- Attendance of community meetings, which is associated with higher participation in protests;
- Higher levels of contact with government and municipal officials, which is associated with higher levels of protests; and

- A combination of membership of organizations, higher levels of interest in politics and current affairs and access to various forms of media, which is also associated with higher levels of protests.

The Khayelitsha case study also shows that the linkage between water services and protests is largely mediated through the type of housing residents live in. The type of house, whether part of informal settlements and/or formal housing, is therefore a good proxy for the level of service delivery. Formal houses tend to have internal or yard taps and toilets as well as electricity while informal settlements are generally lacking of toilets and electricity and rely on communal stand pipes for water supplies. Perceptions of service delivery in these tenure and tenancy contexts can contribute to the requisite tinder that enables trigger factors to ignite protest action.

Nleya's Path Analysis model (Figure 52) shows the importance of various factors in the generation of protests activity in Khayelitsha. The findings illustrate that the link between social water scarcity and social protest action does not always follow a linear cause-and-effect path, but operates in unpredictable ways and is compounded by a complexity of factors, including poverty, historical context and degree of satisfaction with service delivery.

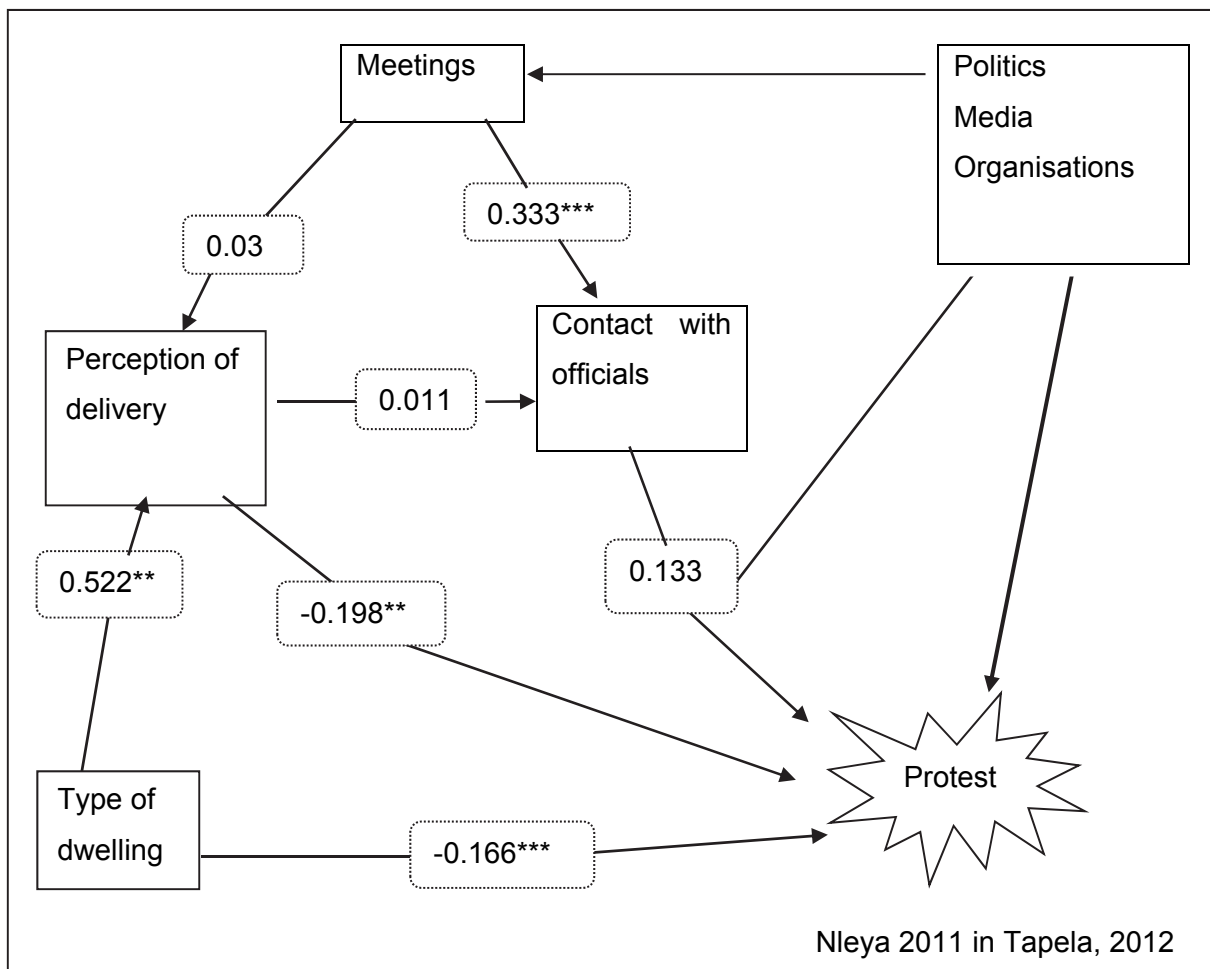


Figure 52 Path Model for Protest Attendance in Khayelitsha, 2010

A qualitative derivative of this adapted quantitative model was used to develop clearer understandings of the social protest that erupted in Mothotlung in January 2014. A subsidiary objective was to determine whether or not, in light of the high frequency of protests, a combination of PEA catalogue data, literature review and rapid appraisal could be used to cost-effectively develop, at least, a base map of the Protest Pathway, showing possible points of disjuncture, convergence, conflict and collective action.

7.2 MOTHOTLUNG PROTEST PATHWAY ANALYSIS

7.2.1 BACKGROUND: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

Mothotlung is a township in the small town of Brits in the North West Province. The area falls under the Madibeng Local Municipality, which is a constituent of Bojanala District. With a spatial area of more than 18 000 km², the district is the largest of all the 4 districts comprising the North West Province. Bojanala's 5 local municipalities include Rustenburg, Moretele, Kgetleng, Moses Kotane and Madibeng. Of the total, predominantly rural population of approximately 1.25 million, about a quarter (24% or 300,000) people are members of the Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN), which owns shares in various platinum mines and is the wealthiest traditional community in South Africa.

Despite extensive mining activity in the Bojanala region, the district has a relatively high rate of unemployment (40%) and poverty, with the majority (67%) of 323 000 households earning less than R1 600 a month and only a small minority (7%) earning more than R6 400 a month (Bojanala IDP, 2013/2014). The district has a young population. A significant proportion (39%) of the population is aged 19 years or less and more than half (53%) constitute the economically active (i.e. labour force) category of 20 to 60 years of age. According to the Bojanala district municipality, 15% of the population of the RBN has no formal education and only 20% have received foundation phase education. Only 20% of the adult population has completed high school and a little over 5% has obtained some form of tertiary education. Literacy and formal education in the district are therefore relatively low. Besides challenges of poverty and unemployment, Mothotlung specifically also faces service delivery challenges.

7.2.2 OVERVIEW OF PROTEST

On the 12th of January 2014 the residents of Mothotlung went on a protest march to express their dissatisfaction over three inter-related issues (Figure 53). These were lack of access to water services, perceived corruption in municipal tender processes and poor management of

water services delivery infrastructure. The protest subsequently turned violent when members of the South African Police Services (SAPS) shot dead 4 protesters. This catapulted Mothotlung from relative obscurity into the limelight of national and international media, and marked a turning point in media reporting on water services delivery issues in South Africa.

Hitherto, journalistic media had tended to lump these issues with a range of other grievances under the banner of 'service delivery' protests. After Mothotlung, there was an upsurge both in the naming of 'water service delivery' as a flagship issue for many protests that burgeoned across the country and as a specific headline issue in many journalistic media reports. This development was perhaps not surprising since journalistic reports often capture and amplify the focal issues that protesters and their support civil society organisations (CSOs) strategically select as a means to maximise the efficacy of their engagements with authorities.

Towards tracking the pathways by which Mothotlung grievances over water services developed into violent protest action, this study catalogued and analyzed a range of journalistic and social media reports on protest events and stakeholder engagements that took place prior and subsequent to protest eruption on 12 January 2012. Most of the media articles focused on the events immediately preceding and following found the first day of the violent protest, which limited the degree to which pathways could be traced. However, a few of the articles did attempt to reconstruct the historical process through which the protest developed, which was helpful.



Figure 53 Snapshot of Mothotlung Protest³¹

³¹ Source: e-News Channel Africa (ENCA), Internet [<http://www.enca.com/south-africa/brits-protest-killings-condemned>] 14/01/2014.

7.2.3 SHIFT FROM GRIEVANCE PERCEPTION TO PROTEST ACTION: OUTLINE OF PROCESS

The study found that the frustrations of Mothotlung township residents did not flare up overnight. Rather, the residents had been unhappy for a long time. Madibeng Local Municipality, which was the water service provider (WSP) for Mothotlung, had been long been plagued by allegations of corruption. Perceptions among residents were that corruption was started by the ANC leadership within the province.

7.2.3.1 Emergence of Corruption in Water Services Delivery: 2009

According to respondents, corruption in the delivery of water services began in 2009³². During that time, residents expressed concerns about water shortages and the municipality responded that funding constraints hindered its ability to expand water services infrastructure to all areas in Mothotlung, Damonsville and other parts of the Madibeng Municipality. Towards alleviating water shortages, the municipality then initiated a scheme whereby private service providers were contracted to deliver water by tanker trucks (Figure 54). Shortly after the introduction of this form of privatization, allegations of corruption began to emerge.

In 2009, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) responded by convening a Task Team to investigate allegations of corruption in the delivery of municipal services in general within the North West Province. As a result, municipalities such as Ngaka Modiri Molema, for example, were placed under administration (see Tapela, 2012). According to *Sowetan Live*³³, this Task Team report concluded:

“Communities are suffering the consequences of corruption in tendering that has little to do with providing essential services.”

Furthermore, the report also asserted that most of the corruption and looting of state resources in the North West Province could be traced – directly or indirectly – to the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) of the ANC. With specific regard to water services-related corruption, the MEC’s detailed report further surmised:

“The water supply disruption was basically used as a cash cow for businesses owned by or aligned to officials within the municipality.”

³² Source: Sowetan Live video report, Internet
[http://article.wn.com/view/2014/02/04/Madibeng_is_dysfunctional_Manuel/] 04/02/2014.

³³ Source: Sowetan Live video report, Internet
[http://article.wn.com/view/2014/02/04/Madibeng_is_dysfunctional_Manuel/] 04/02/2014.



Figure 54 Madibeng Water Tanker Trucks: Privatized Water Services Delivery³⁴

7.2.3.2 Continued Governance Failure To Curb Corruption: 2012-2013

While the 2009 Task Team had raised expectations that grievances over water services delivery would soon be resolved, by 2012 it had become clear to residents that the expected outcomes would not easily materialize. Residents of townships such as Mothotlung continued to endure intermittent access to water, while significant amounts of public funds were continually spent in procuring unsatisfactory services from private truck-owning water services providers.

In the 2012/2013 financial year alone, for example, R16 million was budgeted to pay private contractors to deliver water service, instead of recapitalizing old infrastructure and/or developing new water services infrastructure. Each water truck could generate a profit of R1.2 million per annum. Many of the contractors were political “comrades” (i.e. members of the African National Congress – ANC) and were irregularly awarded tenders outside of the mandatory tender process. In light of these facts, allegations became rife that water supply in Mothotlung and other areas within Madibeng Local Municipality was being deliberately tampered with for private financial gain.

National government in 2012 responded by setting up a Ministerial Task Team to investigate the reiterated allegations. The Task Team report was tabled before the local municipal council in 2013, and it confirmed the allegations of corruption in water services delivery within Madibeng municipality. The report implicated both private companies and municipal officials. However, this report was largely ignored by the predominantly ANC-affiliated council and no action was thus taken to resolve the problem. The study could not find evidence of Provincial Government’s response.

As a result, beneficiaries of this flawed governance process continued to reap financial rewards at the expense of sound delivery water services by local residents and human rights

³⁴ Source: Internet [<http://www.kormorant.co.za/2014/02/water-trucks-disrupt-hartbeespoort/>] 28/02/2014

of secure access to water. In 2013 alone, for example, one such contractor billed the municipality R108 847.20 for work done in 30 days using just one of his three trucks. Some of the expenses claimed included human resource (HR) costs of hiring a driver, who consistently worked 11 hours per day performing the task of delivering water. Against these claims, Mothotlung residents complained that trucks often took between one and two months to deliver the next load of water. Most of the time, the quantity of water conveyed by the trucks also did not satisfy the consumers' demand.

7.2.3.3 Crescendo Towards Protest Action: Late 2013-2014

For some reason, Mothotlung's water access problem became worse as from August 2013, when service delivery via contracted private tanker truck owners became sporadic. The water access challenges reached abysmal proportions in December 2013, when residents were compelled to go without access to water for 3 weeks. The lower threshold of risk tolerance appears to have been breached then, leading to Mothotlung residents' collective decision to embark on a protest march to the Madibeng municipal office on the 12th of January 2014. This was a means of expressing their refusal to tolerate further risk and vulnerability (see Figure 4.1 in Appendix 4). From then on, it would take only a spark to light up the tinder and trigger a violent protest.

Interestingly, however, the 3-week dearth of water services was not to be the trigger factor for the violent protest event that erupted on the 13th of January 2014. Neither did the coalescence of protracted lack of water, perceived corruption and poor municipal management create the critical mass of local sentiment to engage in violent protest repertoires during the protest march to Madibeng municipal offices on the 13th of January 2014. Rather, the trigger for violence was the murder by police officials of four of the protesters as from the second day of the protest march. The killings began when police used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the marching crowd along the road between Brits and the nearby township of Damonsville. Prior to that, Mothotlung residents reported that they had been engaging in a non-violent protest march. One resident stated:

*'...Although the march was sparked by residents, who were "tired of stinking toilets and were themselves 'stinking'", it was far from threatening as the participants were armed only with songs... The police's crowd control mechanism was out of control. The police were outnumbered, but they were not under attack.'*³⁵

³⁵ Source: e-News Channel Africa (ENCA), Internet [<http://www.enca.com/south-africa/brits-protest-killings-condemned>] 14/01/2014.

Immediately after the shootings, photographs showing the bloodstained and bullet-riddled bodies of Mike Tshele and Osia Rahube lying on the gravel were widely circulated by cellphone and went viral through social and journalistic media.

7.2.3.4 Aftermath: Hope Realized or Deferred?

In the aftermath of the Mothotlong protest of 2014, a number of prominent government officials and politicians weighed into the fray in response to a storm in a small ‘teacup’ that had overnight become a high profile case, following close on the heels of the Marikana tragedy. As Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa and the North West Premier condemned the killings of protesters, the then Minister of Water Affairs Edna Molewa promised to give Mothotlong residents “water before the weekend”. Meanwhile, Economic Freedom Front (EFF) leader Julius Malema vowed to march in support of Mothotlung residents and Democratic Alliance’s (DA’s) Lindiwe Mazibuko conducted some groundtruthing of the Madibeng water treatment works (Figure 55). Mazibuko found that only one of the pumps which provided water to Mothotlung was operational, with two pumps not being used (Plate A) and a larger main pump missing altogether (Plate B). Minister in the Office of the Presidency Trevor Manuel commented:

“...the [Madibeng] mayor and the chief whip and so on... it seems as though either they didn’t know that three pumps... were out of order or they were beneficiaries of the water tankers that were running where the pumps weren’t working.”



Plate A) Dysfunctional Pumps



Plate B) Missing pump

Figure 55 Dysfunctional and Missing Pumps at the Water Purification Plant in Madibeng Local Municipality, 2014³⁶

³⁶ Source:
<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71654?oid=517489&sn=Detail&pid=71616>

A more poignant comment, however, was that made by a *Mail and Guardian* reporter, who stated:

*“The tragedy of the events in Mothotlung in Brits is not only that people had to go for so long without proper access to water, but that it had to take the tragic death of community members for South Africa to take notice and for the media and government ministers to visit the area.”*³⁷

The question remained whether or not these post-protest responses indicated any meaningful shift in South African water services governance practice and engagements between residents, such as Mothotlung’s, and authorities. At least within the Bojanala District of the North-West, within which Mothotlung is located, the Royal Bafokeng traditional leadership has since 14 August 2014 entered into a service delivery and socio-economic development partnership with Rustenburg Local Municipality. It remains to be seen whether or not the emerging re-organization of governance institutions and interventions will yield desired outcomes in water security across diverse contexts nationally.

7.2.4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The case of Mothotlung broadly epitomizes the concept of ‘social’ scarcity of water, as defined by Tapela (2012). Social water scarcity, unsatisfactory delivery of services and dissatisfaction with governance all played important roles in the generation of protests in Mothotlung. These variables intersected with other factors, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, poor quality of life, perceptions of relative deprivation, rights-based struggles, power politics and unmet aspirations and expectations.

Mothotlung residents perceived a need to resolve the problem of water insecurity in 2009 and they peacefully engaged the municipality regarding their need (Figure 56). The municipality responded by privatizing water service delivery, through contracting private water tanker truck owners to supply residents with water. From this project’s identified media reports, it is not possible to determine where or not this decision was informed by any consultative process that garnered the views of local residents. What is clear though is that this option spawned allegations about corruption in tender processes. Media reports also document that poor governance and management of the contracted water service providers critically perpetuated the problem of poor access to water. Two successive national level investigations by the NEC and Ministerial Task Teams confirmed the allegations about corruption but could not resolve the water insecurity and governance problem.

³⁷ Source: Mail and Guardian, Internet [<http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-16-editorial-muddying-the-waters>] 17/01/2014. (See also Table 1)

After 5 years of trying to cope with water insecurity and dissatisfaction about perceived corruption, the 3-week long absence of water services, the resident's frustration reached its peak. The level of frustration is palpable in the emotive statement by one resident that '*...the march was sparked by residents, who were "tired of stinking toilets and were themselves 'stinking'...*". This statement alludes to a poignantly felt inadequacy of the quality and quantity of available water to meet residents' multiple-use requirements, such as personal health, hygiene, dignity, confidence and well-being.

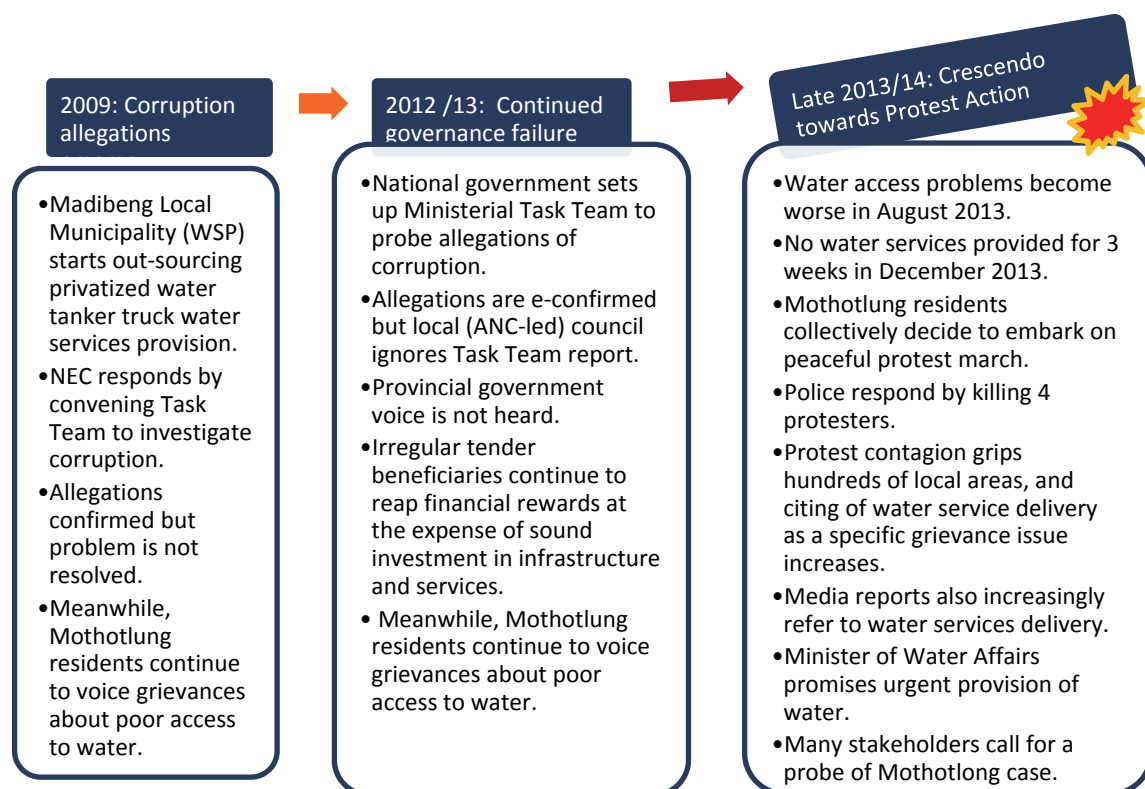


Figure 56 Mothotlung: Summary of Milestones along Protest Pathway, 2009 to 2014

In postulating about thresholds for risk acceptance/tolerance and un-acceptance, Tapela (2012) states that a singular water scarcity-related problem that progresses from a Lower Order to a Higher Order risk is likely to be accompanied by shifts in coping and adaptive strategies as people grapple with the shock of unprecedented stress associated with the crisis. When the Lower Threshold is approached, people shift away from their 'usual' acceptance of relatively lower levels of perceived risk and towards strategies that seem to ensure greater water and livelihood security. These strategies might include engagement via established institutional arrangements, such as elected or traditional leadership and various governance structures. Such strategies might also include increases in collective or individual self-help mechanisms, such as informal infrastructure (including local legitimization

of illegal connections, construction of communal wells and investments in individual boreholes or purchases of bottled water). In certain instances, strategies might also include social protests, but this depends on the complex interplay of a number of factors, including perceived relative deprivation, dissatisfaction with poor governance, socio-political organization, marginalization of informality, opportunistic behaviour, contagion, conflation and other less overt factors.

At the Lower Threshold, the success of coping and adaptive strategies depends on the livelihood assets, capabilities and entitlements of communities and households. Since communities and households are socially-differentiated, it is reasonable to expect that those who are more affluent, capable and secure in accessing their rights have greater resilience and are better able to cope with or adapt to a Lower Order risk and crisis. By contrast, resource-poor communities and households, who lack the requisite capabilities and entitlements, are the ones more likely to founder at the Lower Threshold due to resilience failure. For that reason, social safety nets and social networks might be critical to the survival of the poorest households during Lower Order crises. Indeed, 'crisis' for such households might be part of normal daily existence, which means therefore that there might be a much lower, often invisible, threshold for these households, which co-exists with 'minimal acceptable risk' and beneath what commonly constitutes crisis in public perception.

Without adequate institutional responses during the 'reducible risk' phase, the Lower Order crisis might further escalate to a Higher Order crisis. In the case of Mothotlung, this occurred when there was no delivery of water services for 3 weeks in December 2013. Since at the crossing of the Upper Threshold, socio-economic differentiation becomes less of a determinant of resilience and impacts of water insecurity engulf whole populations, it can be reasonably deduced that perceptions of possible resilience failure became widespread. At that point, local residents' refusal to accept further risk played out in strongly politicized ways that began as non-violent albeit militant protest repertoires (i.e. march) and civil disobedience, which were triggered into violence by police brutality in the killings of some of the protesters.

Given that townships such as Mothotlung are low and middle income working class neighbourhoods, lack of access to water for these basic human needs affects the residents' capabilities to secure and enhance their existing livelihood asset 'portfolios' against vulnerability to risks and hazards within their given contexts. It is reasonable to surmise that their ability to go to work and/or to look for employment opportunities was compromised, irrespective of whether or not they were in formal or informal paid employment, self-employment or unemployed-but-looking for a job. It is also plausible that young people of

school going age were similarly affected, as would have been migrant workers returning home for Christmas, the infirm, the elderly and mothers of young babies.

The study asserts that among all 'gender' groups affected by social water scarcity in Mothotlung, women and girls as gender groups were probably the hardest hit. Somehow, the voices of affected Mothotlung women and girls are completely silent within the cacophony of the media hype that gripped South Africa in the aftermath of the protest that turned violent. Given the aforementioned limitations of using Protest Event Catalogue data (Table 15) and PEA, this report is not in a position to determine exactly how such silencing could have happened amid an explosion of journalistic media amplification of local voices.

Owing to limitations with using Protest Events Catalogue data and PEA derived mainly from journalistic reports, it is not possible for this report to go into any quantitative analysis and/or testing of the Mothotlung protest pathway, as proposed by Dalton (2009) and Nleya (2010 in Tapela 2012). Nonetheless, the report considers that qualitative treatment of research results, particularly with respect to satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with water services delivery and governance can yield useful insights for further investigation.

The Mothotlung case also exemplifies challenges associated with social constructs of 'resource management', which are determined by political, economic and social power dynamics underpinning the institutions that provide structure to social relations, security of access to bases of social power and productive wealth, and stability to the social organization of human societies (Tapela, 2012). From a sustainable livelihoods perspective, resources in this case refer to various assets or 'capitals', such as social, financial, human, physical and natural (according to Chambers & Conway, 1992). Basically, resources included access to bases of social power and productive wealth, such as positions of influence within Madibeng municipality and (by extension) the North West provincial government. These positions seem to have provided selective access to platforms within which decisions – both overt and covert – are made about state interventions (or lack thereof) and tender awards. Resources also referred to the socio-political actor networks surrounding water services delivery issues in Mothotlung and Madibeng Local Municipality at large. Media reports suggest that for those persons who are socio-politically well-connected, such networks have proven to be a lucrative form of social capital. The networks generate profits of at least for R1.2 million per truck for beneficiaries of municipal tenders. In light of perceptions by Mothotlung residents that the water challenge was largely perceived within the township as having been caused by a water pipe that was tampered with as an act of sabotage, anger about corruption within socio-political networks surrounding the allocation of tenders seems to have been a major contributing factor.

Table 15 **Mothotlung, North West Province: Excerpt from Catalogue of Protest Events, 2014**

TITLE	MEDIA SOURCE	DATE	REASONS FOR PROTEST	SELECTED HIGHLIGHTS
Two people killed in protest in Mothotlung	Mail and Guardian- http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-13-two-people-killed-in-protest-near-brits	13-Jan-14	Lack of access to water; Perceived corruption; and Poor management	Three people killed during protest on 12 January.
Mthethwa, Modise try to calm Mothotlung	Mail and Guardian- http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-14-mthethwa-modise-try-to-calm-mothotlung	14-Jan-14		- Murder enquiry - Protest vs Constitutional right - Responses from Ministers and senior officials, e.g. Police, Department of Water Affairs, Premier's Office, MECs and Municipality.
Water restored in some parts of Mothotlung	http://www.ecr.co.za/post/water-restored-in-some-parts-of-mothotlung/	16-Jan-14		- Residents claim to have been without the resource for up to three months. - Madibeng municipal officials say water should be fully restored to all affected areas by tomorrow.
Mothotlung water shortages shrouded in murk	http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-16-brits-water-shortages-shrouded-in-murk	16-Jan-14		Stunned Mothotlung residents suspect that dirty politics is to blame for the deaths of three people protesting against the township's lack of water
The tragedy of Brits's lack of access to clean water is that people had to die before anyone took any notice.	Mail and Guardian- http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-16-editorial-muddying-the-waters	17-Jan-14		The tragedy of the events in Mothotlung in Brits is not only that people had to go for so long without proper access to water, but that it had to take the tragic death of community members for South Africa to take notice and for the media and government ministers to visit the area.
Corruption could be responsible for Brits dry	http://www.enca.com/south-africa/corruption-could-be-cause-brits-dry			- The municipality responsible for supplying services to Mothotlung, has been long been plagued by allegations of corruption. - A Ministerial Task Team set up in 2012 highlighted allegations that the water supply in the area was being deliberately tampered with for financial gain. - But nothing seems to have been done about it .The frustrations of this community on the outskirts of Brits, did not flare up overnight. They have been unhappy for a long time. - Last year a task team report tabled in the council made allegations about corruption in water supply in the municipality. - It implicated both private companies and officials.

TITLE	MEDIA SOURCE	DATE	REASONS FOR PROTEST	SELECTED HIGHLIGHTS
Still no water in some Mothutlung households	News 24- http://m.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/Still-no-water-in-some-Mothutlung-households-20140117	17-Jan-14	Lack of access to water; Perceived corruption; and Poor management	Aftermath: Various stakeholder responses - Only one of the 3 pumps which provide water to Mothutlung is operational. The other two pumps are not being used. The larger, main pump missing entirely - Mothutlung, Damonsville and other parts of the Madibeng Municipality – have had only intermittent access to water over the last two years. - There was more violence in Mothutlung in the North West on Friday. Locals attacked a municipal leader during the memorial service for the three people killed during protests this week “...the [Madibeng] mayor and the chief whip and so on... it seems as though either they didn't know that three pumps... were out of order or they were beneficiaries of the water tankers that were running where the pumps weren't working.” – Trevor Manuel
Water supply restored to Mothutlung	Eye Witness News- http://ewn.co.za/2014/01/17/Water-supply-restored-in-Mothutlung	17-Jan-14		
Mothutlung still without water – DA	News 24- http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mothutlung-still-without-water-DA-20140118	18-Jan-14		
DA to conduct oversight visit in Mothutlung	Times Live- http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014/01/19/da-to-conduct-oversight-visit-in-mothutlung	19-Jan-14		
DA to visit Mothutlung	Sowetan- http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2014/01/20/da-to-visit-mothutlung	20-Jan-14		
Fourth person dies after Mothutlung water protest clash	Times Live- http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2014/01/20/fourth-person-dies-after-mothutlung-water-protest-clash	20-Jan-14		
Mothutlung Crisis: What Edna Molewa didn't want you to see	http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71654?oid=517489&sn=Detail&pid=71616 [DA article by Lindiwe Mazibuko]	20-Jan-14		
Mothutlung residents attack municipal leader	http://www.enca.com/media/video/mothutlung-residents-attack-municipal-leader?playlist=107	20-Jan-14		
Madibeng dysfunctional: Manuel	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2014/02/04/madibeng-is-dysfunctional-manuel	04-Feb-14		

7.3 TOWARDS PREPAREDNESS: EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

7.3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study recognizes that sound governance is at the core of effective water services delivery and the progressive realization by citizenry of the human right of access to water and sanitation services. South Africa in the Zuma Era has become protest-prone, and an increasing number of protest narratives cite grievances over issues related directly or indirectly to water services delivery. The problem for the water sector is therefore how to effectively deliver on its mandate and thereby avert not only violent protests but, more importantly, the vulnerability of HDI women and men in low and middle income neighbourhoods to risks associated with water insecurity. A preemptive approach is requisite, which begins with clear understandings about the disjunctures between water users and authorities and downward accountability. The issue of accountability is problematic, owing to the fact that constituency-based municipal governance by nature tends to be orientated upwardly and inwardly.

Nevertheless, enhanced preparedness requires effective ‘governing interactions’ between ‘governance institutions’ and ‘systems-to-be-governed’ (after Kooiman, 2008). Governance is “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. Governance comprises the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and their groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences” (UNDP, n.d.). Governance transcends government and includes civil society and the private sector. ‘Good governance’ has attributes of accountability and transparency, is effective, equitable and promotes the rule of law. Specifically, water governance has been referred to as: “The range of political, social, economic and administrative systems that are in place to develop and manage water resources, and the delivery of water services, at different levels of society.”³⁸

Evidence suggests that effective interactions between citizens and authorities are possible if there governance institutions are robust in developing clear understandings of the social ‘systems-to-be-governed’ as well as strong measures for ensuring downward accountability. A challenge, however, is that South African local governance and delivery frameworks are currently locked into political constituency-based decision-making, which serves a narrower set of interests than the Constitutional requirement for government to provide universal access to water. In light of the requirements above, this study considers that the requisite

³⁸ file:///C:/Users/admin/Downloads/advocacy-sourcebook.pdf

7.3.2 EVALUATION FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

The Evaluation Framework proposed herein is a work-in-progress, which can be adapted to suit case-specific requirements. Further research is needed to test, refine and adjust the variables and indicators. The Framework is directed (with appropriate adjustments) towards use at local levels, namely metropolitan area, district, local municipality, ward and neighbourhood/village community. The precision of this tool becomes sharper with increasing closeness to the plot and household levels of water use.

7.3.2.1 Purpose of Evaluation Framework

This study asserts that the purpose of the proposed Evaluation Framework should be to preemptively determine the urgency of the need for institutional interventions and responses in water and sanitation services delivery. The Evaluation Framework should NOT be used as a tool to silence the voices of protest, but should be used with strict adherence to the National Constitution, whose Bill of Rights confers to citizens a range of rights, such as rights to the freedom of expression and rights to assembly, demonstrate, picket and petition, among others.

7.3.2.2 Scope of Evaluation Framework

The proposed Evaluation Framework takes into account a broader set of social, economic and ecological indicators than that afforded by analyses that narrowly focus on protest variables, such as Pathway Analyses by Dalton (2009) and Nleya (2010 in Tapela, 2012). Based on this study's research findings, the Evaluation Framework outlined herein explores the possibility of using a set of qualitative and quantitative indicators to preemptively gauge the urgency of the need for institutional interventions, whether or not there is evidence of past, ongoing and/or envisaged protest action. The rationale for this blending is that the institutional capacity to capture much of the qualitative data is often limited, while the tendency to rely solely on quantitative data also limits the effectiveness of targeted responses to needs and expectations.

The Framework also makes allowance, however, for two protest-specific variables, which are 'protest opportunity and timing' and 'PEA and barometric tracking'. These variables complement the rest of the indicators and, where necessary, can assist the assessment of the linkage between water (and sanitation) services delivery and social protests.

7.4 KEY VARIABLES AND PROXY INDICATORS: OVERVIEW

Qualitative variables included those that are:

- Contextual (history, location, policy context, socio-economic class setting, livelihood)
- Issues-based (water access, water affordability, housing + water access, etc.)
- Knowledge-based (e.g. existence of data for tracking and monitoring; soundness of available data; accessibility of knowledge resources, knowledge management)
- Community dialogue-orientated (between local authorities, service providers, water users, resident communities, intermediary stakeholders e.g. CSOs, NGOs, CBOs & FBOs)
- Skills-based (e.g. capacity building re Social Accountability tools, good governance)
- Perceptual (e.g. perceptions about vulnerability to risks that can affect a livelihood)
- Emotive (e.g. deprivation-induced anger, frustration)
- Social space related (e.g. memory, public spaces and protest sites)
- Opportunity or Timing related (e.g. conference event; elections; season; commemoration; concurrent political, labour and demarcation disputes and protests)
- Constraining to interventions (e.g. poor governance and/or financial, technical, social, economic, institutional and legal issues).

Given the capacity constraints to timeously obtaining reliable qualitative data and thereby preemptively and robustly responding to urgent water (and sanitation) services delivery issues, this study's Evaluation Framework uses proxy indicators for qualitative variables. These include, among others, 'historical background', 'socio-economic status (income class)', 'unemployment rate', 'housing backlog', 'informality of tenure and tenancy' and 'vulnerability factors' (gender, incidence of waterborne disease, population/housing density) (Table 16). The broad set of variables above is used to develop practicable sets of indicators for preemptively evaluating local-level water universes, whether or not such universes have experienced violent and/or non-violent protest action.

Quantitative variables used include the 'percentage population served'. Proxy indicators for other quantitative variables are used, such as drinking water quality management blue-drop score, sanitation green-drop score.

Table 16 Possible Indicators for Urgency of Institutional Interventions and Responses

INDICATORS ↓		SCORE INDEX: Blue: 1 Amber: 2 Red: 3 Black: 0			TOTAL URGENCY SCORE: 17-22: Low 23-32: Medium 33 & above: High		
CONTEXT:		Historical Background:	Socio-economic status:		Unemployment rate:	Housing Backlog:	Tenure and Tenancy:
Urban Rural		Privilege Disadvantage	High income Middle income Low income		Low Medium High	Low Growing slowly Growing fast High	Formal Mixed Informal
SITUATION & WATER ISSUES		Access: Water/Sanitation	Water/Sanitation Infrastructure		Drinking Water Quality Management Score: (Blue Drop)	Vulnerability Factor(s)	Protest Opportunity and Timing
		100% served 96-99% served 90- 95% served 80-89% served 70-79% served 60- 69% served 50-59% served 40-49% served 30-39% served 20-29% served Less than 20%	Functioning (+RDP) Functioning (RDP) Functioning (-RDP) Broken down/Unreliable Non-existent		High Medium Low	Any affected vulnerable gender groups (women, children, youth, aged, etc.)? No Yes	No Yes Commemoration Protest season Political Disputes Major event(s) Elections
			Infrastructure Funding:		Sanitation Score: (Green Drop)	Any waterborne disease?	
			Sufficient Insufficient No Rehabilitation Renewal Expansion of existing New Development		High Medium Low	Population/Housing density Low Medium High	
DATA, COMMUNICATION & MONITORING		Population Data Reliability	Informality Data Captured		Indigency Register	Infrastructure monitoring	Knowledge & communication resources:
		High Uncertain Low	(e.g. % Informal Tenure; % Informal Tenancy) Yes No Not applicable		Yes No Not applicable	Yes No	Accessibility of Hotline, Website (live/interactive), Newsletters/ Barometers & Social media platforms
			Not applicable			PEA & Barometric tracking	Yes No
						Yes No	

8 DISCUSSION

8.1 OUTLINE OF POST-1994 PROTESTS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER AND SANITATION SERVICES DELIVERY

While there is now an established consensus that the phenomenon of social protests is complex, dynamic and varies from place to place and time to time according to a range of factors, understandings of linkages between protest action and water service delivery remain incomplete. Although various institutions have generated useful data, monitoring instruments and analyses, such knowledge has tended to rely on journalistic reports, anecdotal evidence and South African Police Services (SAPS) reports, which all use different approaches and methodologies. The complexity and conflation of grievances cited as reasons for protests implies that there is perhaps not much to be gained in disaggregating water services issues from other services, such as housing, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal. For practical purposes, however, there is a plausible need for in-depth research to develop clear understandings of linkages between social protests and water service delivery, even within the broader parameters of related protest issues.

The complexity, dynamism and diversity of protest contexts and issues also seems to render traditional development planning approaches (including water services development planning approaches) ineffective in that they often fail to respond robustly enough to the rapidly changing urban and rural milieu. For example, with the acceleration of post-1994 urbanization, significant proportions of the population living in urban informal settlements remain unaccounted for and therefore continue to use water outside the ambit of the state, without secure access to services and infrastructure.

With particular regard to protests in informal settlements, such marginalization broadly seems to combine with various other factors, including unemployment, poverty, inequality, changing consumption patterns, unmet expectations, dissatisfaction, perceived relative deprivation, deprivation induced anger, economic downturns and rising inflation, food insecurity, vulnerability to risks associated with insecure access to water and sanitation, poor governance, social mobilization and/or politics. By contrast, protests in the formal urban and rural settlements have various permutations of these factors.

In all these categories of protest contexts, however, the pathways by which perceptions about water service delivery conflate with other factors and coalesce into social protest action need to be clarified. The objective is not so much to identify the trigger factors as to identify critical points at which disjunctures occur between, on the one hand, water users at the micro-household, plot and neighbourhood or community level and, on the other hand,

water services and management institutions at the meso- and macro-levels. In other words, clear understandings of pathways of social protests can provide a lens through which weaknesses in existing institutional arrangements can be pinpointed and pre-emptively addressed. Ultimately, it is hoped that such a framework will contribute to enhancing cooperative efforts by national government, municipalities, CSOs, the private sector, traditional leadership (in the case of 'traditional' rural communities), water users and other key stakeholders to effectively address problems relating to water services. Worth noting though is the fact that the envisaged service delivery roles of traditional leadership are as yet undefined and likely to be contested, owing to observations that the foundations of this particular institution upon cultures of superiority, allegiance and class inequality runs counter to the democratic ethos of the South African Constitution (e.g. Ntsebeza, 2002).

Research findings show that the majority of social protests associated with water service delivery tend to occur in working-class urban and peri-urban localities characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment, inequality, relative deprivation, marginalization and disjunctures (including communication breakdown) between water services development planning at municipal and national levels and water use at local household and community levels, irrespective of the political party affiliation of local government. Such disjunctures can predispose people in affected localities towards protest action. They are often multi-faceted and include, among other things, differences in perception between what practitioners consider to be effective ways of rendering water services and what water services users consider as their legitimate needs and expectations. In many of the cases examined, residents expressed frustrations over unmet expectations for water services, lack of downward accountability by municipal officials, corruption, indifference and lack of monitoring and censure of non-compliance by water services authorities and officials. Practitioners vocalized frustrations over wasteful water use, unaccounted-for water (water loss), infrastructure theft, breakdown and obsolescence of infrastructure and lack of financial budgets for repairs of existing infrastructure and/or development of new infrastructure to accommodate burgeoning demands offset by rapid urbanization.

The study also revealed that violent protests, in particular, often take place in urban and peri-urban formal housing areas and informal settlements in which dynamics around poverty, unemployment, population growth, inequality, relative deprivation, marginalization, injustice, indignity, identity and histories of struggle activism by predominantly black residents coalesce with unmet expectations for water and related services as well as uncertainties due to drivers of change, such as mining-based economic decline, shifts in agricultural and industrial production systems, multi-scale political trajectories and rising food prices.

Coupled with perceptions that there seem to be no effective measures to deal with municipal councilors and officials who are perceived to be corrupt, incompetent and not downwardly accountable, such foment easily develops into anger and possibly protest action. This is not a rule of thumb however, since water service delivery issues in similar contexts can generate markedly different engagement strategies. Despite this, the critical role that water service delivery issues potentially play in protest prone environments should be recognized.

For the working-class populations in such localities, the lack of adequate and reliable access to clean and sufficient amounts of water touches 'too close to home'. Since many residents of such localities often cannot afford to procure alternative sources, such as bottled water, living with 'social water scarcity' can mean living with vulnerability to disease and the indignity of not being able to bath as required. It can also mean living with the hardship of having to scrounge for water, which wastes time that could be put to better use. Many of the effects of water service delivery problems cascade into other domains of existence, such as work spaces and gendered social relations. Put simply, it is not easy to go to work, look for work or find work when a person has not bathed or washed their clothes. Scrounging for water, often at water points far removed from home and at times when it is not safe to walk about in the dark, can be a source of vulnerability particularly for women and girls, who play greater roles in conveying water under such circumstances. Cast in light of South Africa's troubled history, issues such as these that make water service delivery a critical aspect of engagements to resolve disjunctures between disgruntled citizenry and authorities in working-class environments such as outlined above.

By comparison, non-violent protests tend to be associated with black and white working class neighbourhoods characterized by differing perceptions of relative deprivation. In the predominantly white neighbourhoods, relative deprivation is seen in relation to past experiences of municipal service delivery, which are perceived to have been better than that provided by the post-1994 (and often ANC-run) municipalities. These relatively more affluent sections of the population tend to adopt institutionalized engagement strategies, often declaring legal disputes against municipalities and thereby withholding rate payments from municipalities in order to self-provision water services. In historically disadvantaged informal settlements, groups of black, coloured and Indian residents have adopted self-help strategies with the active support of non-governmental and civil society organizations (NGOs and CSOs). Such people share the same challenges faced by their compatriots in similar contexts elsewhere within the same or other municipalities but have adopted completely different strategies of addressing grievances. Although it is clear that such strategies require well-formulated mobilization and organization strategies and the support of municipalities,

particularly with respect to budgets and project implementation, further research will try to elicit clear understandings of this particular type.

There are new and different trends that have impacted on the increase of social protests in the Western Cape. Significantly, commercial farming areas have been gripped by protracted violent protests that are unprecedented in South African farming history. Although these farmworker protests are flagged as labour unrest over wage disputes, grievances over water service delivery are among 21 substantive issues underpinning the rallying call of “R150 per day”. In the lull following the farmworker protests, attention has reverted to the on-going wranglings over service delivery grievances in the City of Cape Town. The one issue commonly discussed in media is political disputes. According Municipal IQ, many Cape Town residents claim that their city is the best-run metro in the country, and many residents of other metros lament the fact that they do not have the privilege of former mayor Helen Zille and the Democratic Alliance’s (DA’s) wisdom. The other end of the political (and at times social) spectrum, however, is characterised by many other residents of Cape Town who claim that the DA looks after only the rich middle-class suburbs “clinging to the edges of the mountain”, while ignoring the townships of the poor majority that sprawl across the desolate, fire and drought-ridden Cape Flats and also the division between the DA and African National Congress (ANC).

Dissatisfaction over relative deprivation and marginalization by specific groups of township residents and informal settlement dwellers raises questions about black citizen’s democratic ‘rights to the city’ but is not unique to Cape Town. Grievances over the historical legacy of inequalities in access to water and other social services persist and have indeed often led to violent and non-violent protests in many similarly racially-segregated local contexts elsewhere, often under ANC-led municipal governance. Among the numerous cases of this, a few examples include Ficksburg, Sasolburg, Parys, Carolina, Nelson Mandela Bay, Johannesburg, Durban, Sannieshof and Philippolis. In such cases, different actors often allude to the politicization of protests or ascribe protests to political in-fights among local ANC leadership and contestations by aspirant local leaders seeking accession into office through non-institutionalized means. Mention is also made of the ‘Third Force’ and, in the case of Sannieshof, the ‘Taliban’. The foregoing account suggests that water service delivery challenges of Cape Town and similarly racially-segregated and rapidly urbanising localities across South Africa require shared understandings and solutions of water service delivery issues across existing divides. Critically, they need national government to urgently follow-up on its budgetary commitments regarding investments in urban development as a

means to reducing racial and class-based inequalities (2013 Budget Speech by Finance Minister, Pravin Gordan).

Although a lot of attention is given to violent protests in urban and peri-urban localities, mainly due to journalistic media reporting, there has been a recent expansion of violent and non-violent social protests into rural areas hitherto perceived to be the 'silent backdrops of South African society'. This trend dispels certain long-held romanticist notions and picture-postcard constructs of rural areas as bucolic idylls, where grapes and cherries and 'picanninies' grow. The eruption of rural protests indeed appears to mark a critical turning point in rural people's engagement with authorities. It also underscores the need for water services planning and development practice to take into account the rural-urban linkages that persist amidst rapid urbanization, decline of mining towns, shifts in industrial and agricultural production systems, evictions of commercial farmworkers and farm-dwellers, rural-urban and cross-border migrations and the globalization of social networks, among others. Within this rapidly changing social milieu, South African citizenry no longer seems content to divest the responsibility of tackling issues of marginalization, deprivation and injustice to an amorphously 'representative and democratic' local government.

Despite the recent inroads protests into rural areas, the bulk of protest action continues to take place in urban and settings characterised by poverty, unemployment, inequality, marginalization and varying perceptions of 'relative deprivation'. Deprivation is seen in terms of unmet expectations, comparisons of perceived past and present quality, quantity, accessibility and reliability of water services, as well as comparisons between socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods within the same municipal jurisdiction. Although physical proximity of socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods often produces a steeper gradient of perceived relative deprivation and a propensity towards deprivation-induced anger (Tilly, 1990), in many instances protests fail to occur despite profusion of grievances over water and associated service delivery. Further research will find out why residents of some neighbourhoods adopt violent engagement strategies while others opt for non-violent protest action.

While it is important to gain understandings about trajectories from grievance to protest, it is worth noting that there might perhaps be a third category of protests, which could be termed 'non-protests' owing to the invisibility rather than non-existence of grievance issues. Non-protests also embrace the many grievances that are often non-violently expressed (or acted out with relatively low degrees of violence) within localities but never 'discovered' and amplified by journalistic media or other outsiders. Non-protests often fizzle out as 'non-events', even though they might be picked up by informal social networking platforms.

Although not much is known about them, it is possible that non-protests constitute the largest of the three categories of grievance expression.

The report concludes by reverting to the study's conceptual framework, which views 'social water scarcity' from a historical political economy perspective. From this vantage point, social protests can broadly be seen as permutations of 'governing interactions' between 'governance systems' and social 'systems-to-be-governed' (see Kooiman, 2008). Water services institutions are integral to the governance systems that impact on people's lives, while social protests reflect citizenry participation through exertion of pressure from below. While the South African constitution safeguards the right to the freedom of expression, protests often straddle the terrain between institutionalized and non-institutionalized engagement. Violent protests are often construed by law enforcement agencies to have 'crossed the line', and have increasingly been met with brute repressive force from the police. Such responses indicate that social protests might be viewed in certain circles as 'revolts of the poor' (Alexander, 2010). In a constitutional democracy, such as South Africa strives to be, such perceptions raise grim questions about the integrity of the institutional framework that carries the democratic ideal, and the openness and efficacy of the engagement space, particularly when the governance and delivery of water services and associated social requirements fall short of expectations. A critical question perhaps is how to channel the renewed energy among citizenry into tangible gains for water services governance and delivery, and a deepening of democracy.

8.2 PROTEST CONTEXTS

The foregoing survey shows that local protest contexts are characterized by diversity of profiles. The characterization process revealed that diversity was due to factors such as geographical location, longevity of settlement, history of political activism, protest narrative (e.g. 'marginalization', 'deprivation' and/or injustice'), decline of spatial economy, dormitory town or settlement. While some characteristics were peculiar to specific cases, in many instances, it was possible to cluster protest contexts according to desired sets of analytical criteria. This effectively pointed to the possibility that characterization criteria could be used – as required – to develop indicators for an Evaluation Framework for preparedness. The fact that many protest localities straddle across two or more categories does not detract from the utility of these criteria for purposes of indicator development. Attempt was made to cluster protest contexts by similarity of commonly-shared criteria, such as geographical location, longevity of settlement, history of political activism, protest narrative (e.g. 'marginalization', 'deprivation' and/or injustice'), trajectory of spatial economy, function, formality/informality of

land tenure and tenancy and age. Examples of some of the identified categories that emerged include:

1. Old 'Established' Metropolitan Townships (e.g. Langa and Alexandra);
2. Metropolitan Townships with Contrasting Histories of Political Activism (e.g. comparison between Tembisa and Alexandra);
3. Newer Metropolitan Townships (Large) with Marginalization Issues (e.g. Khayelitsha and Orange Farm);
4. Newer Metropolitan Townships (Large) with Major Governance Issues (e.g. Umlazi);
5. Newer Metropolitan Informal Settlements with Self-Help Strategies (e.g. Mshini Wam in Joe Slovo Park, Cape Town);
6. Non-Metropolitan Towns in Declining Spatial Economies (e.g. Sasolburg/Zamdela Township, Parys and Kuruman);
7. Peri-Urban Dormitory Settlements (e.g. Klapmuts);
8. Rural Dormitory Towns (e.g. De Doorns);
9. Very Large and Sprawling Traditional Rural Communities (e.g. Umbumbulu);
10. Densely-Populated Traditional Rural Communities with Outstanding Land Rights Issues (e.g. Nandoni);
11. Small and Isolated Traditional Rural Village Communities with Outstanding Land Rights Issues (e.g. Ntlakavini); and
12. Small Isolated Rural Agri-Villages on Private Land, with contrasting coping strategies (e.g. Vermaaklikheid (Dependence) and Rooigrond (Self-Help Strategies)).

Using the above categories, this section presents a closer examination of the contextual characteristics prevailing within selected case studies of urban, peri-urban and rural localities contribute social protests that have emerged in the post-1994 era. The examination is extended to localities in which protests over water service delivery issues have either largely remained undocumented by journalistic media and therefore 'unheard' and/or where the threat of violent protest has precariously been held in abeyance.

Cases such as Langa township of Cape Town and Alexandra ('Alex') township of Johannesburg show that local contexts with similar socio-economic profiles, historical backgrounds and grievance issues can have marked differences in social protest phenomena. For example, both Langa and Alexandra townships are among the oldest black townships of South Africa, having been established in early 1920s and 1905 (proclaimed in 1910) respectively. They can be considered to be 'established' townships, with many residents having lived in the township for at least ten years, despite a constant in- and out-flow of people. The townships are characterised by long histories of political struggles

against colonialism, including apartheid. Both townships have mixed residential housing, which includes formal privately-owned and rental housing, erstwhile migrant worker hostels and informal settlements. They have a mix of highly paid professionals, middle income workers and lower paid labourers. Levels of unemployment, crime and water service backlogs are relatively high. In both cases, overcrowding due to increasing urbanisation has been exacerbated by rapid immigration of people in search of economic opportunities. This has contributed to the deterioration of conditions, which can be traced to the prolonged history of neglect and lack of investment. Alexandra seems to have borne the greater brunt of problems has had fewer post-apartheid social protests than Langa.

The delivery of water and related social services in much of Langa is somewhat better than in Alexandra as a whole. According to Kotze & Mathola (2012), Alexandra has been afflicted with suffocating dirt, flowing sewerage and shacks built in hazardous locations (e.g. on riverbanks and in graveyards). There are also problems of air and water pollution, which make the living environment harsh. Most of the households consist of 10 people sharing a single room. The high population densities put strain on the infrastructure to the extent that the water pressure drops and sewers are frequently blocked, resulting in sewage overflows. These problems, as well as the dumping of waste in the river, create a stench and frequently lead to outbreaks of disease in the area. Towards resolving problems such as these, government has implemented a R1.9 billion Urban Renewal Project in Alexandra in the past decade, which includes about 200 projects that are geared towards environmental and human skills development as well as the upgrading of housing and services. A large number (14 500) of housing units has been constructed, and three hostels have been remodelled to accommodate families. Electricity, water and sewage upgrades have also been carried out, supplying 70,000 households with reliable services. Parkland with walkways has been developed along the Jukskei River and bridges have been built across the river. All roads in Alexandra have been tarred and several widened (Ibid.). While the Alexandra Renewal Project is designed to uplift the area and undo the legacy of racial inequality, people's attitudes towards the URP reveal a high level of dissatisfaction mainly about provision of services, such as water supply, electricity, recreational facilities, health services as well as housing within the residential area (Table 17). Although water service delivery received the highest satisfaction score (51.8%), the level of dissatisfaction by nearly half of the population is relatively high.

The case of Tembisa provides useful contrast with the cases of Alexandra and Langa, among others, which are renowned for their path-breaking histories of political activism.

Owing to geographical proximity and close socio-political linkages, this section compares and contrasts the cases of Tembisa and Alexandra.

Table 17 Satisfaction Levels on Housing and Services Delivery in Alexandra

Variable	Satisfied (%)	Neutral (%)	Dissatisfied (%)
Housing	28.3	0	71.8
Sanitation	46.8	5	48.2
Water supply	51.8	1.8	46.5
Electricity	26.8	3.3	69.8
Health facilities	28.2	6.8	65
Education facilities	35	23.3	41.7
Recreational facilities	21.6	25	53.3

(Kotze & Mathola, 2012)

Tembisa Township is located in eastern Johannesburg and is one of the black ‘locations’ that were established in the prelude to the 1950s to accommodate the ever-increasing number of black people. These were migrating from rural areas to the Witwatersrand in search of employment following the post-1913 land dispossessions and the severe droughts which began after 1927 and worsened between 1932 and 1934 (South African History Archives – SAHA, 2013). Purported to be the one of the largest townships in the Southern hemisphere, Tembisa has had its fair share of political turmoil, particularly in the early 1990s, when violence erupted in the lead up to the first democratic elections. Although not much has been recorded about Tembisa’s political history, residents of the township, like many black South Africans elsewhere, have walked a long and difficult ‘road to democracy’. While the history of Tembisa in some ways reflects the broader struggle for liberation in South Africa, it arguably is unique in the role its residents played in the struggle for liberation (Ibid.).

SAHA (2013) documents that during the repressive era, the township had one of the strongest and most influential groups of Black Consciousness proponents, who helped to revive and shape politics in the township in the 1970s. This was largely due to the political influence introduced by those removed from Alexandra Township to Tembisa, as was demonstrated when secondary school students took to the streets in solidarity with their counterparts in Soweto a day after the student uprising erupted in Soweto. Further evidence of the township’s singularity is exemplified by events following the emergence of competing political ideologies namely, the ‘inclusive politics’ of the African National Congress (ANC) and ‘exclusive politics’ of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Despite such bifurcation, the political momentum of the residents’ fight against the government-created structures like the councils was not disrupted. Instead, the residents of the township fought side-by-side to

accomplish their demands. In the mid-1980s their relentless struggles forced the township's council to collapse. The residents, through the Tembisa Residents Association, then took over the running of the township, fighting criminals and restoring law and order in the township. Despite the initial reluctance by women, particularly older women, to participate in the struggle for liberation, the township was able to form one the strongest and active women's organization. This organization took up local civic grievances and opposed the council. But most importantly, this organization helped to politicize some of the conservative women in the township to join the struggle.

Similarly, Alex has been through decades of political upheaval. During the years of apartheid, Alex was often the site of anti-apartheid political struggle and especially the youth movements against apartheid. In 1943 Nelson Mandela who at the time lived in Alexandra took part in the Alexandra Bus Boycott, a peaceful protest which had a great effect on Mandela due to the effectiveness of the action. Not all political protest was peaceful, especially from the mid-1960s to 1980s, and in addition to the violence of apartheid and opposition to the system, residents also lived through hostel violence and political violence after 1994. As such, the people of Alexandra have known a history of poverty, poor living conditions and violence (Wilson, 2012a).

While the history of anti-apartheid protests in Tembisa is linked to that of Alexandra, there seem to be differences in the degree to which residents of both townships have used the medium of protest to engage with post-1994 authorities. Tembisa residents have been more actively engaged in protests over various grievances, including service delivery. An example of the more recent protests took place on 25 July 2012, when several protesters used burning tyres to barricade Chloorkop Road in the Klipfontein section of Tembisa (IOL, 2012). The residents were unhappy with service delivery in general, but protest action was triggered by complaints about interruptions to the electricity supply for the preceding two days. The protest was dispersed by the police, and no injuries were reported and no arrests were made. By contrast, despite Alexandra having a history that is characterised by rampant anti-apartheid protests, it is remarkable that post-1994 the township has had relatively few violent service delivery protests compared to many similar contexts across South Africa.

By contrast, Khayelitsha Township is a relatively large and predominantly black township situated 35 km south of Cape Town's central business district (CBD). Although recent official statistics (DWA WSNIS, 2010) estimate the population to be 325 897, Khayelitsha's population is presently estimated to be approximately 1.2 million (Umthawelanga, 2011:2). The township has been the site of numerous violent social protests against poor municipal service delivery, particularly in the recent past (2008 to date). Water has featured among the

main cited reasons for protests, and water service delivery grievances have mostly been conflated with issues of housing, electricity and sanitation. Although a number of studies have sought to deepen understandings of the challenges of access to water services in the township, such studies have not exhausted the examination of diverse neighbourhoods within different sections of Khayelitsha. Evidence shows, however, that residents of some sections of Khayelitsha have become included through formalization of property ownership while in other sections informal settlement dwellers decry the marginalizing effects of selective formalization (e.g. Nleya, 2010; Thompson et al., 2010; Tapela, 2012).

Leiter (2011) states that a survey conducted in June 2009 revealed that just a little more than half the 45 residents surveyed had access to water near their homes. Complaints included, “not enough taps”, “taps remain broken”, “the taps shut off for part of the day”, “long lines” at communal water points, “poor water flow” and “streets in the back of the informal settlement are missing taps completely”. Moreover, Leiter (Ibid.) states that residents complained that some of the pipes were leaking, causing their water bills to be outrageously high and unaffordable. Those who could not afford to pay their bills had their water turned off indefinitely. Both those who lived in informal houses and government housing had their water turned off at certain periods throughout the day, as part of the city’s attempt to help control the use of water. Government-built houses mostly had crude cement toilets in the yard, which were connected to a water tap. These taps were used to fill buckets of water for domestic uses, such as washing, bathing, drinking and cooking. O’Brien (2012) states:

“Residents in this township often bathe and wash their dishes in buckets of water. When finished, the waste water is simply dumped on the streets often creating large pools of stand-still water, which is a health risk. 26% of households in Khayelitsha do not have access to sanitation”.

Narratives such as this seem to confirm earlier findings by the Department of Provincial and Local Government (RSA, 2006:27) that the backlog for access to water services was highest in Khayelitsha, where over 92% of residents had yet to realize their expectations for water services. Bond (2009) states that despite the high levels of community organisation and involvement, protest levels in Khayelitsha have remained high. Lansdowne Road in Khayelitsha, in particular, was turned into a war zone for two consecutive nights in 2009 as residents vented their anger about service delivery problems. This violent protest action forced the police to close the road amid stone throwing and burning of tyres and rubbish. The protesting residents in Site C charged that they had seen no change in the area in 15 years and conditions were perceived to be deteriorating further. According to a locally-based

respondent, protest issues revolved around grievances by residents over having “no toilets, no water and no electricity” (Ibid.).

Social movements such as Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) have championed the causes of informal settlement dwellers, tackling the problem of marginalization through a range of strategies. These include the launching of the ‘Rights to the City’ campaign in 2010, rendering support to those affected by shack fires and seasonal flooding and mobilizing shack dwellers to engage in social protest action. Although AbM’s activism has mostly been associated with housing-related marginalisation issues, owing to the social movement’s strategic crafting of rallying calls, narratives and protest repertoires, the organization has tended to tackle service delivery issues in their conflated reality.

By contrast, Orange Farm is located some 42 km south of Johannesburg CBD. Although it has grown to become the largest and most populous informal settlement in South Africa, Orange Farm remains geographically isolated from the rest of Johannesburg. According to the City of Johannesburg municipality, most of the labour force among the 380 000 people, who mostly live in shacks, is unskilled and eke a living without visible means of subsistence. This contrasts with information by social movements, such as the Orange Farm Water Crisis Committee, which is an off-shoot of the South African Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) that has been very vocal and active against the privatisation of water. These sources state that approximately 85% of the residents commute by train every day to work and attend education institutions in Johannesburg, 40% of the residents is unemployed and the ranks of the unemployed are swelled every year as matriculants exit from schools. This predominantly black settlement has had numerous social protests since 2008.

A landmark event occurred in February 2010, when approximately 1 500 residents of Orange Farm barricaded the Golden Highway in protest against poor service delivery. They expressed their frustration about being sidelined during development programmes and being ignored when they raised their concerns about poor housing construction and other basic amenities. A member of the Water Crisis Committee stated that residents were tired of being told every time to give government a chance and being told every time “they” changed the President to give him a chance. This protest is one among several reasons that have made Orange Farm a ‘hot spot’ (according to Municipal IQ, 2012) in the Zuma era. It is not clear to what extent residents of Orange farm share the expressed grievance over marginalization. What is evident is that the ongoing privatisation Orange Farm has drawn much criticism from social justice and human rights groups, including the Orange Farm Water Crisis Committee and APF’s Coalition Against Water Privatization (CAWP). Most notably, the instalment of

pre-paid water meters has been criticised for denying access to clean drinking water for much of the population of Orange Farm.

Khayelitsha historical background shows that the township was established in 1983, and the early inhabitants came from other black townships of Cape Town with the majority coming from Old Crossroads. “Khayelitsha was built under the principles of racial segregation and the township itself is growing very fast, and it has been recognized as one of the biggest black township in South Africa, after Soweto. Moreover, Thompson & Nleya (2010) state that one of the most important things about Khayelitsha is that its residents played some important roles in liberating South Africa from bondages of the apartheid regime. The majority of the township’s urban poor are therefore politically informed, regular voters and aware of their rights (Thompson et al., 2010). The scholars further state that although the township has played a critical role in dismantling the institutional framework that perpetuated a spatially segregated labour force Khayelitsha retains its historical feature in the form of pockets that have lack of or poor service delivery. Khayelitsha’s tag of ‘township’ rather than ‘suburb’ appears to be closely associated with the persistence of inadequate infrastructure for roads, storm water, street lights, water supplies and sanitation, which affects much of the population and 70% of whom live in shacks. Partly because of living condition and unemployment rates, reported levels of crime are extremely high.

Historically, the first inhabitants of Orange Farm arrived in 1988 from Wielers Farm, which was a maize and cattle farm belonging to the Wieler brothers of the Grasmere area. The original Orange Farm residents were settled in the area by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), which had expropriated the land from local farmers for township development purposes. From then onwards, the relative ease with which land was available in the settlement attracted many homeless people from as far afield as Mshenguville in Soweto, Meyerton, Evaton and even parts of the Free State. Most of the new arrivals were farm workers who had been laid off, while others had been staying in back rooms and needed a piece of land on which to settle. The municipal website article concludes:

“Uneducated and unskilled, many of the settlers of this ‘shackland’ remain unemployed and often unemployable in the formal sector, but still manage to survive – somehow. To make ends meet, they engage in many informal activities.”

Although narratives of marginalization emerge in both Khayelitsha and Orange Farm, the former case shows evidence of both inclusion and exclusion. An examination of the historical and socio-economic profiles reveals similarities and differences between these two cases. Compared to Alexandra and Langa, Khayelitsha and Orange Farm are relatively young in

age. Their relatively large populations have similarly been drawn from the ranks of homeless black people originating from surrounding townships and new arrivals from rural areas (e.g. former homelands and commercial farms) recently closed mines and immigrants from African countries further afield. Both Khayelitsha and Orange Farm are rapidly growing working-class localities characterised by high poverty, unemployment, crime and informality. Population data discrepancies point to difficulties with determining population size in local contexts such as these, which characterised by rapid urbanization and, in particular, the growth of informal settlements as well as formally-established townships. Both localities have been targeted by the URP. The settlements now have facilities such as a modern library, some paved roads, permanent housing for some, electricity in places, health centres, an information center with internet access, and a multi-purpose community center. However, social movements criticize such improvements as having come with financial costs, which most of the residents cannot afford.

It is worth noting that although government interventions, such as the URP, have yielded improvements in social services and amenities, including water services delivery, these localities continue to be characterised by an increase in the frequency and violence of protest. Judging from views protesters elsewhere in South Africa, a question that needs to be asked is to what extent are trends such as this informed by perceptions that violent protests are more efficacious than non-violent and institutionalized forms of engagement in achieving desired ends?

In many of the cases examined, residents expressed frustrations over unmet expectations for water services, lack of downward accountability by municipal officials, corruption, indifference and lack of monitoring and censure of non-compliance by water services authorities and officials. Practitioners vocalized frustrations over wasteful water use, unaccounted-for water (water loss), infrastructure theft, breakdown and obsolescence and lack of financial budgets for repairs of existing infrastructure and development of new infrastructure to accommodate demands offset by rapid urbanization. Both sets of viewpoints tended to be simultaneously complementary and contradictory, thus pointing to a need to develop shared understandings of water service delivery issues in case-specific localities.

The study revealed that violent protests often take place in urban and peri-urban formal housing areas and informal settlements in which dynamics around poverty, unemployment, population growth, relative deprivation, marginalization, injustice, indignity, identity and histories of struggle activism by predominantly black residents coalesce with unmet expectations for water and related services as well as uncertainties due to drivers of change, such as mining-based economic decline, shifts in agricultural and industrial production

systems, multi-scale political trajectories and rising food prices. Coupled with perceptions that there seem to be no effective measures to deal with municipal councillors and officials who are perceived to be corrupt, incompetent and not downwardly accountable, such forment easily develops into anger and possibly protest action. This is not a rule of thumb however, since water service delivery issues in similar contexts can generate markedly different engagement strategies. Despite this, the critical role that water service delivery issues potentially play in protest prone environments should be recognized.

For the working-class populations in such localities, the lack of adequate and reliable access to clean and sufficient amounts of water touches 'too close to home'. Since many residents of such localities often cannot afford to procure alternative sources, such as bottled water, living with social water scarcity can mean living with vulnerability to disease and the indignity of not being able to bath as required. It can also mean living with the hardship of having to scrounge for water, which wastes time that could be put to better use. Many of the effects of water service delivery problems cascade into other domains of existence, such as work spaces and gendered social relations. Put simply, it is not easy to go to work, look for work or find work when a person has not bathed or washed their clothes. Scrounging for water, often at water points far removed from home and at times when it is not safe to walk about in the dark, can be a source of vulnerability for women and girls, who play greater roles in conveying water under such circumstances. It is issues such as these that make water service delivery a critical aspect of engagements to resolve disjunctures between disgruntled citizenry and authorities in the working-class environments outlined above.

By comparison, non-violent protests tend to be associated with black and white working class neighbourhoods characterised by differing perceptions of relative deprivation. In the predominantly white neighbourhoods, relative deprivation is seen in relation to past experiences of municipal service delivery, which are perceived to have been better than that provided by the post-1994 (and often ANC-run) municipalities. These relatively more affluent sections of the population tend to adopt institutionalized engagement strategies, often declaring legal disputes against municipalities and thereby withholding rate payments from municipalities in order to self-provision water services. Among historically disadvantaged groups of black people living in informal settlements, some residents have adopted self-help strategies with the active support of non-governmental and civil society organizations (NGOs and CSOs).

There are new and different trends that have impacted on the increase of social protests in the Western Cape. Significantly, commercial farming areas have been gripped by protracted violent protests that are unprecedented in South African farming history. Although these

farmworker protests are flagged as labour unrest over wage disputes, grievances over water service delivery are among 21 substantive issues underpinning the rallying call of “R150 per day”. In the lull following the farmworker protests, attention has reverted to the on-going wranglings over service delivery grievances in the City of Cape Town. The one issue commonly discussed in media is political disputes. According to Municipal IQ, many Cape Town residents claim that their city is the best-run metro in the country, and many residents of other metros lament the fact that they do not have the privilege of former mayor Helen Zille and the Democratic Alliance’s (DA’s) wisdom. The other end of the political (and at times social) spectrum, however, is characterised by many other residents of Cape Town who claim that the DA looks after only the rich middle-class suburbs “clinging to the edges of the mountain”, while ignoring the townships of the poor majority that sprawl across the desolate, fire and drought-ridden Cape Flats and also the division between the DA and African National Congress (ANC).

Dissatisfaction over relative deprivation and marginalization by specific groups of township residents and informal settlement dwellers raises questions about black citizen’s democratic ‘rights to the city’ but is not unique to Cape Town. Grievances over the historical legacy of inequalities in access to water and other social services persist and have indeed often led to violent and non-violent protests in many similarly racially-segregated local contexts elsewhere, often under ANC-led municipal governance. Among the numerous cases of this, a few examples include Ficksburg, Sasolburg, Parys, Carolina, Sannieshof (Tapela, 2012; Tempelhoff et al., 2009) and Philippolis (Atkinson, 2008). In such cases, different actors also tend to allude to politicization of protests or ascribe protests to political in-fights among local ANC leadership and contestations by aspirant local leaders seeking accession into office through non-institutionalized means. Mention is also made of the ‘Third Force’ or, in the case of Sannieshof, the ‘Taliban’. Water service delivery challenges of Cape Town and similarly racially-segregated and rapidly urbanising localities across South Africa might need both shared understandings of water service delivery issues across existing divides and, critically, national government follow-up on its budgetary commitments regarding investments in urban development (2013 Budget Speech by Finance Minister, Pravin Gordan).

Although violent protests in urban and peri-urban localities have received a lot of attention, mainly through journalistic media reporting, there has been an expansion of violent and non-violent social protests into rural areas hitherto perceived to be the ‘silent backdrops of South African society’. This trend dispels certain long-held romanticist notions and picture-postcard constructs of rural areas as bucolic idylls, where grapes and cherries and ‘picanninies’ grow. The eruption of rural protests indeed appears to mark a critical turning point in rural people’s

engagement with authorities. It also underscores the need for water services planning and development practice to take into account the rural-urban linkages that persist amidst rapid urbanization, decline of mining towns, evictions of commercial farmworkers and farm-dwellers, rural-urban and cross-border migrations and the globalization of social networks, among others. Within this rapidly changing social milieu, South African citizenry no longer seems content to divest the responsibility of tackling issues of marginalization, deprivation and injustice to an amorphously 'representative and democratic' local government. A critical question is how to channel this renewed energy into tangible gains for water services governance and delivery, and a deepening of democracy.

Despite the recent inroads protests into rural areas, the bulk of protest action continues to take place in urban and settings characterised by poverty, unemployment, inequality and varying perceptions of 'relative deprivation'. Deprivation is seen in terms of unmet expectations, comparisons of perceived past and present quality, quantity, accessibility and reliability of water services, as well as comparisons between socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods within the same municipal jurisdiction. Although physical proximity of socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods often produces a steeper the gradient of perceived relative deprivation and a propensity towards deprivation-induced anger (Tilly, 1990), this does not explain why residents of some neighbourhoods adopt violent engagement strategies while those of others opt for non-violent protest action. Further research will need to examine this. In many other instances protests fail to occur despite profusion of grievances over water and associated service delivery in many settings across South Africa.

8.3 KEY DRIVERS

Challenges of lack of access to water services were reported as a key driver of the protests in many of the study sites. Access included challenges of both lack of sufficient water quantity and issues of poor quality. The study found that in almost all the study sites respondents complained of having water cuts or no water access at all (excluding areas with illegal connections). Residents that did not have any water access complained that they either had to connect themselves illegally or walk long distances to ask for water from other areas. With issues of cost recovery this has had further negative impacts. For example, people with access to water were increasingly not allowing others to access their water due to their high water bills. This had caused many people to access water from contaminated sources. In some areas residents reported that in dealing with illegal connections municipalities tended to adjust the water pressure so that it came out in small quantities,

often slow trickles, and in some instances the water did not pour out at all from the tap. This affected even those residents with legal water connections.

The reported water quality challenges included muddy tap water, smelling tap water, salty water due to excessive alkaline chemicals used to purify it, dirty tank water and water hoarding. Parys was among the key areas experiencing serious water quality challenges. Throughout the town, the poor water quality was said to be “life threatening”, with residents claiming that the water was not suitable for human consumption but rather for flushing toilets. Those residents with the means to buy bottled water bought it from retailers while the rest simply boiled their water before consuming it. In certain parts of Parys, where there were no taps, the municipality had placed water tanks which it filled on a weekly basis. However, residents stated that the tanks had been in existence for over 20 years and had never been cleaned. Hence, the water quality in these tanks was also not suitable for consumption. Furthermore, another challenge associated with tank water was hoarding, as community members tried to get as much water as possible before it ran out. The limited availability of water therefore drove up water demand. A consequence of this was that community members who lacked the means for water storage, such as drums and buckets, suffered the most. Such residents were likely to be the poorest within the neighbourhoods that depended on water from tanks. In other study areas elsewhere, participants reported that their water quality was negatively affected by sewage spills and illegal waste dumping, which ended up in river streams. An example of this was Sebokeng Township in Emfuleni Municipality, Gauteng Province.

The study found that bad governance was inter-linked to all the other drivers of water related protests. Hence, bad governance could be perceived as a key factor for many social protests. In the study, the elements of bad governance were identified to include nepotism, corruption, mismanagement of municipal funds and the lack of community engagement in decision making and in dealing with municipal challenges regarding water service delivery.

In some of the study sites, respondents reported that they have to pay a certain fee and, in some cases, women are asked for sexual favours in return for employment by the municipality. This gave residents a bad view of how those people in power, who were supposed to look after the interest of the poor, were instead abusing their positions and exploiting the poor. Furthermore, tendering processes and employment opportunities were also perceived as not being fair in terms of equal opportunity. The study found that tenders were offered to family members, friends and political allies, who lacked the necessary expertise and experience to execute the work. This had a negative impact on infrastructure, with many sewage pipes leaking and in many instances affecting drinking water.

Respondents were aggrieved that municipal officials and contractors were allegedly reaping the financial rewards by colluding in tender processes yet communities had to live with the consequences of poor quality work related to these projects.

Other challenges included poor cost-recovery mechanisms. In some of the sites, respondents complained of serious challenges with billing, which had resulted in some households having accounts with inflated arrears. Some residents claimed that the municipality hardly conducted meter readings. Others complained that the municipal workers who do the meter readings were not trained and therefore did not know how to read the water meters. The study found that in town of Parys in the Free State Province, residents who accessed water directly from storage tanks were also billed monthly for reticulated water even though they had no access to piped water and were not metered. This raised questions as to how municipal employees could arrive at objective water bills. Some of the residents of Parys stated that they had had their electricity supply cut-off as a result of owing disputed arrears for their water bills. This suggested that indigent households were faced with either paying water arrears that they disputed or 'illegalising' their access to municipal services by relying on illegal connections. This shows evidence of bad governance in terms of poor management of service delivery systems, specifically with regard to the interface between functions of water services and finance. This further reveals that there are issues of sustainability of services, which are caused by the municipality's inability to recover costs due to unfair and unaffordable billing systems, particularly the inability to reinvestment in infrastructure through operations and maintenance.

8.4 INFRASTRUCTURE ISSUES

The study found that ageing, poorly installed and lack of water infrastructure had negative implications on water service delivery, especially in low income areas. This in turn impacted on the prevalence of social protests. Coming from a background of apartheid, which left many black townships with old and poor infrastructure due to lack of maintenance, people living in these areas were still struggling with access to even basic water supply. However, there were also issues of communities wanting higher levels of water services, such as in-house taps rather than yard taps or communal standpipes, or in-house toilets rather than yard or public toilets. Furthermore, the study found that rapid urbanization was a major challenge faced by many municipalities. This increased the burden of ensuring universal access to basic services such as water. While the urban population had been growing by 58 per cent per annum, municipalities were unable to respond adequately to the growing demands of basic services (Tshikotshi, 2009:7). Migrants from both rural South Africa and other less developed countries were mainly attracted to urban centres by socio-economic

conditions, such as employment opportunities and better living conditions. The increase of people within these areas meant that the municipalities were even more hard-pressed to cater for a rapidly burgeoning demand for basic needs, including water supply, while operating on limited budgets. Combined with the challenges of bad governance and poor cost-recovery in many municipalities, it had become difficult to cater for the rapid increase in population. Confronted with severely challenged municipalities and water insecurity, many unserved or unemployed residents tended to engage in illegal connections as a means to gain access to water services.

Respondents perceived illegal water connections as a way of claiming their right of access to basic water services. These illegal connections were a major contributor to the unaccounted for water and lost in revenue, which put municipalities in financial pigeon holes that prevented adequate service delivery. The illegal connections further caused huge damage to existing infrastructure, affecting water service delivery and negatively impacting on infrastructure upgrade. In the case of Sebokeng, for example, the massive water losses were found to be 36.8% of the total water supply (Tapela, 2013b). Similar levels of unaccounted for water loss were found in many municipalities elsewhere in the country (Mackenzie et al., 2012). In many of the reported cases the quality of the pipes connected illegally by residents was poor and the connections were not connected properly, which caused leakages.

Added to the challenge of rapid urbanization was the issue of land ownership. Municipalities faced challenges of being unable to implement water infrastructure on illegally occupied state land, municipal commonage or private land. Research showed that violent protests often erupted in areas where there were shacks and backyard dwellings that lacked access to basic services. In Gauteng, some of the new arrivals in townships, such as Alexandra, had built housing structures within old abandoned factories. They paid rent to slum-lords, who had informally captured the factory buildings. This made it difficult for the municipality to provide secure and higher standards of water access to factory dwellers, since these factories effectively are private property that is illegally occupied.

Other infrastructural challenges included theft of existing infrastructure. In many of the study areas respondents complained of drug addiction among mainly the youth, who tended to steal copper taps for resale in order to satisfy their addictions. The municipalities had replaced the metal taps with plastic faucets that were often not strong enough and therefore often leaked. This led to water wastage, lost revenue for the municipalities as well as infrastructure damage as community members, who are compelled most of the time to fix their own leakages.

8.5 COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND MUNICIPALITIES

In all the case studies examined both through rapid appraisal and in-depth empirical research, residents voiced frustrations about poor communication that occurred through participatory decision making structures, such as ward committees. They highlighted their water and service delivery issues but did not get adequate feedback on their concerns. So this shows that local level democracy in poor communities experiencing social protests is often broken. Respondents claim that before engaging in protest demonstrations communities liaise with municipalities through the different community engagement structures available. In some of the study sites the lack of engagement of communities on their water service delivery challenges was seen to be part of political infighting over state resources and thus an outcome of corruption. In Parys political infighting at the local municipality led to sabotage of water services by municipal officials so as to incite the community to protest against the mayor of the municipality. Community members viewed the lack of communication and engagement as a purposeful effort to prevent transparency and accountability. Respondents complained about how they had to bear the brunt of lack of water service delivery as contractors were repeatedly stopped from implementation due to procurement irregularities and political infighting. Additionally, community members also decried the politicisation of ward committees leading to discussions that focused on discrediting opposition parties rather than water and general service delivery challenges. Concerns were also raised about community members who did not belong to the dominant political party not being taken seriously when voicing their water service delivery challenges in ward committee meetings.

Respondents went further and voiced not only a lack of trust in ward committees but also in their councillors and viewed them as only caring about their own interests. Councillors were believed to have prospered at the expense of the communities. Respondents referred to councillors and appointed municipal officials as “liars” who do not care about their community challenges but are only concerned about what they can get from their municipal positions. The local democratic system is broken hence communities seek to go outside it and protest as they have complained again and again within ward committees but to no avail – protests get results, local democracy does not. Hence, communities utilised social protests as another means of communication. Indeed, some community members viewed social protests as a means to gain access to more senior politicians and officials and to put pressure on councillors and municipal officials.

This illustrates that communities also base their protests on political calculations and they should not be seen as passive but actually active participants in municipal decision making processes. In one of the study sites Ficksburg in the Free State Province the youth wanted to align with a particular political party even though they said the leader of that party was tainted. They saw that political party as offering an opportunity to put pressure on the governing party – so there is still participation in local democracy even though communities also utilise social protests. Communities navigate the political terrain, make decisions on actions and form alliances based on their own goals. This is especially true in circumstances wherein communities feel they are on their own and cannot depend on their elected political representatives to advance and protect their interests.

From a historical political economy perspective on ‘social water scarcity’ (Tapela 2012), social protests can therefore broadly be seen as permutations of ‘governing interactions’ between ‘governance systems’ and social ‘systems-to-be-governed’ (see Kooiman, 2008). Water services institutions are integral to the governance systems that impact on people’s lives, while social protests reflect citizenry participation through exertion of pressure from below. While the South African constitution safeguards the right to the freedom of expression, protests often straddle the terrain between institutionalized and non-institutionalized engagement. Violent protests are often construed by law enforcement agencies to have ‘crossed the line’, and have increasingly been met with brute repressive force from the police. Such responses indicate that social protests might be viewed in certain circles as ‘revolts of the poor’ (Alexander, 2010).

9 CONCLUSION

9.1 FINAL REMARKS

In conclusion, this study showed how water challenges directly impact on social protests in low income areas. Issues of bad governance in municipalities are the biggest hindrances to quality service provision. With water being a basic a human right and need communities find themselves in a cross road of either illegally connecting water services or forfeiting their human right to water due to underlying issues such as bad governance in local municipalities. These illegal connections however do not only damage infrastructure, they also affect the municipal financial position and have a huge impact on unaccounted for water. Given that most of the urban population growth is occurring in low income urban and peri-urban areas where there are informal settlements and backyard dwellings municipalities have noted how this impact on existing water infrastructure and their challenge they face to install new infrastructure.

Furthermore, all of the communities viewed social protests as a means of escalating pressure on political representatives that otherwise seem to not prioritise their water and general service delivery issues. This demonstrates that members of communities are politically astute enough to know what actions create pressure on political decision makers to act. Though community members in acknowledged the disruptiveness of social protest tactics, such as violence on other citizens' rights; they viewed these spoiler tactics as critical to forcing politicians to respond to their needs. The political astuteness of community members in their use of social protests as a means for political engagement to achieve their water and service delivery aims can also be seen in the way communities target economic infrastructure that affects the larger local, provincial and/or national economy.

In unpacking the causes of social protests the study found inadequate water service delivery challenges are one of the key stand-alone drivers in these protests. Currently in South Africa there is a high frequency of social protests over poor service delivery in many low income urban and peri-urban areas that mainly have backyard-dwellings and informal settlements. These areas are often also driven by social phenomena such as rapid urbanization, inequality, unemployment, poverty and marginalization. The failure of local government to provide adequate services in these areas has and continues to elicit social protests. Fobosi (2011) states that the problems that impede or delay service delivery in townships are the lack of commitment to serving others and the seemingly exaggerated self-interest of public servants. Whatever the geographical area, there is still a strong belief that service delivery protests are aggravated by a lack of accountability, lack of responsiveness of officials to

community needs as well as a lack of public participation in choosing the councillors that will represent their voices within communities (Mananga, 2012:2).

The study confirmed the view that many municipalities face challenges of insufficient funding allocation for the restoration or replacement of infrastructure that have reached the end of their life span. There are also challenges of inadequate maintenance budgets, which could be attributed to the municipalities' income base in order to enable the maintenance of existing water infrastructure. This has resulted in infrastructure break-down living many low income areas without water services. Additionally municipalities also face challenges of lack of skilled human resource capacity. The lack of expertise has left many municipalities inadequately staffed, resulting in deteriorating service delivery over the years, and leaving many communities with inadequate access to basic services (e.g. Mananga, 2012:3). Furthermore, the author states that although some municipalities lack adequate funds to carry out their constitutional mandate to improve water service delivery, some just resort to underspending the allocated funds due to a lack of leadership skills. This is mainly evident to the lack of skills in project management and financial management, and this has prevented certain water related projects from being started or completed. With challenges of funding, corruption, ageing infrastructure and issues pertaining to operations and maintenance, municipalities find themselves in a crisis and the inability to provide quality water services.

Other challenges relate to poor public participation, ranging from ward committees and councillors not responding and looking after the needs of communities and these structures being more interested in political party issues than those of the community. According to Nyalunga (2006) ward committees tend to be aligned to party politicization. This negatively affects ordinary and/or non-partisan citizens. The author continues to state that the rampant wave of protests staged countrywide in various municipalities are also an indication of the weaknesses that are symptomatic of defective public participation structures such as municipalities and ward committees.

Due to such problems South Africa has experienced a rise in social protests related to water service delivery in many low income areas. Protest demonstrations can be either violent or non-violent; however there seems to be an increase in reports regarding violent protest demonstrations. The study revealed that protesters believe that the more violent the protest the more responsive government is to their needs. Furthermore, the violence is also part of a realisation that attacking strategic installation of national economic value such as national highways, schools and damages and burning of government buildings derive an emergency response from government. Some protests turn xenophobic, suggesting a backward looking

localism rather than a liberatory insurrection (Mottiar and Bond, n.d:1). This mind-set, the lack of response from municipalities regarding community challenges and the violence has caused large damages to existing infrastructure, injuries and death of innocent lives.

In many of the reviewed cases respondents expressed issues of relative deprivation over unmet expectations for water service delivery. This comes in the wake of promises from political parties during the election period that all or most of the challenges faced by communities will be addressed once the new government is in place. After the elections the elected government fails to deliver on these promises and this creates a sudden downturn on communities' expectations leading to frustration and protest demonstrations. Moreover, the study respondents noted that the unmet expectations were due to poor governance which included issues of lack of accountability by officials, lack of community engagement, nepotism, corruption and lack of monitoring and censure of non-compliance by water services authorities and officials (Tapela, 2013:3). A multi-stakeholder approach to resolving these challenges is urgently needed.

The expansion of violent and non-violent social protests into rural areas hitherto perceived to be the 'silent backdrops of South African society' dispels certain long-held romanticist notions and picture-postcard constructs of rural areas as bucolic idylls, where grapes and cherries and 'picanninies' grow. The eruption of rural protests indeed appears to mark a critical turning point in rural people's engagement with authorities. It also underscores the need for water services planning and development practice to take into account the rural-urban linkages that persist amidst rapid urbanization, decline of mining towns, evictions of commercial farmworkers and farm-dwellers, rural-urban and cross-border migrations and the globalization of social networks, among others. Within this rapidly changing social milieu, South African citizenry no longer seems content to divest the responsibility of tackling issues of marginalization, deprivation and injustice to an amorphously 'representative and democratic' local government. A critical question is how to channel this renewed energy into tangible gains for water services governance and delivery, and a deepening of democracy.

Despite the recent inroads protests into rural areas, the bulk of protest action continues to take place in urban and settings characterised by poverty, unemployment, inequality and varying perceptions of 'relative deprivation'. Deprivation is seen in terms of unmet expectations, comparisons of perceived past and present quality, quantity, accessibility and reliability of water services, as well as comparisons between socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods within the same municipal jurisdiction. Although physical proximity of socio-economically differentiated neighbourhoods theoretically produces a

steeper the gradient of perceived relative deprivation and a propensity towards deprivation-induced anger (Tilly, 1990), this does not explain why residents of some neighbourhoods adopt violent engagement strategies while those of others opt for non-violent protest action. Further research will need to examine this.

9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study recommends that further research should be done to further develop the proposed Evaluation Framework. There will be a need to test, refine and adjust the variables and indicators and, if possible, incorporate statistical metrics or values to each indicator.

Such framework development should bear in mind that the resultant instrument should not be constructed as a 'blueprint' but, rather, an adaptable framework that can be adjusted to suit context or case specific requirements.

It is also advisable that the research process to test and further develop the Evaluation Framework should involve a broader range of stakeholders than researchers and municipalities. In other words, the acceptability, ownership and effectiveness of the Evaluation Framework will be enhanced through decentralization of the research process to include stakeholders such as civil society and the private sector. Given the ongoing context of political trajectories and new mobilizations relating to perceptions about the collapse of invited spaces in the Zuma era, further research will have to build trust in the integrity of the research process as well as exercise sensitivity around the concerns of institutional actors involved in the research process, domestic water users and, in particular, the most vulnerable women and men among HDIs.

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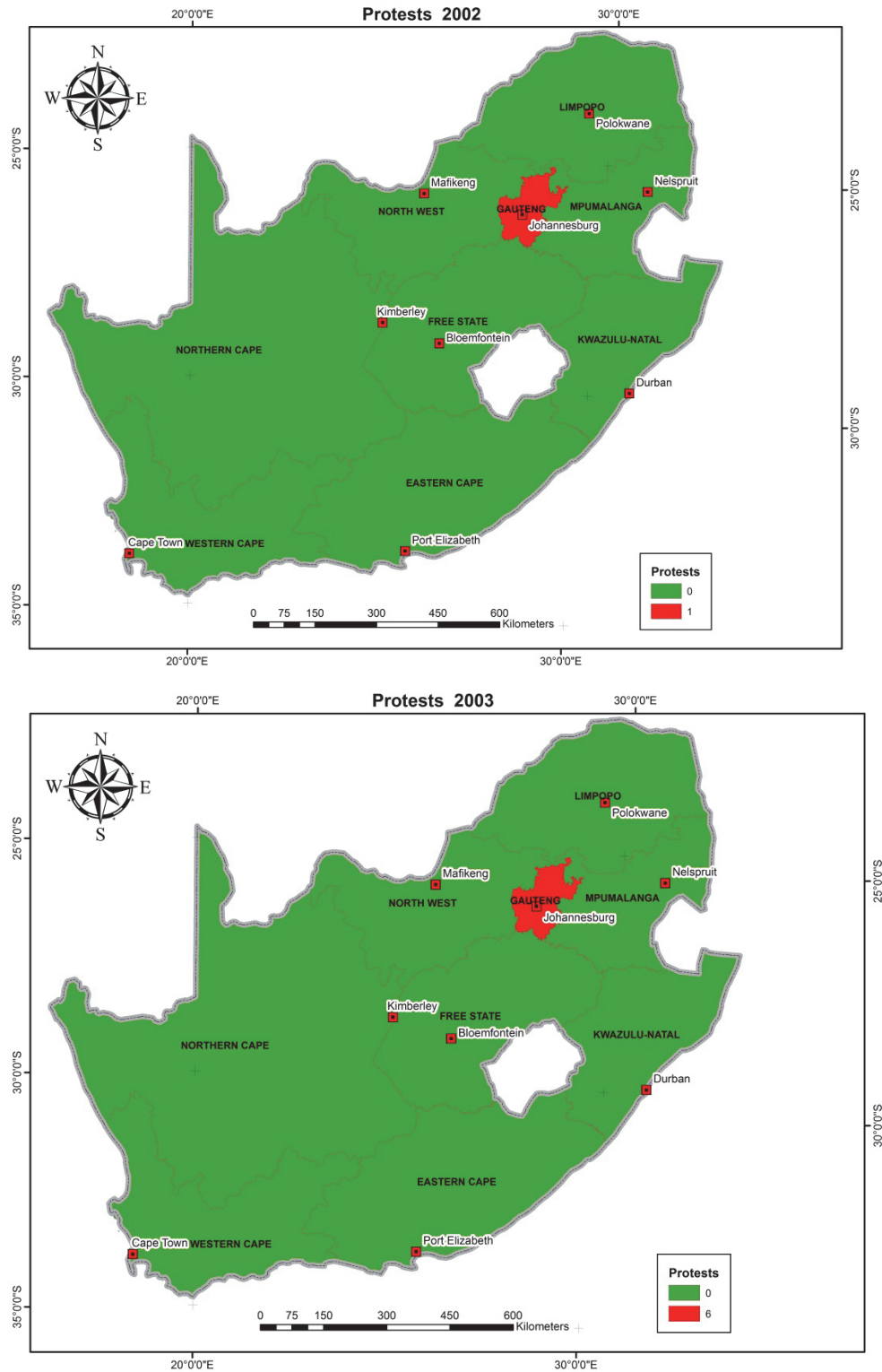
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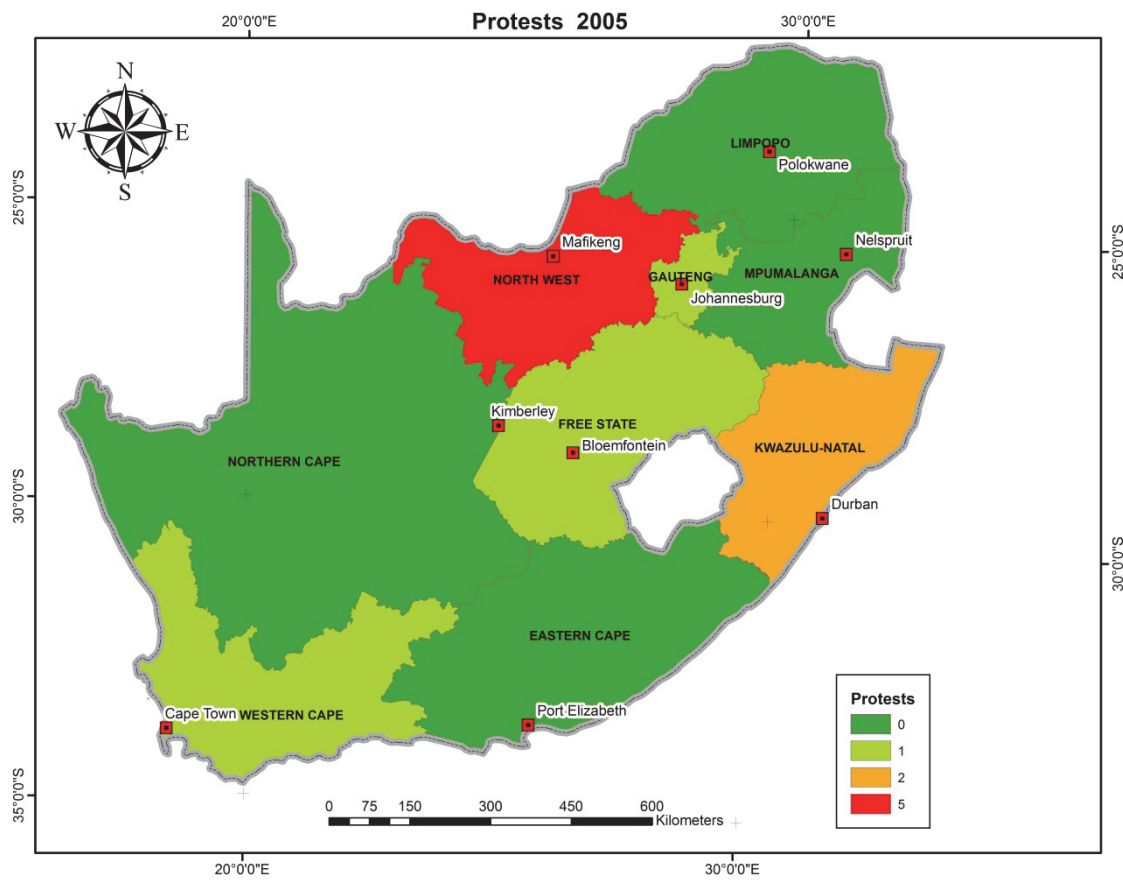
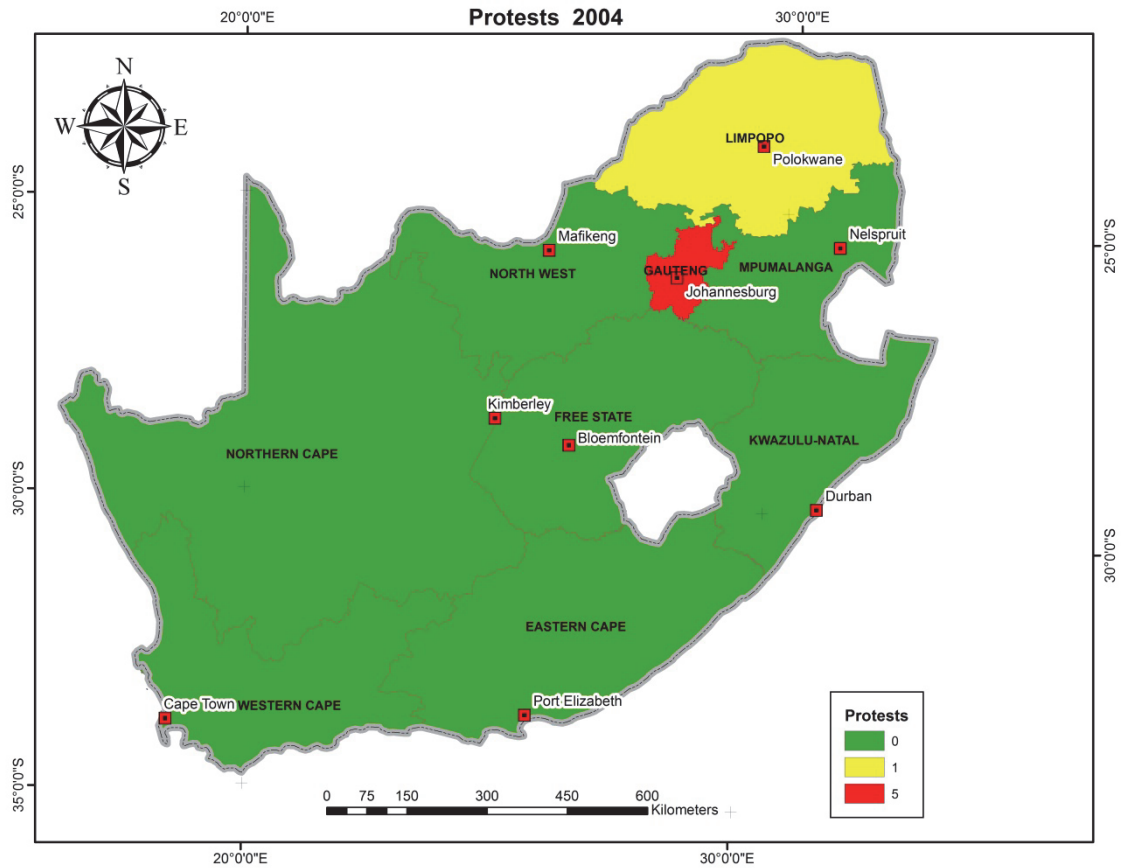
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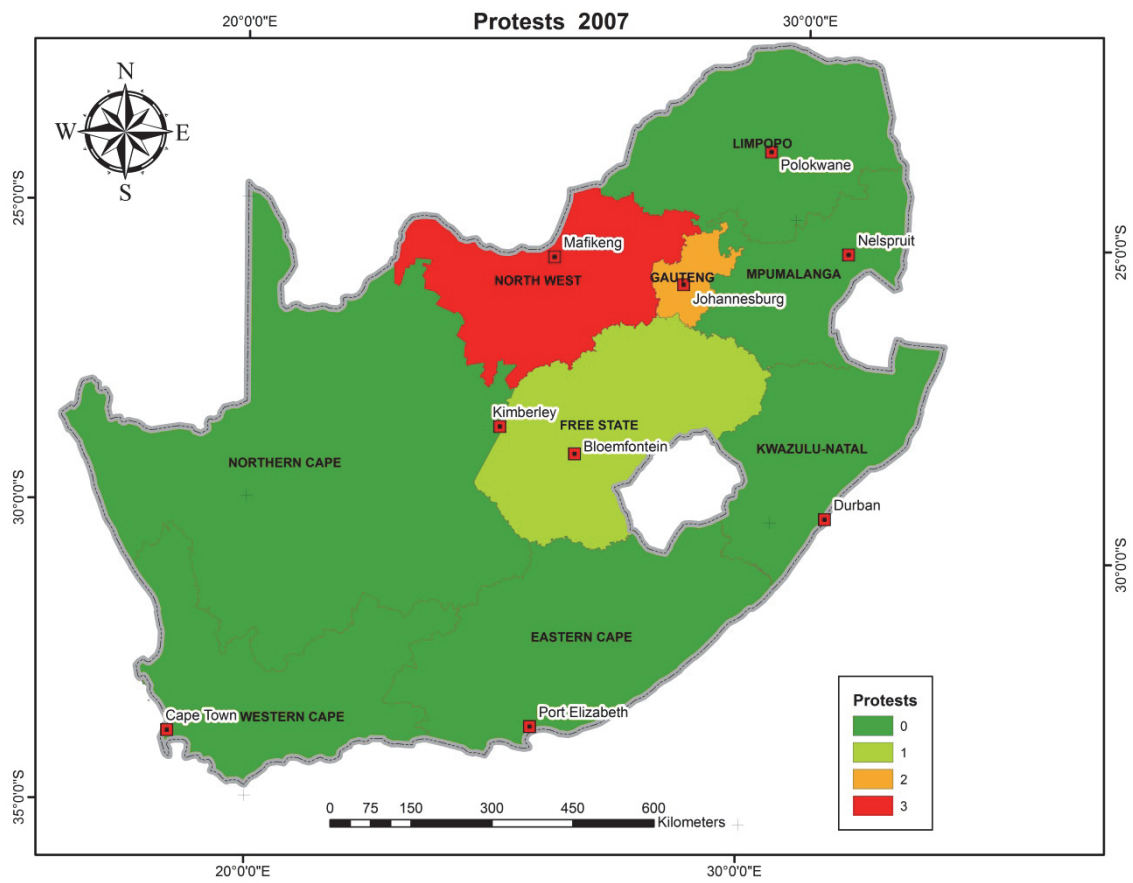
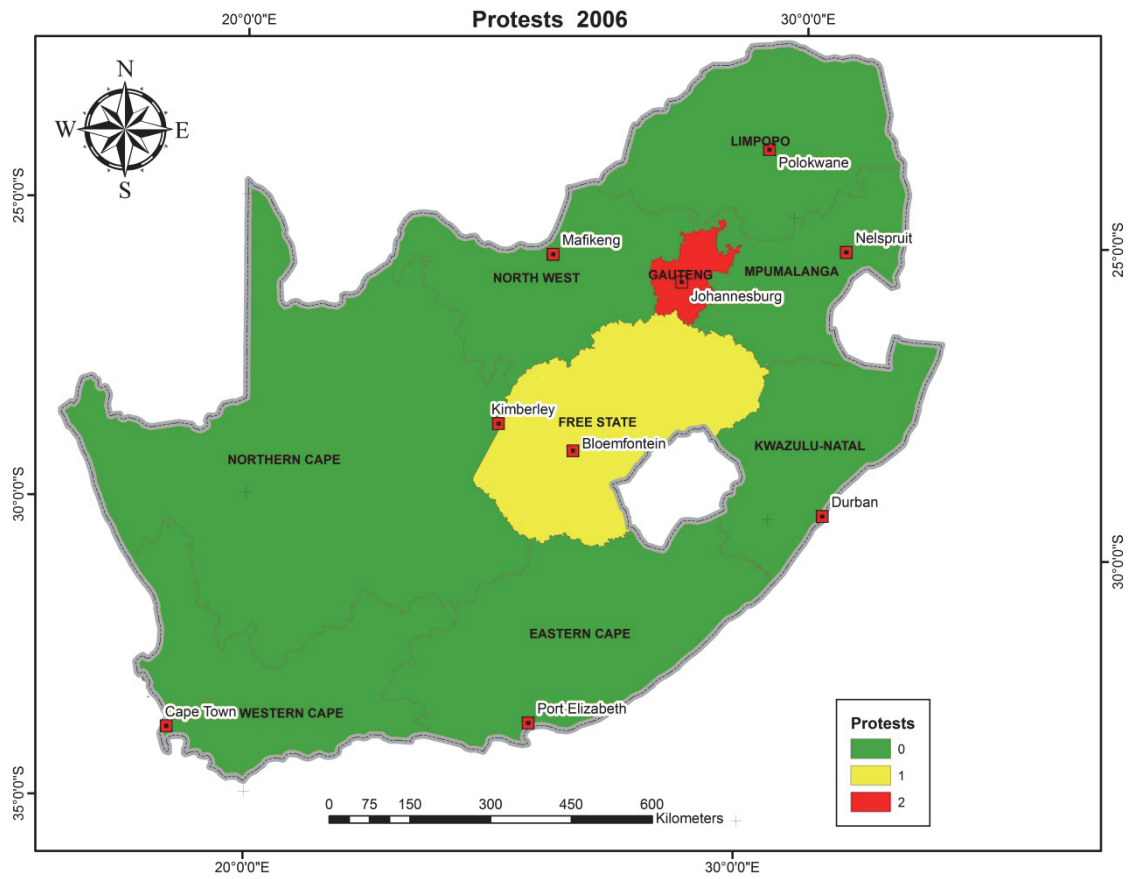
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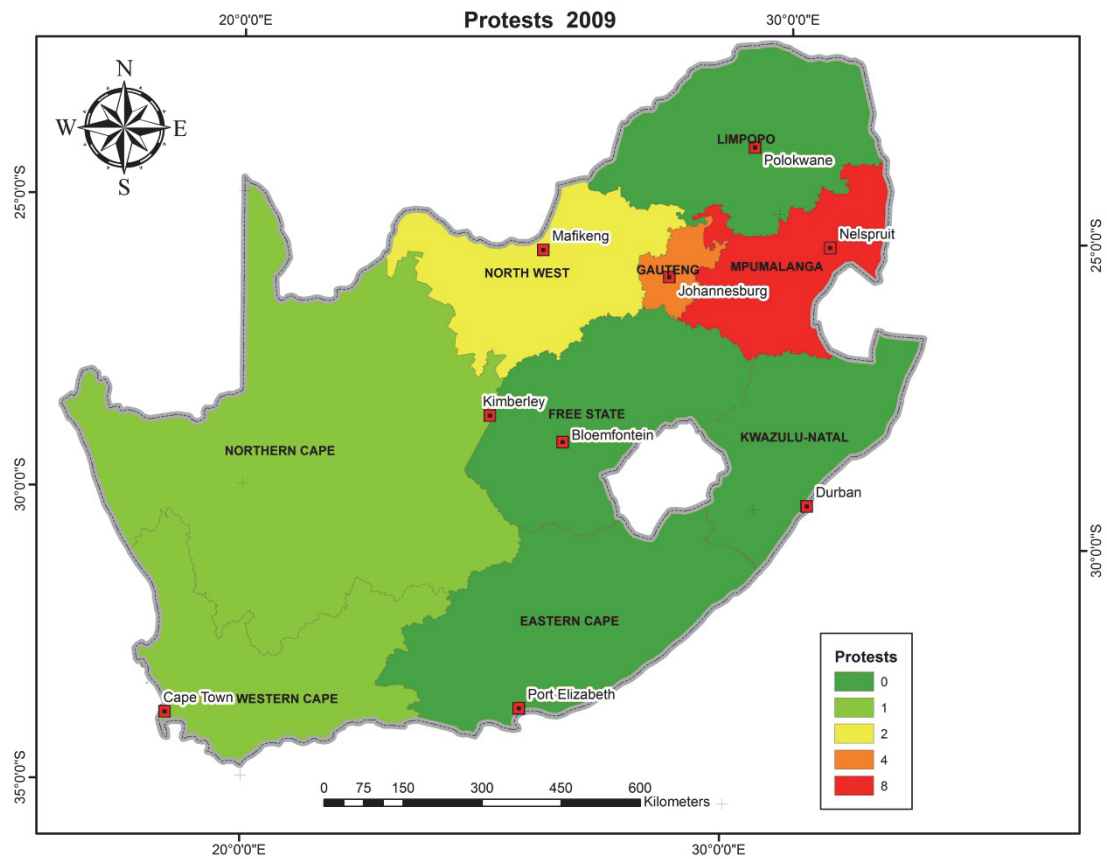
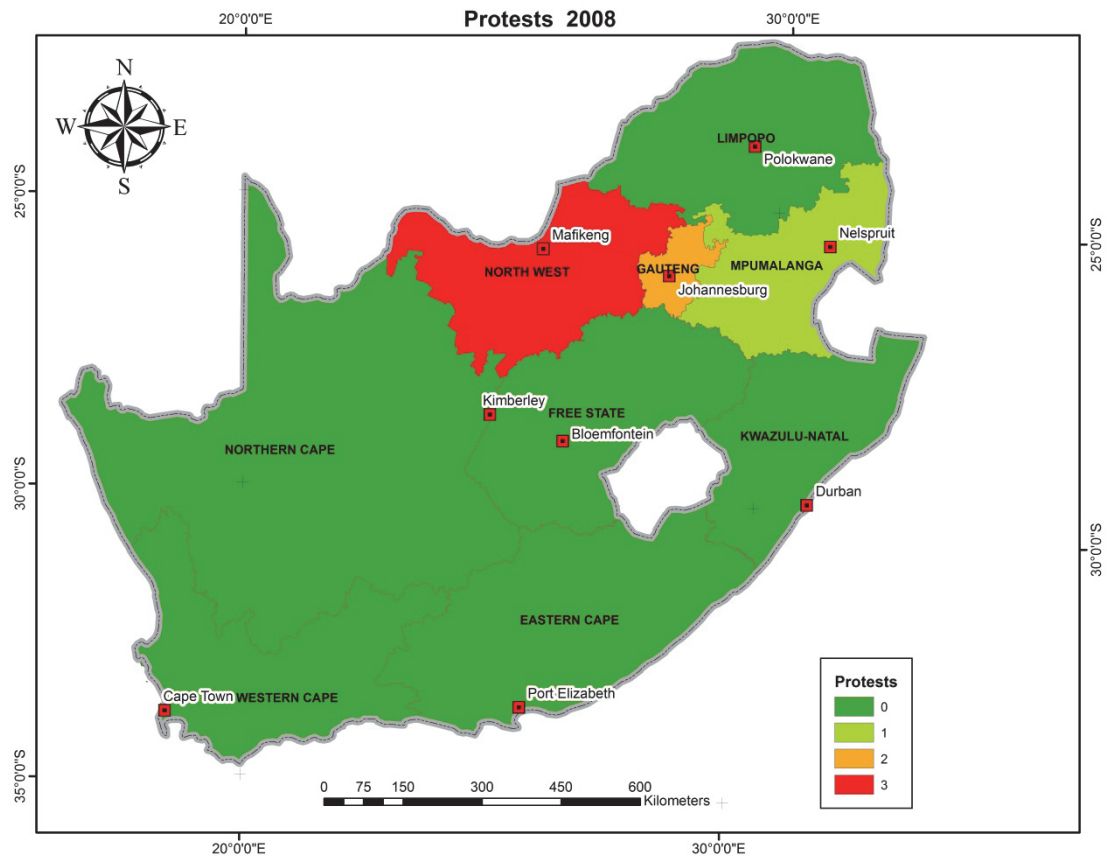
APPENDIX 1: PROTEST DISTRIBUTION MAPS

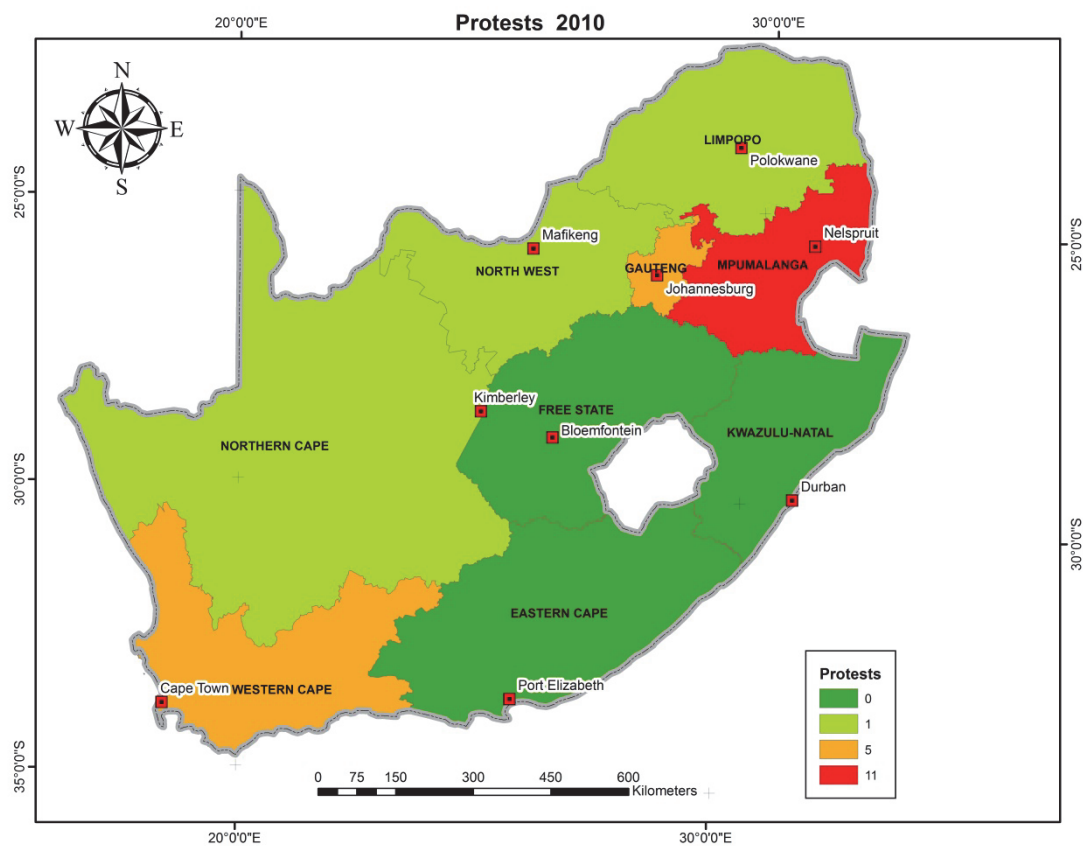
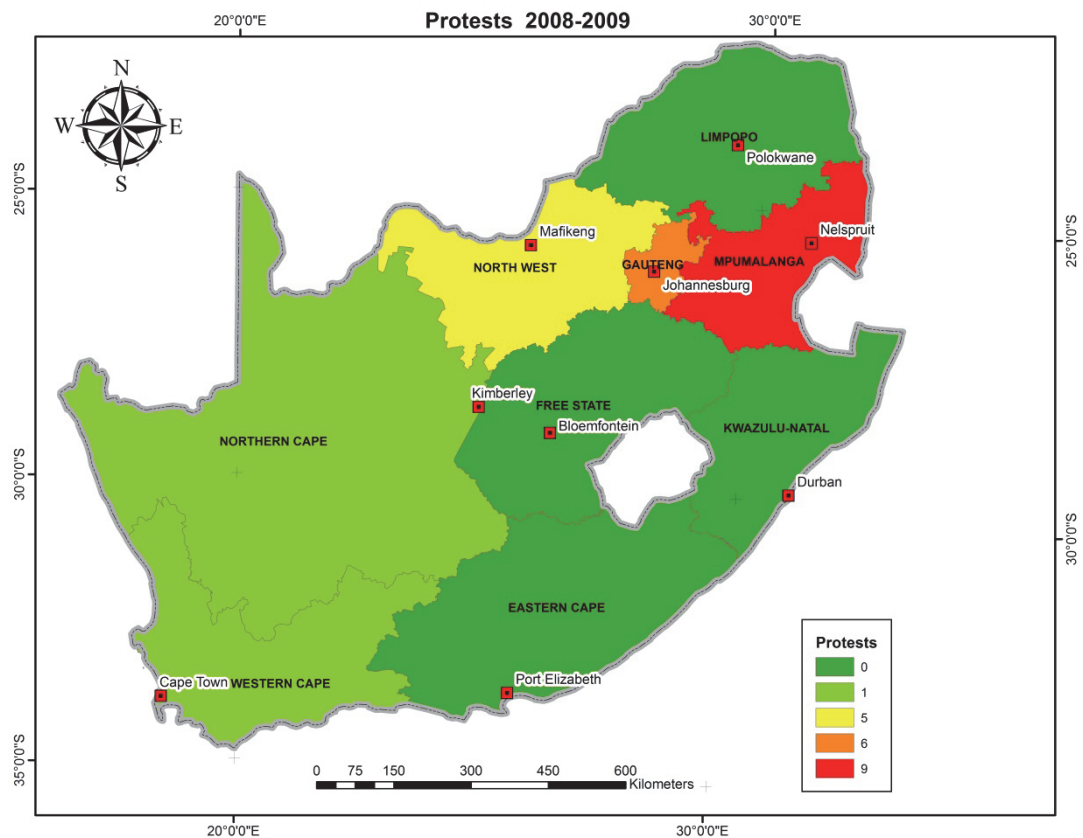
NATIONAL OVERVIEW BY PROVINCE AND YEAR

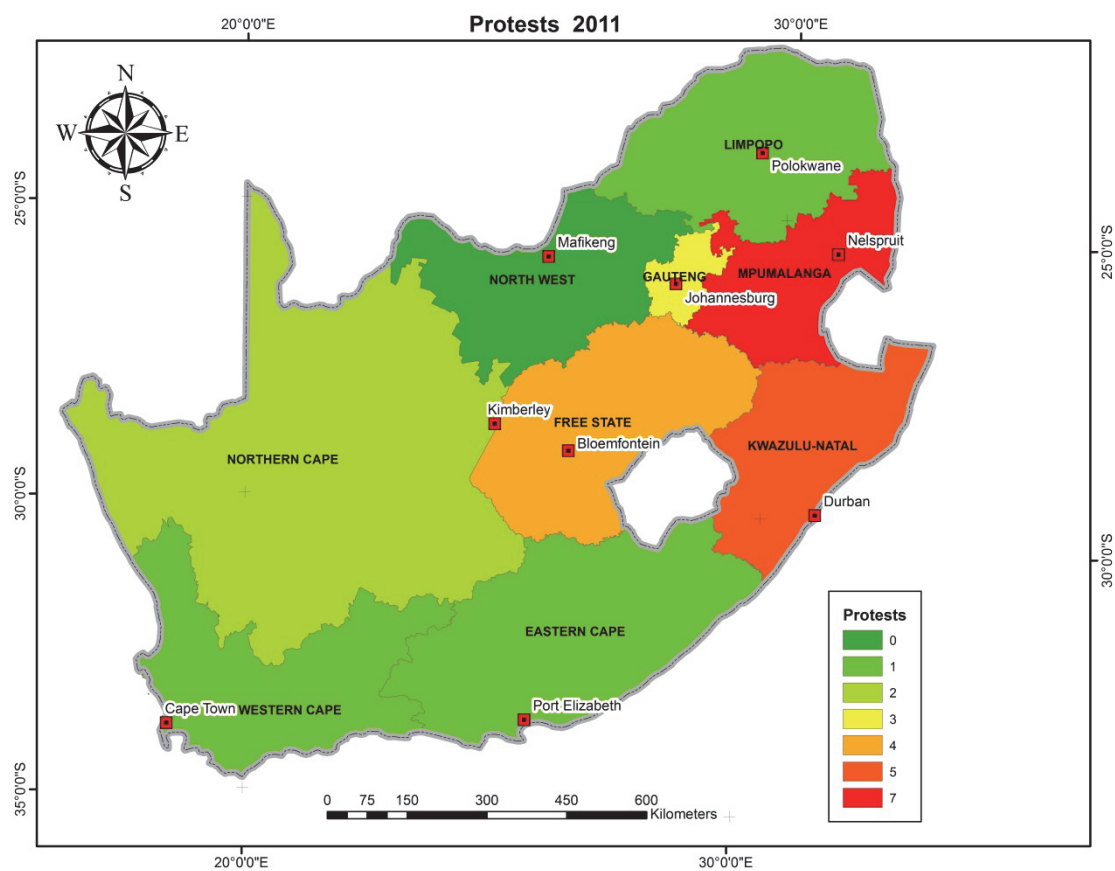
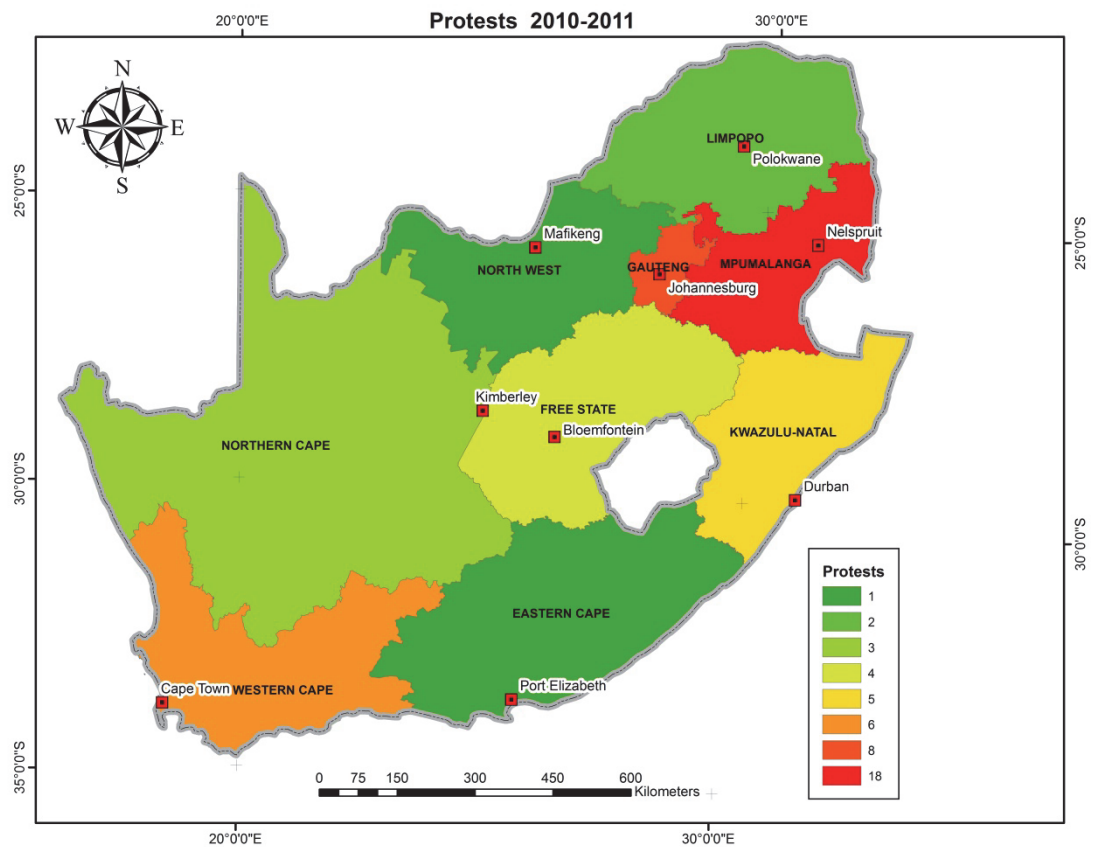


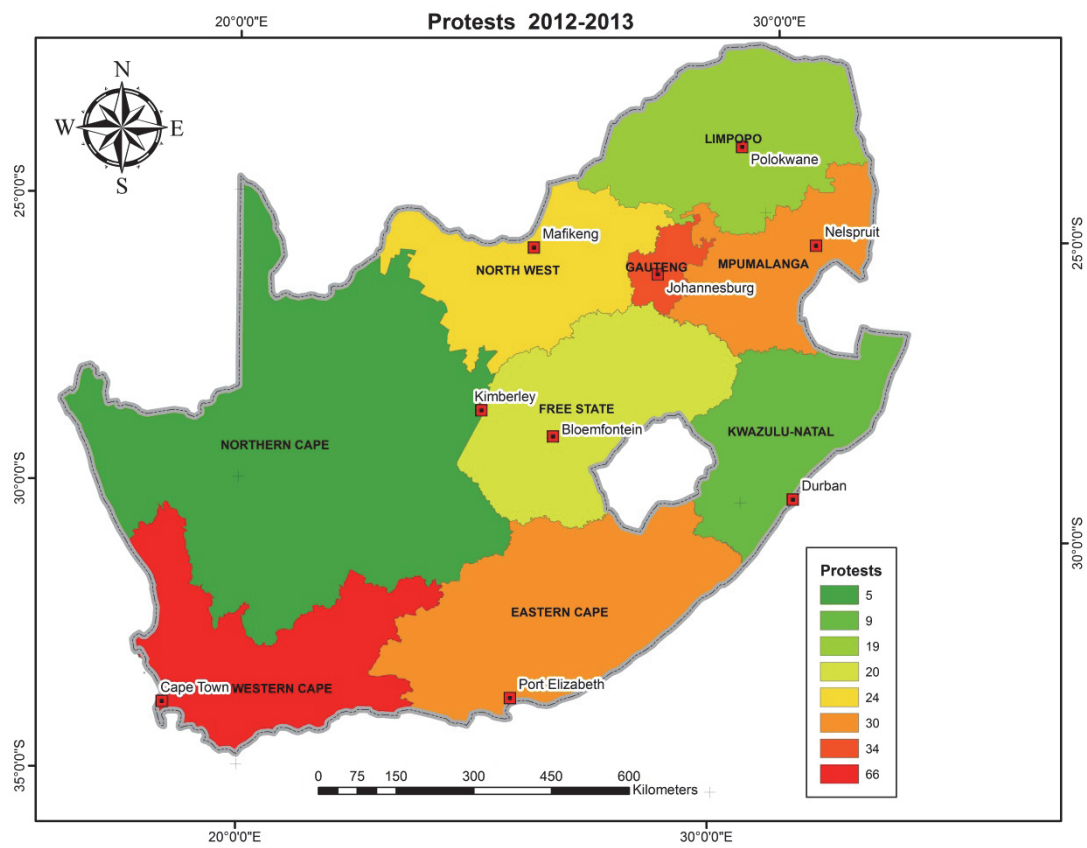
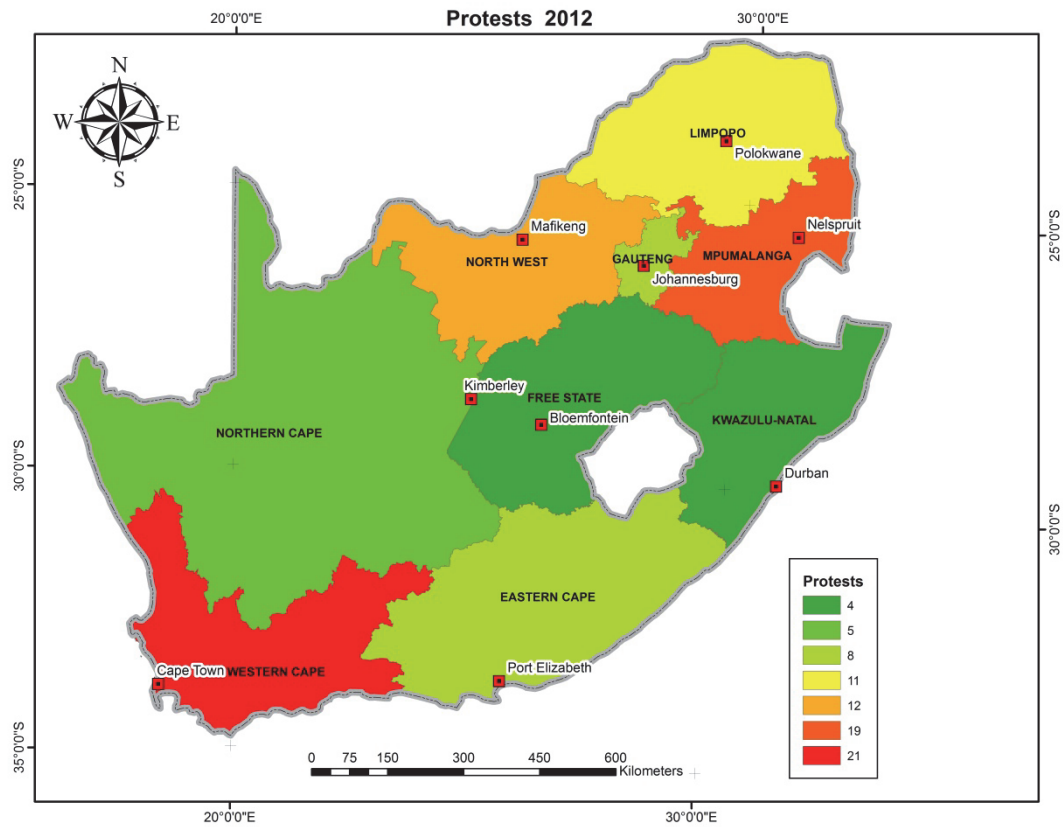


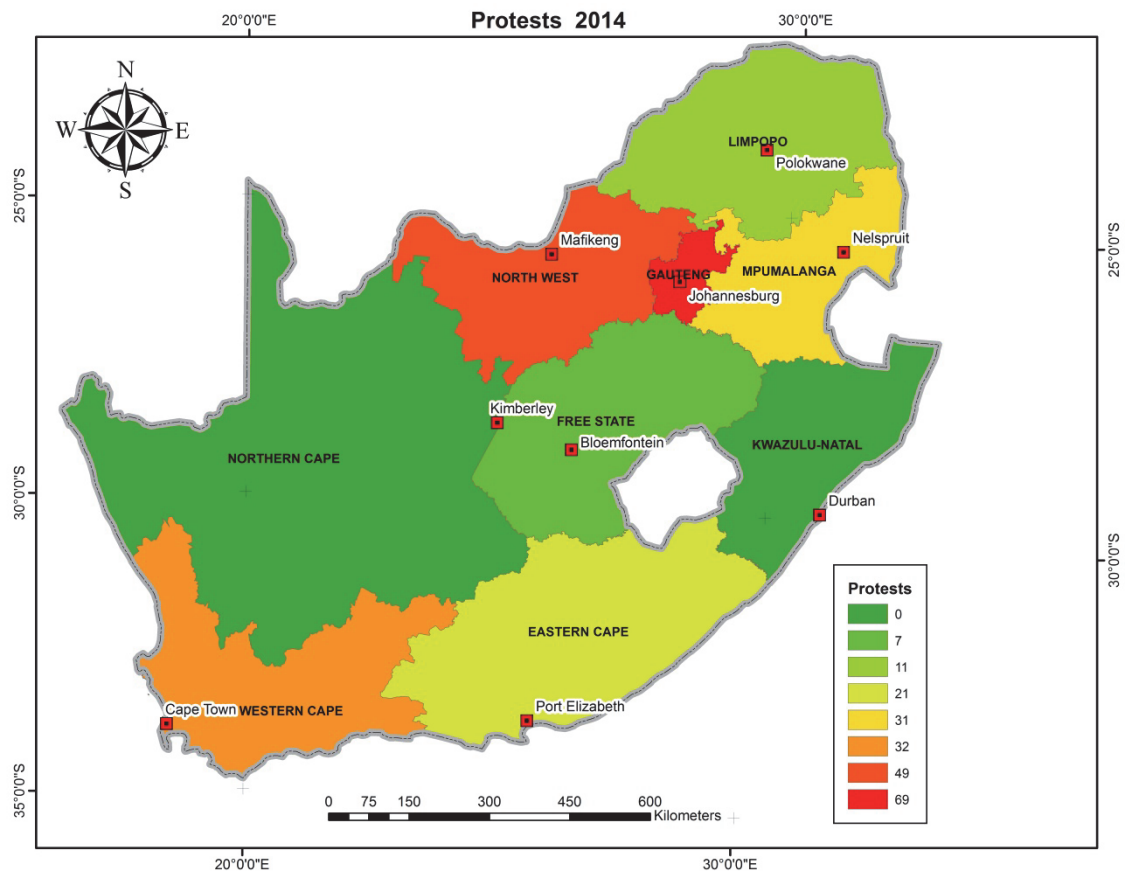
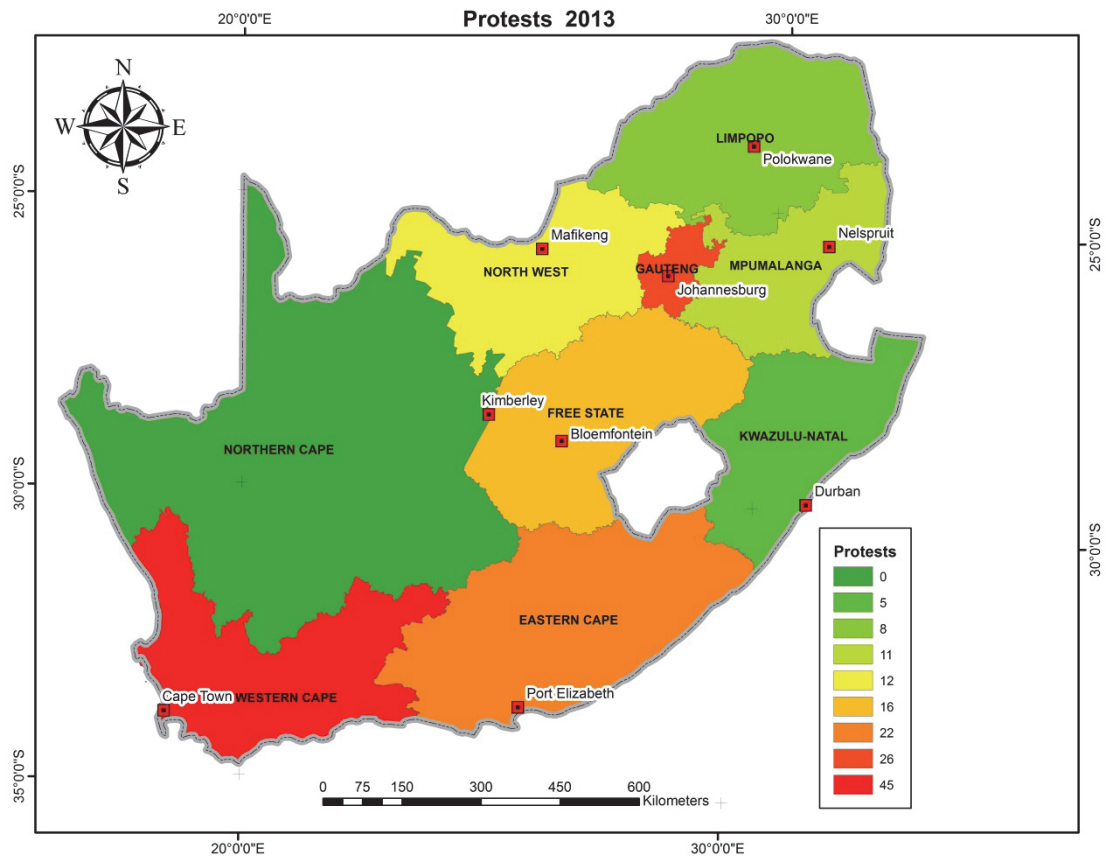


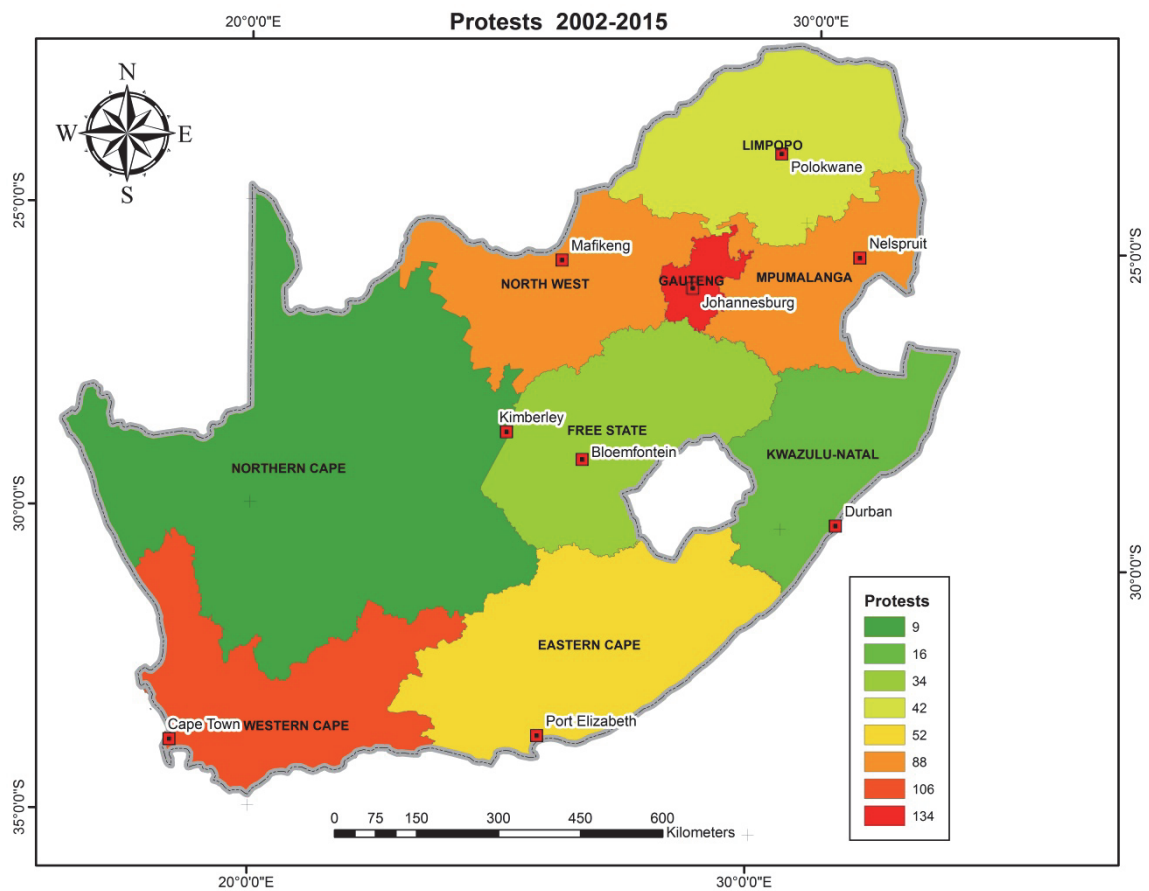
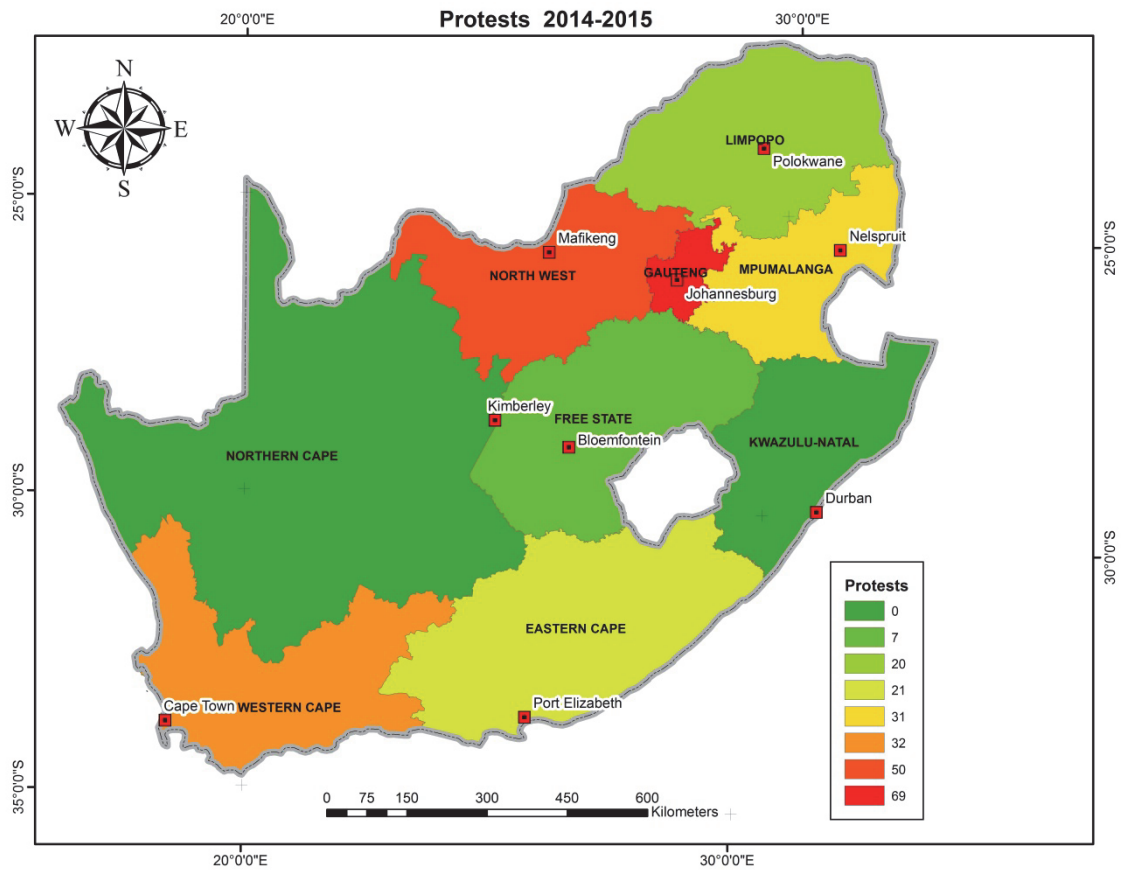












APPENDIX 2: CHARACTERIZATION OF SOCIAL PROTEST CONTEXTS: SELECTED CASE STUDIES

FREE STATE PROVINCE

According to The National Development Agency (2009) the Free State province is made up of five district municipalities of Xhariep, Lejweleputswa, Fezile Dabi, Motheo and Thabo Mofutsanyana. The province, best known as 'the food basket of South Africa' has, since 1989, changed from being dependent on mining and agriculture to a manufacturing, export-orientated economy. The population is estimated 2.9 million of which 51% is women and 49% is men and the youth make up 30% of the population. The unemployment rate is at 38.9%. The SABC News (2013) reported that the Free State province is in need of at least R5.5bln to address its water supply problems. Provincial authorities say most municipalities are battling with ailing infrastructure, a lack of maintenance and a growing population in the Province.

This section outlines the background context of issues concerning service delivery protests in Sasolburg (Metsimaholo Local Municipality) and Parys (Ngwathe Local Municipality) over the merger between these two municipalities. Both local municipalities are constituents of Fezile Dabi District Municipality, located in the northern parts of the Free State Province. Furthermore, this section presents a profile of Ficksburg, where killing of Andries Tata by the police during protest action marked an important landmark in South African discourses over social protests, service delivery and the roles, responsibilities and relationships between citizenry and governance institutions, such as the police, municipalities, civil society and the private sector, among others.

SASOLBURG AND PARYS: 'A TALE OF TWO CITIES'

Introduction

"If nothing is damaged, the government won't hear us", a participant in the Sasolburg strike in Free State Province (E-News Prime Time: 23 January 2013).

On the 20th of January 2013, residents of Zamdela Township in Sasolburg started protesting after a public meeting regarding the proposed merger of the Metsimaholo Local Municipality and Ngwathe Local Municipality, which is based in the Free State town of Parys. There were a number of issues which were linked to the protests. Firstly, the residents of Zamdela felt that the merger would undermine the development of the Metsimaholo Municipality. They

stated that Ngwathe municipality was “poor”, described Parys as “disgusting” and claimed that Mr Magashule, who is the Metsimaholo municipal manager, wanted to divert resources from Sasolburg to his home town of Parys (Marrian, 2013). Furthermore, there were allegations of nepotism, whereby Zamdela residents claimed that Mr Magashule wanted to secure jobs in Metsimaholo municipality for his relatives and friends by accessing the resources that Sasol provides to local communities. Some of the residents stated that they were already living in poverty and feared that the merger of municipalities would further narrow their prospects of getting jobs. One of the residents, Mr Thamsaka, stated, “The money from Sasol is R3.2m for the community. The officials want to eat that” (Ibid.).

This section presents the salient features of both Sasolburg/Zamdela and Parys. Such characterisation provides the background for the issues raised during the January 201 social protest.

Sasolburg

Sasolburg is a large industrial town located in Metsimaholo Local Municipality in the far north of the Free State province of South Africa. Sasolburg is further sub-divided into three areas: Sasolburg “proper”, Vaalpark and Zamdela. Zamdela is a township which was established close to the industrial area of Sasolburg (south east of the plant) in order to accommodate black employees, who at that time were exclusively men who migrated from rural areas in search of employment (Vaal Triangle Info, n.d). Furthermore, these men were accommodated in single sex hostels (Ibid.). The Group Areas Act prevented blacks from settling permanently in so called white areas at that time and thus family members were not permitted to migrate with employees to Zamdela. Changes in South Africa’s political dispensation in the 1990s led to an influx of people from rural areas into Zamdela, and availability of housing and land became major concerns for Sasolburg’s Metsimaholo Local Municipality” (Ibid.). Although the Department of Housing and Local Government has granted funds for the upgrading of hostels into family units, the shortage of housing is still a problem. To date, there is still insufficient serviced land available for the community and informal dwellings have been set up as a way of coping with the shortage of accommodation (Ibid.).

However, recent population figures confusingly indicate both a progressive reduction and a slight increase in the number of people living in the local municipality. According to the Metsimaholo Local Municipality IDP and Spatial Development Framework (SDF) of 2011

(2011:9) the population of the Zamdela area in 2007 was 154 658³⁹. This was 33.4% of the total municipal population. By contrast, GeoHive (2011) statistics show that Metsimaholo's population in 2011 was 149 108, suggesting that the intervening 4 years had seen a very significant reduction in the total municipal population. Evidence of depopulation on a massive scale is further provided by the Department of Water Affairs statistics (DWA, 2012), which show that by April 2012 Metsimaholo's population had further contracted to 125,678 (according to growth projections generated from the 2001 census) or 150 132 (according to the Geodatabase Reference framework). If the IDP and SDF information is used, these figures respectively suggest that within one year from 2011 to 2012, there has been a net loss of either 23 430 people (or 15.71% of the population) or 4 526 people (2.93%). However, if GeoHive information is used, the figures respectively indicate divergent trends namely, that population has been reduced by 23 430 (or 15.71%) and has increased by 1024 (or 0.69%). While it might be said that further research is required to determine the accuracy of the above statistics, the decline of mining and subsequent restructuring of related manufacturing and service sectors within Sasolburg and the Free State Goldfields area in general (Nel et al., 2006) have clearly resulted in changes in the demographic profile of the area.

According to Terblanche & Coerza (2013), Metsimaholo's population is predominantly (84%) rural. The poverty rate (42%) and unemployment rate (43%) are relatively high. Only 30 000 out of 84 000 working-age people are gainfully employed. Monthly earnings, including social grants, for more than half (55%) of the population are less than R400. Furthermore, a smaller proportion (18%) of the population lives in informal dwellings. Most (88%) of the households have a flush toilet and access to electricity and most (73%) have piped water inside their houses.

With regard to water services, DWA (2012) estimates show that in April 2012, the household population with no access to any form of formal water services infrastructure in Metsimaholo Local Municipality was 0 (0%). This means that all the 31 971 households in the municipality had access to water services. None of these were served below the RDP level (DWA, 2012). The number of households served with sanitation supply below and above RDP service levels is 26 808, indicating a relatively small backlog.

The foregoing characterization seems to confirm the view by Zamdela residents that basic service delivery is not a problem in Metsimaholo Local Municipality. However, the decline in mining seems to have resulted in a contraction of job opportunities and therefore a greater

³⁹ The average household size in 2007 was 4.14³⁹

demand for resources provided by Sasol, which is the major parastatal firm still actively operational in the area. These factors appear to underpin the apprehensions expressed by Zamdela protesters.

Parys

Parys is a small town that was established in 1876. It is part of the Ngwathe Local Municipality, which is the largest local municipality of Fezile Dabi District Municipality. Situated in the northern part of the Free State Province, Parys is sited along the banks of the Vaal River and in close proximity of N1 highway and its Vaal Toll Plaza. The town is in predominantly commercial agricultural area that produces corn, tobacco, sorghum and livestock, such as cattle and sheep. The town has a strong commercial sector and provides a wide range of services (e.g. health, education and professional services) to the district. The contribution of these sectors to the local economy is therefore are substantial (Lemoko, 2011).

According to a recent Mail & Guardian news report⁴⁰, the Municipal IQ ranking placed Ngwathe municipality at 95 out 226 local municipalities. The 2010/2011 auditor general's consolidated general report on municipalities gave Ngwathe a disclaimer, which denotes insufficient appropriate evidence for an auditor's finding. For example, the municipality provides no annual performance report and non-compliance with related legislation is also noted. Water is said to be muddy and undrinkable, such that it has become a ritual for residents of Tumahole township of Parys to respond to outsiders' questions about the status quo in the township by handing them "a glass of water to inspect".

As in the case of Metsimaholo Local Municipality (see the case of Sasolburg in Section 3.1.1.1), population data for Ngwathe Local Municipality gives divergent perspectives. The DWA (2012) Water Services National Information System (WSNIS) database derives its estimates from two sources namely, the 2001 census projections and the Geodatabase Reference Framework. The first source estimates the population of Ngwathe Local in 2012 to be 121 392 (or 35 231 households) while the second source gives the figure of 130 737 people (or 37 632 households). Notwithstanding the unresolved discrepancy in data, the DWA WSNIS estimates that the population with no access to any form of formal water infrastructure is 0% (DWA 2012), while the total number of households served with water services in the area is 21 583. The total number of households with access to a water supply below RDP service levels is 0%. The total population with access to a water supply below RDP service levels is 0%" (DWA 2012). Either way, the DWA system does not pick up the

⁴⁰ <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-01-25-00-parys-complains-anonymously>

discrepancy of 13 468 (38.23%) and 16 049 (42.65%) respectively, which represents the possibly unserved population. There is a need to scrutinise the reasons why such a glaring discrepancy, which is significantly higher than the 1994 backlog of 16.9%, is reported to be completely resolved (i.e. reduced to 0%). The data discrepancy suggests that there might be a degree of justification for the negative perceptions that protesting residents of Sasolburg's Zamdela Township expressed about the "disgusting" quality of life in Parys. Indeed other literature sources show that there are problems with water access in Parys.

According to Grobler (2012), Parys has been experiencing service delivery problems in general and water services issues in particular. Local restaurants offer patrons bottled water instead of tap water, while residents claim that the water smells like paraffin. Furthermore, Grobler (2012) states that guest houses and restaurants have privately installed additional water tanks and water filters. Businesses and community volunteers have taken on some municipal duties themselves, such as removing rubbish from sidewalks. Residents, state that the town's dubious water supply and general lack of service delivery has been leaving a bad taste in the mouths of visitors and locals.

Grobler's findings are confirmed by the chairperson of the National Taxpayers Union (NTU)⁴¹, whose membership currently stands at approximately 300 rate-payers associations country wide⁴². The chairperson, Mr Jaap Kelders, attests to the fact that the Ngwathe Ratepayers Forum, which includes Parys, Heilbron, Koppies, Vredefort and Edenville, has indeed declared disputes and some members are withholding rates. Kelders further states that in July 2012 the Minister of Water Affairs agreed to establish a Water Committee for Ngwathe, in terms of the Water Services Act, but nothing further has been done yet.

Concerning access to sanitation in the area, DWA (2012) WSNIS sanitation backlog data shows that 1992 (5.65%) households in Ngwathe Local Municipality have no access to sanitation infrastructure, 12 566 (35.67%) have below RDP levels of access, 4 535 (12.87%) have RDP levels of access and 18 128 (51.45) have access at above RDP service levels. Effectively, most (22 665 or 64.33%) of the households have access at and above RDP levels. These statistics give a total household population of 37 221, which varies from the total population estimates outlined above.

⁴¹ E-mail communication with NTU Chairperson, Mr Jaap Kelders, 18 February 2013.

⁴² This figure represents a significant increase from the membership of 220, which was reported in Tapela, 2012.

Summary

Findings from both case studies confirm that Sasolburg protests are indeed related to water service delivery issues. However critical these issues might be, they are not the only grievance issue. Dissatisfaction over perceived lack of transparency and self-serving interest in the re-demarcation of municipal boundaries appear to have combined with real fears about a possible deterioration of water services delivery and vulnerability to risks associated with Parys poor record in water services delivery, and Drinking Water Quality Management (DWQM) in particular. Pertinent questions in this dual case study were to what extent do water service delivery issues influence decisions to engage in protest action, and whether or not the resolution of this and similar service delivery problems and governance issues contribute to solving the broader problem of mining closure?

FICKSBURG: MAQHELENG TOWNSHIP

In April 2011 the Ficksburg community in the Free State engaged in social protests which claimed the life of Andries Tatane, who was an activist. He and residents of the nearby township of Maqheleng had marched to the Setsoto municipal offices to demand a reliable supply of water and an immediate halt to the daily sewage spills into roads and gardens in the township and waste removal (Masondo, S, 2012).

Geographically, the town of Ficksburg is the capital Setsoto Local Municipality in the eastern Free State, within Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality. The spatial area of the local municipality is 5 948.35 km², which consists of 4 urban areas namely, Ficksburg/Meqheleng, Senekal/Matwabeng, Marquard/Moemaneng and Clocolan/Hlohlolwane⁴³, as well as their surrounding rural areas.

Regarding access to water services, Setsoto Local Municipality is responsible for rendering services in Ficksburg. Of the total population of Setsoto, which is 135 612, a relatively small proportion (48,886 or 36.05%) is served with water supply. However, DWA (2012) WSNIS statistics indicate that the estimated population with no access to any form of formal water infrastructure is zero (0%). Furthermore, the total number of households with access to a water supply below RDP service levels is shown to be nil (0%). DWA demographic records are contradicted by protest events that took place in Ficksburg in April 2011.

Historically, Ficksburg was proclaimed in 1867 and is situated along the Highlands Route in the eastern Free State. The town was set up by General Johan Fick, who won the territory in

⁴³ Old and new place names are juxtaposed here.

the Basotho Wars. Ficksburg appears to have come into the spotlight when, according to Schirmer (1981 in Wikipedia⁴⁴), the last Governor-General of the Union of South Africa and the first State President of South Africa, Charles Robberts Swart, was imprisoned in the town by the British in 1914 and released a day before his scheduled execution. The fascinating history of Ficksburg dates back to the time when “ancient San people roamed the area, as well as the black people, the Voortrekkers and the European settlers” (Siyabona, n.d.). The government encouraged settlers by offering them land, horses, guns and ammunition in return for land allocations along the border of the new territory. This discouraged the Basotho from crossing the border, burning farms and stealing cattle.

Prior to the 2011 protests, Ficksburg was principally renowned as the “Cherry Capital of the World”. The town was also known as the gateway to Lesotho and Katse Dam. In addition to these images, information disseminated to the public generally stated that the town boasts a large cosmopolitan population and its economy is based chiefly on mixed agriculture, concentrating mainly on asparagus, cherries and deciduous fruit. These other crops were said to be farmed on a smaller scale. According to website of the South African Cherry Festival⁴⁵, renewed attention was being paid to apples, with more farmers than ever planting apple trees”. The glowing portrait of a quaint little town that had successfully turned its agricultural niche and geographical location into formidable tourism draw-cards has been marred, however, by the poignantly bitter sentiments about prevailing poverty, inequality and marginalization, which emerged in the aftermath of the death of Andries Tatane.

While conventional media carried numerous news reports of the Ficksburg tragedy, social media, such as the ‘Mobilitate Witness’, ‘Khulumani Support Group’ and many others, increasingly proved to be a useful barometer for gauging the intensity of emotions. Social media also provided some glimpses into the lives of the majority of working class people, who eke livelihoods below the radar of highlights such as the Cherry Festival. For example, the Mobilitate Witness quoted the News 24 and Sapa articles regarding statements by Law Society of South Africa (LSSA) leaders, Nano Matlala and Praveen Sham, that:

“As long as previously marginalised and dispossessed communities continue to live in dire poverty, the increasing disillusionment with regard to poor or non-existent service delivery will, inevitably, lead to protests”⁴⁶

⁴⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Robberts_Swart

⁴⁵ <http://www.cherryfestival.co.za/>

⁴⁶ <http://news.mobilitate.co.za/law-society-will-help-tatanes-family/> [Article: “Law Society will help Tatane’s Family”, 16 April 2011].

The blog pages of the social movement, Khulumani Support Group, also publicly commented:

*“This terrible act takes South Africans, and especially survivors of apartheid human rights violations, back to their experiences of barbaric police behaviour under Apartheid. It has taken many years to begin to restore peoples’ faith in the police. It is too easy to erode hard-won trust in the capacity of police to promote community safety and security.”*⁴⁷

The 2008/2009 IDP⁴⁸ for Ngwathe Local Municipality shows that the largest proportion of Ficksburg’s population is concentrated in Maqheleni township (Table 18), where the 2011 social protest was waged. This housing area is composed of 9204 formal and 50 informal residential sites. Within the township, there are 5750 formal houses and 3202 informal houses. The IDP document further states that at the time (2007) there was a total backlog of 1412 sites and 2252 houses in Maqheleng, which necessitated the demarcation of future residential development areas, in line with “the principles of infill and classification” (p. 54). The envisaged development plan for Maqheleng township included housing expansion, densification and re-zoning. The housing plans were accompanied by plans for the development of commercial, recreational, cemetery and small-scale farming areas (the last within municipal commonage land), as well as roads, sanitation and refuse removal infrastructure. The IDP was silent on the need to address water services backlogs. This is perhaps not surprising given that official records clearly states that there was no water services backlog in Ficksburg. Such records also meant that municipal financial budgets did not allocate funding for the concomitant expansion of water services infrastructure.

⁴⁷ <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/451-ficksburg-death-an-expression-of-regret-and-pain.html> [Article: Ficksburg Death: An Expression of Regret and Pain, 14 April 2011].

⁴⁸ Attempts to obtain the more recent IDPs were unsuccessful, since there seems to be a virtual black-out of all electronic sources of this information.

Table 18 Characteristics of Housing Development in Ficksburg, 2007⁴⁹

Description	Area	Number
Number of sites in Formal area	Meqheleng	9204
	Caledon Park	500
	Ficksburg	1679
	Sub-Total	11 383
Number of sites in an informal area	Meqheleng	50
	Caledon Park	9
Formal Houses	Meqheleng	5750
Formal House	Caledon Park	485
Formal Houses	Ficksburg	1530
Informal Houses	Meqheleng	3202
	Caledon Park	15

WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE

The total land area of the Western Cape Province is 129 462 square kilometres. The province is the country's fourth-largest, taking up 10.6% of South Africa's land area and with a population of 5.8-million people. A mixture of diverse cultural backgrounds gives the province a cosmopolitan flavour, creating a demographic profile that differs markedly from the broader national pattern.

According to the Western Cape Provincial Government report on 'Integrating Service Delivery for Maximum Impact (RSA, 2011), centuries of trade and immigration have created a population with "genetic and linguistic links to different parts of Europe, south-east Asia, India and Africa". Afrikaans is spoken by the majority, with isiXhosa and English being the two other main languages. Various national, provincial and local government departments deliver services within municipal and ward boundaries, but they often do so without taking into account the service delivery activities of other departments. The people on the ground pay the price, since they are compelled to travel great distances to access different government services that could be closely related to each other (Ibid.).

This section aims to outline service delivery challenges and other grievances in working class urban and rural areas of the Western Cape. While many of these areas have been characterized by social protests, others show similar or worse challenges but no evidence of protests. This section will specifically focus on a diversity of local contexts. These include

⁴⁹ Source: Ngwathe IDP, 2008/9: 54

Khayelitsha, Langa, Crossroads and Mtshini Wam/Joe Slovo/Milnerton in the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Council area; Klappmuts, De Doorns and Zwelethemba township of Worcester in the largely rural Cape Winelands District Municipality; and Vermaaklikheid isolated rural settlement in the remote Hessequa Local Municipality in Eden District along the south coast.

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

The City of Cape Town local authority is responsible for water supply services within the metropolitan council area. This includes both the more affluent and poorer neighbourhoods, the latter of which include townships like Khayelitsha, Langa and Crossroads and informal settlements such as Mtshini Wam within the suburb of Milnerton. Official records (DWA, 2012) state that in April 2012 the City Of Cape Town served water supply to 1.65 million people and that none (0%) of the estimated population lacked access to formal water services infrastructure. Despite such reported achievements, Cape Town has since 2012 overtaken Johannesburg in being reputed to be the protest capital of South Africa, reputation of which is compounded by the unprecedented burgeoning of rural protests in the broader Western Cape Province. Indeed, several studies (e.g. Tapela, 2012; Nleya, 2010; Thompson & Nleya, 2010) show that among various basic service delivery issues there are unresolved problems of lack of secure access to water services and sanitation. Such problems are largely associated with working class neighbourhoods of Cape Town, which are predominantly black and, to a lesser extent, coloured.

DWA WSNIS statistics indicate that a small proportion (2.39% or 7775) of households have access to water below Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) levels, while the majority (97.61% or 318 122) have access at greater than RDP levels. A relatively small proportion (8.79% or 28 632) has lower than RDP levels of sanitation services, while the majority (91.21% or 297 265) has greater than RDP levels. Quantitatively therefore, Khayelitsha might be said to have a relatively low prevalence of water scarcity since most of the households have above RDP standards of access to water. This contrasts sharply with the relatively high prevalence of social protests.

Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha Township has been the site of numerous violent social protests against poor municipal service delivery, particularly in the recent past (2008 to date). Water has featured among the main cited reasons for protests. Although a number of studies have sought to deepen understandings of the challenges of access to water services in the township, such

studies have not exhausted the examination of diverse neighbourhoods within different sections of Khayelitsha. This study broadens the examination of protest sites to a few under-researched sections of the township.

Khayelitsha Township is situated 35 kilometres south of Cape Town central business district (CBD). The township is bordered by the N2 highway to the north and False Bay to the south. The township is the largest in Cape Town. Population data, however, shows marked variations. The Khayelitsha Population Register Update, which is a collaborative project involving community organisations and government departments, estimates that in 2005 the population was 406 779 (Maverick cc, 2006). By contrast, the DWA WSNIS database indicates that in 2010 Khayelitsha had a total population of 325 897 people. Owing to views that the official records grossly under-represented the actual population of the township, the population of Khayelitsha is presently estimated to be approximately 1.2 million (Umthawelanga, 2011:2). The data discrepancies point to difficulties with determining population size in local contexts characterized by rapid urbanization and, in particular, the growth of informal settlements as well as formally-established townships.

According to Umthawelanga (2011), Khayelitsha was established in 1983, the early inhabitants of Khayelitsha came from other black townships of Cape Town with the majority coming from Old Crossroads. “Khayelitsha was built under the principles of racial segregation and the township itself is growing very fast, and it has been recognized as one of the biggest black township in South Africa, after Soweto. Moreover, Thompson & Nleya (2010) state that one of the most important things about Khayelitsha is that its residents played some important roles in liberating South Africa from bondages of the apartheid regime. The majority of the township’s urban poor are therefore politically informed, regular voters and aware of their rights (Thompson & Nleya, 2010). The scholars further state that although the township has played a critical role in dismantling the institutional framework that perpetuated a spatially segregated labour force Khayelitsha retains its historical feature in the form of pockets that have lack of or poor service delivery. Khayelitsha tag of ‘township’ rather than ‘suburb’ appears to be closely associated with the persistence of inadequate infrastructure for roads, storm water, street lights, water supplies and sanitation, which affects much of the population and 70% of whom live in shacks. Partly because of living condition and unemployment rates, reported levels of crime are extremely high.

Leiter (2011) states that a survey conducted in June 2009 revealed that just a little more than half the 45 residents surveyed had access to water near their homes. Complaints included, “not enough taps”, “taps remain broken”, “the taps shut off for part of the day”, “long lines” at communal water points, “poor water flow” and “streets in the back of the

informal settlement are missing taps completely". Moreover, Leiter (Ibid.) states that residents complained that some of the pipes were leaking, causing their water bills to be outrageously high and unaffordable. Those who could not afford to pay their bills had their water turned off indefinitely. Both those who lived in informal houses and government housing had their water turned off at certain periods throughout the day, as part of the city's attempt to help control the use of water. Government-built houses mostly had crude cement toilets in the yard, which were connected to a water tap. These taps were used to fill buckets of water for domestic uses, such as washing, bathing, drinking and cooking. O'Brien (2012) states:

"Residents in this township often bathe and wash their dishes in buckets of water. When finished, the waste water is simply dumped on the streets often creating large pools of stand-still water, which is a health risk. 26% of households in Khayelitsha do not have access to sanitation".

According to the Department of Provincial and Local Government (RSA, 2006:27), backlog for access to water services was highest in Khayelitsha, where over 92% of residents had yet to realize their expectations for water services. Bond (2009) states that despite the high levels of community organisation and involvement, protest levels in Khayelitsha have remained high. Lansdowne Road in Khayelitsha, in particular, was turned into a war zone for two consecutive nights in 2009 as residents vented their anger about service delivery problems. This violent protest action forced the police to close the road amid stone throwing and burning of tyres and rubbish. The protesting residents in Site C charged that they had seen no change in the area in 15 years and conditions were perceived to be deteriorating further. According to a locally-based respondent, protest issues revolved around grievances by residents over having "no toilets, no water and no electricity" (Ibid.).

Langa

Langa is Cape Town's oldest township, established in 1923. Similar to the nearby communities of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, Langa is one of the many areas that were established prior to the apartheid era designated for Black Africans (Cape Town Township Tours, 2010). According to Field (2007) the majority of the original residents of Langa were forcibly displaced from Ndabeni. Ndabeni Location was set up around the turn of the 20th century in response to racist white fears of Africans bringing diseases into the city. The author further states that after the removal of people to Langa, Ndabeni was bulldozed and is today covered by an industrial zone. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 controlled the movement of African people in and out of Cape Town and during this period their primary residential option was Langa (Field, 2007). This law was an insidious predecessor of

apartheid Group Areas Act of 1950. From 1937 it was also illegal for African people to own land outside the designated homelands and by the late 1930s Langa was overcrowded (Sean Field, n.d).

Presently Langa is a socio-economically differentiated urban working class township, with a majority of poor population. The township has different types of housing, including the older formal housing areas, hostels, the latter-day informal settlement of Joe Slovo and the newest upgraded and formalized housing section of the N2 Gateway Housing Project. The City of Cape Town is the municipality responsible for providing basic service delivery in the area including water services. Over the past few years, residents of Joe-Slovo informal settlement in Langa have been protesting over housing, lack of electricity, water and sewage and other services (Mail and Guardian, 2007) as well as a range of other issues. Box 3 summarizes some of the key aspects of a recent protest event that took place in 2012.

On 14 August 2012 during a celebration in Langa township a group of people from Gugulethu township protested as Human Settlements Minister, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, handed over 300 housing units in the Joe Slovo section of Langa. According to media reports, the disgruntled group of about 100 residents from Gugulethu provoked the Langa residents, who were waiting to get keys to their new flats, for over an hour before Sexwale's arrival at the Joe Slovo Phase 3 handover. The Gugulethu residents were upset because houses were not being delivered in their area. Among the aggrieved group from Gugulethu was David Gwanya (aged 42 years), who said he had come to protest because he lived in the Barcelona informal settlement where it was dirty and cold and people were getting sick.

The police closely watched the protesters, who sang and danced inside the tent set up for the handover ceremony. The protesters refused to be quietened down until Sexwale arrived and assured them that their turn would come since government wanted to ensure that all poor people got decent housing. The Minister also warned the audience that party politics should not be used to divide people on issues of development ["This is not the money for DA, it's the tax payers' money"].

Box 3 Housing Protest in Langa, August 2012

The social protest event outlined in Box 2 above was not the first in Langa township but was preceded by a long series of protests over the Joe Slovo housing project, in which informal settlement dwellers of Joe Slovo section defied government plans to forcibly remove them to Delft to pave way for the then planned N2 Gateway Housing Project. The Joe Slovo housing hand-over celebration marked the culmination of a phase in the government's fulfilment of a 2009 Constitutional Court ruling that obligated the state to build houses for affected Joe Slovo informal settlement dwellers. Historically, however, the Human Rights Memory Centre (HRMC) suggests that protests in Langa formally date back to 21 March 1960, when the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) launched the first phase of its Positive Action

Campaign against the apartheid regime's oppressive pass laws⁵⁰. These apartheid era protests are etched in the Memorial on Langa's Washington Square, which was unveiled on 21 March 2010 to coincide with the 50th Anniversary of the anti-pass law events. Although social protests in the intervening years have largely revolved around housing issues, the substantive issues underlying the highlighted grievances have included poor access to social services in general and allegations of corruption regarding the allocation of new houses and the management of the housing list. Statements such as Sexwale's, among others, also hint at the possible politicization of services related issues. Social movements, such as Abahlali baseMjondolo have mobilized local residents to take collective action in protesting about findings that the local residents committee in Langa Temporary Relocation Area (TRA), in collusion with the Housing Development Agency (HAD), have irregularly sold houses to people with alternative accommodation, who want to 'cut the line' [i.e. jump the queue for houses]⁵¹. In November 2011, Abahlali baseMjondolo also organized residents of Langa and similar townships (e.g. Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Crossroads) engage with the mayor of the City of Cape Town about a broad range of issues that directly affect them, such as floods, shackfires, water cut-offs and the role of law enforcement within their communities, many of which had been victimised by law enforcement through illegal demolitions.

While the above characterization confirms that water services issues are conflated with other issues in the diverse basket of grievances over 'housing', this study is particularly interested in unpacking and clarifying the relationship between social protests and water service delivery in Langa (and similar localities). The empirical component of research will concentrate on this.

Crossroads

According to Statistics South Africa (RSA, 2001) Crossroads has a population of 6,126 people. Most (95%) of the area consists of informal settlements. Furthermore, nearly half (43.7%) of the population is unemployed. A report by the Unit for Religion and Development Research (n.d) describes Crossroads as lacking flush toilets, such that a large proportion of the population still uses the bucket toilets. However, the buckets are not emptied regularly. They are emptied once a week at the most. Sometimes buckets stand unemptied for three weeks. This has resulted in the prevalence of health problems, with numerous reports of children getting sick due to cholera and diarrhoea. There is also lack of running water. The

⁵⁰ http://www.hrmc.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=68&Itemid=71 (
⁵¹ <http://www.abahlali.org/taxonomy/term/1317> [e.g. 31 August 2012; 19 January 2013]

community of Crossroads has been protesting over service delivery over the years and some claim that it is useless to protest because government does not take their needs into consideration (Mail and Guardian, 2010).

Joe Slovo Park's 'Mshini Wam' Informal Settlement, Milnerton

Mshini Wam is a relatively new informal settlement composed of approximately 250 families squatting on a small piece of land in the Joe Slovo Park section of the suburb of Milnerton, close to Montague Gardens Industrial Area⁵². While Milnerton is generally composed of relatively high and middle income housing, Mshini Wam is surrounded by RDP houses of Joe Slovo Park. The rationale for selecting this case study is that the robust and innovative non-violent strategies adopted by Mshini Wam settlers to address their service delivery needs provide useful contrast with the strategy of violent social protest that is prevalent in many similar contexts across South Africa.

According to a report by Fieuw and CORC (2012), Joe Slovo Park is a formal township that was established in the 1990s, when City planners sought to eradicate informality, especially in the Marcomi Beam area, by establishing low-income neighbourhoods. Those who were not catered for in the formal houses invaded open spaces within the newly laid-out township. Mshini Wam informal settlement was born when 're-informalisation' resulted in a juxtaposition of formal houses and informal backyarder shacks. One such neighbourhood of Mshini Wam backyarder shacks is located in-between the boundaries of formal RDP houses. "The shacks are densely arranged and struggle to gain access to basic services. Backyarders had to pay up to R50 a week for water they fetched from the formal houses before the City installed a few taps. Today the community has used their collective savings to upgrade the public taps area by building a concrete base" (Ibid.).

Much of the agency in Mshini Wam has been supported by the Cape Town-based Community Organization Resource Centre (CORC), which is a non-governmental organization (NGO) affiliated to the Slum Dwellers International (SDI). CORC's interventions are based on innovations of organised communities, and the NGO's role is to promote and sustain the slum development process according to the case-specific social formations, agencies and agendas of different informal settlements rather than a blue-print approach (CORC, 2012). CORC operates in five major urban centres namely, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg/Ekurhuleni and Stellenbosch. The CORC-supported networks of the poor have combined to form the Informal Settlement Network (ISN), which brings

⁵² <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FfAQ7RfM9eA>

together not only representatives of informal settlements, but also different movements of the urban poor. For example, ISN has an alliance with organised backyard dwellers, which is premised upon presenting a united front in the affected people's fight against poverty. The main strategy of ISN affiliates is constructive dialogue with government towards community-driven development. This is considered to be effective in addressing the main needs of the majority, affordable and socially sustainable.

Outlining the historical background to the establishment of this informal settlement, a 2012 CORC report (CORC, 2012) states that Mshini Wam was established during the years 2006 and 2007. Prior to that, the land was a bushy illegal dumping site for people who live in RDP houses of Joe Slovo. Despite the illegal occupation of municipal land, the City Council proceeded to provide the new Mshini Wam community with sanitation services. This move was a product of engagements between Mshini Wami settlers and the municipality of Cape Town around the provision of required services especially toilets and more water taps. Through this engagement, the community was advised and agreed to create space within the settlement for the installation of additional services. This strategy required the relocation of some households to free up land for the creation of "streets" and open spaces. It was at this point that Mshini Wam settlers began engaging with CORC. The NGO had recently been involved in a similar exercise in Sheffield Road within Philippi township in Cape Town. In the case of Sheffield Road (CORC, 2009), space was created through a 're-blocking exercise' that allowed all households to remain on within the informal settlement after the reorganization of land use. The re-blocking exercise was preceded by a community-led participatory approach to socio-economic profiling (Table 19). This profile became the basis for community visioning regarding their desired environment as well as further engagement between Mshini Wam, City of Cape Town municipality and CORC, among other stakeholders.

Table 19 Profile of Mtshini Wam Informal Settlement, 2012⁵³

“Slum” Name	Mshini Wami
suburb	Milnerton
Age of settlement	Around 6 Years
Type of structures	All Shacks
Population	497
Number of shacks	250 shacks in total
Land ownership	City Council
No. of individual toilet blocks	None
No. of community toilets	16 (chemical toilets) 1 toilet: 31 people
Water taps	3 stand pipes 1 water tap : 166 people
Disaster experience	3 households experienced fire disaster 43 households experienced flooding
Most urgent needs	Upgrading: - Reblocking - Electricity, water taps and toilets

KLAPMUTS: STELLENBOSCH LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

The township of Klapmuts is located on the urban fringe of the City of Cape Town. It is located at a strategic distance between high commercial farming areas of Stellenbosch and Paarl. It is therefore an accessible seasonal labour source. Potential residents see Klapmuts as a ‘low cost dorpie (town)’, while the local municipalities of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein (Paarl) see it as a potential growth corridor.

The township is characterized by a high influx of people namely, evictees from local farms and foreign asylum seekers. Levels of poverty, unemployment and dependence on irregular and seasonal work are high. Identified social ills include tensions between residents and the police, poor service delivery, crime, drugs, poor health services, lack of a high school and the recycling of poverty. Levels of social services and development are low, and housing backlogs are high. Where houses have been allocated, the process seems to have been messy and confusing. Although there are new housing developments, these have spawned new conflicts, which are exacerbated by lack of an inclusive community process. Given the limited employment opportunities and housing backlogs, dynamics of competition for jobs and houses have made Klapmuts a politically-charged environment.

Furthermore, due to the prevalence of low incomes, costs of services are unaffordable for the majority of residents. Many people increasingly prefer to go back to squatting in areas

⁵³ Source: CORC, 2012

where they do not have to pay for services. For those who remain behind, there is general non-payment for services as well as concerns over poor quality of housing and long term maintenance of infrastructure. Other concerns include little or no community involvement in municipality decision-making, highly contentious and politically-charged relations with councillors as well as claims about corruption.

Historically, Klapmuts's growth can be characterized as peri-urban sprawl that has mushroomed from a small railway siding, which consisted of a small residential area with rental housing, to a 'dumping ground' for evicted farm workers as well as a place of arrival for African refugees seeking asylum. Land invasion on vacant land in the late 1990s forced the expansion of the area. Each expansion was accompanied by tension between the municipality and community. Klapmuts has therefore grown in the absence of long term planning.

During consultations towards municipal demarcation (i.e. redetermination of municipal boundaries) the community had to decide under which municipality they preferred to be demarcated. The residents selected Stellenbosch, which they considered to be a better-resourced municipality, in the hope that they would obtain responsive development for the area. This did not materialise as expected. Problems included lack of clarity over land ownership. While Klapmuts is situated on land adjacent to commercial farms, parts of the township are situated on commercial farmland that fell out of production during the end of the 1990s and was subsequently abandoned by owners. A major challenge is therefore the limitation regarding municipal development of private property. The history of protests in Klapmuts has therefore been associated with grievances over lack of access to basic services and housing.

In 2010 Klapmuts residents vented their frustration against foreign migrants (Somalians) which erupted following numerous xenophobic attacks elsewhere. In October 2012 they protested against poor services and houses, as illustrated by the statement by one resident, Anneline Damonse, who said, "Since I started living in a shack, we were promised houses. We looked forward to having decent toilets, a nice home and running water. This was all just empty promises made," (Box 4).

Klapmuts residents vented their frustration against poor services and houses in a protest that started at 5am, barricading roads. They marched on the Klapmuts Main Road, burned tyres tree stumps and road signs, chanted and sang Struggle songs. They protested about a poor sanitation, roads and formal housing.

["Since I started living in a shack, we were promised houses. We looked forward to having decent toilets, a nice home and running water. This was all just empty promises made" – 44-year old Anneline Damonse, who is unemployed and said the municipality had promised her a house since she had moved to the area in 1989.]

Protesters blocked the road with dirt, rocks and broken concrete water pipes. Some 50 residents protested on Main Road, while a group of about 400 sat on a field next to it. Negotiations between police and community leaders failed after local ward councillor Sophia Louw did not arrive to address the protesting residents. Police warned protesters to disperse but they ignored this. After an hour, at 6am, police fired rubber bullets and tear gas at the crowd. Protesters ran between shacks and houses. Motorists passing the area were turned away by protesters who threatened to stone cars if they passed... Community leader Malibongwe Gebha said some residents had been on a housing waiting list for 20 years, and were promised formal housing in August last year.

"The municipality told us that houses will be built once the land was bought from its owner. The land was bought this year and we thought we are going to move in, only to be told that residents from [nearby] Koelenhof will have to move in [instead]," Malibongwe said.

"We want our houses and we will not stop at anything. Until our demands have been met we will protest," he said.

Source: Excerpt from Independent Online News (IOL) article by Jason Felix

Box 4 Klapmuts protesters block road, 02 October 2012

Frustrations with the slow progress of housing delivery have been exacerbated by the influx of other people into the area. Other compounding factors include the deliverance by various housing development initiatives of different types and qualities of infrastructure and services. There are also problems with communications regarding the available options (models) for settlement. Such communications are often not part of a broader institutional process and are therefore not coordinated. This creates confusion, anger and divides in community, especially in a context where perceptions are rife that some houses are better equipped than others. Communication problems also seem to be linked to the redetermination of municipal boundaries. Since the shift of municipal boundaries, housing grants have not been forthcoming for many residents. Rather, the Cape Winelands District Municipality has referred grant applications to the provincial housing department in Stellenbosch, which considers that the matter falls outside its area of responsibility.

The case of Klapmuts demonstrates how labour issues and grievances over marginalization, poverty, unemployment, inequality, municipal governance and social development, including water service delivery, can become conflated with issues of identity. What needs to be clarified is how this particular permutation of conflation develops, and the possible roles played by different insider and outsider actors in fomenting violence.

DE DOORNS AND ZWELETHEMBA/WORCESTER: BREEDE VALLEY LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

A remarkable aspect of the cases of De Doorns and Zwelethemba Township in Worcester, for this report and the project as a whole, is that these cases have basically ‘self-selected’ themselves, in contrast with other cases that have been purposively selected using criteria and principles outlined in Chapter 3 of this report. The precedent-setting De Doorns case simply could not be ignored or consigned to the conventions of carefully-measured scholarly research procedure while the historic events were burning away. The Zwelethemba case in Worcester was slightly different. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) invited PLAAS researchers to attend once again the Western Cape provincial hearings on ‘The Progressive Realization of the Human Right to Water and Sanitation’ in Zwelethemba on 26 November 2011. The invitation presented a ‘golden’ opportunity for the project to actively engage with institutionalized engagements over water (and sanitation) service delivery issues affecting people from across the province and, critically, from the townships and farms around Worcester and the De Doorns. What the researchers could not predict was that their response to a seemingly benign invitation from the SAHRC would throw in a surprise bonus, which took the form of a real-time social protest against Helen Zille’s (belated) arrival at the hearings. Within the space of a few hours, the live protest clearly and powerfully demonstrated the complexity, diversity and dynamism of protest issues. No premeditated research preparation could surpass that!

A downside of such dynamism, however was the realization that the window of opportunity for protest research could be ever so whimsical and fleetingly short-lived, basically ebbing and flowing according to the orchestration of protest repertoires, the crafting of narratives, the energy and disposition of actors and processes, the shifting terrain and, of course, other factors that may or may not come into play. In essence, such dynamism required the researchers to adopt an unusual degree of flexibility and responsiveness, in an academic context that administratively moves to different drums and rhythms. This section gives an abridged characterization of the local context of the two case studies in the Breede Valley.

According to IDP documents, the Breede Valley Local Municipality was formed in December 2000. The Breede Valley Municipality forms part of the Cape Winelands District Municipality and encompasses the towns of Worcester, De Doorns, Rawsonville and Touws (RSA, 2012). River. The people are represented by 39 (soon to be 40) councillors, headed by an executive mayor. According to DWAF (2012) the population of the municipality is 180,469. Total number of people served with water services is 93,411 in the area. In April 2012 the estimated population with no access to any form of formal water infrastructure is 0%. The

estimated number of households with no access to any form of formal water infrastructure was 0% in April 2012. This estimate is based on Census 2001 and updated with actual project progress prior to MIG implementation. Total population with access to a water supply below RDP service levels as per Census 2001 and updated with actual project progress prior to MIG implementation was 0% (DWAF 2012). Furthermore, according to DWAF (2012) there is 0% of total number of households with access to a water supply below RDP service levels as per Census 2001 and updated with actual project progress prior to MIG implementation in April 2012. Sanitation population backlog as per DWAF (2012) in April 2012 is 13,893. The sanitation backlog is 3,485 households and the total number of people served with sanitation is 60,975.

According to the Municipal IDP (2012-2017) good sanitation services exist in the municipal area where the majority of the residential areas have waterborne sanitation. "More than 80% of households in the urban area had access to flush toilets, flush septic tanks or chemical toilets in 2007. The municipality has also experienced a decrease in the use of the bucket toilet system from 1 to 0.4% of households. This trend supports the national policy drive of eradicating the bucket toilet system. Although there had been an improvement in access to sanitation, 5.2% of households still did not have access to sanitation in 2007" (Municipal IDP, 2012-2017). Moreover according to Municipal IDP (2012-2017) statistics access to potable water is the norm in Breede Valley Municipality. The percentage share of households with access to piped water (or potable water) improved from 97.7% to 99.1% in 2007. Breede Valley residents' experienced a significant shift from access to potable water inside yard/or outside yard to inside dwelling. Access to piped water inside the dwelling improved from 61.5 to 82.2% in 2007. The percentage share of households in Breede Valley accessing alternative water sources has decreased from 2.3% to 0.8% in 2007.

De Doorns: "R150 a Day"

De Doorns is a small town in the Cape Winelands District of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. De Doorns falls under the Breede Valley Local Municipality. The fertile valley has the perfect climate to grow some of the best table grapes in the world. Farms create opportunities for seasonal employment and in the picking season hopeful job seekers flock to the De Doorns from all over Southern Africa. The fluctuating population uneducated and disadvantaged and lack of basic infrastructure has devastating effects on the health of the population especially the children.

In August 2012, violent protests by large groups of farmworkers rocked the idyllic picture-postcard image of the rural Cape Winelands area around De Doorns, which has been the

hallmark of both the lucrative wine industry and tourism. This unprecedented development seems to have irrevocably changed the organizational terrain of South African farm labour relations. These have hitherto, indeed for much of the country's centuries-old history, been characterized by workers succumbing to their employers' paternalism, human rights abuses and/or other permutations of steeply skewed power relations. Since then, debates have raged about the proverbial 'stick that broke the camel's back'. Although the protest narratives and repertoires were clearly crafted around the wage issue, this study finds that there were 21 substantive issues that were strategically muted and encapsulated in the rallying call, "R150 a day!"⁵⁴

Substantive protest issues included, among others, issues of poor access to water services and sanitation, for workers still based on farms, and issues of affordability of water services, for evicted farmworkers resettled in agri-villages and rural townships. According to Pieterse, a particularly poignant issue was the lack of housing for farmworkers, some of who slept in horse stables and lacked secure access to water and sanitation. Moreover, farm owners were responsible for supplying the workers with basic services since they deduct money for basic service payments from the farmworkers wages. However, the farmworkers do not receive access to the basic services that they pay for; neither do they get access to the free basic electricity and water allocations that they are supposed to get at the end of the month, as many South Africans do. Pieterse asserted that the allegations that the protests are mainly about political disputes are false. The respondent further stated that it was only "now when the situation in De Doorns area was burning the politicians cared to visit the area but in the past when there were no protests they never cared to visit".

What was also notable was that the strike action was driven by two different labour organizations, namely, BAWUSA (whose public face became Nosey Pieterse) and COSATU-affiliated FAWU. This led to bifurcations in the farmworkers' engagements with key institutional stakeholders. For example, while FAWU-led negotiation processes agreed to settle for R105, which meant that farmworkers could go back to work, BAWUSA-led farmworkers dug their heels and insisted on R150 a day (see quotation below).

"Cosatu is not our boss!" yelled De Doorns farmworker Jurie Scheepers. "We are the people who suffer, not Cosatu! We are not happy with R105. We are not happy with what Clanwilliam is happy with!"

⁵⁴ Interview with Mr Nosey Pieterse, Chairperson of BAWUSA/BAWSI and rural activist, 01 February 2013 at PLAAS, UWC.

At the height of the protest, telephonic interviews were also held with representatives of COSATU⁵⁵ and FAWU⁵⁶. From these two interviews, it emerged that COSATU had taken a strategic decision to launch a mass mobilization effort to recruit, through its affiliate FAWU, farm workers in the De Doorns and similar areas in the Western Cape. The De Doorns Interim structure had already been formed and efforts were underway to expand the number of farms under FAWU.

Towards gaining deeper understandings of the linkage between the social protests and water service delivery, arrangements were made to meet with members of the FAWU interim structure and members of BAWUSA, who were mostly drawn from among the ranks of farmworkers. The reason for this approach was that it was virtually impossible and unsafe to enter the commercial farms and conduct field research during that time. The scheduled meetings did not take place, however, due to a sudden turn of events that led to the end to the dispute and, thereafter, the urgency for both farmers and farmworkers recoup their losses of income and re-establish mutual relations. Such developments rapidly cast the De Doorns grievance issues beyond the control of the off-farm based labour unions. Consequently, the research team has had to temporarily halt forays into the field and revert instead to alternative strategies of engaging with protest issues in the De Doorns. These include strengthening synergies with PLAAS research on Women-on-Farms project, which has long-standing association with the Cape Winelands and can assist with entry into farms in and around the De Doorns (and other parts of the Western Cape).

Zwelethemba Township, Worcester

Zwelethemba is a township in the town of Worcester, located about 20 miles south of De Doorns along the N1 highway towards Cape Town. The study has yet to embark, through primary and secondary research, on a detailed characterization of this township. From preliminary field observations, Zwelethemba seems to be a predominantly working class residential area, with evidence of a diverse group of languages and identities. The researchers deliberately refrain from labelling the township a 'black' neighbourhood, partly because the imposition of terminology such as this is subject to contestation in the Western Cape. The draft characterization presented in this section draws mainly from a web article pertaining to the town of Worcester as a whole⁵⁷. Further research will cross-reference and substantiate the account presented herein.

⁵⁵ Interview with Mike Louw of COSATU, held on 23 January 2013.

⁵⁶ Interview with Jesaya Louw, FAWU Organizer, on 23 January 2013.

⁵⁷ Western Cape Info, n.d. Available: <http://www.western-capeinfo.com/towns/view/Worcester>. [Accessed: 4 February 2013].

Worcester is a town in the Western Cape, South Africa. It is located 120 km north-east of Cape Town on the N1 highway north to Johannesburg. Being the largest town in the Western Cape's interior region, it serves as the administrative capital of the Breede Valley Local Municipality and as regional headquarters for most central and Provincial Government Departments. The town also serves as the hub of the Western Cape's interior commercial, distribution and retail activity with a shopping mall, well developed central business district and infrastructure. Worcester originally drew its water from the Hex River. The early water distribution method was very primitive. Furthermore, the water ran in over Joubert's Mill and then flowed in open channels through the town. The first reservoir and distribution pipes were built in 1875. In 1910 a diversion and storage dam had been constructed in Fairy Glen, followed by the completion of a filtration and chlorination plant in 1936. By 1945 Worcester started planning to build a proper water impounding scheme. Construction of the Stettynskloof Dam started in 1952 and it was completed in 1955.

After completion of the town's sewerage scheme in 1934, considerable development took place in the Worcester Municipal area. The sewerage purification works was completed in 1962, with an estimated life span of 30 years. The Breede Valley Municipality is responsible for the service delivery in Worcester”.

In November 2012, the South African Human Rights Commission held a public hearing on water and sanitation in Worcester's Zwelethemba Township. Among people from various parts of the Western Cape Province, residents of Zwelethemba Township and the neighbourhood towns of Rawsonville, Montague and De Doorns attended the hearing. From a number of grievances that were raised during the hearing, it was clear that service delivery issues – and water services included – were a major concern in Zwelethemba, other parts of Worcester as well as other towns and farms nearby.

For example, a resident of Rawsonville stated that the water situation in their community was so bad that they used the same water from a toilet flush tank to drink and to cook. This was because the pipe supplying water for drinking and cooking was the same as that feeding the sewage disposal system. Every time they collected water for drinking cooking purposes from the pipe, they were compelled to allow the possibly contaminated water run out for a few minutes or seconds, until they felt that the contaminants had been flushed out. The Rawsonville resident pleaded that this coping strategy did not dispel their apprehensions or reduce their vulnerability to water-borne and related diseases. The resident further stated

that although government officials had visited the area and seen how bad the situation was, they did not do anything about it.

Summary and Discussion

When in August 2012, violent protests by large groups of farmworkers rocked the idyllic picture-postcard image of the rural Cape Winelands area around De Doorns, this unprecedented development seemed to have irrevocably changed the organizational terrain of South African farm labour relations. These had hitherto, indeed for much of the country's centuries-old history, been characterised by workers succumbing to their employers' paternalism, human rights abuses and/or other permutations of steeply skewed power relations. Since then, debates have raged about the proverbial 'stick that broke the camel's back'. Although the protest narratives and repertoires were clearly crafted around the wage issue, this study finds that there were 21 substantive issues that were strategically muted and encapsulated in the rallying call, "R150 a day!"

Substantive protest issues included, among others, issues of poor access to water services and sanitation, for workers still based on farms, and issues of affordability of water services, for evicted farmworkers resettled in agri-villages and rural townships. According to Nosey Pieterse, the most visible and vocal activist during the protest, a particularly poignant issue was the lack of housing for farmworkers, some of who slept in horse stables and lacked secure access to water and sanitation. Moreover, farm owners were responsible for supplying the workers with basic services since they deduct money for basic service payments from the farmworkers wages. However, the farmworkers do not receive access to the basic services that they pay for; neither do they get access to the free basic electricity and water allocations that they are supposed to get at the end of the month, as many South Africans do. Pieterse asserted that the allegations that the protests are mainly about political disputes are false. The respondent further stated that it was only "now when the situation in De Doorns area was burning the politicians cared to visit the area but in the past when there were no protests they never cared to visit".

The above views are confirmed by events that unfolded during South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Western Cape provincial hearings on 'The Progressive Realization of the Human Right to Water and Sanitation', which were held in Worcester's Zwelethemba township on 26 November 2011 and attended by various key stakeholders, including NGOs, CSO, researchers and black and coloured residents of De Doorns as well as Worcester and neighbourhood towns of Rawsonville and Montague, among others. The hearings provided an institutionalized platform of engagement for aggrieved people and organizations. The

meeting end prematurely and abruptly, however, in what seemed to be an impromptu peaceful protest by African National Congress (ANC) affiliated participants against the arrival and involvement of Helen Zille, the leader of the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) party. Although this institutionalized non-violent engagement mutated into a politicization of the process, useful insights emerged regarding the water and sanitation service delivery challenges faced by commercial farm dwellers and farmworkers, irrespective of whether the latter resided on-farm or off-farm.

From the range of grievances raised during the hearing, it was clear that service delivery issues were a major concern. For example, a farm dweller from Rawsonville stated that the water situation in their community was so bad that they used the same water from a toilet flush tank to drink and to cook. This was because the pipe supplying water for drinking and cooking was the same as that feeding the sewage disposal system. Every time they collected water for drinking cooking purposes from the pipe, they were compelled to allow the possibly contaminated water run out for a few minutes or seconds, until they felt that the contaminants had been flushed out. The Rawsonville resident pleaded that this coping strategy did not dispel their apprehensions or reduce their vulnerability to water-borne and related diseases. The resident further stated that although government officials had visited the area and seen how bad the situation was, they did not do anything about it. Other issues discussed related to challenges of providing water, sanitation and related basic services to people living on private commercial farms.

For farm workers resident in dormitory towns, such as De Doorns, substantive grievance issues included affordability of water and associated social services given that these workers earned low wages. This sentiment contrasts with views expressed by some of the farmworkers evicted from commercial farms around Stellenbosch and resettled in 'agri-villages' or other informal settlements in abandoned farms. These report that their problem is not so much about in affordability of services, since their income takes these into account, but rather theirs is a challenge of learning to adjust to living outside the umbrella of long-standing paternalism by farmers. Consequently, some of the workers prioritize material and other expenditure over payment for social services, which has not been part of their culture.

What is also notable was that the De Doorns strike action is that, instead of social movement highlight, the protest was visibly driven by two different labour organizations namely, BAWUSA (whose public face became Nosey Pieterse) and COSATU-affiliated FAWU. This led to bifurcations in the farmworks' engagements with key institutional stakeholders. For example, while FAWU-led negotiation processes agreed to settle for R105, which meant that farmworkers could go back to work, BAWUSA-led farmworkers dug their heels and insisted

on R150 a day (see quotation below). While the wage negotiations proceeded, COSATU took and actively pursued a strategic decision to launch a mass mobilization effort to recruit, through its affiliate FAWU, farm workers in the De Doorns and similar areas in the Western Cape. The De Doorns Interim structure had already been formed and efforts were underway to expand the number of farms under FAWU. When consensus on the R105 daily minimum wage was reached, there was sudden turn of events. The dispute ended and farmers and farmworkers urgently sought to recoup their losses of income and re-establish mutual relations. Such developments rapidly cast the De Doorns grievance issues beyond the control of the off-farm based labour union leaders. A remaining question, however, was how the outstanding grievances over water and associated service delivery would be addressed, if at all.

The foregoing example give a small glimpse into the range of water services issues raised and indeed captures none of the dramatic events that surrounded and attended the hearings on 26 November 2012.

VERMAAKLIKHEID: HESSEQUA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY, EDEN DISTRICT

Vermaaklikheid is an isolated rural settlement located within Skoolkop farm in the Southern Cape region of the Western Cape Province. The settlement is located in Hessequa Local Municipality in the Eden District, south of the N2 highway and close to the south coast. Nearby towns include Heidelberg, Albertinia and Riversdale. Although this case has not demonstrated any evidence of social protest, in the conventional sense of the term, Vermaaklikheid exemplifies many isolated rural settlements, whose women and men continually struggle to cope with lack of or poor access to water services in the backdrops of South African society, their unheard voices effectively relegated to the 'non-protest' category.

Vermaaklikheid is surrounded by small-holdings owned by white commercial farmers, who until the mid-1990s engaged in mixed farming (livestock, grazing, dairy, vegetables, fruit and small vineyards) mainly for immediate local markets in the towns of Riversdale, Heidelberg and others. These were relatively small family farms that altogether comprised a small rural area served by a small self-sustaining village with just the most necessary amenities, such as a post-office, butchery and general dealer. Incomes from farming were supplemented with fishing and perhaps salaried work. Labour relations in the smallholdings were typically paternalistic. Entire families of workers were accommodated on the farms in exchange for an exploitative wage and access to land for grazing and planting, which was an unusual type of

labour tenancy for the Western Cape. Farmworker housing was poor and basic services did not exist.

The area became depressed as a result of the significant shifts in agriculture towards market integration into globalized agri-food systems, through mechanisms such as capital-intensive contract farming. Many of the Vermaaklikheid farmers could not comfortably make the transition into global competitiveness after protectionist measures of the South African agricultural sector were removed. A few small-scale farmers survived, and these mainly specialized in indigenous plants, livestock, niche products (e.g. honey and olives). A few others diversified into fishing, thatching, stone mining and Spanish reed harvesting for building material. In cases where land was subsequently transferred from aging farmers to the younger owners, either through inheritance or sales, it went out of agricultural production. The younger generation tended to be more educated and professional and not interested in struggling to sustain an ailing agricultural sector in the area. Instead, the younger owners saw an opportunity to shift into different forms of low maintenance land use, namely, conservation and eco-tourism. Many pockets of land were sold until almost the entire area became a sleeping holiday town, with most of the owners residing elsewhere in the province (e.g. Cape Town).

With the development of the area as a conservancy and tourist destination, large parts of the fertile land next to the Duiwenhoks River were privatised, as was access to the sea. These changes presented a dilemma to the livelihoods of members of households that continued to live in farmworker dwellings. These depended on the land for livestock grazing and foodcrop production and access to the sea for fishing. The local commercial farmers approached the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) for support to subsidise the relocation of farmworkers and farm dwellers to a piece of land, named Vermaaklikheid, which one of the farmers sold for this purpose. Workers saw an opportunity for long term tenure security and access to services they had never had. Some who left when employment dried up returned for these perceived opportunities, as well as their desire to live among relatives and in a close-knit community. This swelled the ranks of households that subsequently resettled in Vermaaklikheid. Approximately 28 families were accommodated in the new settlement on Skoolkop farm.

By the time Vermaaklikheid was established, the economy of the area had been dealt its final blow and future economic prospect seems highly unlikely. There were limited employment opportunities. Levels of poverty were high. Most of the households were dependent on state social grants, which included child support grants of R280 per qualifying child and disability and pension grants of R1300. There were very few salaried workers, and

the highest paid person among these earned R2500 per month. The contraction of job opportunities had distinct gender impacts. While both male and female workers were negatively affected, women were left with far fewer employment opportunities. Furthermore, where opportunities arose, women's wages tended to be relatively low, often ranging from R60 to R100 per day.

Owing to the prevalence of low incomes, household consumption has tended to be supplemented with subsistence gardening and non-monetary purchases of fish (i.e. payment-in-kind). Adjacent to the residential area is a 3 ha piece of land that was set aside for communal farming. The land is of poor quality and access to water is problematic. Although the water storage dam on Skoolkop farm is available for Vermaaklikheid residents' productive use, access to this water creates conflict with other small-scale farmers in the area. Sluice gates are often blocked and the meagre but essential foodcrops wilt and go to waste. Growing food in home gardens for household food security is out of the question since the majority of households cannot afford to pay for water.

Despite the foregoing labour and food security challenges, Vermaaklikheid was established as part of a "land reform programme". A Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme grant was allocated towards the construction of Vermaaklikheid settlement for the long term tenure security for farmworkers, who stood to be evicted. Negotiations were made through one of the (*absent*) home owners, who was both a member of the local conservancy and a professional architect. This person drew up the plans for resettlement homes that were more visually aesthetic than the typical matchbox RDP houses and far more in keeping with local vernacular architecture. Since the houses were built on land technically categorized as private land, the municipalities were only responsible for provision of basic services to plots, including waterless 'Enviroloo' toilets (i.e. a non-flush waterless sanitation system) for each stand and a borehole that serviced the whole community. The local municipality also offered to remove refuse and sewage waste once every week or fortnight.

After the architectural drafting of housing plans and installation of the borehole and sanitation facilities, very little of the SLAG grant was left for housing construction. Vermaaklikheid applicants had then to take over the construction of their own homes. Where this was not possible, the state provided a builder.

Presently, Vermaaklikheid homes generally consist of 2-roomed structures with an external toilet. Some of the homes that have been extended incorporate the toilets into the main residential building. Although communal water access was initially brokered such that

borehole water would be supplemented with tanker delivery of treated water on a regular basis, the municipality subsequently stepped in once again and donated a pump for the borehole, which enabled the supply of metered water to each of the households. Metered tap water is more accessible but still too expensive for the poor residents. Households often go without water until the free basic water cycle starts again or when they come by the occasional means to pay for water. Effectively, therefore, many Vermaaklikheid households are compelled to use not more than 6 000 litres of free basic water per month, irrespective of household size and domestic and livelihood water requirements and uses.

The community has grown since the resettlement. Families are maturing and expanding. Mostly these younger families end up in back yard shacks or in a developing shack area adjacent to the built up area. Vermaaklikheid is not a politically-connected community. It is isolated and invisible, and hardly reaches IDP planning processes, although it is only 30 km from Riversdal, 45 km from Heidelberg and approximately 35 km from Stilbay. Regarding future socio-economic development of Vermaaklikheid, some key respondents comment that it seems as if the hands of the state are tied as this area “should never have been built there” since no bulk service delivery is possible. Any such attempts would be impossible and too expensive. Local perceptions are that the settlement is a deepening poverty trap that will naturally expand beyond the “koppie” unless the government steps in.

Areas perceived as requiring state intervention include the privatisation of natural resources, such as indigenous plants and land adjacent to the Duiwenhoks River and the ocean, which leaves the Vermaaklikheid community deprived of possible food and livelihood resources. Other interventions relate to agricultural land that lies fallow due to absentee owners, and under-exploited opportunities for household food gardening, which are a potentially critical safety net for poor households. There are no municipality and Department of Agriculture initiatives and support for existing subsistence farmers and to develop the food production potential for the impoverished grant-reliant households. Some of the members of these households take their own initiative and invade land on the basis of their on-going paternalist relationships with absentee land owners. They use the available water resources around natural springs stemming from the river, which are more easily accessible on the under-utilized private “holiday” land. They grow vegetables like onions, potatoes, tomatoes, maize and herbs. Through such informal land and water access mechanisms, they subsequently negotiate permission after establishing food gardens and proving that they are capable of productive use of the land. Although coping strategies such as these serve to enhance the livelihoods and food security of the more enterprising members of households, their precarious nature means that vulnerability levels in Vermaaklikheid still need to be

addressed. The absence of social protests in rural communities such as this is more the reason why the issue of rights of access to water services (among other needs) should be pre-emptively addressed.

EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

The Eastern Cape Province has a total population of 6 562 053 people. Service delivery backlogs in the province, in financial terms, reportedly amount to a staggering R42bn. If target of universal access to basic services in the province is to be achieved, government will have to triple its budget allocations in the next three to four years. The backlogs relate mainly to sanitation and water (Ensor, 2012).

This section characterizes the grievances over service delivery and other issues that have emerged in the Eastern Cape. Attention is given to the small rural town of Flagstaff, whose residents have recently protested over basic service delivery; King Williams Town, whose residents face various challenges including water services but have rarely been reported to have resorted to social protests; Sterkspruit, which in 2012 was hit by a violent service delivery protest that is still continuing in 2013; and Walmer in the Nelson Mandela Bay, which was also hit by protests in 2012.

FLAGSTAFF

Flagstaff is the seat of the Ngquza Hill Local Municipality. The town is approximately 80 km south-east of Kokstad and 45 km north of Lusikisiki. It developed from a trading station established in 1877 and derives its name from the practice by the owners of hoisting a white flag on Sundays to indicate that the store was closed. According to NetsAfrica (n.d) for many years Flagstaff served as a post of the Cape Mounted Rifles.

Presently, the town depends on the Ingquza Local Municipality for basic service delivery. Furthermore, NetsAfrica (n.d) states that Ingquza Hill Local Municipality is one of seven local municipalities that fall within the jurisdiction of the OR Tambo District Municipality. Ingquza Hill is located to the north west of the OR Tambo District and was established through the amalgamation of the former Lusikisiki and Flagstaff Transitional Local Councils and the surrounding rural areas, which fell under the Transitional Representative Councils. "The seat of the Municipality is in Flagstaff and the municipal area is divided into 27 wards" (Ibid.). The Municipality is faced with enormous challenges relating to huge backlogs in infrastructure, high levels of poverty and underdevelopment. The fact that the municipality is poor demands

targeted community-focused development planning that addresses poverty and builds a firm foundation for the creation of a thriving and sustainable community.

Ingquza Hill Local Municipality comprises an area of 2 476 square kilometres and serves a population of approximately 279 795 people in total” (NetsAfrica n.d). The community is predominantly rural in nature. Employment rates are low and poverty levels high which impacts negatively on the municipality’s ability to generate income from services charges and rates. The mission of municipal is to be “a developmental, economically viable and responsive municipality where communities enjoy equitable access to services in an environmentally sustainable manner” (Ibid.). Furthermore, the municipality also seeks to facilitate sustainable development by promoting development and ensuring service delivery in a just and equitable manner focusing on infrastructural and social services through a skilled, accountable and responsive administration and council that prioritizes community needs and good governance. However, the residents of the municipality are protesting over basic service delivery. According to News 24 (2013) residents of Flagstaff took to the streets to fight for improvement in services.

KING WILLIAMS TOWN

King William's Town is part of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Council Area (Figure 57). According to the draft municipal IDP for 2012/2013, Buffalo City is the key urban centre of the eastern part of the Eastern Cape, consisting of a corridor of urban areas that stretch from the “port city” of East London to the east, through to Mdantsane and reaching Dimbaza in the west. East London is the primary node, whilst the King Williams Town (KWT) area is the secondary node. The municipality also contains a wide band of rural areas on either side of the urban corridor. The total land area of Buffalo City’s is approximately 2,515 km², with 68 km of coastline.

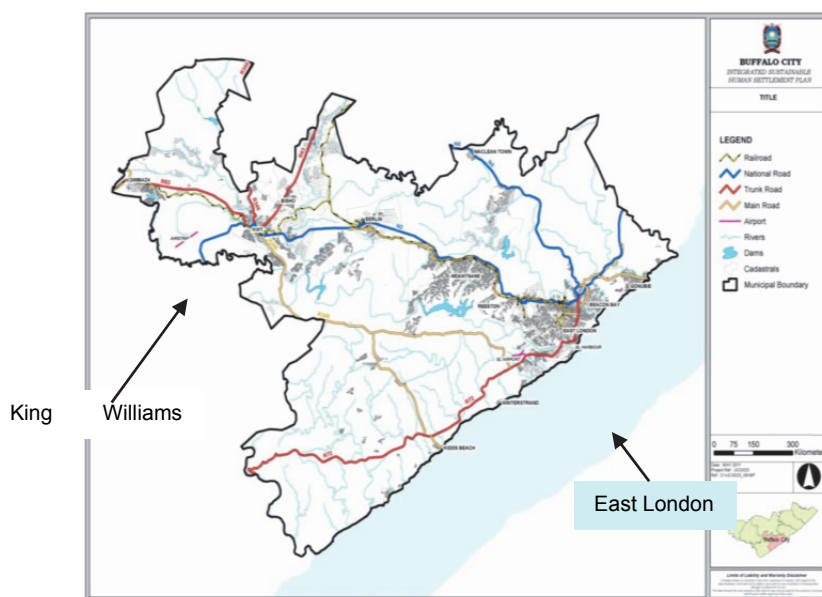


Figure 57 Location of King William's Town within Buffalo City Metropolitan Council⁵⁸

A blurb of an electronic brochure for Buffalo City Municipality⁵⁹ characterizes and outlines the history of King William's Town as follows:

King William's Town, or "King" as the town is known locally, lies at the foot of the Amatola Mountains. The town is well laid out and most of the public buildings and stores are built of stone. The economic base of the town includes manufacturing factories for sweets and jams, candles, soap, matches and leather. King William's Town was founded by Sir Benjamin d'Urban in May 1835 during the Xhosa Wars of that year. It was named after William IV, then King of the United Kingdom and Hanover from 1830 to 1837. Abandoned by the white settlers in December 1836, King William's Town was reoccupied in 1846 and became the capital of an area derogatorily known as "British Kaffraria."

According to the municipal IDP, Buffalo City is broadly characterised by three main identifiable land use patterns. Firstly, there is the dominant urban axis of East London, Mdantsane, King William's Town and Dimbaza. This axis dominates the industrial and service sector centres and attracts people from throughout the greater Amathole region in search of work and better access to urban service and facilities. Secondly, there is the area comprising the peri-urban and rural settlement fringe areas, which falls within the sphere of influence of the urban axis but has distinctly different character and land use patterns. These fringe areas include the Newlands settlements, those settlements that previously fell within

⁵⁸ Buffalo City Draft IDP, 2012/2013.

⁵⁹ http://www.southafricaholiday.org.uk/places/c_ec_buffalocity.htm [18 February 2013]

the former Ciskei Bantustans, and the Ncera settlements located west of East London. The land use region consists of commercial farming areas, which dominate the north-eastern and south-western (coastal) sections of the municipality. Agricultural land uses range from extensive to intensive irrigation-based farming. The examination of the case of King William's Town necessarily has to take into account the geographic, socio-economic and cultural inter-relationships within the diverse landscape of the broader municipality.

DWAF (2012) estimates show that perspectives on the total population of the municipality vary from 700 777 people or 204 718 households (2001 census projections) to 841 369 people or 230 976 households (GEOdatabase Reference Framework). The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality is responsible for rendering services in the Town and some of the surrounding areas. Considering only the infrastructure-related services, the metropolitan municipality is responsible for water, sanitation, solid waste management, roads and storm water drainage. Eskom is responsible for the supply of electricity in King William's Town.

Levels of service within the town vary considerably. Timm et al. (1998) states that, within the old boundaries of Alice and King William's Town, residents enjoy high levels of access to water and electricity supply, waterborne sanitation, weekly kerbside solid waste collection, paved roads and a piped storm water system. By contrast, the previously rural areas, which have been integrated into the local councils, and certain informal settlements, have minimal service levels. These have a few communal standpipes for water supply and poorly maintained earth roads. Moreover, Timm et al. (Ibid.) states that in the former R293 townships the service levels are barely adequate. Although waterborne sanitation and a metered water supply have been provided, the meters are in a state of disrepair and are no longer being read. The road network is generally unsatisfactory, with the exception of old King William's Town and Bisho.

Statistics show that in the 18 years from 1994 to April 2012, the total number of people who have been served with water in Buffalo City is 272 856 people or 79 678 households (DWA 2012). The water backlog is 231 people or 61 households, which is relatively low (0.03%). The estimated household population with no access to any form of formal water infrastructure in Buffalo City is 44, which is very low. There seem to be higher backlogs in access to sanitation services.

For purposes of site selection for this study, one possibility is the foregoing statistical records, as well as the fact that there have not been any services-related protests reported in the King William's Town area, might both indicate that this town presents a case of 'success'. Such possibility raises the question why researchers have selected this case,

when the prevalence of increasingly violent protests in many other localities places an urgent demand and prerogative upon the study to direct the limited financial resources towards ‘crisis’ rather than success scenarios. However, the purposive selection of this specific case hinges upon the findings elsewhere (e.g. in Khayelitsha, Ficksburg and Parys) that official figures can under-represent the magnitude of the problem of poor access to water services. Consequently, the case of King William’s Town falls into the category of ‘pre-emptive’ verificative research to determine:

- Whether or not the officially reported achievements in water service delivery appropriately capture the reality on the ground;
- Whether or not there have been any protests in the more recent past, which are not captured by media; and
- How the population of residents who lack secure access to water services, which includes – at least – the 44 households formally reported to have no access to any form of formal water infrastructure (DWA, 2012), cope with day-to-day challenges of accessing water; and
- How the municipality and other stakeholders have responded to the needs of households who remain without secure access to water services.

STERKSPRUIT (HERSCHEL)

Sterkspruit (otherwise known as Herschel) is a small rural town with a population of approximately 2 000 (Social Change Assistance Trust (SCAT), n.d). The town is located in the Drakensberg Mountains, some 24 km from the south-eastern border with Lesotho. Administratively, the town is situated within the Senqu Local Municipality within Joe Gqabi District Municipality (formerly known as Ukhahlamba) in the Eastern Cape Province. Senqu is one of four local municipalities in the district. It is also a Schedule B local authority, which means that the district municipality is the water services authority (WSA).

In October 2012, several media reports (e.g. SABC News, 2012) carried the news that Sterkspruit residents had staged a violent social protest in which they burnt a health clinic and a local school. They also burnt tyres in the dusty streets, and entry into and exit out of the area was virtually impossible as motorists were warned to turn back. Residents demanded clean drinking water supply and improved roads, among other demands. They also demanded their own municipality and expressed their desire to get out of Joe Gqabi District Municipality, under which they currently fall. The SABC News (2012) reported that that was not the first time residents of towns under Joe Gqabi municipality made headlines due to protests relating to water shortage issues. In 2008, scores of infants had died allegedly from drinking contaminated water, sparking off protest action. Although media

reports indicate that the protests in Sterkspruit are linked to water service delivery issues, there is a need for empirical research to develop deeper understandings of this linkage and, in particular, to determine whether there is any link between the earlier (e.g. 2008) and more recent (2012) protests. Firstly, though, it is necessary to gain some preliminary insights on the characteristics of the broader protest environment around Sterkspruit.

About 138 704 people live in the Senqu Local Municipality, out of a total of 329 673 for the whole of the Joe Gqabi District. The local area therefore accommodates the bulk (42.07%) of the district population. Of the total Senqu Local Municipality population, the majority (54%) is female. The National Census 2001 shows that the local municipality has a 'young' population, in which over 73% is aged between 0 and 34 years. More than half (53%) of this group consists of dependent children aged from 0 to 14 years.

A critical feature of the Senqu Local Municipality is that less than 13% of the population is formally employed and 18% is actively seeking employment⁶⁰. A proportion (17%) of households earns nothing (i.e. they are unable to report a constant source of income), while the majority (approximately 83%) earns less than R 1 000 per month, which is below the Household Subsistence level for the Province (+R1500 per month). The main sources of employment remain the social and community services sector (38%) and the agricultural sector (28%), which is growing. Less than 3% of the population is formally employed and 17% is listed as having no income. According to a locally-based NGO called Social Change Assistance Trust (SCAT), a small proportion (15%) participates in self-help projects. A proportion (13%) is dependent on social grants, which include old age pensions, child support grants, disability grants and HIV/AIDS grants. The Herschel Advice Office states that the unemployment rate is the main reason why most children are denied further studies. NGO findings are that only 1 in 12 learners' parents manage to support their child for further education after Grade 12.

With regard to water (and sanitation) services, there seem to be problems regarding delivery by the Joe Gqabi District Municipality. SCAT describes Sterkspruit as "a rural village where no clean water, sewage and sanitation are available". SCAT further states that the whole area does not have these facilities, and the ward councillor has had to negotiate with the local municipality for pit toilets and taps for the communities. Due to budget constraints, however, the proposal has not yet been approved at the time of writing this. The possible health risks of poor access to water and sanitation services are perhaps better appreciated in light of the fact that none of the 6 clinics in Senqu Local Municipality are anti-retroviral drug

⁶⁰ <http://www.sengumunicipality.co.za/AboutUs.asp> [18 February 2013]

accredited sites. Only the 2 hospitals have accreditation rights, and these are far from where there is the greatest need.

It is therefore in the context of perceived vulnerability that residents of Sterkspruit have engaged in social protests. There is a plausible need for in-depth research to develop clearer understandings of the water service delivery problem, from the gendered perspectives of affected households as well as other key stakeholders within the local governance framework. In particular, empirical research needs to interrogate the governing relationships between institutional actors in the governance system and the 'systems-to-be-governed'.

WALMER TOWNSHIP, NELSON MANDELA BAY (PORT ELIZABETH)

Walmer Township is the oldest township in Port Elizabeth. It is located adjacent to the Port Elizabeth International Airport. Lutshaba (2011:9) states that the area has approximately 1000 households. While formal statistical records show that there are approximately 4 to 5 people per household, the councillor argues that there are approximately 8 to 10 people per household (Ibid.) The latter estimate suggests an approximate population of between 7000 and 9000 people. A municipality report (2010) states unemployment is fairly high (24%). However, this figure is widely considered to be a gross under-estimate. Although some of the new projections are that the unemployment rate could be between 40% and 50%, Lutshaba (2011:19) argues that since observations indicate that approximately 10% of the labour force is formally employed, the rate of unemployment could be as high as 80% to 90%".

Housing in the area is informal, and houses are basically shacks. There are no formal RDP houses in Walmer Township. The municipality intends to move residents to a different place, for environmental reasons (Ibid.). Infrastructure is also limited. "The Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality is responsible for delivering services in Walmer. Service delivery including lack of water services is a challenge in the area many residents live without basics such as running water. The low levels of social development in the township date back to the apartheid era, when Walmer Township had no high school to service its growing population. During the course of the year 2012, township residents have embarked on a series of protest actions relating to social services.

In May 2012, the residents staged a violent protest, where crowds of up to 5 000 people gathered to protest against poor service delivery, the lack of basic services such as water, electricity and housing. They disrupted traffic and forced a number of local businesses to

close. Two police officers were injured, a security guard was attacked and beaten, and the business premises the guard was protecting in Victoria Drive were torched. The violent protest was eventually quelled by the ANC regional executive chair, Nceba Faku, who made promises that their grievances would be addressed⁶¹. In the first week of July 2012 the residents of Walmer again protested demanding houses, electricity and sanitation from the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (Mkentane, 2012). This protest seemed to be a continuation of the violent protests that earlier broke out at the end of May. The reason for the continuation of the protest, according to one media report⁶², was that local government actors had promised residents of Walmer Township that they would be given electricity, running water and other basic services, since they basically lived in “third world conditions”, but there had been no follow-up or feedback on those promises.

At the end of October 2012, scores of Walmer township residents in Port Elizabeth protested yet again against poor service delivery. Residents also accused the metro of failing to fulfil its promises of building them RDP houses and improving road infrastructure in their township. The protest disrupted morning traffic and delayed thousands of commuters reporting for work.

The justification for selecting this case study is therefore based on several factors. Firstly, the frequency of successive protest events within the span of a single year in one relatively small township. Secondly, there is the mobilization and organizational role social media, platforms and networks. Thirdly, this case demonstrates interesting traits in the engagements and/or governing relationships between protesters, water governance institutions, institutional actors and other key stakeholders. Fourthly, the age of both the settlement and grievance issues, which date back to the apartheid era, potentially provides useful insights into the trajectory of protest action over a prolonged time scale and changing milieu.

GAUTENG PROVINCE

This section presents characterizations of four case studies in Gauteng Province. These are Alexandra Township, Tembisa Township, Orange Farm and Kya Sands. All three case study sites fall under the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Site selection was based

⁶¹ <http://www.metronewspaper.co.za/2012/07/02/walmer-protests-flare-up-again/>

⁶² <http://observers.france24.com/content/20120705-south-africa-community-struggles-bring-electricity-running-water-walmer-township-port-elizabeth-service-protest>

on findings from the Events Catalogue for Gauteng Province, consultations with individuals in selected key stakeholder institutions⁶³ and literature review.

ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP, JOHANNESBURG

Alexandra (or “Alex” in short) carries many of the deep scars of Apartheid. The township was established in 1905 (Kotze & Mathola, 2012) and is Gauteng’s oldest township. It is situated about 12 km north-east of central Johannesburg. The township is bordered by commercial and industrial zones to the north. As far as townships go in South Africa, Alex is somewhat an anomaly. The township lies next to some of the wealthiest areas of Johannesburg, making the severe poverty and deprivation in the township a stark contrast particularly to the wealth of Sandton just 3 km away. Also in the region are the old suburbs of Houghton Estate, Oaklands and Norwood, which are dotted with impressive old mansions. Many of these were built by wealthy white people who made their fortunes on the gold mines but who wanted to get away from the hustle and bustle of the inner city. The vast region around Alexandra, however, is home to a mix of highly paid professionals, middle income workers and lower paid labourers⁶⁴. Despite having a history that is characterized by rampant anti-apartheid protests, it is remarkable that post-1994 Alexandra has had relatively few violent service delivery protests compared to many similar contexts across South Africa. For this reason, this case study will possibly shed useful insights for the project.

While many townships in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council are huge and located far from urban centres, Alex is just over 800 hectares, or 1 square mile, or 7.6 square kilometers and is very well located being close to the centre of Johannesburg and near to main travelling routes. In this 1 square mile area live about 320 000-40 000 people and 70% of this population is estimated to be below 35 years of age (Wilson, 2012a).

Named after the wife of the owner of the original farm, the non-white township was proclaimed in the mid-1910s, with its approximately 2 300 stands being sold to blacks and coloureds. Presently, the township is a densely-settled residential area, and comprises 8 500 formal houses, 3 400 shacks, three hostels, 25 000 flats and a number of old factories (Kotze & Mathola, 2012)⁶⁵. The residential area of Alexandra can be divided into four sections, each with its own housing and socio-economic characteristics:

⁶³ Including scholars at the University of Johannesburg (under Prof. Peter Alexander) and practitioners affiliated to SERI-SA (i.e. Jackie Dugard and Kate Tissington).

⁶⁴ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=177#ixzz2KIFdoL9P (8th February, 2013)

⁶⁵ Wilson’s data about shacks suggests a bigger number than 3,500 shacks. He estimates the number of shacks about 20,000.

- Tswe'tla and Old Alexandra, the poorest and most densely-populated area, comprising mainly of shacks and dilapidated hostels;
- The East Bank, redeveloped in the 1980s and accommodating five percent of the population (middle class);
- Tsutsumani (initially called the Far East Bank), redeveloped to support the All-African Games; and
- River Park, accommodating a middle-income community where the unemployment rate is lower than the township's average of 60 % (Kotze & Mathola, 2012).

As in the case of many other townships in South Africa, and also of other informal settlements of the world, Alexandra has high unemployment and crime rates, as well as a service backlog. The recent estimations indicate an unemployment rate (narrow definition) of 16.7% with approximately 60.0% of households earning less than R18 000 per annum and an average monthly income of R1 029. The major part of disposable income is spent on food, clothes, rent, and accounts (Wilson, 2012a).

The employment status of women is worse than that of men. Many (40%) of the women are unemployed compared to 19% of men. For those who are employed, most work in low-skilled or semi-skilled jobs. When compared to national averages, the people of Alex tend to have a higher level of literacy, which is very similar to the rest of Gauteng. However, very few people living in Alex have studied beyond secondary school levels. It is also important to note that within secondary schools, there is a high loss of learners from grade 9 to grade 12 (final high school level). For example, a high school in Alex at present has 321 grade 9 learners (7 classes) and only 72 grade 12 learners (3 classes). The reasons for the loss of learners at the higher level are complex and a detailed explanation would require further research. Some learners are likely to simply drop out of school while others leave Alex for schooling elsewhere. According to the deputy principal of a local high school, many learners leave in order to begin with vocational training at technical colleges as this is seen as more likely to qualify them for jobs (Wilson, 2012a).

Due to increasing urbanisation, Alexandra, like other townships, has experienced rapid immigration of people in search of economic opportunities. This has resulted in exacerbated over-crowding. The deterioration of conditions can be traced to the history of the township, wherein municipalities of Johannesburg and Sandton historically refused involvement in what was then a designated black area. As a result, the township suffered years of neglect and lack of investment, resulting in the progressive decline of living conditions. With the

abolishment of influx controls in 1986, overcrowding increased further. The 7,352 existing shacks increased to an estimated 20,000. Alex can be considered to be an established township, with more than half (approximately 54%) of residents having lived in the township for at least ten years, despite a constant in- and out-flow of people. Alexandra is a diverse township, with people speaking many different languages, including (ranked from most common) isiZulu, Sepedi, Setswana, isiXhosa, Xitsonga, Sesotho, and Tshivenda (Wilson, 2012a).

Alexandra has been afflicted with suffocating dirt, flowing sewerage and shacks built in hazardous locations (e.g. on riverbanks and in graveyards). There are also problems of air and water pollution, which make the living environment harsh. Most of the households consist of 10 people sharing a single room. The high population densities put strain on the infrastructure to the extent that the water pressure drops and sewers are frequently blocked, resulting in sewage overflows. These problems, as well as the dumping of waste in the river, create a stench and frequently lead to outbreaks of disease in the area.

In addition to the issues described above, Alex has been through decades of political upheaval. During the years of apartheid, Alex was often the site of anti-apartheid political struggle and especially the youth movements against apartheid. In 1943 Nelson Mandela who at the time lived in Alexandra took part in the Alexandra Bus Boycott, a peaceful protest which had a great effect on Mandela due to the effectiveness of the action. Not all political protest was peaceful, especially from the mid-1960s to 1980s, and in addition to the violence of apartheid and opposition to the system, residents also lived through hostel violence and political violence after 1994. As such, the people of Alexandra have known a history of poverty, poor living conditions and violence (Wilson, 2012a).

The need to address situations such as outlined above has prompted the South African government to design and implement the Urban Renewal Project (URP) countrywide. In the case of Alexandra, the Urban Renewal Project includes about 200 projects; some are related to environmental and human skills development and others are dedicated to the upgrading of housing and services within the township. The Alexandra Renewal Project is designed to uplift the area and undo the legacy of racial inequality. In the past decade R1.9 billion has been spent by the Alexandra Urban renewal project. The number of housing units constructed is estimated at 14,500, and three hostels have been remodeled to accommodate families. Electricity, water and sewage upgrades have also been carried out, supplying 70,000 households with reliable services. Parkland with walkways has been developed along the Jukskei River and bridges have been built across the river. All roads in Alexandra have been tarred and several widened (Kotze & Mathola, 2012).

However, Kotze & Mathola (Ibid.) observe that people attitudes towards the URP reveal a high level of dissatisfaction. Such dissatisfaction is mainly about provision of services, such as water supply, electricity, recreational facilities, health services as well as housing within the residential area (Table 20).

Table 20 Satisfaction Levels on Housing and Services Delivery in Alexandra⁶⁶

Variable	Satisfied (%)	Neutral (%)	Dissatisfied (%)
Housing	28.3	0	71.8
Sanitation	46.8	5	48.2
Water supply	51.8	1.8	46.5
Electricity	26.8	3.3	69.8
Health facilities	28.2	6.8	65
Education facilities	35	23.3	41.7
Recreational facilities	21.6	25	53.3

TEMBISA TOWNSHIP, EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY⁶⁷

The existence of Tembisa Township can be traced back to the locations established in the pre-1950s to accommodate the ever-increasing number of black people who were migrating from the rural areas to the Witwatersrand (Rand) in search of employment. There are various factors that caused black people to drift to the urban areas, the main amongst these being the insufficient land allocated to black South Africans. The Land Act of 1913 allowed blacks to own about seven per cent of the land, and while the 1936 Land Act increased this to 13%, most (87%) of the land remained in the control of white South Africans. The severe droughts which began after 1927 and worsened between 1932 and 1934 also contributed to the rapid influx of blacks in the urban areas, particularly the Rand. Some of these migrants settled in places like Dindela, Tikkieline, Phelindaba, and Modderfontein locations.

Tembisa (derived from Thembisa, an isiZulu word meaning ‘to promise’ or ‘to give hope’), is a large township situated to the north of Kempton Park on the East Rand in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng. Purported to be the one of the largest townships in the

⁶⁶ Source: Kotze & Mathola (2012)

⁶⁷ This section draws mainly in http://www.saha.org.za/tembisa/post_1990.htm (8th February, 2013).

Southern hemisphere, Tembisa has had its fair share of political turmoil, particularly in the early 1990s, as violence erupted in the lead up to the first democratic elections but little has been recorded about its history, particularly when compared with Soweto, the other large township in the Gauteng province. Like many black South Africans, their 'road to democracy' was long and difficult. But while the history of Tembisa in some ways reflects the broader struggle for liberation in South Africa, it arguably is unique in the role its residents played in the struggle for liberation.

During the repressive era, the township had one of the strongest and most influential groups of Black Consciousness proponents, who helped to revive and shape politics in the township in the 1970s. This was largely due to the political influence introduced by those removed from Alexandra Township to Tembisa, as was demonstrated when secondary school students took to the streets in solidarity with their counterparts in Soweto a day after the student uprising erupted in Soweto.

Further evidence of the township's singularity is exemplified by events following the emergence of competing political ideologies namely, the 'inclusive politics' of the African National Congress (ANC) and 'exclusive politics' of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Despite such bifurcation, the political momentum of the residents' fight against the government-created structures like the councils was not disrupted. Instead, the residents of the township fought side-by-side to accomplish their demands. In the mid-1980s their relentless struggles forced the township's council to collapse. The residents, through the Tembisa Residents Association, then took over the running of the township, fighting criminals and restoring law and order in the township. Despite the initial reluctance by women, particularly older women, to participate in the struggle for liberation, the township was able to form one the strongest and active women's organization. This organization took up local civic grievances and opposed the council. But most importantly, this organization helped to politicize some of the conservative women in the township to join the struggle.

While the history of anti-apartheid protests in Tembisa is linked to that of Alexandra, there seem to be differences in the degree to which residents of both townships have used the medium of protest to engage with post-1994 authorities. Tembisa residents have been more actively engaged in protests over various grievances, including service delivery. An example of the more recent protests took place on 25 July 2012, when several protesters used burning tyres to barricade Chloorkop Road in the Klipfontein section of Tembisa⁶⁸. The

⁶⁸ <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/tembisa-road-cleared-after-protest-1.1349363#.USNFAaVvD98>

residents' unhappy with service delivery in general, but protest action was triggered by complaints about interruptions to the electricity supply for the preceding two days. The protest was dispersed by the police, and no injuries were reported and no arrests were made. The case of Tembisa therefore provides useful contrast with the case of Alexandra, and examined together, these cases might shed light on the nuanced factors that influence decisions to protest or not to protest.

ORANGE FARM, JOHANNESBURG

In February 2010, approximately 1 500 residents of Orange Farm barricaded the Golden Highway in protest against poor service delivery. The expressed their frustration about being sidelined during development programmes and being ignored when they raised their concerns about poor housing construction and other basic amenities⁶⁹. A member of the Water Crisis Committee stated that residents were tired of being told every time to give government a chance and being told every time “they” changed the President to give him a chance. This protest is one among several that have made Orange Farm a ‘hot spot’ (according to Municipal IQ, 2012) in the Zuma era.

The official website of the City of Johannesburg describes Orange Farm as having many distinctions, some which are dubious⁷⁰. It is the biggest and most populous informal settlement in the country and is located some 60 km in the far south of Johannesburg. The settlement is home to some 350 000 people, who mostly live in shacks, are mostly unskilled and eke a living without visible means of subsistence. The settlement also has the highest number of gravel roads in the country. Surprisingly, Orange Farm also has one of the highest matric pass rates in the country. Over the past few years, the settlement has been a target for huge amounts of developmental funding and its inhabitants are among the most civic minded in the land. According to the report, the residents of Orange Farm “take pride in their environment and endowed with a strong sense of place and social bonding plus a strong will to survive”. The roads in the settlement are treacherous, full of potholes and difficult to navigate, even in winter. Only a few arterial roads are tarred.

Historically, the first inhabitants of Orange Farm arrived in 1988 from Wielers Farm, which was a farm producing maize and cattle, which belonged to the Wieler brothers of the Grasmere area. The original Orange Farm residents were settled in the area by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), which had expropriated the land from local farmers for township development purposes. From then onwards, the relative ease with

⁶⁹ <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/1-500-protest-in-Orange-Farm-20100222>

⁷⁰ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=932&Itemid=52

which land was available in the settlement attracted many homeless people from as far afield as Mshenguville in Soweto, Meyerton, Evaton and even parts of the Free State. Most of the new arrivals were farm workers who had been laid off, while others had been staying in back rooms and needed a piece of land on which to settle. The municipal website article concludes:

“Uneducated and unskilled, many of the settlers of this ‘shackland’ remain unemployed and often unemployable in the formal sector, but still manage to survive – somehow. To make ends meet, they engage in many informal activities.”

KYA SANDS INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, JOHANNESBURG⁷¹

According to the City of Johannesburg's informal settlement data, Kya Sands Informal settlement was first established in 1998. Informal houses were initially set up there by sub-contractors working at the adjacent Randburg Landfill site and the Kya Sand and Hoogland industrial areas. Kya Sands Informal Settlement gets its name from the adjacent industrial area, Kya Sands. Other popular names for the settlement include Dumping and Kya Centre. The settlement is also referred to as Kya Sands, Phomolong and Kya Junction by some residents.

Kya Sands is located approximately 15 km north-west of the Sandton CBD and about 3 km directly north of the intersection of Malibongwe Drive and Witkoppen Road (Figure 58). The settlement can be accessed through Agnes Avenue, Bloubosrand or Kya Sands Road. Kya Sands lies on both sides of the North Riding Stream (or Kya Sands Spruit, depending on the source). It is closely bordered by the Kya Sands industrial area to the west, the Bloubosrand residential suburb to the east, the Hoogland industrial area to the south (separated by the old Randburg landfill site) and mostly small holdings to the north.

Because of their informal and ever changing nature, enumerations of informal settlements are generally not easy to accurately conduct and quickly go out of date. This seems to be the case in Kya Sands, which has different sources giving differing reports on the number of people and households in the settlement. Known data sources include the City of Johannesburg (2007a); Professional Mobile Mapping (PMM) (2009), which is a survey company commissioned by the City of Johannesburg; Growth Indicator Data from Geo Terralimage (GTI) (2010); fieldwork and other research conducted by PLAAS researchers. While the sources mentioned above give fairly reliable indications of the demographics of

⁷¹ This section draws mainly in http://sainformalsettlement.com/index.php?title=Kya_Sands_Informal_Settlement
Accessed on 11/02/2013.

Kya Sands, they have possible limitations or inaccuracies. This shows that while there is some idea as to what the makeup of the settlement is, it certainly can be debated.

Kya Sands occupies both private and government-owned land, and is spread across 6 different farms and agricultural holdings. The privately owned sections of the settlement lie on the western side of the stream. The commonage land owned by the City of Johannesburg includes sections immediately adjacent to the stream and the property containing the old Randburg Landfill site (Houtkoppen 193-IQ ptn. 46). Portion 51 of the same farm (Houtkoppen 193-IQ), on which a large portion of the settlement lies, is state land owned by the South African National Government and administered by the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG).

Different sections of Kya Sands have different names. The settlement is broken down firstly into Sections A to D. These were defined by government and are used in counting and numbering houses and toilets in the settlement. Other names include Pipeline, which is the whole section of the settlement east of the river, and Madala Side, which is the northern part of Pipeline. While these sections are indicated in Figure 19, the exact boundaries are not included, as this level of detail is unclear. Pipeline got its name from a piping company that used to use the area for storing its pipes. It is thought that the name Madala Side, meaning “old side” in isiZulu, refers to a section of the settlement that was relocated between 2006 and 2007. Residents were relocated from a secluded section of the settlement south of section B, to Pipeline, and the name Madala Side relocated with them.

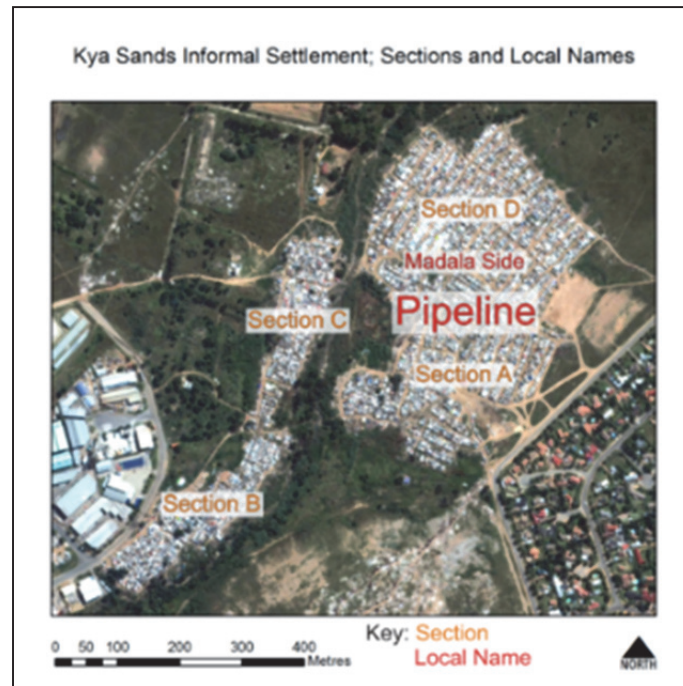


Figure 58 Kya Sands Informal Settlement: Sections and Local Names⁷²

According to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan council, basic water and sanitation infrastructure delivered by 2007 included the installation of 120 chemical toilets as well as 48 communal standpipes (Figure 59) and 12 stationary water tanks providing potable water.



Figure 59 A Typical "Standpipe Unit" in Kya Sands Informal Settlement⁷³

Field evidence⁷⁴ shows that, if water tanks were delivered, they are no longer in place. It can be assumed that the water tanks may have been used while installing standpipes. Communal standpipes are in place and functioning, but the officially recorded number of 48 was said to be much higher than those actually installed. This discrepancy could be due to

⁷² <http://sainformalsettlement.com/index.php?title=File:Standpipe.jpg>

⁷³ <http://sainformalsettlement.com/index.php?title=File:Standpipe.jpg>

⁷⁴ Research by UWC student, Rolly Ngandu.

each tap per standpipe-unit being counted as one. Each 'standpipe unit' has 6 taps on it, and Ekurhuleni may be referring to 8 such systems, which make up 48 taps in total.

While the installed taps have been working well, there is no drainage system in place. Because of this, many of the roads downhill from the taps are eroded. The small gulleys cut into the roads seem to also channel storm water further exacerbating the problem.

Regarding toilets, it is easily conceivable that 120 were installed, and probably more. There are two types of toilets, plastic bucket toilets (commonly known as 'portaloos') and concrete Ventilated Improved Pit Latrines (VIPs) made by the South African Company Amalooloo. These are spread across the settlement in different configurations, from communal to semi-communal to private toilets. While Sections B and C only have communal plastic chemical toilets, Pipeline has a mixture of communal chemical toilets and private and semi-private VIPs. Communal toilets are used by many people and families, semi-private ones are used by a group of families whose houses are near to a single VIP, and private VIPs are when each stand has its own VIP (although there are sometimes more than one household per stand). The last category only exists on stands demarcated by the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan council, to which people were relocated in 2007. Johannesburg Water, which is the water utilities company providing water to Ekurhuleni and other municipalities, also runs at least two vacuum trucks also known as "honey suckers", which periodically empty the toilets in the settlement. This was reported, for example, by Respondent 7 (2012) who said: "...with these toilets, they come maybe every month, like yesterday, they were here cleaning."

Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality further reported that Pikitup, the city's refuse removal and waste management company, removed some 65 tons of dumped refuse and rubble from the settlement. It was also reported that the company hired 10 full time and 10 casual workers from the community to collect refuse in the community and deliver it in refuse bags to central points for daily collection by Pikitup. While the removal of rubble cannot be confirmed, Pikitup certainly continues to collect refuse from Kya Sands. Black plastic bags are provided to residents, and trucks conduct regular rounds collecting rubbish. It is also confirmed that residents of Kya Sands are hired by Pikitup to help collect rubbish bags and litter during these rounds, and load them into trucks.

The final basic service delivered is a network of Apollo lights scattered around the settlement. Besides these lights and the odd generator and car battery, there is no other electricity supply in the settlement. The lights are also reported by some residents to be poorly maintained.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCE

ROOIGROND: “WATER FOR XMAS”

Rooigrond is a settlement located about 18 km away from the town of Mahikeng⁷⁵ in the North West Province. Rooigrond sits on the Lichtenburg road. A *City Press* (2012) report states that there are about 500 households in Rooigrond. Administratively, the community falls under Mahikeng Local Municipality in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality. Since Mahikeng is a Schedule B municipality, the district municipality is responsible for water service delivery in Rooigrond. However, the district has been experiencing problems with service delivery. A *Sunday Times* (2012) article entitled ‘Thousands exposed to unsafe tap water’ reported that one of the problems in Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality is the quality of water. There is therefore an urgent need for further studies on the extent of water quality problems and other water service delivery issues in this district⁷⁶.

Further justification for selecting this case is that, despite that most of Rooigrond residents cannot read, write and speak English, albeit they are skilled farmers, the case study provides a particularly interesting example of how, through the agency of some among innovative local residents, social media and networks were effectively used to mobilize and organize the local community to pressurize water services authorities and government to respond to a long-standing grievance over poor water service delivery. Rooigrond gives a good contrast with many other cases across South Africa, in which affected communities either rely on coping strategies or resort to protest action.

Historically, Rooigrond was established in the late 1840s on farmland owned the first white farmer in the area, Mr Gerald du Toit. The farm was later passed to his neighbour. Many people were attracted to this area because of its good soil and an abundance of water. Over time the farm was sub-divided (Ngaka Modiri Molema District, 2013). Many of the residents settled in this piece of land in 1993 after they were fired by white farmers, which was just before the end of apartheid. The South African government allowed them to settle on a portion of land across the well-known Rooigrond Prison. However, in 2006 the district municipality changed this decision and ordered the community to be resettled. That led to the beginning of a fight that was aired on social networks and international news sites. According to Tsietsi Mothupi, the chairperson of the Rooigrond Residents’ Committee, the

⁷⁵ Also known as Mafikeng.

⁷⁶ Scholars such as Tapela (2012) and Tempelhoff (2008) have previously conducted studies on water service delivery issues in Sannieshof, which is also located in Ngaka Modiri Molema District but under Tswaing Local Municipality.

municipality tried to force residents to relocate by cut off the services that it had hitherto provided to the settlement (City Press, 2012).

It is important to note that by then half of village was already electrified and that municipality trucks were used to deliver water to Rooigrond. Furthermore, a multi-million project had been approved and a contractor had already been appointed. All that stopped when the community refused to relocate. Chief among the basic things the community requested to government departments was the provision of water, restoration of services such as mobile health clinics and allowing ambulances and other disaster management services access to the settlement (City Press, 2012).

The City Press (2012) further reports that Ms Koketso Moeti, a 25 year old community activist, began raising awareness about the community's problems on social networking forums in 2009. Through such activism, Rooigrond residents started a community mobilization initiative called 'Operation Rooigrond', which was a response to the numerous problems their community faced. Residents relied on social media to launch a campaign which was popularly named 'Water for Xmas', and successfully obtained a response from the municipality.

An examination of the profile of Ngaka Modiri Molema Municipality shows that it is predominantly a rural region composed of five local municipalities. Mining and agriculture are the district's economic backbone, which makes water a very useful resource in the area. Generally, there is a low level of skills and education. As such, many of the economically active labour force find work in low-paying menial jobs. It is reported that there are high levels of unemployment in the area.

Within the district "basic service provision is unequally distributed between the urban and rural parts of the district" (The Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality Profile, n.d.). It is worth noting that Ngaka Modiri Molema District has the lowest access to social services infrastructure in the North West Province. In 1996, access to infrastructure was relatively low (19%). It rose slightly to 23% in 2009. The 15-year period from 1996 to 2009 saw household access to infrastructure in this municipality fall way below the national average. The biggest infrastructure achievement in this area has been the increase in electricity connections. By contrast, water infrastructure statistics are unimpressive. For instance, the number of households with access to piped water above RDP level fell slightly between 1996 and 2009. In 1996 the figure stood at 62% but fell to 61% in 2009 (The Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality Profile, n.d.). The number of people with access to water below RDP level significantly fell from 284 379 in 2001 to 62 917 in 2012 (DWAF, 2012).

Further to the problems of access to and delivery of water services, the 'State of Local Government Assessment' report found that Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality had little regard for the law and policies that govern local government practice. The district council also did not give proper priority to the provision of services. Furthermore, even where services were delivered, the technical unit was too incompetent to perform their responsibilities. As if that was not enough, the report concluded that the district "does not provide sufficient support to its local municipalities on water, sanitation and roads" (The Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality Profile, n.d.). There is therefore a pressing need to undertake research in areas in this municipality, such as Rooigrond.

MOTHOTLONG, MADIBENG LOCAL MUNICIPALITY, BOJANALA DISTRICT

Mothotlung is a township in the small town of Brits in the North West Province (Figure 60). The area falls under the Madibeng Local Municipality, which is a constituent of Bojanala District. With a spatial area of more than 18 000 km² the district is the largest of all the 4 districts comprising the North West Province. Bojanala's 5 local municipalities include Rustenburg, Moretele, Kgetleng, Moses Kotane and Madibeng. Some reference sources state that the Royal Bafokeng traditional leadership presides over a total of approximately 150,000 people, who are mainly distributed across 29 villages in the five Bafokeng regions within the North West Province. Other sources state that, of the predominantly rural population of approximately 1.25 million, about a quarter (24% or 300,000) people are members of the Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN), which owns shares in various platinum mines and is the wealthiest traditional community in South Africa.

The Bafokeng own a portion of land on which the world's largest deposits of platinum group metals were discovered in 1925 (Business Day, 2014⁷⁷). Mining companies pay royalties to the Bafokeng in exchange for the right to mine these metals, and these deals are widely viewed as successful models of community participation for the mining sector (Ibid.). The Royal Bafokeng is the wealthiest of all traditional leadership institutions in South Africa (RBA, 2013). Not all residents of Bafokeng are ethnic Bafokeng (Business Day, 2014).

⁷⁷ 'Royal Bafokeng want answers on Assets'. Article in Business Day, 23 June 2014. <http://www.bdlive.co.za/business/mining/2014/06/23/royal-bafokeng-want-answers-on-assets>.



Figure 60 Mothotlung: Location⁷⁸

Despite extensive mining activity in the Bojanala region, the district has a relatively high rate of unemployment (40%) and poverty, with the majority (67%) of 323 000 households earning less than R1 600 a month and only a small minority (7%) earning more than R6 400 a month (Bojanala IDP, 2013/2014). The district has a young population. A significant proportion (39%) of the population is aged 19 years or less and more than half (53%) constitute the economically active (i.e. labour force) category of 20 to 60 years of age. According to the Bojanala district municipality, 15% of the population of the RBN has no formal education and only 20% have received foundation phase education. Only 20% of the adult population has completed high school and a little over 5% has obtained some form of tertiary education. Literacy and formal education in the district are therefore relatively low. Besides challenges of poverty and unemployment, Mothotlung specifically also faces service delivery challenges.

Over the years, the RBA has allocated a proportion of income from mining dividends towards social services, infrastructure development projects and other community requirements. Over R2 billion of the Royal Bafokeng Nation's funds have been spent on roads, utilities, schools, clinics, municipal services such as water and sanitation, electricity, emergency services, law enforcement, health services and other public amenities over the past decade (Thornhill & Selepe, 2010). The RBA's 2013 Annual Report states, for example, that over

⁷⁸ Source: <http://jumpingcastles.org.za/>

96% of households have access to electricity and 95% have access to piped water. The majority of the users of these amenities are non-Bafokeng residents and visitors to North-West Province (Carroll, 2006:1 in Thornhill & Selepe, 2010).

According to Business Day (2014), the Bafokeng investment arm is the Royal Bafokeng Holdings (RBH). The RBH is the largest community investment vehicle of its kind, and has stakes in companies including Impala Platinum Holdings (Implats), Rand Merchant Bank, DHL Express and Morafe Resources. Implats is one of three mining companies hit by a five-month strike in the platinum sector. The three mining companies together contribute 40% of global supply but have lost R23.4bn in combined revenue. The Royal Bafokeng Administration (RBA) Annual Report of 2013 confirms that annual dividends from Implats Mining Company have declined from R1.2 billion in 2008 to R162 million in 2012 (RBA, 2013). Workers, too, have lost billions in forfeited salaries. Members of the communities under the Bafokeng's power have reportedly been "seething" as they say developments in the community and service delivery are at a standstill.

The Business Day article further reports that stakeholders, such as the Bafokeng Land Buyers Association, have attributed the anger to massive retrenchments at the RBA, the curtailment of powers of the RBA Chief Operations Officer and, most of all, an announcement by the *Kgosi* (King) that he would be going into business for himself and therefore planned to open a family trust. Stakeholders also suppose that the Kgosi could be attempting to avert a recurrence of the hardship experienced by his family at the hands of Lucas Mangope's Bantustan regime while his father was exiled to Botswana. The foregoing background characterizes the broader context within which Mothotlong's water services delivery-related social protests came to the fore.

On the 12th of January 2014 the residents of Mothotlung went on a protest march to express their dissatisfaction over three inter-related issues. These were lack of access to water services, perceived corruption in municipal tender processes and poor management of water services delivery infrastructure. The protest subsequently turned violent when members of the South African Police Services (SAPS) shot dead 4 protesters. This catapulted Mothotlung from relative obscurity into the limelight of national and international media, and marked a turning point in media reporting on water services delivery issues in South Africa.

On 14 August 2014, Royal Bafokeng Administration and Rustenburg Local Municipality formalized their longstanding partnership. At face value, the partnership seemed to articulate government's intentions to partner with traditional leadership in the delivery of social services and rural development. Specifically, the partnership appeared to speak to Outcomes 7 and 9

of the Delivery Agreement framework launched by the Office of the Presidency in mid-2010, which respectively relate to 'Vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities and food security for all' and 'A responsive, accountable, effective and efficient local government system'. The roles of the RBA in water services delivery differ from those of Greater Rustenburg Municipality (Thornhill & Selepe, 2010). While the municipality purchases water in bulk from Rand Water Board and Magaliesburg Water, the RBA subsidises by 60% the cost of water supply services to the entire Royal Bafokeng Nation. The RBA has also installed water meters for all the households to manage water demand and promote water conservation. However, amid these formidable achievements, there is a concern that the growth of informal settlements on land under the jurisdiction of RBA is impacting negatively on the allocation of water to the Royal Bafokeng Nation, since these settlements also benefit from the water allocation earmarked for the Royal Bafokeng Nation.

LIMPOPO PROVINCE

The MLGI (2012) report shows that between 2011 and 2012 Limpopo Province experienced an increase in social protests. This increase almost reached the same level as the protests experience in 2009, which was the time when the ANC's Polokwane Conference made a change in the country's Presidential leadership. Given that much of the rural landscape of the province has been characterized by a former homeland areas with a pervasive absence or inadequacy of water service delivery, and that the relative severity of the problem has generally not been matched by reports of orchestrated grievances or protests, the dynamics between water service delivery and social protests in this province are worth examining.

From a number of reported protests, this section gives specific attention to the case of Nandoni rural area in Thulamela Local Municipality of the Vhembe District Council. Thulamela is a Schedule B municipality, which in terms of Section 27(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:1331) is a municipality that "shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls." From the perspective of water service delivery, Vhembe District Municipality is the WSA in this case, and is responsible for ensuring the deliver requisite level of water services to the people of Nandoni.

With respect to water services issues in the local authority's jurisdiction, the Thulamela Local Municipality IDP (2012/13) review points to inadequate water supply, lack of consistent flow from water taps, shortage of prepaid water meters, shortage of water for irrigation and livestock, few bulk water supply and illegal connections as some of the existing service delivery challenges. Some of solutions put forward to address these issues include the

installation of prepaid water meters, maintenance of existing infrastructure, provision of bulk water supply and the supply of water from Nandoni Dam (IDP, 2012/13). The diversity of service delivery issues that are mentioned in the IDP and the institutional perspective on the possible solutions, which include water supply from Nandoni Dam, which in itself is the site of recent and looming rural protests, makes this case a particularly interesting and potentially useful study.

NANDONI

During the course of the year 2012, residents of some of the rural communities living around Nandoni Dam in Limpopo Province made several threats to wage violent protests over unfulfilled expectations regarding water services. From among six village communities living on rural land surrounding the dam, people of Mutoti community took to the streets to protest for not receiving ever since the dam was completed in 2006. Protest action in the other five communities was averted largely through the collaborative interventions by local elected and traditional leadership, who convinced the affected residents to adopt alternative and more effective engagement strategies, including the legal option. These strategies also involved submissions of grievances to the Public Protector as well as communications with the offices of the Minister and Deputy Minister of Water Affairs. Such strategies appear to have been honed during local people's interactions (e.g. negotiations) with outsider stakeholders around issues of compensation and benefit-sharing during dam project planning and implementation.

Characterization of the linkage between threats of social protest and water services delivery

Nandoni Dam (earlier named Mutoti Dam) is situated in Thulamela Local Municipality, within Vhembe District of Limpopo Province. The dam is located along Luvuvhu River, 12 km south-east of the former Venda homeland capital of Thohoyandou, which in the nearest town. Other towns in the dam hinterland include Malamulele, Giyani and Louis Trichardt (aka Makhado). The dam is surrounded by seven small village communities, which include Budeli, Mutoti, Tshiulungoma, Mulenzhe, Dididi and Pitiboyi. According to the DWA List of South African dams, the dam was completed in the year 2005 and was officially registered on the 15th November 2005. The multimillion dam was commissioned by DWA and has a height and a crest length of 43 and 2215 meters respectively. It has a total catchment area is 1380 square kilometers (km²), covers a surface area of 1570 hectares (ha) and has a capacity of 164 million cubic meters⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ Source: www.dwa.gov.za, list of dams, 1998

The 12 km long water storage dam that was built to cater for the water supply needs of surrounding towns and village communities. In particular, the dam project was expected to resolve water shortages in local towns, villages and rural township areas as far away as Sinthumule and Kutama (100 km away to the west of Louis Trichardt). According to a former Chairperson of the Nandoni Dam Compensation Committee and current Chairperson of the Complaints Resolution Committee, the communal land that surrounds the dam falls under the control of two local chiefs namely, Chief Mphaphuli and Chief Ramovha. According to an elderly local respondent, the development of Nandoni Dam was a response to a serious water crisis that resulted from the drought that struck the Venda and Gazankulu homeland areas during the late 1980s. Consequently drinking water had to be delivered to communities by municipal tankers for a long time. The Department of Water Affairs then began to investigate possible options for providing secure access to water to the specific northern region of the country. A decision was made to construct Nandoni Dam. However, this option entailed the need to displace, relocate and compensate affected rural communities, as well as negotiations regarding future benefit-sharing.

Rural communities surrounding Nandoni Dam have an unusually high prevalence of very large houses. Most of these are said to have been built using financial compensation that was paid out to households displaced and directly affected by dam construction. To outsiders visiting Nandoni for the first time, these houses often mask the fact that the village communities generally have low levels of social services. According to Tapela (2011), educational facilities in the rural area surrounding Nandoni Dam include a secondary school, primary school and preschool (crèche). There are no primary healthcare services (i.e. clinics). Water supply services are poor (Table 21). Although communities have street water taps, many of these have been dry for the past few years, thus compelling villagers to go to the dam to collect water for all household uses. Sometimes a truck brings water to Ha-Budeli Community. One of the local respondents complained about the fact that they have a dam full of water within their land but such water is being supplied to towns elsewhere, such as Makhado and Thohoyandou, while rural communities around the dam lack secure access to potable water.

The levels of water services access vary among the villages. For examples, Ha-Budeli, has a population of 1568 people and about one third (28.1%) of this population has water access below RDP while the majority (71.9%) has water access above RDP levels. Dididi village had a similarly high proportion (71.8%) of households with water access above RDP levels. By contrast, Mulenzhe village has a relatively small proportion (28.4%) of people with water

access above RDP whilst the remaining majority (71.6%) has lower than RDP levels of water access.

Table 21 Water and Sanitation Services in Rural Communities around Nandoni Dam⁸⁰

villages	Total population	Water below RDP	Water above than RDP	Sani below RDP	Sani above RDP
Budeli	1568	441	1127	1014	554
Mutoti	689	186	503	444	245
Dididi	2053	579	1474	1327	726
Mulenzhe	2412	684	1728	1561	851
Tshiulungoma	No info	??	??	??	??

*RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme

*Sani- sanitation

Field evidence (Tapela, 2011) shows that for those villages reportedly with broader access to above RDP levels of water services, such as Ha-Budeli, the presence of communal street taps (or “stand pipes”) does not necessarily translate to water services access. Although such infrastructure has been installed, respondents raise issues about not being supplied with the water from their dam and having to go without secure access to water sometimes. Further evidence shows that in most of villages around Nandoni Dam, the majority of households do not have secure access to water services (and sanitation), and percentages of the population with sanitation below RDP levels are shown to be higher reported. The lack of sanitation in this area leaves a most of the people having to use pit latrines, which are not sealed. They look for the cheapest and simplest possible way to have a toilet in their yard. Some residents express concerns over possible risks of surface and groundwater contamination, particularly since the water table might too shallow especially for those households located closest to the dam.

While Nandoni residents are indeed concerned about the possible health risks, their threatened protest action is overlain by a range of related issues. These include the local residents’ perceptions that benefits of secure access to water services have ‘leap-frogged’ them to accrue to people living in towns and villages that a located at greater distances from the dam site. The later have either been unaffected or less directly affected by the costs associated with dam construction, while Nandoni communities have not only suffered losses but also continue to pay the costs of living close to the dam (in terms of susceptibility to risks of waterborne diseases, drowning, flooding and attacks by wild animals like crocodiles and hippopotami). A report of the Vhembe District Municipality (2013) states that the

⁸⁰ DWA WSNIS, 2010

communities of “Mavambe, Mukhomi, Gumbani, Phaphazela, Mudavula and Mbalati are already drinking clean water from Nandoni dam.” Except for Mavambe, these communities are located relatively further away from the dam than Mutoti, Ha-Budeli, Tshiulongoma, Dididi, Phaphazela and Mulenzhe. Key respondents mentioned that members of local communities that remain without access to reliable water services are angry at the DWA regional office of Limpopo Province for not supplying water to villages close to the dam before they supply to other communities far from the Dam. This is not what was promised to these communities prior to dam construction. The arrangement was that communities closest to the dam and, in particular, those who were displaced to make way for dam construction, would receive prioritized access to water supplies from the Dam before communities further away.

For the Chairman of the Complaints Resolution Community, the crux of the problem unmet service delivery expectations is corruption. This respondent revealed that corruption is hampering progress in the Nandoni Dam case. For example, the fact that some place as far away from the dam as Louis Tritchard and Giyani are getting water supply from Nandoni Dam testifies to the corruption and misplaced priorities by the DWA officials. According to the respondent, the reason distant communities have received water and yet local communities close to the Dam have not yet received such important service is because officials from the DWA stay in those distant places.

To underscore this point, another respondent revealed that the rural home of the Head (“Director General”) of the Limpopo Regional DWA office in Polokwane is located close to one of the villages surrounding Nandoni Dam. However, what was disconcerting and annoying for many local residents was that this senior government official receives water supply services in his home while the majority of residents do not. What was particularly surprising for Nandoni residents was that other residents living within the same village as the DWA official do not have any access to water supply services. Consequently, there was wide-spread (though untested) belief among residents of the various village communities that the Director General of DWA enjoyed preferential access to water from Nandoni Dam. When community representatives inquired about these allegations, they were told that the Director General gets water from a “Reserve Line” and not from Nandoni Dam. However, the key respondent was of the opinion that this was a lie and that the official does get preferential access to water supply from Nandoni Dam.

Other issues of corruption related to the issuing of tenders. The key respondent mentioned that even though the government had availed R600,000,000 (i.e. R600 million) for the purchase of the much-needed pipelines, corruption and nepotism were likely to further delay

the supply of water to communities. In the past, DWA officials in the Limpopo Regional Office, for example, had offered tenders to people they knew and liked, such as relatives and friends. Some of the people awarded departmental tenders were “comrades” (i.e. affiliated to the ANC). The irregular issuing of tenders was widely perceived by local residents as a major reason for the observed misuse of funds and failure to finish the erection of pipelines. What was particularly frustrating for local people was that there was virtually nothing that could be done to those involved. ANC party officials were seen as unwilling to expose the corruption of their fellow comrades. One of the cited reasons why key actors within responsible authorities did not want to expose party officials in inquisitions was the fear that opposition parties would find a strong case to accuse ANC comrades and the ruling party.

Another problem associated with tenders was that some contractors tended to buy cheap pipelines that easily break, so as to divert the monetary savings towards themselves. Hence for a long time after contractors had erected sub-standard pipelines, communities often did not receive the expected water supplies because the faulty materials leaked and broke easily. Closely connected to this problem was that members of construction teams were changed regularly (i.e. high turn-over of labourers). This slowed down progress in erecting pipelines and other infrastructure, and delayed access by communities to water services associated with Nandoni Dam.

According to the key respondent, another reason that had delayed progress on the resolution of the Nandoni case (i.e. unmet expectations of water service delivery) was the government’s “management system”. The system of reshuffling ministers had significantly hampered progress in ensuring that rural communities living in villages around Nandoni Dam realized the water supply services benefits they were promised. The respondent explained that sometimes the Nandoni Conflict Resolution Committee worked with a DWA minister who was eager to ensure the supply of water to communities without water. However, after a year or two, the national government might decide to move this minister to another department, for example, shifting him or her from being minister of Water Affairs to minister of Home Affairs. This interrupted the flow of the water services project. The respondent further mentioned that the minister who is currently in DWA national office is not the one who was worked on the Nandoni case from the beginning. Consequently, local residents felt that a capable minister must be allowed to remain in the same department and finish the projects he or she would have started. The rationale being that the new minister who comes into office would, in most cases, have to start the process all over again.

In conclusion, the respondent mentioned that there were many water service delivery-related problems in the area. He pointed out that the Minister of Water Affairs knows about the

Nandoni case. He also mentioned that local communities even sent a letter to the President, Mr Jacob Zuma, informing him of their problems. He mentioned that the local communities are collectively saying “Enough is enough.” He mentioned that people are fed up with what is happening. In light of this his committee, the Complaints Resolutions Committee, has since had to approach the chiefs to ask for their support as they seek to take the matter further. Asked about rumours of threats to stage a protest, the respondent did not come open on this issue. He conceded though that some rumours are correct and some are not correct. He pointed out that they (i.e. local communities) are planning to take this matter to court, and as such they are working on getting advice from human rights lawyers. He pointed out though that the Department of Water Affairs has very good lawyers, and this may lead the communities to lose this case. Even though the respondent did not specify protesting as an option that they are considering, it seemed that “taking the matter further” and asking for the chiefs’ support might mean that they are seriously considering protesting if other dispute resolution avenues fail. Further field research is required in order to better understand the water service delivery challenges in the area and in order to provide informed recommendations to municipalities on possible ways by which they can best tackle the ‘crisis’ at hand.

Discussion

Field evidence (Tapela, 2011) shows that for those villages reportedly with broader access to above RDP levels of water services, such as Ha-Budeli, the presence of communal street taps (or “stand pipes”) does not necessarily translate to water services access. Although such infrastructure has been installed, respondents raise issues about not being supplied with the water from their dam and having to go without secure access to water sometimes. Further evidence shows that in most of villages around Nandoni Dam, the majority of households do not have secure access to water services (and sanitation), and percentages of the population with sanitation below RDP levels are shown to be higher reported. The lack of sanitation in this area leaves a most of the people having to use pit latrines, which are not sealed. They look for the cheapest and simplest possible way to have a toilet in their yard. Some residents express concerns over possible risks of surface and groundwater contamination, particularly since the water table might too shallow especially for those households located closest to the dam.

Primary research evidence also shows that it was frustration with governance failure that led residents of Nandoni to send a letter to President Jacob Zuma informing him of their problems. The rallying call by Nandoni communities, “Enough is enough” clearly expressed this frustration. What appeared to rein in members of all Nandoni communities from

engaging in full-scale violent protest was a combination of institutionalized engagement and downward accountability mechanisms by local governance structures, such as the Complaints Resolutions Committee and the support given to these elected structures the Senior Chiefs Mphaphuli and Ramovha. In collaboration, these institutional structures presented a very strong and influential force within the rural communities that still largely abided by traditional and customary rules and norms. A question to be asked is for how long will such blending of elected and traditional leadership structures continue to hold the threat of violent rural social protest in abeyance, against the ground-swell of popular discontent over poor services delivery and weak accountability and monitoring mechanisms in water services governance?

KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

This section presents characterizations of the three case study sites in KwaZulu-Natal Province, namely, Sea Cow Lake/Kenville, Umlazi and Umbumbulu. These fall under the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, but some of the outer-lying parts of Umbumbulu rural area fall under Umgungundlovu District and are subject to an on-going process of Redetermination of Municipal Boundaries. The diversity of these three case studies seems to provide a sufficiently balanced sample of social protest contexts KwaZulu-Natal.

The spatial area of eThekweni Municipality is approximately 2297 km² (IDP, 2012/2013). Demographically, the municipality is made of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The 'African' community makes up the majority (71%) of the population. The 'Indian' community makes up 19%, while the 'White' community comprises 8% and the 'Coloured' community comprises 2% of the total municipal population.

The 2001 census revealed that the total population under the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality was 3 092 237. The population has since increased to 3 565 464 (DWA, 2012). There is a discrepancy, however, between the number reported by the DWA and that reported by the eThekweni IDP 2012/2013. Whereas the DWA reports that there are 3 565 465 people in this municipality, the eThekweni Municipality puts the population at 3 500 000. Such discrepancy does not detract from the fact that there has been a significant population increase of approximately half a million people between 2011 and 2012, which placed an added demand upon water infrastructure and water service delivery planning and budgeting.

With regard to the population with no infrastructure, eThekweni municipal statistics show a decrease of the number of people without access to water services infrastructure from 142

975 in 2001 to 5 904 in 2012. In 1994 the total number of people who had access to water below RDP was 626 326. This number fell to 516 575 in 2001 and further fell to 90 872 in 2011. It then fell to 89 927 by 2012 (DWAF, 2012). In other words more households now have access to water below the RDP level. By contrast, the increase from 1994 to 2001 in the number of people with access to sanitation below the RDP level, for example, showed an increase both in 2001 and 2011 and then the backlog, which had fallen to 455 139 in 2011 and 'rose' to 457 040 in 2012 (DWAF, 2012). Such divergent trends need to be further investigated, to both determine the accuracy of statistical data and the demographic trends possibly affecting the observed trends.

SEA COW LAKE/ KENVILLE

Sea Cow Lake/Kenville is in the northern part of the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, which is based in the city of Durban. This location is one of the nine settlements that fall under the Duikerfontein area, which was incorporated into the City of Durban in 1932. Sea Cow Lake is approximately 8 km from the City Centre. It is close to the Umgeni River, the railway line, the Coronation Brick, the Northern Sewage Works and the City Boundary. According to the Group Areas Act, these areas were declared for Indian ownership and occupation in 1959. The name 'sea-cow' is based on the Afrikaans word 'seekoei' which means 'hippo.' It is said that there were hippos in the former times (UN Habitat, 2007). This location is now a large dry area with only parts which become marshy seasonally. Although there are informal settlements in this area, they are not easily visible.

A challenge encountered in attempting to characterize this case is that information about Kenville/Sea Cow Lake seems to be outdated and might not relate to the current situation. The UN Habitat (2007) notes, "Umlazi and Kenville/Sea Cow Lake are areas that have not been researched to a great extent by the eThekweni Municipality". While this creates gaps in characterization by this report, the lack of reliable data itself presents an opportunity to develop clear understandings and perhaps new insights to enhance existing knowledge and practice.

Most (63%) of the residents of Sea Cow Lake live in informal housing. Approximately a third (34%) lives in formal housing and relatively few (2%) live in traditional dwellings (UN Habitat, 2007). A significant proportion (38%) of the households in informal settlement areas of Sea Cow Lake/Kenville are headed by women (UN Habitat, 2007). The existence of informal settlements and the high percentage of women-headed households are some of the proxy indicators that residents of this locality are possibly poor.

In 2007 Sea Cow Lake had a population of 14 748. In 2007 Kenville/Sea-Cow Lake's gender distribution was as follows: females 50, 4% and males 49, 6%. A study conducted by the eThekweni Municipality in 2003 and 2004 entitled 'Quality of Life Survey' stated that in 2004, many households were made up of less than 6 members. The average household comprised of 4.5 members. The study also found that more than 50% of the population had a matric certificate. However, only 11% of the population had tertiary level education. This suggests that residents of Sea Cow Lake might generally have low chances of being employed in higher income jobs. While this might have possible negatively effects on the socio-economic status of many of the residents, it also seems to have a bearing on the levels of service delivery in their location. Figure 61 below captures some of the sentiments that residents feel about poor services in Kenville/Sea Cow Lake.



Figure 61 Kenville: Protest against Poor Service Delivery, 2011⁸¹

UMLAZI

Umlazi is the largest township in Kwa-Zulu Natal Province. It is located in the south-western part of Durban. It is also one of largest townships in South Africa. It was established in 1967 as a black township under the apartheid regime. Legend has it that the name uMlazi comes from the Zulu word “umlaza”, which in refers to whey (English word) or the clear liquid that separates from curds during the fermentation of milk. Umlazi is South Africa's only township with its own registration plate, which is **NUZ** (Mkhize, 2012). However, many of the township residents are reported to be poor, with high levels of unemployment and low incomes. There have been reports of service delivery-related protests in the Umlazi area.

The township has historically been characterized by relatively low levels of socio-economic development and a narrow range of social services, which included a clinic, a police station and a sports stadium. Squatter camps presently occupy about a third (30%) of the housing

⁸¹ Photo taken by Looklocal News (2011) (found in an article entitled 'Kenville residents demand better service delivery').

area in Umlazi. Previously this proportion was higher, but many of the shacks have been demolished in order to make way for the construction of RDP houses. Which shacks still commanding a significant share of the spatial area of Umlazi, there have been reports of poor delivery of water and sanitation services. Other issues have included unemployment, housing and the growth of informal settlements.

Similar to recent developments in some of the townships within South African metropolitan council areas, such as Orange Farm in Johannesburg, Umlazi has over the past few years increasingly become a focus of private sector and government investment. The township has seen rapid socio-economic development through the construction of new shopping complexes, libraries, schools and universities of technology, such as Mangosuthu Coastal College and Umlazi Coastal College. The strategic objective of investments in educational infrastructure, for example, is to provide Umlazi's children and youth with easier access to relatively low-cost and high quality education, thus enhancing their skills and chances of getting higher income employment and breaking out of the poverty trap.

In an article entitled 'Umlazi uprising faces bullets arrests', the Mail & Guardian (2012) reported that service delivery protests in Umlazi dates back to August 2011. This statement has yet to be tested, since not all protests – particularly the non-violent and the rural protests – are reported by the media. Furthermore, there seems to be a plausible need to conduct empirical in this area to develop clear understandings of the linkage between social protests and service delivery.

UMBUMBULU

Umbumbulu is a rural area located between 20 and 40 kilometres to the west of Durban on the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast. Derived from Zulu, the name is said to mean 'place of the round knoll'. In the idyllic words of South African arts writer Peter Machen⁸², who writes website articles for eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality⁸³, Umbumbulu is a beautiful community, with hills and valleys as well as dust and gravel roads. While Machen's account describes the picturesque landscape as being divided into 25 smaller "districts", this study finds that the Umbumbulu area in eThekweni Municipality consists of 52 wards⁸⁴. However, the article proceeds to say that, basically, the majority of the people "do what their parents

⁸² <http://thecommunicationfactory.org/Who%20are%20we%20-%20peter.html>

⁸³ http://www.durban.gov.za/Discover_Durban/History_Communities/Our_Town/Pages/Umbumbulu.aspx

⁸⁴ This report could not ascertain the possibility that Machen's article has errors of both terminology ('district' instead of ward) and typography (i.e. '25' instead of 52).

used to do". Effectively, the main sources of income for people living in Umbumbulu come from nature, as they basically live off the land, and chiefs and Indunas rule them.

Machen proceeds to comment:

"This heartbreakingly lovely landscape is marred by more than poverty, unemployment, increasingly freakish weather and a separation from broader society. For decades Umbumbulu has been the site of sporadic political and faction based violence, and many of the homes that dot the landscape have been abandoned. The source of the conflict is...land and boundaries, as well as too much idle time. Violence is more likely to break out on holidays and at weekends".

Apart from a few popular articles, such Machen's visual narrative above, not much seems to have been written by the journalistic media about problems of the Umbumbulu area prior to the middle of 2012. Indeed, Machen decries the fact that a storm that resulted in many people losing their homes and property was not reported by the media, showing that many rural areas are by and large excluded from "media-based reality".

For the South African public at large, Umbumbulu's issues seem to have rudely intruded into post-apartheid protest action space that has largely remained the domain of working-class and marginalized urbanites. Umbumbulu's muted website image as a bucolic idyll was shattered by the widespread media reports about the local people's social protest action of 04 June 2012⁸⁵. Media reports broadcast the news that a group of [either 240 or 260 or 400] protesters staged a violent protest in the streets and blocked the main road to Johannesburg (R603) with burning tyres and broken old refrigerators. Police subsequently arrested 34 protesters for public violence and damage to property. The protest was reportedly against a proposed increase of R2.50 in taxi fares. Although the media contributed to bringing focus to bear upon rural grievances in places such as Umbumbulu, journalistic reports hardly 'scratched the surface'. Indeed, they raised more questions about the possible issues underpinning the orchestrated rejection of taxi tariff hikes. While the characterization of herein seeks to highlight some of the salient contextual features of Umbumbulu people's grievances, this report suggests the need for in-depth empirical research to develop clear understandings of substantive issues underlying the protest of June 2012.

Geographically, although the small rural service centre of Umbumbulu and its immediate environs falls within the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, parts of the outer-lying rural area of Umbumbulu fall within the neighbouring Mkhambathini Local Municipality of

⁸⁵ E.g. <http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/community-protests-against-fare-hike-1.1311966#.USR4TqVvD98>

Umgungundlovu District Municipality. For local people, researchers (and perhaps administrative practice), such straddling has created a degree of confusion, as shown by the differing accounts about the precise administrative location of Umbumbulu. The 2012 Redetermination of Municipal Boundaries⁸⁶ proposed a westward shift of the specific portion of the boundary between eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality and Mkhambathini LM of Umgungundlovu District, which bisects and casts the Umbumbulu rural area into two different administrative territories. Effectively, this proposition places the Umbumbulu area squarely within eThekweni Municipality. For this report, implications of the above scenario are that the characterization of Umbumbulu area will draw from data sources pertaining to both eThekweni and Umgungundlovu (and Mkhambathini in particular).

Historically, according to Kisaka-Lwayo (2012), Umbumbulu Magisterial District was part of Umlazi, which in 1847 was declared a location (under the Locations Act of 1846). Subsequently under the tribal authority's Act of 1951, Umbumbulu like other locations was further sub-divided into tribal authorities whose boundaries were defined and made lawful in 1968 (Makhanya, 1997). In accordance with the Bantustan Self Government Act of 1959, the area became a magisterial area of the KwaZulu homeland. The KwaZulu homeland area was not one distinct and continuous area but rather consisted of fragments divided by the South African Natal Province. Likewise the history of the tribal areas has resulted in territorially discontinuous areas. Kisaka-Lwayo (Ibid.) further states that the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government is trying to develop this territorial patchwork into a modern non-segregated economy. The legacy of this history remains evident in the fact that Umbumbulu retains strong transboundary links with the northern Wards 1 to 4 of neighbouring Vulamehlo Local Municipality within Ugu District to the south, which are separated from the rest of the latter municipality (Vulamehlo Draft IDP 2011/2012).

Since the 20th century Umbumbulu area, like the other homelands in South Africa, has been characterised by rapid population growth. Indeed, the broader Umgungundlovu District is one of the fastest growing districts in KwaZulu-Natal province, both in demographic and economic terms (Mkhambathini Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2011). A historical survey by Kisaka-Lwayo (2012) of demographic trends shows that between 1960 and 1985, the population of Umbumbulu more than tripled, indicating a growth rate that possibly exceeds that of Kwa-Zulu Province as a whole. StatsSA (2011 in Ibid.) explains that in the more recent decade from 2001 to 2011, there has been another population growth spurt, which is linked to the social costs of the global financial crisis. The crisis had severe

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<http://www.demarcation.org.za/Projects%20&%20Services/Municipal%20Boundaries/DEMS/2012/KwaZulu-Natal/01.DEM4140.pdf>

negative effects, including job losses, on the manufacturing sector and subsequently other multiplier effects within the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The majority of the demobilized labour force initially migrated out of the province (and in most cases from rural areas in the province) in search of work in other provinces, most notably the Gauteng province. However, with the scarcity of work and crisis-related uncertainties they decided to migrate back to KwaZulu-Natal, but significantly to the urban regions of the province. This added to the urbanization phenomenon (a significant in-migration of about 283 000 people) recently experienced by the province (DWA WS-NIS, 2011 in Ibid.).

Land use in Umbumbulu is predominantly agricultural and is characterised by small-scale subsistence farming and some marginal sugarcane cultivation (Kisaka-Lwayo, 2012). Farming provides the potential for cash income at a time when the population pressure is increasing and urban incomes are diminishing (Agergaard & Thomsen 2006 in Ibid.). Subsistence agriculture, in particular, is an important livelihood option for many rural families, contributing a significant portion of their household income. Water shortages limit many households to growing food solely for their own consumption. There is hope however that the water pipes that are being connected, as part of a new rural water supply scheme, are likely to transform the community into a vibrant small-scale farming community (Machen, 2012).

According to Machen's article in eThekweni Municipality's (2013) official website, there is not a lot of economic activity in this area and there is a lack of economic resources. The small number of shops in Umbulumbulu's town center can only employ a few people. A few others are employed as security guards at the local municipality office. Yet others grow sugar cane and sell it to private processing companies. Apart from these employment opportunities, there are very limited alternative means of earning money in Umbumbulu.

The website article further points out that Umbumbulu is under-serviced. Although water and electricity services are gradually being delivered, and more schools, clinics and roads constructed, the deep problems of the community have not been addressed for years. While there is crime in some sections of the rural area, especially housebreaking, other sections have no such problem. Crime might be linked to the prevailing high levels of poverty and unemployment. In some parts of Umbumbulu, there is also the problem of political violence, which is separate from crime.

Regarding water service delivery, eThekweni Municipality supplies bulk water to certain rural communities, whose water committees in turn sell water to their respective local constituency. This has proved to be unsustainable. EThekweni Municipality reveals that while

there is indeed a system of municipal water delivery, the Umbumbulu residents still carry water over long distances. As part of a recent Interim IDP implementation plan, the Municipality has initiated the process of taking over the schemes from the water committees. Concomitant to this process seems to be the envisaged rural water supply scheme by Umgeni Water, a Regional Water Utility in the KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa (Pillay et al., 2006).

Umgeni Water has investigated various options in response to new potable water demands (of 7.5 Ml/day) *en route* to and in areas around uMbumbulu in the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast area (Ibid.). Economic analysis indicated that the development of a 25 km supply node using existing treated water supply lines from the utility's inland Midmar Water Works was the most sustainable option. A report by Umgeni Water's engineering and scientific services team states that the newly-designed supply system, which cost R48 million, relies mainly on gravity and hence raises no significant pumping requirements, saving both on energy and cost. The report further states that "the project's financial viability was made possible by a low interest loan from the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), facilitated via Umgeni Water's capital expenditure programme at no further tariff increase to the end consumers..." (Ibid.). Given the levels of poverty in Umbumbulu, as well as the recent social protests over a protest R2.50 increase in taxi fares, this assurance might have critical implications for this study's examination of the link between social protest and water service delivery in Umbumbulu.

MPUMALANGA

KANYAMAZANE⁸⁷

KaNyamazane Township is situated under the Mbombela Local Municipality (MLM). Mbombela is a Swati meaning a lot of people together in a small space. The MLM is one of the municipalities of South Africa, located in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality, Mpumalanga province. The municipality was formed in 2000 by the merger of Hazyview, Nelspruit and White River Local Councils. The municipality is situated in the North Eastern part of South Africa within the Lowveld sub region of the Mpumalanga Province. MLM has the population of 527,203 which is approximately 35% of the total Ehlanzeni District population of 1,526,236 (Stats SA, 2001).

⁸⁷ This section draws mainly in the MLM IDP, 2012-2017

It has been shown that in MLM are the young of 35 and below contributing to 78%, followed by middle age of 50 contributing to 13% and the old age of 80 contributing to 9% of the total population. The higher number of youth implies a need for educational provision, skills development (science and technology), sport development, health care and employment opportunities to the young people. The statistics also reveals that the majority of people are females constituting 51% while male constitutes 49% of the entire population.

A report by Statistics South Africa (2007) indicated that the municipality has 473,027 (89.72%) Africans/Blacks, 48,091 (9.12%) Whites, 4,040 (0.77%) Coloureds and 2,046 (0.39%) Indian or Asian. Moreover, the municipality's dominating language is SiSwati (89%), followed by Afrikaans (5%), English (3%) and 1% for IsiZulu, Sepedi and Sesotho.

The municipality's eligible employed work force is estimated to be 165,594 (50.19%). The number of unemployed residents is estimated to be 52,290 (15.85%). This equates to be not economically active residents of approximately 112,071 (33.97%) in 2007. A highest 76% of unemployment is experienced in Nelspruit B, Hazyview and Nsikazi zones. The number of personal with an income less than R1 600 per month constitutes 41.3% and those who have no income constitute 42.60% of the total population in MLM. Only 11.45% of all earn more than R3 500 per month.

According to Stats SA (2007), the level of education in the municipality is very low. About 11.32% of the sampled population of 527,204 has no schooling, 27.67% completed primary education, 6.11% completed primary education (Grade 1-7), 13.22% completed secondary education (Grade 8-12) and 8.71% completed higher education. Poverty and lack of access to educational facilities might be a contributing factor.

Like any other municipality in the country, The MLM is faced with service delivery backlogs. According to the Water Services Development Plan (WSDP), 2009, the number of households with below access to water services constitutes 31% of the total Municipal households compared to 16% with access to full service. The WSDP further reflects sanitation backlogs of below service of 110 148 households. This requires urgent interventions to improve the health standards of communities and achieve 2010 Millennium target.

The municipality is faced with housing shortage. This problem has been exaggerated by the lack of suitable land for residential development; shortage of serviced stands and inadequate allocation of housing subsidies by the Provincial Department of Human Settlement. According to Electrical Services Unit survey, the backlog is estimated to be 19 040

households to be connected and 20 000 streetlights totalling to approximately R 86 million. In order to meet the National targets of electrifying households by 2012, the municipality will have to electrify 3200 households at an estimated amount of R14.4 million and provide 2000 streetlights per annum.

Since 2010, Mbombela local municipality has been engulfed with protests from different wards, and Kanyamazane Township has been among these protest sites. The municipality's Approved Medium Term Revenue and Expenditure Framework (2011/2012-2012/2013) notes that rampant unrest has compelled the Municipality to have a strategy to deal with the community protests. This has involved establishing a Rapid Response committee to deal service delivery, redeploying senior officials to lead certain sections that deal with service delivery, and redeploying political leadership to lead different units. The overall purpose of these interventions has been to ensure rapid response to areas that are pressure points and threatened by service delivery protests and for officials to put processes in place that will address concerns raised by communities with immediately solutions.

In early March 2014, KaNyamazane township and Bushbuckridge municipalities joined other areas in the province on Tuesday in violent service-delivery protests. The protest related to lack of proper water supplies and housing, and municipal corruption. Kanyamazane's protest seems to have been among a contagion of similar protests that erupted in provinces Limpopo, Gauteng and North West following the Mothotlong protest in Madibeng local municipality.

Kanyamazane's protest of 2014 had been preceded in 2012 by a protest whereby residents accused Mbombela municipality of failing to implement a R60 million road project. They also complained about the municipality's tendency to cut water supply particularly during weekends (Box 5).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/cops-on-high-alert-following-mpumalanga-protest-20120813/> and <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/cops-use-rubber-bullets-at-taxi-protest-1.1713240#.VNE-22iUd7c>

"The municipality has invited us to integrated development planning meetings where they told us that the project would be started during the current financial year. They've not done anything so far."

"They also cut water supply on weekends and that is when most people are off-duty and have to do their washing. How are we supposed to cope without water on weekends when there are funerals?"

"We demand what was promised to us more especially here at Kanyamazane you can see that Kanyamazane does not develop because everytime we are given money that money does not come to us," (community leader Steven Shabangu).

Box 5 Excerpts on Kanyamazane residents' views on reasons for protest action, August 2012

CAROLINA⁸⁹

Carolina is the administrative centre of the Chief Albert Luthuli Local Municipality (CALLM). The CALLM is located in Mpumalanga Province, within the Gert Sibande District. Compared to the neighboring economic hubs and regional service centers such as Witbank/Middelburg and Mbombela, as well as the dense rural settlements in the Nkangala District to the north, the CALLM is relatively sparsely populated. The population of CALLM was 187,936 in 2001, and it increased to 194,083 in 2007. The population increased by 3.3 % between 2001 and 2007. CALLM is not an area experiencing high levels of in-migration or very high population growth, if at all. The majority of the population concentrates in the rural settlements in the east of the CALLM. Close to 80% of the CALLM population live in rural villages in the eastern part of the area, 15% live in the two main service centers (Carolina and Badplaas), with the remainder of the population distributed throughout the farming and forestry areas of the CALLM.

The CALLM is a mainly rural municipality, with a number of service centers and settlements distributed throughout the area. The main service town within the CALLM area is Carolina, followed by Elukwatini and Badplaas. Economic activities that are dominant spatially in the CALLM include agriculture, forestry and mining. Retail and services concentrate in Carolina, and also in smaller centres such as Elukwatini and Badplaas.

The gender split in the CALLM population is fairly even, with 46.7% of the population being male and 53.3% female. The CALLM however has a young population, with more than 40.1% of the population being 14 years old and younger. Only a small percentage (5.2%) is older than 64 years. The remainder (54.6%) falls within the economically active age group, as illustrated below.

The population of the CALLM is characterised by moderate to low education levels. Almost half (47.2%) of the population over the age of 15 years in 2007 had no schooling or completed primary school only. People who have this education profile are usually regarded as unskilled in terms of employment profiles. According the StatSA Community Survey 2007 figures, almost the entire population earn less than R3 200 a month; however this includes all age groups, and in the CALLM around 40% of people is 14 years and younger.

Like many other municipalities in the country, the CALLM is faced with service delivery backlogs. Table 22 shows some backlogs related to water, sanitation, refusal removal and electricity:

⁸⁹ This section draws mainly in the CALLM-IDP, 2011-2016

Table 22 Carolina: Backlogs in Water Services Delivery, 2011

Category	Statistics
Total Households	46 034
Water Backlog: households with below basic /RDP level service	7 271
Sanitation Backlog: households with below basic /RDP level service	31 267
Refuse Removal Backlog: households with below basic /RDP level service	39 926
Electricity Backlog: households with below basic /RDP level service	18 210

In 2012, residents of Silobela Township of Carolina went on the rampage over grievances about the worsening of problems relating to the supply of safe drinking water⁹⁰. They destroyed a water tanker truck, damaged six others and burnt some of the water tanks in the township. A municipal office and a library were set alight and four foreigners' shops were looted during the protest. In January of the same year, which was a few months prior to the protest, water contamination was discovered in Carolina and the Department of Water Affairs spent over R5 million on various remedial and palliative initiatives, including supplying water to the community. The then-Minister Edna Molewa conceded the problem in Caroline was two-fold: it was partly attributable to pollution arising from mining activity in the Mpumalanga area; and partly because the water was not being purified to drinking standards.

The High Court ordered the Gert Sibanda district municipality to provide Carolina residents with drinkable water within 72 hours and provide a minimum of 25 litres of drinkable water per person per day. The municipality's mayor and manager were also ordered to talk to the Federation for a Sustainable Environment and Silobela Concerned Community, a Civil Society Organization which brought the court application to restore the town's water supply. The court further ordered the municipality to give it a progress report in a month.

⁹⁰ <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/07/10/don-t-damage-property-during-protests-minister>



Protests can be defined as “messages directed to political adversaries, sympathizers, decision-makers and the wider public. Besides more conventional activities, such as voting and lobbying, they are important tools for various actors, most notably social movements, to attract attention, to appeal or to threaten, to make claims heard, and eventually to have an impact on politics and society” (Koopmans & Rucht, 2002).

Since post-apartheid grievances over water service delivery surfaced during the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg (Bond & Dugard, 2008), South Africa has been hit by high volumes of social protests. In many instances, protestors claim that they protest over lack of service delivery and water is one of the elements of service delivery. As from 2004, the frequency, geographical spread and violence of service delivery-related social protests increased exponentially to unprecedented levels in 2012. Following Mothotlong’s violent protest of January 2014, when the police killed several protesters as residents took to the streets to express their frustration over perceived poor governance and delivery of water services, this escalation reached crescendo. To date (February 2015), water services delivery issues continue to be cited among reasons for violent and non-violent protests in South Africa.

