

**THE PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH ON SERVICE DELIVERY
VIOLENCE IN MPUMALANGA PROVINCE**

by

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(201001614)**

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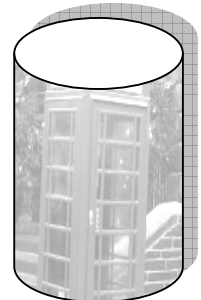
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Declaration

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the project has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institution of learning and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Nokukhanya N. Jili

February 2012

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents who are very important to me in particular my mother Makhumalo Jili and my father Gerald Jili, for letting me fulfill my ambitions and achieve my goal. I dearly love and appreciate them.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength and energy to do this research study. If it was not for his grace I would not have the courage to press on until I have completed it.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
DCGTA	Department of Corporative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
IGR	Intergovernmental Relations
NPWP	National Publics Works Programme
NYC	National Youth Commission
NYDA	National Youth Agency
NYP	National Youth Policy
PWP	Publics Works Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programmes
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAYM	South African Youth Movement
YCL	Youth Communist League
YOT	Youth Offending Team
UYF	Umsobomvu Youth Funds
SYR	Status of the Youth Report

Abstract

The study focused on the perceptions of youth based in Wesselton and Siyathemba townships (Mpumalanga Province) towards service delivery violence. The aim of the study was to identify the challenges and the concerns of protestors and to highlight the perceptions of the youth about the causes of poor service delivery.

This study started by reviewing the constitutional basis for basic service delivery, youth studies and selected related studies on service delivery protests. Thereafter, the candidate undertook original research on a valid sample of youth of Mpumalanga province, questionnaire sent to a sample of 150 youth within both townships (Mpumalanga province). The researcher adopted both qualitative and quantitative methodology for the analyses upon which conclusions were drawn. The study describes the respondents concerns, challenges and reasons for service delivery violence. The main findings show that the majority of the respondents agreed that protests were about lack of or poor services delivery in both townships.

This study also provides evidence that the current problems confronting people of Mpumalanga province and many citizens in South Africa are the result not only of historical factors, but also ‘crisis of service delivery’, which in turn is as a result of poor management, corruption, nepotism, low budget and of the pro-market policies adopted by the new governments. The results reveal that councillors are not accountable for the people as they put their needs first. Furthermore, results show that the majority of the respondents were protesting violently to reflect their frustration and anger. In conclusion the study proposes that the South African government must go back to *Batho-Pele* (means people first) principles as they are regarded as the solution to address the impatience and violent protests that could result from the failures of government (particularly municipalities) from fulfilling the promises of delivering services

Table of Contents

Declaration	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	ii
Abstract	ivii
Table of Contents	viii

CHAPTER 1

VIOLENCE OVER SERVICE DELIVERY IN MPUMALANGA

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the study.....	2
1.3 Theoretical Framework	3
1.3.1 Frustration-Aggression theory	4
1.3.2 Relative Deprivation theory	4
1.3.3 J-curve theory.....	4
1.3.4 Cue-arousal theory	5
1.3.5 Excitation-transfer theory	5
1.3.6 Deindividuation theory	5
1.3.7 Summary of theories	6
1.4 Preliminary literature review	6
1.5 Problem Statement and Research questions	8
1.6 Aims and objectives of the study	9
1.7 Justification and Significance of the study	10
1.8 Key terms and concepts.....	10
Perceptions	10
Youth	11
Service delivery	11
Violence	11
Protests	11
1.9 Research design and Methodology	11
1.9.1 Target population	11
1.9.2 Sampling procedures	12

1.9.3 Research instrument	12
1.9.4 Data collection techniques.....	12
1.9.5 Data analysis and interpretation.....	12
1.10 Organisation of the Study	13
1.11 Summary	14

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: SERVICE DELIVERY AND PROTEST

2.1 Introduction.....	15
2.2 The Constitutional basis for basic service delivery	16
2.3 Youth Studies in South Africa.....	17
2.4 Service delivery Protests	24
2.4.1 Increasing violence of service delivery protests	35
Summary	39

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND A BRIEF PROFILE OF MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

3.1 Introduction.....	40
3.2 Research Design.....	40
3.2.1 Qualitative approach	40
3.2.2 Quantitative approach	41
3.3 Population and Sampling procedures.....	41
3.3.1 Mpumalanga Province: A brief Profile	42
3.4 History of Balfour and Wesselton townships	43
3.4.1 Balfour township.....	43
3.4.2 Wesselton township.....	44
3.4.3 Evolution of Informal settlement.....	44
3.5 Data collection instrument.....	47
3.6 Data collection procedure	48
3.7 Data analysis.....	49
3.7.1 Validity and Reliability of data.....	49
3.8 Limitations of the study	50
3.9 SUMMARY	50

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction.....	51
4.2 Demographic Background of Respondents	52
4.3 Reasons for protesting.....	56
4.3.1 Poor Service Delivery and Employment.....	57
4.3.2 RDP Houses and Toilets.....	58
4.3.3 Clean water, electricity and damaged road/streets.....	60
4.3.4 Corruption, Nepotism and unnominated councilors	61
4.3.5 Sports Facilities, Demarcation, police station and Hospital	62
Demarcation process.....	62
4.4 Reasons why certain protests were violent.....	65
4.5 Causes of poor service delivery	69
4.5.1 Poor management and maladministration	69
4.5.2 Corruption.....	70
4.5.3 Nepotism and low budget	70
Possible solutions to reduce violent protests	71
SAMMARY	72

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AN RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction.....	74
5.2 Research Findings	74
5.6 Recommendation	77
5.7 Limitations of the study.....	79
5.8 Conclusion	79
REFERENCES	80
APPENDIX	89

CHAPTER 1

VIOLENCE OVER SERVICE DELIVERY IN MPUMALANGA

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa the phenomenon of violent confrontation against poor service delivery has become problematic over the past several years, with the Institute for Security Studies (2011:1) reporting one of the highest rates of public protest in the world. Numerous concerns have been recorded, many of which have been categorised as ‘service delivery protest’ against local authorities (Parliament of RSA, 2009:02). This form of protest is regarded as a socio-economic phenomenon, driven by extreme poverty and inequality, and has become increasingly violent.

Steyn (2011:1) notes that for the seven years between 2004 and 2011 there has been a dramatic acceleration of local government protests in South Africa, and in a six-month period between January and June 2009 a total of 26 service delivery protests were recorded in Mpumalanga (Piet Retief and Balfour townships), Gauteng (Thokoza and Diepsloot), North West (Rustenberg and Zeerust), Western Cape, Free State, KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape (Parliament of RSA, 2009:02). In February 2011, one person died as a result of a violent protest in the township of Wesseltown in Ermelo (Mpumalanga). Protesters claimed they were unhappy about a lack of service delivery, unemployment and the councillor nomination lists for the forthcoming municipal election (Sapa, 2011:5).

In terms of section 40 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. This establishes local authorities as a distinctive sphere, with a mandate to govern, to provide services (such as water, electricity, houses, roads and sanitation), and to promote social and economic development. This study seeks to understand the concerns of the protestors, specifically the youth, as they are crucial stakeholders, and determine how prepared government is to uphold the rights of the citizens.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

A race-based municipal dispensation and unequal access to and provision of services and resources to local inhabitants have for many decades been part of South African constitutional history (Cloete, 1997:46). During the 2004/05 financial year approximately 6,000 protests were officially recorded, with an unknown number unrecorded. This amounted to at least 15 protests each day, however the number has escalated dramatically since then. Allan and Heese (*Business Day*, 2011:10) reported a dramatic surge in protests shortly after Jacob Zuma took presidential office in 2009, and an increasing number (see Figure 1.1, below) have since taken place in informal settlements, characterized by shacks or shanty structures.

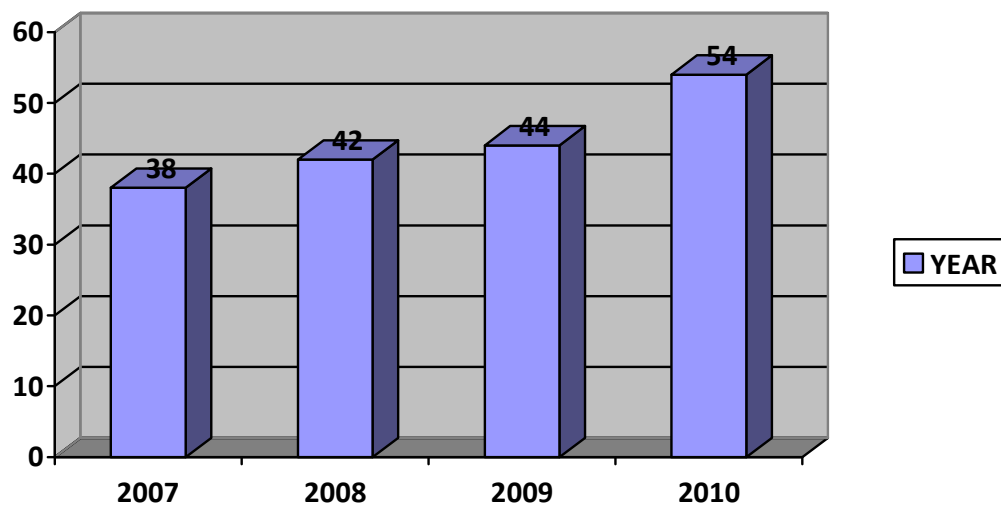


Figure 1.1: National violent protests for the years 2007-2010 (Average number of protests per month). **Source:** CLC research 2010.

Seekings (2000:354) and Nthambeleni (2009:106) argue that there are grounds for tracing service delivery protests back to the apartheid era, and believe a strong case can be made for linking them to discontent that was noted in surveys conducted in the late 1990s and to the social movements that emerged in the years after 2000. These protests have originated in poorer neighbourhoods, such as informal settlements and townships, rather than the wealthier suburbs, and relate to the type or category of people involved and the issues they

raise. They have included mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, 'toyitoying'¹, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, expressing unhappiness about the councillor nomination lists, confrontations with police, destruction of police vehicles, burning buildings and forcing resignations of elected officials (Sosibo, 2011:10).

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Naidoo (2011) reports that South Africa presently has a large number of disenchanted youth, with more than 50 percent of the population under the age of 35 and a similar percentage unemployed, whilst researchers report that the challenges the region faces are about young people, in particular as they are often vulnerable, hungry, unemployed and the working poor (Southern Africa Trust, 2011, Mlatsheni & Rospabe, 2002; Ngcaweni & Ngoma, 2005). Despite the government vowing in 1994, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, to deliver a people-centred democracy committed to reconstruction and development, and to delivering a better life to all citizens, millions of young people still lack opportunities and most are in receipt of social grants (Naidoo, 2011).

Young people have been protesting against the lack of services and opportunities, with Burger (2009) reporting that since 2005 the country has experienced a wave of violent protest action across most provinces, with many turning violent. The primary reason for these protests appears to be dissatisfaction with the delivery of basic services, such as running water, electricity and sanitation, especially in informal settlements (Burger, 2009:1). On the other hand, recent literature (Allan & Heese, 2011; Hough, 2009) indicate that local and provincial authorities are struggling to deliver services, as communities' dissatisfaction with poor service delivery triggers more protests. Factors that account for these have been listed by the government, in their *Report on the current 'service delivery protests' in South Africa* (2009), under three broad categories: i) systemic (e.g., maladministration, fraud, nepotism and corruption in housing lists); ii) structural (e.g., unemployment and land issues); and iii) governance (e.g., weak leadership) (Parliament of

¹ Rhythm, singing and dance are part of the African culture. Because of the modern climate they adapted their ancient custom to add their united 'voice' at meetings, mostly because they are disgruntled. *Toyitoyi* today involves a united swaying of the body and sometimes singing, cheering or shouting. Traditionally it involves foot and hip movements but much of the traditional dance movements have been lost in modern times.

RSA, 2009). Whilst the above explanation may provide a superficial explanation for many of the protests, the empirical evidence must be understood within a theoretical framework before a deeper interpretation of reality can be made. A number of theories are pertinent to such a framework.

1.3.1 Frustration-aggression theory

According to Barker, Dembo and Lewin (1941), frustration-aggression is seen as a psychological factor underlying violence, with the aggression being caused by frustration resulting from unfulfilled expectations. This frustration turns into aggression when something triggers it, for instance a realisation by citizens that they have waited too long for the services to be delivered. Promises of service delivery made by government are broken and the politicians, from the perspective of the people, are elitist.

1.3.2 Relative deprivation theory

This concept of relative deprivation is linked to frustration-aggression as another psychological factor underlying rebellion. According to Runciman, (1966) it is a perception of inconsistency between value expectations and value capabilities. It is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes one is entitled, such as citizens' rights, under the Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, to basic services (water, sanitation and housing).

1.3.3 J-curve theory

Related to the two theories above is the J-curve theory, which posits that rising expectations are related to the possibility of armed conflict. When a degree of service delivery meets a downturn and leads to a broadening gap between expectations and gratification, this combines with a fear of loss and things no longer continuing to improve (Davis 1963). Violence seems to be at its worst after national and local government elections, as in the lead up to elections the ruling party and its councils push service delivery and promises of it, whereas after the elections challenges inhibit delivery. Therefore, the expectations are on an ascending path as the reality of delivery changes

direction sharply downwards. Violence is then the result of unfulfilled expectations, and often the youth, the weakest and poorest, are the victims and perpetrators of such violence.

1.3.4 Cue-arousal theory

According to cue-arousal theory, although frustration leads to anger it does not necessarily lead to aggression. There needs to be some associated stimulus to spark the aggression (Berkowitz 1964, 1969, 1974). For example, young people in Siyathemba Township have been applying for employment but whilst their failure frustrated them it did not cause them to be aggressive. Only when they saw people from outside, or foreigners, being employed on the mines, while local people who qualified for those positions remained unemployed, did they become aggressive and/or engage in violent protests.

1.3.5 Excitation-transfer theory

The excitation-transfer theory, which suggests that arousal from one situation can be transferred to another, was criticised for assuming that aggressive acts are committed without thinking and so not accounting for acts that are pre-meditated in a cold and calculating way. It was later revised to include cognitive processes. When one attributes the causes of one's frustration to a person one is more likely to feel aggression, whereas when one attributes it to a situation one is less likely to feel aggression (Bryant & Miron, 2003; Zillmann, 2003).

1.3.6 Deindividuation

The theory of deindividuation indicates that when people are in a large group or crowd they tend to lose a sense of their individual identity and take on that of the group. This can make them commit acts of aggression and violence that they would not normally commit. They do not take responsibility for these acts (Zimbardo, 1969). When young people are protesting they do so as a group, and if one individual starts to behave violently other members follow suit.

1.3.7 Summary of theories

The theoretical framework for this draws mostly on the first three of these theories (frustration-aggression, relative deprivation and J-curve). Young people have indicated that they have waited too long for the services to be delivered and promises of service delivery made by government to be fulfilled. Therefore, they feel that the government does not care about them and so are behaving or protesting aggressively. Moreover, they are aware that the government has a mandate to deliver services to the citizens yet they are being deprived of them. Service delivery protests and protesting by youth form part of democracy, but the nature and scope of the protests South Africa is witnessing are not part of a healthy democracy. Young people are legally permitted to protest, but not to commit violence. One alternative within a democratic society would be to withhold one's vote from a government one feels is not representing one's interests, or to give it to another political party. Whatever the case, there is an urgent need for investigations into the causes of the violence, and this study aims to contribute to that research effort.

1.4 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

A preliminary review has been undertaken with reference to service delivery in South Africa. Du Pisani, Broodryk and Coetzer (1994:573) regarded protest marches that occurred in South Africa in 1989 as indicative of the symptoms of the advance towards the 'new South Africa', including the first government-approved peaceful anti-apartheid march in Cape Town, and political violence marking the weeks leading up to the September 1989 parliamentary elections. An anti-apartheid campaign was launched by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and other protests were directed against specific government measures.

Visser and Twinomlinzi (2001:1-4) point to the many failures of government in developing countries to improve public service delivery. Within the context of South Africa, using the interpretive paradigm primarily to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon of government for public service delivery, their investigation focused on one of the government's primary service delivery programmes, social grants. The analysis of findings suggest that government is not aligned to the service delivery philosophy, *Batho Pele*, or "people first", requiring all departments rendering public services to follow certain principles in keeping with the Human Development Indicators for development, and is

hence not effective in delivering on its mandate. In order to rectify the escalating problems in the public sector, the government introduced the *Batho Pele*.

Government institutions are expected to provide citizens with quality services in every area. Tsepo, Conny and Mabel (2007:1-14) indicated that while South Africa, as a developing country, has made attempts to satisfy the needs of its citizens there have been complaints that many government departments are not delivering services to the public as prescribed by the Constitution and the White Paper on Transformation of Public Service Delivery. In May 2008, some individuals or groups embarked on a hitherto unprecedented campaign of violence against African migrants (Steenkamp, 2009:439-447), which formed part of a wider pattern of intolerance and antagonism against this sector of the population in post-apartheid South Africa. At the heart of this prejudice lay socio-economic deprivation, whilst the political context within which the attacks took place could explain its timing. Much of the work on South African 'xenophobia', as it was labelled, takes a citizenship approach, examining processes of nationhood or focussing on post-apartheid immigration policy.

Krugell, Otto and Van Der Merwe (2009:316) investigated local municipalities and progress with the delivery of basic services. In 1994, South Africa adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), by which the government emphasised the delivery of services to meet basic needs. Since then great strides have been made to redress past social inequalities, however, analysis of the successes recorded since then has been limited to national or provincial aggregates, when much of the responsibility for meeting the RDP commitment lies at the local government level. The need for closer investigation is nonetheless clear from continuing protests over poor service delivery.

In relation to the above, Ile (2010:51-57) indicated that fifteen years after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, a significant percentage of the population is yet to access basic services and infrastructure because of government's slow pace of service delivery. Following the April 2009 national elections, various forums have placed the debate on good governance and issues of service delivery high on their agendas. This has led to an increasing call for the present government to speed up service delivery and improve the living standards of the majority of the people. Ile suggested that government must seriously consider all mechanisms that have hindered delivery and other issues that have contributed to government's slow delivery pace. Amongst other challenges is the

issue of managing intergovernmental relations (IGR) in a more effective and efficient manner.

Despite the extent of the problem, and its perpetuation into the second decade of the new political dispensation, academic research on service delivery violence in South Africa is scant. This study therefore seeks to close the gap identified through the above preliminary literature review by exploring and determining the perceptions of the youth in Mpumalanga province with reference to service delivery violence.

1.5 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Since 2005, South Africa has experienced a wave of violent protest action across most provinces, many of which have also turned violent, with indications that criminals are exploiting the situation (Burger, 2009:1). In a number of places the police had to use “force to stabilise the situation and to restore order” (Sosibo, 2011:10), including arrests for looting, public violence and various other crimes. Mpumalanga province has not been immune, with service delivery protests occurring on 7 February 2009 and July 2010 in Siyathemba, a satellite township the rural town of Balfour. Shops owned by foreign nationals were looted, and more than 100 people, including women and children, fled the township. According to Sosibo (2011), police arrested 22 people for public violence, though indicative of the levels of confrontation present, accusations of excessive use of police force were levelled against people who were not part of the protest, including incidents in the homes of local residents who were not actively participating. A 15-year old boy was shot in the back with rubber bullets at close range; a 13-year old boy in his face and a 14-year old in the abdomen. Despite injuries, detainees were not allowed basic medical treatment, and in Wesselton one man died during the occurrence of service delivery protests.

There is increasing awareness amongst the general population that service delivery protests are escalating in number and severity. Citizens, specifically of Mpumalanga, have been deprived of service delivery and their frustration has led to violent protest. The youth of Wesselton Township in Ermelo have been chosen as a unit of analysis of the study because they are crucial stakeholders involved in such violent protests. Research indicates that “response by both government and analysts has done little to allay the public protests” (Allan & Heese, 2011:01), therefore it is important to hear from the people who are

involved as to why they are protesting and what is it that they need to be done for them to stop acting violently. This study will focus primarily on the perceptions of youth in Wesselton and Balfour Townships (Mpumalanga province).

Within the context of the above and the backdrop provided, this study will attempt to answer the following research question:

What can be done to eliminate service delivery protests in Mpumalanga Province and what insight can thus be provided for reducing violent service protests in South Africa, specifically at local government level?

Sub-questions that arise are:

1. What are the reasons for protests?
2. Why are certain protests violent?
3. Which of the services are mostly demanded in your township?
4. Is the government doing enough to address the problem of poor service delivery in your township? Yes/No
5. What are hindrances to service delivery/ causes of poor service delivery?
6. What are the possible solutions to the problems of poor service delivery protests?

1.6 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to analyze the perceptions of youth of Wesselton and Balfour Townships in Mpumalanga province on service delivery violence.

The objectives are as follows:

- To explore the challenges facing society in terms of service delivery.
- To identify the concerns of protestors and most demanded services.
- To highlight the perceptions of the protestors about the causes of poor service delivery.
- To probe the protestors' thinking about violence and criminality often associated with service delivery protests.
- To provide policy directions and making recommendations to the government on how service delivery protest can be reduced.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION FOR AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will add another academic dimension and value in that, with the exception of the research of Powell (2011:14), there has been little documented academic research that focuses on service delivery protest in South Africa. Most analysis is based on media reports and speculation, whilst experts in this field of study mainly emphasize general strategies, transformation of service delivery, the principles of improving service delivery and the role of leadership for effective delivery. This study is different because it will focus specifically on the perceptions of youth in Wesselton and Balfour townships. Only then will the possibility of extrapolating the findings to the wider society be considered.

This study is important for the following reasons:

- Given the large number of protests that have occurred in 2011, it is important to ascertain the views from the protesters of Mpumalanga Province as to why these protests are happening.
- The results of this research will help government by providing solutions regarding service delivery protest not only in Mpumalanga but also in South Africa as a whole.
- Most importantly, local government will benefit from the outcomes and recommendations of this research in terms of what can be done to minimize violent protests, and will help them retrain the civil servants to apply the *Batho Pele* principles and deliver on their constitutional mandate.

1.8 KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

It is important to clarify key concepts in terms of the way they are used and understood in this study.

Perception: As the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information, perception is one of the oldest fields in psychology. The study of perception gave rise to the Gestalt school of psychology, with its emphasis on a holistic approach. What one perceives is a result of interplays between past experiences, including one's culture, and the interpretation of the perceived.

Youth: In South Africa, youth have been defined as “any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years” (National Youth Policy 2009-2014), a definition used in youth planning and statistical representations.

Service Delivery: The municipality are responsible for ensuring that people in their areas have at least the basic services they need. There are a large number of services that should be provided, in particular water, electricity, sanitation, houses and roads.

Protest: A formal objection, especially by a group. A protest may be a collective gesture of disapproval, sometimes violent, to make a strong objection or to affirm something.

Violence: An expression of physical force against one or more people, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt. Violence may be used as a tool of manipulation.

1.9 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is defined as the *how* of collecting data and the processing of it within the framework of the research process. There are two basic methodologies for collecting data, namely quantitative and qualitative, both of which make use of specific techniques to collect data, *inter alia*, literature reviews, interviews, questionnaires and direct observation (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:27). According to Flick (2006:137), the research design is a plan for collecting and analysing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she poses to the target population. This study is a qualitative study but will integrate an aspect of quantitative methodology in analyzing the data from the structured and open-ended questions.

1.9.1 Target population

The study will target the youth of Wesselton and Siyathemba townships, which are situated in Mpumalanga province, South Africa. These townships are located within Msukalingwa Local Municipality and Dipaleseng Municipality, both consisting of formal and informal settlements, with an estimated population of 40,000 residents of whom 50% are youths. The researcher will consult 200 youth protestors within Wesselton and Balfour townships for data collection (Research Advisors 2006:2).

1.9.2 Sampling procedures

The main purpose of sampling is to achieve representativeness, that is the sample should be assembled in such a way as to be representative of the population from which it is taken (Gilbert, 1993; Jennings, 2001). The researcher therefore applied two sampling strategies, firstly *stratified*, to randomly investigate specifically youth of Wesselton and Siyathemba; and secondly *cluster*, to dividing the population into groups, namely the youth of Wesselton and Siyathemba.

1.9.3 Research instrument

The quality of research depends to a large extent on the quality of data collection tools, which for this study are questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaires were administered by hand to the respondents and comprised two sections: Section A, for demographic details such as respondent's age, gender, employment and level of education; and Section B, made up of open-ended questions that allow for free responses in the respondents' own words. Use of open-ended questions helped the researcher obtain the perceptions, opinions, attitudes, suggestions and any sensitive issues concerning the service delivery protests in South Africa.

1.9.4 Data collection techniques

This study relied more on the primary data from the targeted population in order to achieve its objectives. Verbal introductions and written letters were used to provide an explanation concerning the nature of the study as well as its significance. A survey was conducted within the targeted population and, due to illiteracy, the interviews were used for those who could not read or write. The same questions and structure of the questionnaire were employed for the interviews and recorded for the respondents' answers.

1.9.5 Data analysis and interpretation

Data analysis is deemed one of the most crucial stages of research, regardless of the method, i.e., qualitative or quantitative. Glasne and Peshkin (1992:37) maintain that data analysis involves "organising what you have seen, heard and read so that you make sense of what you have learned", supported by Gillham (2000:25): "the purpose of analysis is to

faithfully reflect in summary and organised form of what you have found”. In essence, data analysis enables the researcher to organise and bring meaning to a large amount of data. Due to the nature of data collected, two types of data analysis were employed, namely, quantitative and qualitative. In the former, the information obtained from the participants was expressed in numerical form. Data was carefully reduced and scientifically presented in percentages, with graphs, tables, and charts used for interpretation. Data was organized and presented separately, based on youth perceptions and their differences in terms of race, gender, ages and level of education. To assess the validity of data, interpretation of it will reveal the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in South Africa regarding service delivery protest and the researcher will assess the extent to which those findings will be reliable.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The paper is organised into chapters as follows:

Chapter one contains the introduction of the study, which provides an overview of the study, preliminary literature review, the aim/objectives of the study and its significance, the problem statement and research questions, and brief introduction to the research methods, design and data collection.

Chapter two contains a more in-depth review of literature on youth, service delivery and protests in South Africa.

Chapter three provides a brief overview of Mpumalanga province, the methodology and methods used to collect data, the sampling methods and the population of the study.

Chapter four presents and analyzes the perceptions of youth based in Mpumalanga province based, with reference to service delivery violence in South Africa.

Chapter five, as the concluding chapter of the study, provides a summary and makes recommendations arising from the research.

1.11 SUMMARY

According to Crwys-Williams (1997), a man is not a man until he has a house of his own, and families who live in informal settlements without running water, sanitation or

electricity are a reminder that the past continues to haunt the present. The issue of service delivery requires urgent attention and this paper aims to contribute to the growing discourse on the topic, particularly the aspects of violence which threaten to take that discourse out of the hands of academics.

The next chapter will review the literature on youth, service delivery and forms of protest.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: SERVICE DELIVERY AND PROTEST

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The process of obtaining through reading any information that has been published and is relevant to the research topic is termed a 'literature review', that is a body of text that aims to review the critical points of current knowledge and methodological approaches on a particular topic. Issues to be taken cognisance of when undertaking a literature review are the purpose of the review, the literature sources and the reviewing techniques (Bless et al., 2006:24). It may be presented as a paper on its own or can be contained as an integral part of an article, research proposal, research report or dissertation. It describes, compares, contrasts and evaluates the major theories, arguments, themes, methodologies, approaches and controversies in the scholarly literature on a subject, and connects them with the concerns of the proposed piece of research. In part, a literature review should be used to display scholarly skills and credentials, and in this sense should be used to demonstrate skills in library searching, to show command of the subject area and understanding of the problem, to justify the research topic, design and methodology (Silverman, 2000). According to Shaidi (2006), the researcher's interest in a study should also be in:

- the body of accumulated scholarship
- learning from other scholars on how they have theorised about and conceptualised issues
- what other scholars have established empirically regarding topics similar to the one at hand
- what instrumentation they have used, and to what effect
- most recent credible and relevant scholarship in the area of interest.

This chapter will look at the basis of the country's Constitution for service provision, the Bill of Rights and human security. Thereafter, it reviews youth studies, literature on service delivery protest in South Africa, specifically at local government level, and violence in service delivery protests. Violence and xenophobia have been reported in different areas within the country, and as there are different stakeholders involve in these

protests it is important to hear and examine the perceptions of those most closely associated with the population of this study, namely the youth. Their perceptions will provide insight into what they feel needs to be done by the government to reduce service delivery violence. Relevant theories and ideas will be identified, as well as counter-arguments against and limitations of previous research. This chapter will point out the gap in knowledge and research on the topic and what areas have only been partially researched. The rationale and the direction for the proposed research will be provided.

2.2 CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS FOR SERVICE DELIVERY

Local government is the third sphere of government, and as the government closest to the people is regarded as a vehicle for delivery of services to communities. However, the perceived slow pace of service delivery by municipalities has resulted in growing impatience and dissatisfaction, particularly among poor communities, which has been demonstrated by spontaneous protests and unrest across the country. In terms of section 40 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. This establishes local authorities as a distinctive sphere, with a mandate to govern, to provide services such as water, electricity, houses, roads and sanitation, and to promote social and economic development.

Section 178 of the Interim Constitution Act 200 of 1993 provides that local government conduct its administrative and financial affairs along sound principles of public administration, good government and public accountability (Gutto, 1996). Local government must therefore be restructured and adjusted to meet the dictates of Chapter 3 of the Bill of Rights. The Constitution of 1996 assigns these responsibilities to local government systems and officials.

In relation to the above, the Inter African Group (2007) has reiterated that constitutionalism is a principle that upholds a system of governance based on the consent of the governed and anchored in agreed on rules and procedures. One can assume this consent and agreement are enablers of human security achieved through constitutional stability. The group further argues that a constitution should aim at bringing about an overall situation of societal wellbeing in an environment marked by harmony, credibility and predictability of the socio-economic and political order grounded in the rule of law.

Local government is considered by communities to be the delivery arm of government in South Africa and poor communities feel betrayed because their active participation in government-provided spaces for participation, such as municipal elections, ward committees and integrated development planning (IDP), has not yielded the results of promised development (Theron, 2008).

Legitimate government attracts respect from its citizenry, who generally cooperate and participate in implementing its policies and thus promote stability. Ngwenya (2011) states that while South Africa has a liberal constitution a question remains as to how effective it is at enhancing human security. Considered as a relatively stable state, with a sophisticated infrastructure, she notes that the country is nevertheless afflicted by high levels of poverty and unemployment, with the ruling party regularly accused of intolerance to organized opposition, of widespread corruption and of poor service delivery. She concludes that “one is tempted to agree with libertarian thinker Murray Rothbard, that constitutions are incapable of restraining governments and do not protect the rights of citizens from their government”.

Service delivery is not a privilege but a right, according to the Constitution, but accompanying those rights are certain responsibilities on the part of the citizenry. For example, citizens are expected to pay water and electricity rates. The difficulty arises when the citizens are unemployed and do not have an income that allows them to maintain payments, a problem worsened for young people hoping to start out in life.

2.3 YOUTH STUDIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Towards the end of the apartheid era, in the 1980s, Naidoo (1992) studied the politics of youth resistance in Durban, highlighting such issues as local outrage at the actions of the police; factors influencing youth resistance; the social condition of youths in the region; and relationships among black youths. In 1996, government created the National Youth Commission (NYC) which planned to develop a comprehensive strategy for youth, and worked closely with other youth organisations. However, it failed to realise that the majority of the youth did not belong to youth structures and therefore was unsuccessful in engaging them.

In 1999 the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) stated that young South Africans seemed to be withdrawing from political participation, including voting and registering to

vote, because of social issues and their being unemployed. A survey conducted by the HSRC found that 66% of respondents had never participated in a community sports team, 75% had never been involved with a community society or club, and 80% had never been a member of a civic or community organisation.

Similarly, Everatt's (2000) study of national youth service in South Africa found that youth organisations had failed to make a genuine impact on the RDP. The Umsobomvu Youth fund (UYF) was created in 2001 to create opportunities for the youth, whilst programmes such as the National Youth Service sought to serve the interests of the youth more effectively and develop their potential. A survey by *Love Life* (2002), an organisation established to promote safer sex, found that HIV/AIDS was one of the greatest threats to the country's developmental goals and was having a devastating effect on the youth. It revealed that many young people had been orphaned and become sole breadwinners for their siblings. Many were left homeless and unwanted, which effectively ended their youth status as they were forced to take on the roles traditionally undertaken by adults in society. The study also indicated that many women dropped out of school due to unwanted pregnancies and were unable to finish their education because they lacked the necessary financial resources.

A study by Mlatsheni and Rospabe (2002), entitled "*Why is youth unemployment so high in South Africa?*", revealed that unemployment was unequally distributed among races and between males and females. Young economically active Africans had very low access to employment, whereas fewer than 10% of young whites were unemployed. The HSRC's Status of the Youth Report (SYR, 2004) calculated that two-thirds of its sample (18-35 years old) had never had a job and remained financially dependent on others. A high percentage of the youth were unemployed and as a result a large number remain trapped in poverty. However, the SYR of 2004 also stated that the majority of young people had perceived no improvement in their social situation over the previous ten years, particularly those who were growing up under conditions of severe impoverishment and those belonging to historically disadvantaged groups. On the contrary, they saw their financial positions as having deteriorated. The study concluded by indicating that the youth had lost hope in the political process as a way of lifting them out of their condition, implying a lack of trust in government.

Putnam (2005) argued that civic engagement builds social trust, develops cooperation skills and a sense of shared responsibility for collective endeavours, and is a means of

engaging with broader political systems. Therefore, it is important to involve young people involved in civic activities. Putman also suggested that avenues of social and political participation, such as churches, schools and organised groups should be explored further, because they can be educators on civil participation, such as collective action and voting. In the last decade, the Department of Social Development has estimated that South Africa has approximately 10,000 volunteers providing home and community based care for HIV/AIDS-affected people, percent of whom 70% were young people (Ngcaweni & Ngoma, 2005). Whitehead and Kriel (2005) examined the barriers to conducting community mobilization intervention among youth in rural KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), and found that, in the face of extreme poverty and inequality, community mobilization interventions represented an important way in which people could be empowered to improve their life. This would however require anticipating and addressing a number of potential barriers in order to maximize the chance of success of the intervention, in particular gaining access to the community, the composition of the project group, issues of inclusion and exclusion, misunderstandings among project partners, language, and accuracy and reliability of data.

In studies on the reasons for use of condoms by youth in KZN, Maharaj (2006) indicated that high levels of HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy among young people were urgent public health problems. He pointed to studies among youth that had generally focused on protection against one or the other of these risks, but not both. Data collected in 2001 from 2,067 sexually active men and women aged 15–24 in KZN were examined in bivariate and multivariate analyses to assess reasons for condom use, and levels and determinants of use. Overall, 59% of respondents said that they had used condoms during their most recent sexual intercourse, including 6% who used them with another method. The main reason for use, cited by 64% of users, was protection against both pregnancy and HIV infection. Two-thirds of respondents thought that becoming or making someone pregnant in the next few weeks would be a major problem, but fewer than one in five viewed their risk of HIV infection as medium or high. Among both sexes, young people who would consider a pregnancy as highly problematic were more likely to use condoms than their counterparts, who would view pregnancy as no problem. In sharp contrast, young men and women who perceived themselves as having a medium to high risk of HIV infection were less likely to use condoms than their counterparts, who perceived themselves as being at no risk (0.2–0.3). He concluded by revealing that prevention programmes could increase condom use in

this population by increasing awareness of the twin risks of pregnancy and HIV infection, and by promoting condoms for protection against both.

Mathoho and Ranchod (2006) indicated that contemporary youth of South Africa face an uncertain future because of high and increasing rates of unemployment, while globalization makes new demands on them. With an unemployment rate of approximately 40%, the youth are the most vulnerable and have to contend with global changes, so they are unlikely to put their effort into political activities, a sign of which is their declining interest in the elections processes. The study also indicated that to convince the youth to participate more actively in political activities would require great political leadership and will and a different approach to that used for mature citizens, who had been more politicized by the all-encompassing nature of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Research by the HSRC shortly before the 1994 elections showed that about one in five eligible voters (20%) were active members of a political party at the time and prepared to take part in the elections, whilst registration of first-time voters below the age of 20 years was declining. Against this background, Mathoho and Ranchod (2006) argue that the problems related to youth should be given the priority they deserve, with government developing strategies together with youth organisations. The youth, they write, need to be given a voice in policymaking, especially on youth-relevant issues, thus making the process more meaningful for them and attracting greater participation.

Focussing on youth voices on the subject of sex and AIDS, Buthelezi, Mitchell, Moletsane, De Lange, Taylor and Stuart (2007) found significant discrepancies between the "ideal adult worldview" and the "practical youth worldview". In discussing the latter they drew on Piaget's theory of childhood development and Perry's theory of student development, both of which postulate that children cannot learn material if they have not reached a particular level of development, and conclude that life skills implementation is the key issue to HIV prevention among young people. It is argued that such a programme should take a rights-based approach to understanding sexual practices among youth, but that this is only possible where there is maximum youth engagement, appropriate role modelling and the use of visual and arts-based participatory methodologies.

For Leoschut (2008), crime and violence have come to be perceived by the general populace as primary challenges facing contemporary South Africa. Given the alarmingly high rates of youth victimization, they attempt to find a correlation between this

phenomenon and violence exposure in two social locales, that is, the family and community. The article draws on the research findings of the first National Youth Victimization Study conducted in 2005 by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, the results of which were based on a sample of 4,409 young people between the ages of 12 and 22 years, and indicate that violence exposure in the social environment in which young people live increases their vulnerability to subsequent criminal victimization.

The National Youth Development Act 2008 (NYDA, no. 54, 2008) was established with a mandate to address the challenges faced by youth. The Act was given a more extensive mandate of initiating, designing, co-ordinating, evaluating and monitoring programmes aimed at integrating the youth into the economy and society in general. However, are young people aware of such acts and are the principles of this act being implemented? National Youth Policy (2009) emphasizes that South Africa aspires to produce young people who are empowered, able to realise their full potential, and understand their roles and responsibilities in making a meaningful contribution to the development of the country. The policy recognizes various challenges facing youth from diverse backgrounds and acknowledges that problems experienced by individual categories of targeted youth groups are unique and multifaceted, and require involvement of various service-providers across different sectors. The policy also acknowledges the reality of limitation of resources and states that priority should be given to the most marginalized and excluded youth groups. It outlines critical factors for the development of young people, however there are few tangible mechanisms to ensure the proper implementation of policy recommendations

Stovall and Delgado (2009) examined an effort to challenge deficit theories that permeate discussions on urban youth. In the setting of a street law class at a high school with a social justice focus, two facilitators (an African American male and a Latina of Puerto Rican descent, one a qualitative sociologist the other a lawyer, both trained as qualitative researchers) and a group of high school freshmen, they analyzed the processes of the judicial system to analyze their lives through the tenets of participatory action research. The conclusion was that urban schools could devalue the youths' views, values, and understandings of the world.

In England, MacLeod, Jeffes, White and Bramley (2010) examined annual performance assessments of services for children and young people undertaken by Ofsted in 57 local authorities between January 2006 and April 2009, together with relevant data relating to the national performance indicators on youth offending issues. Their findings covered the

performance of youth offending teams (YOTs) with regard to: (1) management and leadership; (2) work in courts; (3) work with children and young people in the community; (4) work with children and young people with custodial sentences; and (5) victims and restorative justice. The research found that there had been an improvement in the quality of management and leadership of YOTs and while some areas of work were very good others showed room for improvement. This report is important reading for all those working in YOTs and for policymakers seeking to understand the performance of YOTs over time.

For many decades, the top generation of social pensioners, mainly older women, have represented the main income earners for poor South African households whose working-age members cannot find employment (Moller, 2010). Since the introduction of the child support grant in 1998, the younger and middle generations of women have increasingly come to share the financial burden in poor households. However, able-bodied male household members who are unemployed fall through the social security net and remain financially dependent unless they can access a disability grant. Moller's paper provides an overview of South Africa's social security system and its impact on intergenerational solidarity, and reports on a study of the 'perverse incentive' that explores the motivations for youth to access social assistance fraudulently in order to contribute to family welfare. The survey results are supportive of calls to reconsider welfare reform to fill the gaps in South Africa's social security net.

According to Bennett (2011), the academic study of youth culture has changed markedly in the past two decades. The early 1990s saw a cultural turn as the sociological focus moved from institutional and structural features of society to the study of culture. Bennett made a critical evaluation of the 'cultural turn' and its impact on the field of youth cultural studies, and, importantly, this approach signalled a challenge to notions of culture as a direct product of class relations. Bennett then looked at specific ways in which the cultural turn has influenced recent theoretical, empirical and methodological developments in the study of youth culture.

Social inclusion is very important to young people, particularly those who are disadvantaged due to a physical or intellectual disability (Barker, 2011). Public libraries already provide equity of access through disability access and inclusion plans but do not necessarily ensure social inclusion. Barker thus questions what an accessible community is from the point of view of someone with a disability, and how libraries can ensure an inclusive environment with no physical barriers that may deter those with disabilities.

In examining the trajectories of children with no connections to support from their fathers, Nduna and Jewkes (2011) present accounts of how young South Africans deal with and seek to uncover undisclosed paternity. Forty young men and women aged 16 to 22 volunteered to participate in a qualitative study on distress that was conducted in the Eastern Cape Province. All interviews were conducted in isiXhosa, following a semi-structured guide. Their findings show that interest in father identity was motivated by harsh circumstances in the maternal home, notably when financial difficulties, exclusion from critical decision-making and bullying by non-biological siblings were felt. They concluded that open and honest communication with children about their paternal identity should be promoted to prevent the currents of silence, secrecy and anxiety, and unpleasant surprises for the children avoided.

This section has reviewed related studies that were conducted by different researchers based on youth people. Thus, it is unfortunate that National Youth Policy and the National Youth Development Act outlined critical factors for the development of young people, however they have not been implemented. Furthermore, some of the studies above (Everatt 2000; Mothoho & Ranchod, 2006) have clearly shown that youth structures of the government are not doing enough to give the information to the youth about programmes that are available and that may be of an assistance to them. The poor feel discouraged because many believe that the government is not concerned about them and that they will be wasting their time if they join a youth structure. Moreover, out of the youth studies reviewed above there is not one that examines the perceptions of the youth on service delivery violence. This section reveals that there is a lack of documented information regarding residents' and youths' perceptions towards service delivery violence in South Africa. Moreover, there are studies on youth politics, use of condoms, HIV and AIDS, youth culture, influence of family and community violence, exposure on the victimization rates of South African youth, rural and urban youth, and elections, but there is no study that focuses on youths' views about service delivery violence.

In South Africa, the violent protests against poor service delivery appears to be a burden that government municipalities will have to bear for a long time. Therefore, this gap prompts further research that will consider the perceptions of youth, their concerns, reasons for protesting and what they think are the solutions to the problem of violent protest on service delivery. The perceptions of youth are an integral part of violent service delivery protest and will give insight into what needs to be done to reduce it, not only in

Mpumalanga Province but across the country. Their perceptions will reveal culture that should be practiced by municipalities in order to regain residents trust. Studies on service delivery protest and the increase on service delivery violence are reviewed in the next section.

2.4 SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST

This section reviews relevant literature and arguments on studies of poor service delivery and service delivery protests in South Africa, in particular relating to the increasing violence associated with them.

According to Visser and Twinomlinzi (2001), there is a lack of documented information regarding residents' and youths' perceptions towards service delivery violence in South Africa. It has been observed by the analyst that the literature on the effectiveness of government in developing countries towards improving public service delivery is characterised by failure stories. The authors used the interpretive paradigm primarily to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon of government for public service delivery. Their investigation focused on one of the government's primary service delivery programmes, social grants, the findings from which suggested that the government was not aligned to the service delivery philosophy, *Batho Pele*, as presented in Chapter 1.

Dwyer and Seddon (2002) argue that the popular protest characteristic of the period from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s has not been extinguished, but rather it has continued throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium, when it can be understood as 'a new wave' of popular protest. The unfolding of liberal democracy since 1994 has taken place in a period in which neo-liberal economic policies have been accepted by the African National Congress (ANC) leadership as the best way to solve the socio-economic legacy of apartheid, and has unwittingly provided a new structure of opportunity for collective mobilisation. The transition has generated expectations and rights-based claims that have placed demands on a broader array of actors and institutions. The authors also indicated that during the course of 2000 to 2001, different community groups across Durban began to strike up relations based on a perceived common set of problems that hinged on the provision of, and inability to pay, basic services. One participant from Chatsworth described how, having been taken to meetings with other community-based representatives in other townships, he realised that it was not just his but every community that was facing the problem of social injustice across the city.

Nonetheless, poor households face an affordability crisis due to high unemployment levels and the difficulties of eking out livelihoods in the post-apartheid period. Families unable to meet agreements on arrear payments face evictions, disconnections of water and electricity and repossessions of furniture in lieu of rental payment. Consequently, some residents live without water and electricity, others even homes, whilst many illegally reconnect themselves to services, and organise against cost-recovery policies in their neighbourhoods and across the city (Desai & Pithouse 2003; Smith & Hanson 2003).

In analysing the fiscal sustainability of municipalities with a view to increasing protests about the poor level of service delivery, especially in smaller municipalities, Schoeman (2006) wrote that international evidence also reflected disappointment with the classical view that government which is closer to people addresses the allocation problem more effectively, and that lower spheres of government are more accountable to the residents. The lack of 'hard budget constraints' with revenue support in the form of grants and subsidies causes fiscal prudence to be eroded and in many instances local fiscal objectives are not aligned with those of the national government. Of crucial importance is the sustainability of the finances of the municipalities, and Schoeman identifies criteria with which sustainability at the local government sphere can be quantified. Two distinct dimensions were discussed, namely *static* and *dynamic*, where the impact of change in income and expenditure on debt ratios is measured. The results show that if grants and subsidies are deducted from revenue, most municipalities will not survive financially. In many instances, revenue is only collected after a long lag, if at all. Municipalities' debts are increasing and backlogs in the expansion and maintenance of infrastructure are widening. The research results tend to support the view that government should carefully re-evaluate the number of municipalities allowed to manage their own budgets and that more stringent financial reporting should be enforced.

Government institutions are expected to provide citizens with quality services in every area (Tsepo et al., 2007), whilst Magija (2007) reported on a march by hundreds of residents of Joe Slovo informal settlement to parliament on Friday 3 July 2007 to present a memorandum to Housing Minister Sisulu. Mass action has continued, including blocking the N2 at the beginning of September of the same year, as residents were frustrated at not being consulted about their future and plans to forcibly remove them to Delft instead of building houses for them in Joe Slovo. They had children at school and did not want to move them to new schools, and believed the houses should be subsidised RDP houses, not

bond houses or flats for rent, which they would not be able to afford. They raised the issues with their ward councillor and with Housing MEC Richard Dyantyi for a year but felt their appeals were not being acted upon. They were expected to pay for water even though it had been promised for free, and non-payers were evicted from their houses. Their parents were suffering with the municipality demanding high rates.

Tsepo et al. (2007) reported that participants in a Kliptown service delivery protest said “this government is stubborn and we will continue fighting until we achieve our goals”. A young resident said that “I do not have water and housing. I am unemployed and I do not have any skills as a young person”. He also indicated that there were no toilets, “... if people want to relieve themselves, they must go and beg for a toilet which undermines dignity”. He concluded by saying that “The Constitution has become meaningless and useless. When we voted, we were so excited that the people’s conditions would change. If this was a people’s government, there would be no need for people to go out and burn tyres”.

Schnitzler (2008) reports that since the first general elections in 1994, the post-apartheid state has been faced by widespread non-payment of service charges in townships, often interpreted as a culture stemming from the anti-apartheid rent boycotts of the 1980s. After the spectacular failure of a campaign to encourage payment for services, and in a context of neo-liberal reforms prescribing cost recovery, many municipalities have resorted to the large-scale deployment of prepaid meters, devices that self-disconnect households following non-payment. His article focuses on Operation Gcin’amanzi (Zulu for ‘Save Water’), a controversial large-scale project initiated by the recently corporatized utility, *Johannesburg Water*, to install prepaid water meters in all Soweto households.

Taking this project and the protests against it as a point of departure, the author traced the history of prepayment technology in South Africa from its present deployment in the context of cost recovery and neo-liberal reforms. While the origins of the meter remain inscribed in the technology, in the post-apartheid period the prepaid meter has been re-rationalised as a pedagogical device ‘aiding’ residents to calculate and economise their water consumption. This entailed creation of what Callon (1998) has called ‘space of calculability’, forcing especially poor Soweto residents to subject their daily consumption practices to a constant metrological scrutiny. The author concluded by suggesting that the history of prepayment is indicative of the larger problem of citizenship in a context of post-apartheid neo-liberal reform. Inclusion in and connection to the state here becomes

contingent upon the successful performance of an ethic that fuses civic duty and entrepreneurial comportment. Simultaneously, the aspiration to bring into being calculative citizens licenses the recourse to illiberal political techniques.

Electricity is a necessity for citizens and, in the context of post-apartheid promises made by the metropolitan mayor for affordable basic services for all, is understood to be a right. In this respect, electricity is symbolic of what it means to have dispensed with apartheid, yet there is a sense of frustration and despondency at times. Citizens argue that they have fought for this before so why fight again? There is no explicit mention of the right to free electricity in the Bill of Rights, though from a study by Roux and Vahle (2002) there may be some grounds to challenge electricity pricing under the Constitution as their mandate is to provide affordable services.

The non-payment of services in many townships is not a new phenomenon, as for many years there has been concern in urban planning policy circles about it. Following the first general elections, the ANC-led government made the resumption of payment one of its main priorities, and from the outset the imperative of paying for services was couched in a moral language of empowered and active citizenship. The 1994 White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation Policy framed the problem in this way. Insistence that disadvantaged people should pay for improved water services may seem harsh but evidence indicates that the worst possible approach is to regard poor people as having no resources Roux and Vahle (2002). This leads to their being treated as objects rather than as the subjects of development. A key element influencing a household's willingness to pay for an improved water supply is its sense of entitlement and the occupants' attitude toward government policy regarding water supply and sanitation. In general, communities are reluctant to involve themselves when the perception prevails that it is the government's responsibility to provide services.

In sum, these studies examined the lack of provision of services by the government and the residents' non-payment for electricity, which tends to lead to protesting. However, there still exists a lack of research exploring perceptions and responses of youth with different socio-demographic characteristics in perceiving what needs to be done to reduce service delivery violence in South Africa.

Of particular significance to this study was a task team sent to Mpumalanga by the cooperative governance and traditional affairs minister, Sicelo Shiceka, to investigate

problems faced by municipalities (Sabinet, 2009). The investigation was undertaken to find out what contributory factors had led to recent service delivery protests in the province, focussing on a number of municipalities, including Thaba Chweu, Albert Luthuli, Govan Mbeki and Steve Tshwete, which had experienced violent protests in recent times. Preliminary findings were that issues raised by communities had tended to remain unanswered, whilst certain municipalities had been characterised by tension between political and administrative sections. Poor functioning in ward committees also resulted in reduced communication with communities. Fraud and corruption, and financial mismanagement in general, were perceived as major barriers to local government structures operating effectively. Inadequate levels of maintenance and management of key infrastructure also contributed to poor service delivery. The task team discovered that integrated development planning and budgetary processes were not properly aligned in certain municipalities. The Department of Corporative Government and Traditional Affairs stated that a full assessment of all municipalities in the province, as well as a service delivery audit, would be conducted, whilst the Government condemned the protests as acts of violence, intimidation, destruction of property and criminality.

Krugell et al. (2009) investigated local municipalities and progress with the delivery of basic services in South Africa. Since 1994, when the government adopted the RDP and emphasized the delivery of services to meet basic needs, some progress has been made to redress past social inequalities. However, analysis of the successes recorded has been limited to national or provincial aggregates, when much of the responsibility for meeting the RDP commitment lies at the local government level. The need for closer investigation is nonetheless clear from continuing protests over poor service delivery.

Another relevant factor associated with the recent violence is the revolutionary potential, discussed by Hough (2009) when examining the main causes and theories of revolution. The objective was to obtain, by analysing recent events in South Africa pertaining to the ongoing protest actions over service delivery at local government level, some indication of revolutionary potential. He concluded by indicating that there seemed to be two basic views, namely that violent protest action at local level can lead to revolutionary activity, or that the protest can be contained but aspects of policy will have to be adapted.

It is important to keep in mind that service delivery violence is not the only violence that has taken place in South Africa. In May 2008, South Africans embarked on a hitherto unprecedented campaign of violence against African migrants, which formed part of a

wider pattern of intolerance and antagonism against African migrants. Steenkamp (2009) concluded that at the heart of this prejudice lay socio-economic deprivation, whilst the political context within which the attacks took place could explain its timing. Much of the work on what was termed 'xenophobia' takes a citizenship approach, examining processes of nationhood, or focuses on post-apartheid immigration policy.

For Jain (2010), the occurrence of such xenophobic sentiments is a consequence of competition for scarce resources. TNS Research Surveys, conducting a February 2010 study of 2,000 residents of South African metropolitan areas, found that high levels of dissatisfaction with service delivery was a "xenophobia powder keg", driving hatred toward foreigners. Moreover, TNS found that many foreigners would accept lower wages out of desperation during periods of chronic unemployment (a consequence partly of the economic recession), further driving violence against them. Finally, the limited transparency in the allocation of housing in South African municipalities results in violent xenophobic episodes as foreigners who are able to attain scarce houses are rumoured to have improperly attained it by bribing government officials, a perception that further drives violence towards foreigners, and the state.

Fifteen years after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, Ile (2010) noted a significant percentage of the population was yet to access basic services and infrastructure because of government's slow pace of service delivery. Following the April 2009 national elections, various forums have placed the debate on good governance and issues of service delivery high on their agendas. This has led to an increasing call for the present government to speed up service delivery and improve the living standards of the majority of the population. Ile suggested that government must seriously consider all mechanisms that have hindered delivery, and revisit other issues that have contributed to government's slow delivery pace. Amongst other challenges is the issue of managing intergovernmental relations (IGR) in a more effective and efficient manner.

Another analyst, Peter (2010), reported that since 2004 South Africa has experienced a movement of local protests amounting to a rebellion of the poor. He found that the movement of protests has been widespread and intense, in some cases reaching insurrectionary proportions. On the surface, the protests have been about service delivery and against uncaring, self-serving, and corrupt leaders of municipalities. A key feature has been mass participation by a new generation of fighters, especially unemployed youth but also school students. Many issues that underpinned the ascendancy of Jacob Zuma to the

presidency also fuel the present action, including a sense of injustice arising from the realities of persistent inequality. While the inter-connections between the local protests, and between these and militant action involving other elements of civil society, are limited, Peter (2010) suggests that this is likely to change. The analysis presented draws on rapid-response research conducted by the author and his colleagues in five of the so-called ‘hot spots’.

Similarly, Jain (2010) stated that Municipal IQ has consistently found that “winter is typically prone to more protests”. There are several potentially mutually reinforcing explanations for the greater unrest in winter months. First, the increased need for electricity and power makes residents more likely to protest against electricity cuts, which have become increasingly common in recent years. Second, the damage caused by winter storms and subsequent instances of flooding may contribute to unrest. Of the instances of flooding between 2007 and 2010, which participants cited as motivating a particular protest, all occurred during the winter months. Third, the winter weather may amplify concerns residents have about the quality or absence of adequate housing. Fourth, the South African Local Government Research Centre has found that, during the winter, heavy rainfall washes pollution off urban areas, significantly undermining the quality of coastal water. The deterioration of water quality in communities along False Bay or the Atlantic Coasts, for instance, has regularly contributed to unrest in these areas.

Whatever the particular source, the ANC’s cooperative governance and traditional affairs deputy minister, Yunus Carrim, has suggested that “with the onset of winter, people’s lives become more intolerable and their frustrations deepen”, a phenomenon which often manifests itself in higher levels of protest. Within the context of the above studies, Peter (2010) reveals a key feature of these protests to be the youth, however, there has as yet been no study that examines their perceptions within the areas in which protests occur.

Arguing that community disempowerment and poor communication is at the root of citizen dissatisfaction with service delivery, Nemeroff (2010) reports housing protests in the Western Cape and the Free State in which councillors have been driven from public meetings by citizens angry about the lack of water, and riots in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan area. He indicated that government service delivery protests across the country have revealed widespread dissatisfaction about the pace of expanding public services, and argues that a deep divide exists between citizens and the elected and non-elected officials serving them. He suggests that the most natural response is perhaps to

look at the question of delivery. It is easy to argue that local governments are not delivering services because their budgets are too small, or because officials lack the skills. It is also easy to argue that citizens have not taken advantage of existing participatory structures, such as ward committees, because they have not known how to do so. There is, however, an additional layer that must be recognised if a lasting solution is to be found. Projects run by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa's (IDASA) Dialogue Unit have shown that frustration over service delivery has been exacerbated by dysfunctional relationships between citizens and government, and even among government departments, compounding mutual negative misperceptions.

Nemeroff (2010) stated that officials view citizens as unwilling and unable to solve their own problems, while they perceive government as self-serving and lacking the political will to tackle the problems facing the country. Moreover, when government has not met expectations, citizens have responded by blaming it and demanding that it perform better. In many cases officials have responded to this by disengaging from citizen groups or shifting blame, leading to increased frustration among citizens who thus feel even more out of touch with government. The result is a self-reinforcing cycle that leads to poorer delivery, with officials even less willing to communicate with the public or co-operate with each other. In addition, it has increased frustration amongst a public that sees long-standing problems going unsolved and has led to disregard for the law, and in some cases violent protests by people rebelling against a system they do not feel respects them. The government does not claim to discourage citizens' efforts to solve their own problems, and has encouraged their involvement in governance through ward committees, IDP processes, and other consultation policies. However, the widely acknowledged failure of these structures to channel true participation suggests a gap. The challenge is to balance the roles of citizens and government so that officials are held responsible but citizens' initiatives are not disempowered. Nemeroff (2010) also argues that the current crisis of service delivery creates an opportunity for South Africans to reflect on how they have framed their relationship with government and to try out new alternatives: It is crucial that this key relationship be re-established in a way that provides a basis for greater citizen action.

Nemeroff concluded by suggesting that relationships between citizens and government, especially in places where they have been broken by protests, need to be reconstituted. Often in conflict settings the first step towards co-operation is learning to talk with one another again. For that reason citizens and officials need to come together in dialogue, to

discuss the common challenges, break down the misperceptions that create conflict, and find ways to work together towards a better future. Better and more effective dialogue is in many cases the missing ingredient for ensuring that government hears criticism as a constructive opportunity rather than an attack, and that communities accept development as a challenge they can overcome rather than a frustration they have no alternative but to protest against.

Jain (2010) has stated that foreigners and their property have been targeted during service delivery protests, and that whilst the occurrence of a protest itself or the use of violent force during a protest are overt acts, determining whether foreigners were specifically targeted during protests is harder to gauge. Even in those instances in which the property of foreigners has been targeted, it is difficult to say that the destruction had a xenophobic motivation, as indiscriminate destruction of property is often a regular part of such expressions of unrest. For instance, following a community protest in Balfour in Mpumalanga on July 20, 2009, Pakistani shop owners who had their stores looted and vandalized claimed that they did not think that they were targeted because they were outsiders. Nevertheless, despite an inability to measure trends in xenophobic attacks during community protests precisely, it appears that they are becoming more common. During documented service delivery protests taking place between February 2007 and January 2009, there were only two instances of protestors definitively expressing and violently acting upon xenophobic sentiments. Since then, however, there have been seven instances of foreigners having been subject to violent attacks or having their shops burned or looted during service delivery protests. One protestor's claim during a July 2009 protest is pertinent:

People from the Free State are taking our work. And the foreigners are taking our business here. We are burning their shops because we know it will get the municipality's attention. We are African! They must force foreigners out.

Most importantly, Renat (2011) has studied the consequences of violent and non-violent protests, pointing out that current literature is mostly mute on the question of why some ethnic collectives prefer violent political action over non-violence. This question is especially interesting as recent empirical studies reveal functional effectiveness of non-violent tactics vis-à-vis violent strategies in achieving communal goals. He then asked the question "Why then do some groups still employ violent tactics?", and drawing on the literature that connects educational level with utilization of democratic practices argued

that ethnic groups that enjoy a higher educational status are less prone to using violent strategies, choosing instead peaceful protest. He tested this hypothesis using data on 238 ethnic groups in 106 states from 1945 to 2000, and the results of the statistical analysis indicated that those with higher levels of educational attainment were more likely to engage in non-violent protest. Conversely, groups that enjoy lower educational status in their respective societies tend to use violent tactics.

For Chikulu (2011), the critical challenge facing South Africa is how to reconcile the clamour for basic needs by the previously disadvantaged majority of the population with the need to develop and implement mitigation policies and measures. Local government has to juggle the needs of an energy-intensive economy based on coal with resultant high emissions, the concerns of climate change, and a host of daunting development challenges inherited from the apartheid era. Local government, which constitutes the third sphere of governance, has been mandated by the Constitution to address inequalities and facilitate local economic development. Chikulu reviews the progress made in terms of the policy framework put in place to address climate change, facilitate local economic development and provide basic services. More specifically, he examines local government, climate change and environmental sustainability issues with special emphasis on provision of basic services such as water, sewerage, and housing for the poor. He starts by outlining the socio-economic profile, the development challenges and development policy responses and concludes that although significant progress has been made with regard to policy framework, programmes and provision of basic services to the poor, as the recurrent violent municipal service delivery protests indicate, challenges remain. The major challenge facing the local government is how to link the objectives of reconstruction, redress and facilitation of local economic development with those of climate change priorities within a sustainable development framework. In short, how does the government strike a balance between addressing immediate needs of citizens and addressing climate change through an integrated policy approach?

Matebesi (2011) has also documented municipal service delivery protests, finding that social protests were to a large degree responsible for making the former black townships ungovernable. In 2004, a decade after the advent of the new political dispensation, South Africa witnessed unrest of significant proportions at local government level, despite the emphasis on good municipal governance by the national government. The lack of capacity to deliver on mandates, together with factors such as individual political struggles, poor

communication and ineffective client interface, were key contributors to the surge in violent protests. Matebesi's study was conducted in four cities in three different provinces in South Africa, aiming to identify the reasons for the violent protests and policy implications. Methodologically, it entailed 100 in-depth interviews with community leaders, councillors and municipal and provincial government officials. More than 300 community members, both protestors and non-protestors, were interviewed in focus groups discussions. He concluded that his qualitative study was useful to policymakers and planners at all spheres of government, including security services, because it identified not only the reasons for the protests but also early warning signals, and provided various lessons on how to prevent or manage these in the future.

These references demonstrate firstly that a track record exists of violent protest against poor service delivery in informal urban settlements. Secondly, these examples begin to give some sense of the factors likely to have fuelled these conflicts, namely access to basic services (water, electricity), and frustration of the citizens, specifically young people, as they regard the Constitution as having become meaningless and useless. However, there is no study that has identified the perceptions of youth and the reasons for violence, or that has focused on the perceptions of youth about service delivery violence.

The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU, 2011) reports that high unemployment, income inequality, slow land reform and poor service delivery are likely to spark protests, on a regular basis, by disgruntled shanty-town dwellers and other disaffected groups, some of which may turn violent. Most unrest will be at a low level, but some could become more serious, echoing the xenophobic attacks on foreign Africans in 2008, caused in part by the Zimbabwe refugee crisis. Other potential flashpoints include labour unrest and strikes, and conflict between the ANC and the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the Western Cape. The worst-case scenario would see inter-ethnic and inter-race conflict between South Africans. However, the EIU argued that South Africa's strong institutions, established democratic traditions and widely respected constitution will curtail the risk of instability. Zuma's appointment of loyalists to key security portfolios (justice, defence, state security, police and communications) signalled his intention to respond firmly to significant threats.

The EIU (2011) also indicates that the main risk to stability is the threat of violence posed by disgruntled shanty-town dwellers and other disaffected groups angry about job losses, income inequality and poor service delivery. A series of protests and strikes in mid-2009 highlighted the problem, although the unrest was of a lower intensity than the xenophobic

attacks on African foreigners that took place a year earlier. These were short-lived but exposed the failure of policies towards Zimbabwe, the source of an estimated three million refugees; towards migrants, who are often afforded few rights; and towards the local poor, who often lack basic amenities. Failure to tackle these and other underlying problems risk a repeat, or worse, of inter-ethnic and inter-racial violence between South Africans. Widespread strikes could become another potential flashpoint. The EIU advises foreign companies to monitor political and economic events closely and take necessary steps to tighten their own security.

The findings of these report and surveys captured negative sentiment towards government and the Constitution, however the critical question is at what point do negative sentiments translate into violent actions? This study will explore some of the converging factors that may explain the shift from negative sentiment to violent action. There is therefore a place for government efforts to improve service and bring it closer to citizens, such as the *Batho Pele* campaign, to improve service quality. At the same time, there must be efforts to help citizens develop alternative approaches to local developmental problems that take them beyond protest. As the above studies have revealed, councillors and officials should be trained, not only in how to deliver more effectively, but also in ways to engage with citizens.

Moreover, it has been revealed that the somewhat uncertain response by both government and analysts has done little to allay the public's fears. The reasons behind protests are poorly understood and this has fuelled speculation on why they occur and indeed whether they are even about service delivery. Therefore, there is a need for a study that will focus on the protestors themselves so that the reasons can be clearly understood and also what can be done to reduce the violence.

2.4.1 Increasing violence of service delivery protests

Jain (2010) has defined violent protests as those in which some of the participants have engaged in physical acts that either cause immediate physical harm to some person or are substantially likely to result in such harm. Thus, in addition to the more obvious indications of a violent protest, for example, the intentional injuring of the police, foreigners and government officials, the burning down of houses or other structures, the looting of shops, Jain has included instances in which rocks are thrown at passing

motorists, tyres are burned to blockade roads and other similar acts have occurred to constitute a violent protest. By contrast, instances of protestors organizing marches to the homes of municipal managers, handing over memoranda detailing lists of grievances or peacefully assembling in public areas, are designated as nonviolent protests. In instances where protestors have made violent threats, such as “We will make the municipality ungovernable if our demands are not met within seven days!”, they have not actually engaged in violent acts, and so the protests are deemed to be non-violent.

Statistically, Jain reported that, during 2007, approximately 41.66% of protests were violent, including a high of 48% in the 3rd quarter and a low of 23.08% in the 4th quarter. In 2008, approximately 38.13% of protests were violent, with a peak of 45.45% in the second quarter and a trough of 34.28% in the fourth quarter. During 2009, approximately 43.60% of protests were violent, with a high of 50.65% in the third quarter and a low of 21.95% in the first quarter. In 2010, approximately 54.08% of protests were violent, with 64.06% in the first quarter and 35.29% in the second quarter being violent. The proportion of protests that were violent were relatively constant during 2007-2009, and the increased rate of violent protests for 2010 should be viewed in light of only half the data for the year being yet available. Nevertheless, what data there is indicates that beginning in mid-2009 there was a noticeable, if moderate, increase in the proportion of protests that were violent. In the third quarter of 2009, the fourth quarter of 2009 and the first quarter of 2010, 50.65%, 50% and 64.06% of the protests, respectively, were violent, representing the three highest quarterly figures since 2007. Moreover, while only 36.86% of protests taking place between February 2007 and March 2009 were violent, 50.75% during or after April 2009 were violent.

The dramatic rise in community protests has been documented by other organizations, with Municipal IQ reporting that 105 major service delivery protests had taken place during 2009, and that early trends in 2010 indicated that the year had the potential to match, if not exceed, 2009’s already high figures. By any measure, community protests have become a much more common phenomenon over the course of the past years. The data also indicates that the winter months (June to August) of a given year consistently yield higher rates of protest than the average per month for that year, while the summer months (December to February) consistently yield lower rates of protest than the average per month for that year. The average number of protests per month in 2007 was 8.73, while the winter months featured a much higher protest rate, at 12 protests per month. In 2008, the average number

of protests per month was 9.83, with the winter months featuring the higher rate of 10.67 and the summer of 2007-08 featuring a much lower rate of five. The average number of protests per month in 2009 was 19.18, with the winter months featuring 28.67 and the summer of 2008-09 featuring 11.33. In 2010, while the average number of protests per month was 16.33, in the summer of 2009-2010 the rate was just 13.

Allan and Heese (2011) report a recent escalation in number and severity of service delivery protests, while the latest data from Municipal IQ's Hotspots Monitor, which tracks the occurrence of major service delivery protests across South Africa, shows that there were more major protests in 2011 than in any previous year since they were first recorded in 2004. Given this, it is not surprising that there is growing concern amongst the public as to why the protests are happening and whether, and where, they will happen next. The somewhat uncertain response by both government and analysts has done little to allay the public's fears.

The reasons behind the protests are generally poorly understood, which has fuelled speculation on why they occur and indeed whether they are even about service delivery. For Municipal IQ, the term "service delivery protest", if not always absolutely accurate, is adequate, as it describes a protest that is galvanised by inadequate local services or tardy service delivery, the responsibility for which lies with a municipality. The term is also useful in that it makes clear that there are similar protests occurring across the country. To re-define such protests in different ways confuses the issue and detracts from it being a national phenomenon with some pressing causes.

Another potentially important observation about the recent violence is that in most of the locales in which it occurred it is young people who are mostly involved. African youth face different issues, most notably joblessness, HIV and Aids and service delivery. The Southern Africa Trust (2011) reported Southern African Youth Movement (SAYM) President Alfred Sigudhla as saying that "The challenges the region faces are about young people. The most hungry are young people, the unemployed are young people and the working poor are young people". Africa already has the African Union Youth Charter, adopted by the African Union in 2006, which recognises the rights of young people and calls on all state parties to develop national policies that include them. Clayton Peters, divisional head for skills development and national youth service at South Africa's National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), argues that few policies at national level specifically address the needs of young people, therefore it is important to examine their

perceptions as they are facing different issues and it is they who mostly participate in these protests.

Jain (2010) indicates that at roughly the same juncture that community protests became more prevalent, the proportion of those that were violent also increased. The notion that the number of protests and the violence are positively correlated is additionally supported by the above-mentioned figures for July 2009 and March 2010, which were also the months in which protests were most likely to be violent. In July 2009, 22 of the 37 protests, or 59.46%, involved violence, whilst in March 2010, 34 of the 38 protests, or 63.16%, were violent. Finally, the data supports the notion that protests that take place during the winter months are more likely than those in other months to be violent, largely for the same reasons that more protests are likely to take place during that time. It is evident that violence is dramatically increasing and people who are involved are mainly young.

Research from Municipal IQ's Hotspots Monitors shows clear evidence that most protests continue to occur in informal settlement in the largest metros, a continuation of the trend of previous years. Cities such as Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Cape Town experienced a surge in service delivery protests in 2011, in addition to a number of specific cases in the provinces of the North West and Mpumalanga, such as the now notorious Balfour. Municipal IQ research on poverty levels in wards in which protests take place shows that while communities in these areas are very poor and contain some of the highest unemployment rates in the country, they still have better access to local services than residents in the poorest municipalities in the rural areas and indeed than the national average. However, they are significantly poorer than neighbouring wards. They observe communities in more formalised neighbouring areas benefiting from upgraded services and councillors and local officials cruising past in large cars, while they wait endlessly for their turn to arrive.

The sense of relative deprivation and inequality within an urban context is key to understanding why protests take place. People will wait for service delivery, but not if it seems that others in their municipality are getting services before them. Added to this are the marginalisation and exclusion felt by communities in informal settlements and the general desperation for services in these areas, as well as a lack of information from the municipality. In this environment a fast spreading rumour of mismanagement or corruption or nepotism acts as a spark to set off violence-fuelled protest. Government at all levels

(national, provincial and local) have to look, in a number of practical ways, at why service delivery protests are taking place and what can be done to mitigate them. Several studies have acknowledged that youth are the main participants in the service delivery violence, yet there is no study that focuses on their perceptions and reasons for protesting violently or on what can be done to reduce the violence. Therefore, to help the government in terms of finding the solutions to the problem, this study aims to close the gap that has been identified above by investigating the perceptions of youth in Mpumalanga Province regarding service delivery violence.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the constitutional basis for service provision, the rights, the responsibilities of the citizens, human security and related literature based on these aspects. It revealed that while service delivery is not a privilege but a constitutional right, citizens also have responsibilities. A review of youth studies showed a lack of documented information regarding residents' and youths' perceptions of service delivery violence in South Africa. There have been studies on youth politics, use of condoms, HIV and AIDS, youth culture, victimization, and rural and urban youth, but there no study that focuses on the youth and service delivery violence. There is frustration and despondency over access to basic services (water, electricity), particularly amongst young people. This gap has been identified as requiring further research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND A BRIEF PROFILE OF MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on research design and methodology procedures used in this study, in particular how data was collected. Methodology plays an important role in implementing a research study and gives direction to its design and implementation, and in the case of this study it was qualitative.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

To satisfy the information needs of any study or research project, an appropriate methodology has to be selected and suitable tools for data collection and analysis have to be chosen (Mouton, 2001). According to Flick (2006:137), a research design is a plan for collecting and analysing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she poses to the target population. Primarily, there are two distinct approaches that inform the gathering of data in any research project, namely the qualitative approach and the quantitative approach. This study is qualitative but will integrate an aspect of quantitative methodology in analyzing the data from the structured and open-ended questions.

3.2.1 Qualitative approach

Miller and Dingwall (1997:3) assert that qualitative methods are resources that researchers use in observing and making sense of the aspects of social life. According to Easterby Smith et al. (1991), the qualitative methodologist's task is to capture what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the complexity of their world, and to understand events from the viewpoints of the participants. This study used qualitative method to capture the perceptions of youth in Mpumalanga Province on service delivery violence and observe their actions and feelings.

3.2.2 Quantitative approach

A quantitative research approach is grounded on the positivist social sciences paradigm, which primarily reflects the scientific methods of the natural sciences (Creswell, 1994). This paradigm adopts a deductive approach to the research process. A quantitative methodology abstracts data from the participants into statistical representation rather than textual pictures of the phenomenon. The entire research process is objectively contracted and the findings are usually representative of the population being studied. The main strength of the quantitative approach lies in precision and control, therefore the methods employed provide answers which have a much firmer basis than a lay person's common sense, intuition or opinion. This study incorporates the use of charts, percentages and graphs (quantitative), while analyzing with the use of a qualitative approach.

3.3 POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

According to Creswell (2009:12), the target population is the concretely specified large group from which the researcher draws a sample and to which results from a sample are generalized. The main purpose of sampling is to achieve representativeness, that is the sample should be assembled in such a way as to reflect the make-up of the population from which it is taken. To achieve this, the sampling units may be randomly selected, with population defined as all the study objects or study units that are the focus of the project. The target population from which participants were randomly selected for this study were residents of two townships within Mpumalanga Province.

Sampling is the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population. In this study the researcher employed two sampling strategies, namely *stratified* and *cluster*. The former was used to randomly investigate specific youth of Wesselton and Balfour townships, and of the latter to divide the population into two groups, namely, Wesselton Township youth and Siyathemba township youth.

The sample was randomly selected from the above population, and consisted of 100 respondents from each township, to make a total of 200. The respondents were of the ages 18 to 35 years. The researcher was able to meet the total of 100 respondents in Wesselton Township and 50 respondents in Siyathemba Township. Respondents were visited during the community meeting, census training and in their place of residents. Some were

protesting and some not. Most of the participants were males and their level of education was mostly high school. Data was collected in October 2011, a few months after the series of service delivery protests had concluded.

3.3.1 Mpumalanga Province: A brief Profile

Mpumalanga, the name of which changed from Eastern Transvaal on the 24th of August 1995, is a province of South Africa that translates as 'The place where the sun rises,' from the local languages, SiSwazi, Ndebele and Zulu. Lying in eastern South Africa it is bordered by Mozambique and Swaziland in the east, and Gauteng province to the west. According to ASSA estimates for 2000, the population was 3,054,973, or 7% of the national figure. It constitutes 6.5% of the country's land area. There are slightly more females than males and the dominant ethnic group are Black Africans (92,0%), followed by Whites (6,8%), Coloureds (0,8%) and Indians (0,4%). The capital city is Nelspruit, (recently renamed Mbombela). The province is situated mainly on the plateau grasslands of the Middleveld, rising in the north east towards mountains and then an escarpment. It is split into two main areas, the Highveld, west of the escarpment, and the Lowveld, east of the escarpment. Mpumalanga is not a highly developed province with large cities and towns, but rather a rural one.

Extensive mining is carried out in Mpumalanga, including for gold, which was first discovered in 1883 in the mountains surrounding what is now Barberton, where it is still mined today. Mpumalanga accounts for 83% of South Africa's coal production, most of which is used for electricity generation and the synthetic fuel industry. Power stations are in proximity to the coal deposits and a coal liquefaction plant in Secunda is one of the country's two petroleum-from-coal extraction plants, operated by the synthetic fuel company *Sasol*.

3.3.1.1 Municipalities

Mpumalanga Province is divided into three districts municipalities, which are further subdivided into 17 local municipalities. Table 3.1 (below) demarcates the three district municipalities and seventeen local municipalities.

Table 3.1: Mpumalanga District and local Municipalities

Gert Sibande District	Nkangala District	Ehlanzeni District
Albert Luthuli		
Msukaligwa	Delmas	Thaba Chweu
Mkhondo	Emalahleni	Mbombela
Pixley Ka seme	Steve Tshwete	Umjindi
Lekwe	Thembisa	Nkomazi
Dipaleseng	Dr JS Moroko	Bushbruckridge
Goven Mbeki		

3.3.1.2 Target population/ Research Site

The target population for this study are the two townships of Wesselton, near Ermelo within the Msukaligwa Local Municipality, and Siyathemba, near Balfour under the Gert Sibande District Municipality. Both townships consist of formal and informal settlements, with an estimated population of 40,000 residents, of whom more than 50% are youths.

3.4 BRIEF HISTORY OF BALFOUR AND WESSELTON TOWNSHIPS

A brief history of the two townships will help provide background to the study.

3.4.1 Balfour Township

A small coalmining and maize farming town, Balfour was established in 1898 as McHattiesburg, after its founder Frederick McHattie. In 1905 it changed its name when the British Prime Minister Arthur Balfour gave a speech at the local station platform when his train stopped in the town. It is situated in Dipaleseng local municipality, currently part of the Gert Sibande district municipality on the western boundary of Mpumalanga, though since 2006 has been in the process of being transferred to Gauteng. Service delivery protests broke out on 7 February 2009 and in July 2010 in Siyathemba, a rural satellite township of Balfour. Shops owned by foreign nationals were looted, and more than 100 people, including women and children fled the township Sosibo (2011).

3.4.2 Wesselton Township

Ermelo is one of the larger towns in Mpumalanga, centre of a district where comprehensive mixed farming (maize, cattle, potatoes, beans, wool, pigs and sunflower seeds) is practiced. Long before the town was formally established the site was a much frequented outspan on the transport route between Lydenburg and Natal. Today the town is an educational, commercial and industrial centre. The 'Nooitgedacht' research station of the Department of Agriculture, four kilometres from the town, conducts research into crop production and animal husbandry. Several large mines extract coal and the district is the country's main source of anthracite and torbanite. Ermelo is the crossroads of three national roads.

In 1911 the town of Ermelo experienced major service delivery violence, with police arresting 113 people. They fired rubber bullets as protesters set alight tyres in Wesselton, where a man was killed. Protests have included mass meetings, *toyi-toying*, processions, stay-aways, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, looting, destruction of buildings, damaging foreigners' property, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confronting the police and destroying their vehicles, and shooting at the police.

3.4.3 Evolution of informal Settlements

The history and evolution of informal settlements in the region is diverse and varied in terms of standard (from slums to luxurious residences), location (from suburbs to city cores and protected areas), and size (from 40,000 to 50,000 residents) (Tsenkova, 2010). Among reasons given for their growth are the flow of migrants from rural areas, as well as an influx of refugees and internally displaced people. One of the most enduring manifestations of informal settlements is that they consist primarily of squatter housing.

Squatter camps are built on illegally occupied land, usually through self-help. The settlements are primarily the result of rapid movement to cities due to migration and changes in the urban economies. Located in peri-urban areas and on public or private land, the settlements have grown to become municipalities in their own right, housing hundreds of thousands of people. Although the initial developments may have been the result of the authorities turning a blind eye, particularly during the immediate post-socialist inflow of migrants to the cities, today their scale presents a severe problem. In addition to the large peri-urban squatter settlements, there are many other examples of smaller pockets of

informal housing built illegally under bridges and overpasses, on vacant plots of land close to industrial zones and railway reserves, steep riverbanks, landslides, waste dumps and landfill sites. The land is often unstable or unsuitable for urban development and has no services or access to essential infrastructure. These marginal squatter settlements are often makeshift, built with temporary materials.

Informal settlements tend to cluster in two very broad types of location – inner city and peri-urban areas. The centrality of location often implies older, more established formations close to the old city, or its industrial zones. Residents benefit from the proximity of employment opportunities, but often inhabit substandard housing on sites that are exposed to environmental and health risks, normally unfit for urban development. In most cases informal settlements, especially large scale formations, concentrate in the periphery where land values tend to be lower. These could be squatter settlements on public land or illegal subdivisions outside urban/municipal boundaries. The quality and standard of housing are generally better and some illegal connections to existing infrastructure might ensure much-needed electricity and water.

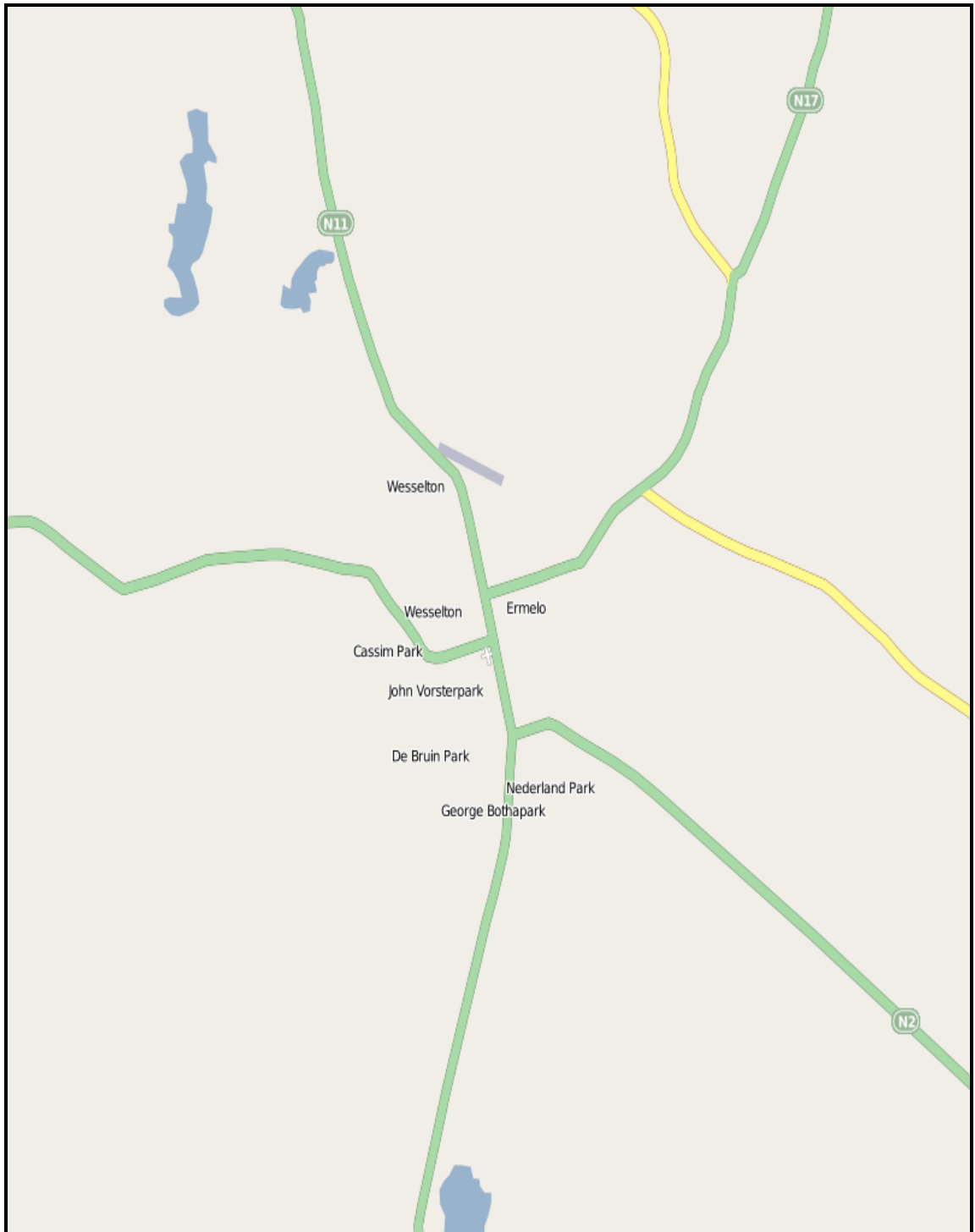


Figure 3.1: Map of Ermelo showing Wesselton Township (Mpumalanga Province)

Source: <http://www.maplandia.com/south-africa/mpumalanga/ermelo/>

The two maps (figure 3.1 above, and figure 3.2 below) show areas of the study population, both townships consisting of formal and informal settlements. These were targeted because they had the most people likely to provide the appropriate data, namely youths, as crucial stakeholders involved in service delivery violence, and who did not vote during the 2011 local government election.

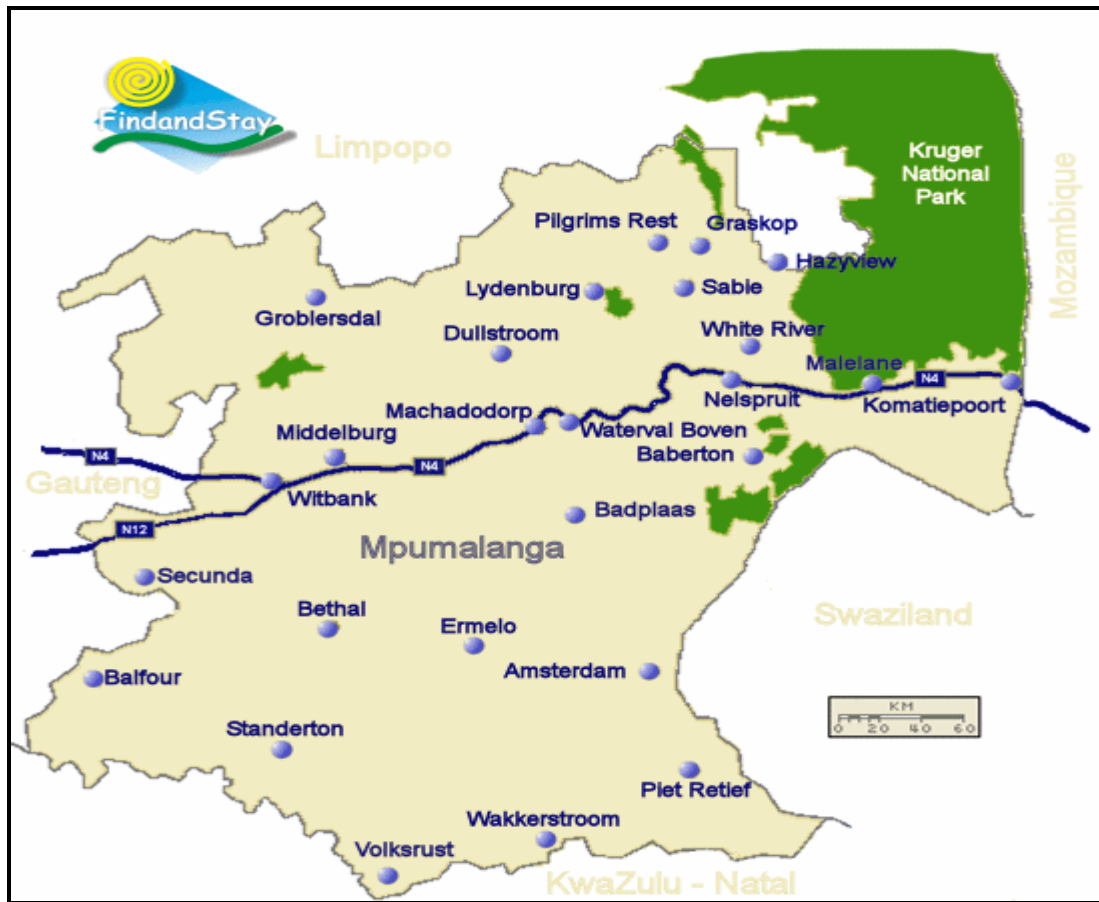


Figure 3.2: Map of Mpumalanga Province showing Balfour

Source: <http://www.rainbownation.com/travel/maps/index.asp?loc=15>

3.5 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

The primary research methods employed were questionnaires, interviews and observation, particularly of community meetings (questionnaire attached in **Appendix C**). The questionnaires were delivered by hand to the respondents, who read the question, interpreted what was expected and wrote down the answers. In some other cases

respondents asked for clarity as they did not understand the questions. The researcher had to interview those respondents who did not wish to write and their answers were recorded as in the questionnaire. The researcher distributed the questionnaires and collected them when completed. The researcher checked through the completed questionnaires and the incomplete ones were declared invalid. More respondents were added to replace the invalid or incomplete questionnaires before analyzing the data. Only the complete and valid questionnaires were used for data analysis.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections. Section A related to demographics (respondent's age, gender, ethnic group, employment and level of education) while Section B contained open-ended questions that allowed free responses and were recorded in the respondent's own words. Use of open-ended questions helped the researcher to obtain the perceptions of the youth, attitudes, suggestions and any sensitive issues. It was a direct collection of primary data. Direct elicitation methods could include stimulus to self-report, for instance, interviewing and completion of questionnaires (Miller & Dingwall 1997:3).

3.6 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The researcher undertook a process of arranging with the local Msukaligwa Municipality for permission to conduct research, and was referred to the IDP office, where the person in charge explained that research projects were part of their programme. Therefore, as a student and because the research was for academic purposes, I was given permission to enter Wesselton Township. A similar procedure was undertaken for Siyathemba Township.

Information sheets and verbal introductions were used to introduce the study, ensuring confidentiality, notification of potential risks, involvement and the nature of the study as well as its significance. Data was collected for a period of three weeks. The participants were visited in their place of residence and along the streets, whilst some were met during the census training meeting and general meetings arranged by community leaders. The researcher had the relevant skills for approaching and reaching the participants, and although there were some complications the researcher managed to overcome them.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is deemed one of the most crucial stages of research, regardless of the methods, i.e., qualitative or quantitative. Glasne and Peshkin (1992:37) maintain that data analysis involves “organising what you have seen, heard and read so that you make sense of what you have learned”, a view supported by Gillham (2000:25): “the purpose of analysis is to faithfully reflect in summary and organised form of what you have found”. In essence, data analysis enables the researcher to organise and bring meaning to a large amount of data (Struwig & Stead, 2007:169). *Microsoft Excel* (2007) was used to analyze and bring meaning to the large amount of data collected.

According to Durrheim (1999), qualitative data analysis tends to be primarily an inductive process of organizing it into categories and identifying patterns. Literature was examined by the researcher to learn about the various techniques of analyzing qualitative data. Babbie (1995) makes it clear that the most general guide to analyzing qualitative data involves looking for similarities and dissimilarities. In this study, the data was classified into categories and scientifically presented in percentages. Graphs, tables, and charts were used for clarity when presenting the data.

3.7.1 Validity and Reliability of Data

Validity refers to the extent to which the information collected is true and represents an accurate picture of what is being studied. Schumacher and Millan (1993) make the point that internal validity is the degree to which the explanation of the phenomena matches the realities of the world. This refers to the extent to which findings of a given study are accurately presented. To assess the validity of data, the interpretation of data will reveal the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in South Africa regarding service delivery protest. The researcher will assess the extent to which those findings will be reliable

3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research was limited in the following ways:

1. Research was conducted in only two townships.
2. Only the perceptions of Mpumalanga-based protestors were used to recommend solutions to the problem.
3. Participants were scared to answer the questions, with most thinking I was an investigator or member of the police. As a researcher I had to convince them that I was a student and that the research was for academic purposes only.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has identified the methods and the tools that were used in this study. To satisfy or meet the objectives an appropriate methodology has been selected and suitable tools for data collection and analysis chosen. The primary research methods for data collection were questionnaires, interviews and observations. The principles of conduct are the most important ones as they addressed the issue of ethics and procedures. In this study, verbal permission was obtained from the participants and local municipality.

An overview of the research participants will be shown in **Appendix A** and will provide detailed responses of the participants to the interviewed questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the analysis and interpretation of data collected from the young people of Wesselton and Siyathemba townships in Mpumalanga Province on their perceptions about service delivery violence. The presentation of data is systematically linked to the format of the self-developed questionnaire attached in Chapter 3 and a code table of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix A. The data will be classified into five sections. Section **A** will analyze demographic information for both townships. Section **B** will analyse the reasons for service delivery protest and the most demanded services in these two townships. Section **C** will analyze the reasons the protesters were protesting violently and discuss the perceptions of whether the government is doing enough to address the problem and the reasons. Section **D** will analyse what respondents think are the causes of poor service delivery or what leads to lack of services in their townships. The last section, Section **E**, will analyse the possible solutions to the problem of protesting against poor service delivery and will analyse what the protesters think should be done by the government (at all levels, national, provincial and particularly local, as the delivery arm to the people) to address the problem. Data will be carefully reduced and scientifically presented in percentages. The graphs, tables, and charts will be used for interpretation of data, and be organized and presented separately based on youth perceptions and their differences in terms of gender, ages, employment and level of education. A conclusion will be drawn at the end of the chapter.

SECTION A

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

The researcher found that the protest movement within both townships, Wesselton and Siyathemba, appeared to be mainly driven by the youth. The young people and Youth Forum consisted primarily of people between the ages of 15 and 35, the majority of whom had completed Grade 12. The members of the Youth Forum had various political affiliations, some being members of the Young Communist League (YCL) and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), whereas others did not belong to a political party. The leaders of the youth committee emphasised that although members might belong to political parties the committee itself focused on the local community.

Table 4.1: Gender and Age respondents category

	Wesselton (n=100)	Siyathemba (n=51)
GENDER		
Male	51	34
Female	49	17
AGE		
Under 20 yrs	6	7
20 - 30 yrs	83	41
31 - 35 yrs	11	3

The majority of the respondents in both Wesselton and Siyathemba were male (Table 4.1), and in both areas were in the 21–30 years (83% in Wesselton and 82% in Siyathemba), 31–45 years (22% in Wesselton and 6% in Siyathemba) and under 20 years (12% in Wesselton and 14% in Siyathemba) age categories.

Table 4.2 (below) illustrates that 100% of the respondents were South Africans and, in terms of ethnic group, in Wesselton, the majority of the respondents were Zulu speaking (69%) followed by Swazi speaking (26%) and Sotho speaking (5%). In Siyathemba, the majority of the respondents were Zulu (78%) followed by both Swazi and Sotho (12% each).

Table 4.2: Ethnic Group and Level of education

	Wesselton (n=100)	Siyathemba (n=51)
ETHNIC GROUP		
Zulu	69	39
Swazi	26	6
Other (Sotho)	5	6
LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
High School	68	46
College/Diploma	32	3
Degree	0	2

Table 2 also shows the level of education of the respondents, and in both areas the majority of the respondents had high school level (Grade 12 and some had not completed Grade 12). In Wesselton, 32% went to college and the majority were females. None went to University. In Siyathemba, 6% went to college and 4% (2) to University.

Table 4.3: Employment and respondents who participated in service delivery protest and those who did not

	Wesselton (n=100)	Siyathemba (n=51)
EMPLOYED		
Yes	16	10
No	78	41
Self employed	6	none
PROTESTED IN SD		
Yes	69	37
No	31	14

Table 4.3 (above) illustrates that the majority of the respondents in both townships were unemployed. Most females received a child grant, of R240 per month, and in Siyathemba both males and females were unemployed. In Wesselton 16% were employed and 6% regarded themselves self-employed, as they were selling fruit and vegetables on the streets for a living, whereas in Siyathemba 19% of the young people (respondents) were employed and none self-employed. The table also shows that in Wesselton 69% of the respondents participated in service delivery protest and of these 40% were males and 29% females. This shows that males were protesting more than females. 31% respondents did not participate in service delivery protest while 20% were females and 11% males. In Siyathemba, 73% of the respondents participated in the protest and amongst them 56% were males and 17% females. 27% of the respondents did not participate in service delivery protest, amongst whom 16% were females and 11% males. According to the data collected, it is believed that the level of education plays a vital role in the participation of young people in service delivery protests. It is evident that:

- in Wesselton, out of 32% respondents with diplomas, 18% did not protest
- in siyathemba, 6% of respondents who had diplomas did not participate in service delivery protest and only two respondents were holding a bachelor's degree. One of them protested (the member of youth forum) and the other did not.

The above clearly shows that males participated more than females in protesting and most of the respondents who did not were those with diplomas or degrees, or who were

employed. Therefore, the researcher can conclude that level of education plays a significant role in protesting, as alluded to above, and that the respondents who participated in protests were those with high school qualifications. Those at a tertiary institution were less likely to engage in violent protest.

SECTION B

4.3 REASONS FOR PROTESTING

A self-designed questionnaire was used to explore challenges facing South African society in terms of service delivery, and to identify the concerns of protestors, the most demanded services in South Africa, and the perceptions of the protestors about the causes of poor service delivery. What did they think was hindering it? The questionnaire was also designed to probe the protestors' thoughts about violence and criminality often being associated with service delivery protests. It had three main items, the first of which will be analysed in this section.

Firstly, in order to understand the protests, the researcher had to determine the perceptions of youth, as key participants, and why these protests were taking place. The respondents in both townships were asked what they thought were the reasons for the protests. It was noted that there were complex and varying reasons in both townships and though issues of service delivery were cited, they were not the only ones. The protests were also about a range of other municipal issues, including maladministration, nepotism, fraud, corruption and the failure of councillors and administrators to listen to residents within these townships.

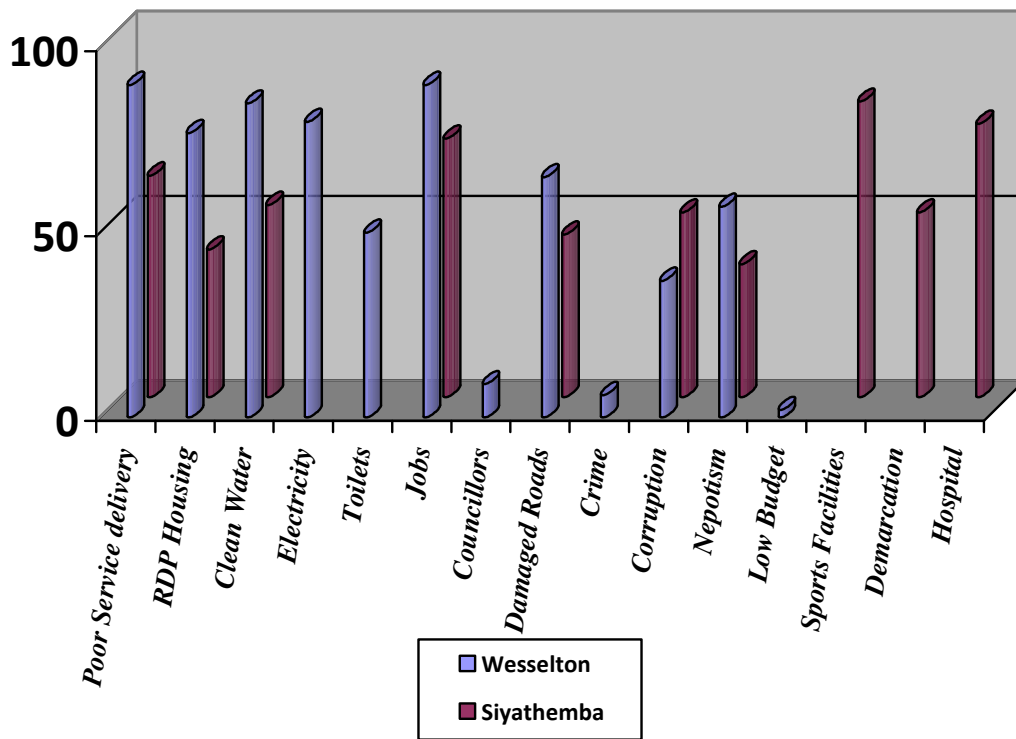


Figure 4.1: Concerns of protestors in Wesselton and Siyathemba townships

Many of the protests took place in different wards within both areas and in all wards protesters gave similar reasons. Respondents from Siyathemba township revealed that a memorandum had been submitted to the Dipaleseng municipality containing their demands (Appendix B).

4.3.1 Poor service delivery and employment

Figure 4.1 (above) illustrates the reasons for protesting in both townships from respondents who were protesting and those who were not, and it clearly shows that poor service delivery and job opportunities were the main reasons for protesting. In Wesselton, the majority of the respondents (90%) were protesting because of lack of or poor service delivery, and some of these were also unhappy with job opportunities. They said that only those people who were ANC members or who were friends and families of the councillors found employment. Job bribery was also a reason for protesting. Out of 100 respondents

from Wesselton township, 78% were unemployed and the majority (65%) were between the ages of 20-30 years, 11 (8%) between the ages of 31-35, of whom only three were employed and 5% under 20 years. 16% were employed and the majority of the respondents who were employed were females (11%) between the ages of 20-30. 5% were males and 6% of both males and females were self-employed and between the ages of 20-30.

In Siyathemba township, out of 51 respondents, 70% were protesting because of employment, saying that mines were employing foreigners and people from outside Mpumalanga. Two respondents said that they called three times for an interview and were doing very well but they employed a foreigner instead. 30% of respondents indicated that “you have to bribe for the job otherwise you will remain unemployed because foreigners and people from other provinces are the ones who get employment”. The great majority of respondents said that government was giving them empty promises and they stated that he was not delivering the service, therefore they were protesting. With regards to the above analysis, it must be noted that it was the young who were most severely affected by the lack of jobs. Many of those interviewed expressed a desire to move forward with their lives but were wondering how they were going to do that without employment, and how they were going to support their families.

Unemployment impacts on an individual’s ability to meet basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and education, as well as on access to basic services such as water supply, sanitation, and electricity, since they are less able to afford these services. The sustainable provision of services depends, among other things, on the ability of users of services to pay for those they receive, but the question is begged as to how they will afford to pay for the services if they are unemployed.

4.3.2 RDP houses and toilets

Amongst other reasons for protesting, RDP Houses and toilets (specifically in Wesselton) were the main issue and demand. Youths of Wesselton were dissatisfied with the provision of houses, and 77% were unhappy with the provision of housing, saying houses were not provided for them or projects were incomplete.



Informal settlement in Wesselton

Respondents said the system was corrupt, and some had been waiting too long for the provision of the houses with nothing being done. Respondents from Thusi Section Ward 9 within Wesselton township were a case in point. Some of the respondents did have houses but they were not in the good condition or of good quality. Thousands of households did not have toilets, in this township, particularly Thusi section, and were still using the bucket system. Another respondent from Thusi said “We are paying our neighbours thirty rand for us to use their toilets and sometimes they don’t allow us, we have been waiting for toilets for the past ten years and we do not have houses as you can see we are staying in shacks”. The RDP promised one million houses in the first five years of democratic government but young people of Wesselton were still waiting for them and the majority had lost trust in the government. The issue of houses in both townships remains a challenge, and out of 51 respondents in Siyathemba, 40% stated that RDP houses were demanded. Other respondents said that they did have houses but they were inadequate and not of a good standard as they were cracking and leaking.



Cracking and leaking RDP house in Wesselton

Secure housing is a productive asset, which may protect the poor against the most crushing impacts of poverty. The 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Section 26 (1) and 28 (10 c) provides that:

- (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
- (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right.

Section 28 (10 c) provides that, “Every child has the right to basic nutrition, *shelter*, basic health care services and social services” [emphasis mine].

Respondents had based their demands on the above sections of the Constitution and these sections clearly show that the state is obliged to take positive actions to meet the needs of these people, and those living in conditions of poverty, homeless and inadequate resources in South Africa as a whole.

4.3.3 Clean water, electricity and damaged roads and streets

In Wesselton, out of 100 respondents, 85% were protesting for clean water, 80% for electricity and 65% for road maintenance. In Siyathemba, out of 51 respondents, 52% said that they needed clean water. Respondents did not complain or raise issues about electricity in Siyathemba, and 44% were unhappy about roads, saying that all the roads were damaged and there were no pavements. Youths of Wesselton said they needed water, that electricity was on and off, and that streets and roads were damaged and dirty.



Damaged streets in Wesselton

Much still needs to be done by mechanisms such as the National Public Works Programme (NPWP), adopted in May 1994 for the implementation of some goals of the RDP. The Public Works Programme (PWP) is supposed to be the vehicle through which most other delivery programmes such as water, roads and sewage removal are implemented. Its key objective was to ensure that the above services would be delivered in equitable manner and to empower communities through providing job opportunities and transferring skills.

4.3.4 Corruption, nepotism and un-nominated councillors

Figure 4.1 (above) also illustrates corruption and nepotism amongst the major reasons for protesting. 37% respondents in Wesselton gave their reasons for protesting as corruption, 57% nepotism, 6% crime and only 2% the budget. Some 9% said councillors were not nominated by the people therefore they were not working for the people. Some other respondents from Wesselton revealed that their councillor bought a new expensive car and renewed the pavement for his street but not for the whole community. His friends and family were allegedly now employed by the municipality, and they were employing ANC members. In Siyathemba township, 50% cited corruption as reason to protest, 36% nepotism, and none un-nominated councillors, but they did accuse municipal officials of employing their friends and being corrupt.

Regarding the above information, municipal councillors and officials must take their share of blame for the protests in Mpumalanga province, and it is noted that these reason are not

unique to these areas. The protests were against the failure of service delivery of all three spheres of government (local, provincial and national), although municipalities are being targeted as they are the most accessible, as the sphere of government nearest to the people. They are the delivery arm of government, and most of the protests are directly experienced by them. However, local government, the municipalities, are not the only government sphere that is blamed by the protesters.

4.3.5 Sports facilities, demarcation, police station and hospital

Out of 51 respondents, 80% said they needed a sports and recreation centre, 50% that demarcation (see 4.3.5.1, below) was overdue, and 74% said they needed a hospital or mini-hospital. Respondents indicated that they did not have a hospital in Balfour and had to travel to Standerton, 180 kilometres distant. They also indicated that the clinic had inadequate resources, therefore it was usual not to receive all the treatments they needed. Furthermore, 80% of the respondents indicated that they needed sports and recreation facilities, and a youth centre where they could develop their skills and involve themselves in different sports. This was of added importance as they were not working and so required a place for recreation. Such skills could help the youth sustain themselves in such a way that would generate income.

4.3.5.1 Demarcation process

Demarcation was also a reason for protesting, with the respondents mentioning that since 2006 the Municipality had been talking about the process but this issue was overdue and needed to be resolved. Demarcation refers to a cross-boundary municipality in a situation where parts of a local municipality are located within the borders of two different provinces. Therefore, Dipaleseng Municipality, which is the local municipality of Siyathemba township, is located within the borders of Mpumalanga Province and Gauteng Province. The respondents wanted to be located under Gauteng Province.

The participation of communities and stakeholders in the demarcation process is important, to ensure that the Demarcation Board considers all the different views people have about boundaries. It is governed by three different pieces of legislation, all of which relate to each other, namely the Constitution, the Municipal Demarcation Act and the Municipal Structures Act (1998). The Constitution and the Local Government Municipal

Structures Act, 117 of 1998, of the Republic of South Africa made provision for an Act of Parliament to authorise the establishment of a cross-boundary municipality.

According to the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG 2008), communities can be involved in the demarcation process in three ways:

1. Members of communities may respond to invitations by the Board to submit written representations on how boundaries in their area should be drawn;
2. If the Demarcation Board decides to hold a public meeting to discuss boundaries, members of the public can air their views;
3. Any member of a community can object to the demarcation of a municipal boundary or the delimitation of a ward. The Board must take account of the objection and respond to the person.

It is the responsibility of municipalities to ensure that all community members participate, particularly those who are illiterate or who cannot transport themselves to a public meeting.

Table 4.4: Services mostly demanded in both townships

Wesselton		N=100		Siyathemba		N=51	
Employment		90%		Employment		85%	
RDP Houses		77%		Sports Facilities		80%	
Clean Water		85%		Clean Water		52%	
Electricity		80%		Demarcation		55%	
Road Maintenance		65%		Road maintenance		60%	
Toilets		20%		Hospital		74%	

As indicated in the Table 4.4 (above), the demands in both townships are similar, but they are not the same. Employment is mostly demanded in both townships and particularly by the youth of Siyathemba, who believe that job opportunities are there but they are being deprived of them. Balfour is known as a small coalmining and maize farming town and there are job opportunities in mining, but only for foreigners. In Balfour's Siyathemba township, the memorandum from the community was submitted in July 2009 to the Dipaleseng Municipality containing the above demands, but at the time of the research

(2011) nothing had been done and the demands were still standing. In Wesselton's Thusi section, of 20 respondents interviewed all were demanding toilets and houses.

SECTION C

4.4 REASONS CERTAIN PROTESTS WERE VIOLENT

This section will analyse reasons for protesting violently and discuss whether the government is doing enough to address the problem of poor service delivery and lack of services in Mpumalanga Province. It will also seek to understand why the respondents think the government is doing enough or not doing enough to address the problem.

Table 4.5: The main reasons mentioned by the respondents for protesting violently

Reasons for respondents in Wesselton

-
- 78% of the respondents said that they were tired of empty promises and of waiting, therefore they were expressing their anger and frustration. They wanted to show the government that they meant business.
 - Some other respondents felt that they were deprived, that the government was ignoring them and not doing their job.
 - 4% said that sometimes the police were the cause of violent protests.

Reasons for respondents in Siyathemba

-
- 66% of the respondents stated that government was not responding to their demands, and that councillors were putting their needs first, therefore they were tired of waiting, lies and empty promises.
 - Some other respondents indicated that they were trying to speed up things because the government did not understand the negotiation language, so protesting violently was the only language they understood.
 - 24% of the respondents said interfering and involvement of the police was the cause of violent protest as they were arresting community leaders.
 - Other respondents indicated that they were angry because of job opportunities being given to foreigners while they were unemployed, yet they were qualified for those positions.

Table 4.5 (above) clearly indicates respondents' anger, frustration, deprivation, hopelessness and involvement of the police as main factors fuelling violent protests.

People had expectations from the government which were not being fulfilled, contributing to violence being at its worst after the elections. In the lead-up to elections the ruling party and its councils pushed service delivery and the promise of service delivery. People's expectations rose but after the election nothing was being done so the people felt they had been given empty promises to gain the votes. As a result many young people of Mpumalanga (Wesselton township) did not vote during 2011 election, feeling that the ruling party was not delivering and there was no other political party they could vote for.

Table 4.6: Is the Government addressing the problem in Mpumalanga Province? (percentages)

	Wesselton	Siyathemba
Is the government doing enough to address the problem?		
Yes	10	0
No	90	100

To answer the above question, respondents were asked whether the government was doing its best or enough to address the problem, and reasons for their opinions. In Wessellton 90% respondents said 'no the government was not doing enough', 10% said 'yes the government is trying'. Their reasons behind these opinions will be discussed below.

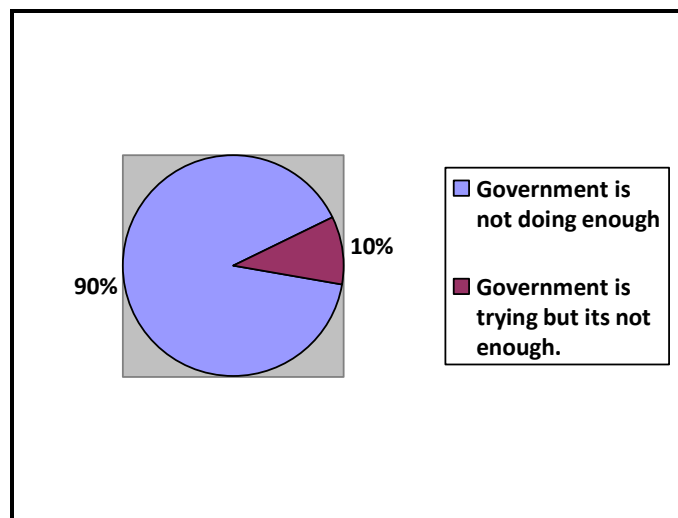


Figure 4.2: Views of Respondents from Wesselton township on government action

Figure 4.2 (above) illustrates clearly that the majority of respondents, 90%, in Wesselton township, felt and thought that the government had not done anything to solve the

problem. Their reasons were that nothing had been done since they protested, and they saw no changes which indicated improvement: “Unemployment rate is increasing”; “Government is doing nothing”; “We are still waiting, government is not responding”; “They are ignoring the people”; “There is still corruption, government don’t care about the people they don’t listen to the people”; “Government is the reason we are protesting”; “If he was doing enough we were not going to protest”; “nothing yet has been done we are still waiting and we are going to protest again”.

On the other hand, 10% of the respondents thought that the government was trying, although it was not enough. They said that government was trying because there were RDP houses, but they were not enough and the problem was at local level, with the councillors. One respondent indicated that they had suspended one of the corrupt officials, which showed that the government was trying. Other respondents said they were receiving child grants therefore the government was trying, but the problem was the councillors. One respondent said that she was receiving a bursary for her studies therefore she could not blame the government.

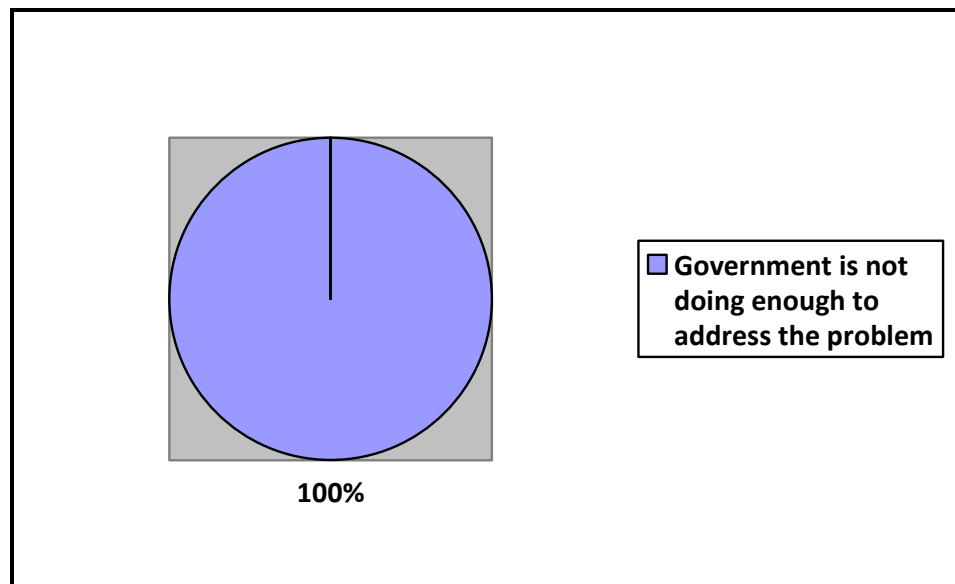


Figure 4.3: Respondents from Siyathemba township who think government is addressing the problem and those who think nothing has yet been done

100% of the youth in Siyathemba thought that the government had done nothing to address their problems. The majority of the youth indicated that government representatives had visited their township but that as yet there had been no changes, “Which means that

government came to give us empty promises, lied to us”. Other respondents said that the government was just focusing on improving lives of their comrades and friends; they were unwilling to address the needs of the community. Some respondents indicated that “Since we protested nothing has been done. The situation is still the same and we submitted the memorandum to the Municipality but until now there is no response, our government is failing us”, and “Roads are still damaged, the demarcation issue is still on, there is no sport and recreation centre. The situation is still the same as before.”

SECTION D

4.5 CAUSES OF POOR SERVICE DELIVERY / HINDRANCES TO SERVICE DELIVERY

In this section, the researcher will analyse the data collected on the causes of poor service delivery. Respondents were asked what they thought were the causes of poor service delivery in their township.

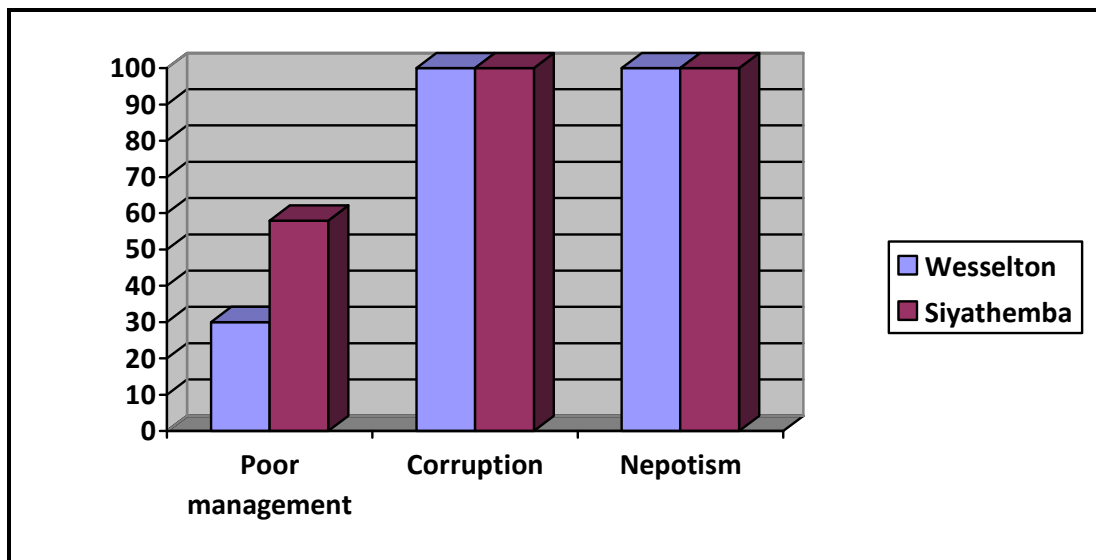


Figure 4.4: Causes of hindrance of service delivery in both townships

4.5.1 Poor management and maladministration

In Wesselton, 30% of respondents said that poor management due to unqualified officials and unqualified leaders was hindering service delivery. They said that the municipality employed people just because they were ANC members or activists, without suitable qualifications, and they did not even know how to manage the finances or the projects. Therefore, they did not deliver to the people and at times they did not finish projects or only delivered poor services. For example, RDP houses in Wesselton were cracking and leaking due to poor management. In Siyathemba, 58% of respondents said that management was misusing the money, employing unqualified people within the municipality. They did not consult the community to find out their needs and they did not practice *Batho-Pele* principles. Other respondents said that management was employing foreigners at the mines, which hindered the community from getting employment there.

4.5.2 Corruption

Figure 4.4 illustrated that in both townships 100% of respondents said that corruption hindered service delivery. Respondents were saying that councillors were greedy, they were 'eating money' and did not think of the people. They used money for their personal benefits: "RDP houses are corrupt in Wesselton, that is why until now we don't have houses", one respondent said. In both townships, respondents pointed out corruption, because one did not get a job if one did not pay a bribe for it. Deploying unqualified people in municipal positions because they are friends or family of a councillor's family is also corruption, and causes poor service delivery because these people do not perform or lack information. In Siyathemba, some respondents alleged that the Mayor was putting all the money into his pocket. Some other respondents indicated that the procurement system was corrupt because tenders were given to certain ANC members or friends of councillors, and that they also had to pay bribes for those tenders.

4.5.3 Nepotism and low budget

Nepotism has led to slow delivery of basic services to poor communities. In both townships, 100% of respondents said nepotism hindered service delivery. Some other respondents in Wesselton said those who were in power were selfish: "The councillor paved his street only"; "Our street needed a pavement as well but he thinks for himself and his kids are now working." In Siyathemba, respondents agreed that those in power put their needs first and did not think of the people. Only 2% of the respondents said that a low budget was hindering service delivery.

From the above analysis it is evident that the culture of so-called 'cadre deployment' and nepotism is contributing a great deal to municipalities' inability to serve communities. Cadre deployment and nepotism are common in that skills and experience are not a requirement for one to be appointed. The reality is that beneficiaries of both are appointed to key strategic positions, but that the majority of these people fail to perform. Corruption and nepotism impede community access to housing and services, and lead to widespread protests among the communities. Above all, the results show that the protests are about the failures of service delivery of all three spheres of government, though municipalities are being targeted.

SECTION E

4.6 POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO REDUCE THE PROTESTS

This section will analyze data on the opinions of the young people on what they thought were possible solutions to the problem, which is the last item of the study. Youth were asked what they thought needed to be done to reduce protests. Respondents provided the following solutions outlined in Table 4.7 (below).

Table 4.7: Perceived solutions from respondents in both townships

-
- Government has to put the needs of the people first
 - Government needs to respond to people's demands, deliver to the people
 - Government has to stop making empty promises, stop lying and provide services
 - More community meetings, consult the community so that their needs can be known and deliver accordingly
 - Employ people within the community, specially at the mines, stop nepotism
 - Stop corruption, otherwise there is no solution
 - Give people their democratic right by providing information to the people
 - Leaders must make sure that there is a relationship between the government and the people
 - Employ qualified people so that they can do a proper job, stop cadre deployment
 - Let the people nominate their own councillors
 - Increase the budget
 - Youth programmes so that they can empower their skills
 - Monitoring of running projects within the community
 - Government need to be accountable for their mandate
 - The solution is to bring back the white government, we will now vote for white government
 - Stop spending money on unnecessary things, like buying expensive cars, instead of delivering the service to the community
 - Government need to be transparent, open up about issues
 - Government need to work together with the community
 - Practice *Batho-Pele* principles.
-

These responses show that all spheres of government are blamed by the respondents, since the protests are ultimately a reflection of the failures of the cooperative governance system as a whole and not just local government. There has to be a coordinated response from all three spheres of government in order for these solutions to be met. Government should act quickly to provide services to the people, because the majority of South Africans, not only the respondents, are becoming impatient with government for failing to provide them with services as guaranteed in the Constitution. Municipalities cannot find solutions to their own problems without involving communities. Solutions from communities need to be taken into consideration, the absence of the community means that local government is missing out an opportunity to promote 'checks and balances' and also empower the community to hold their government officials accountable.

4.7 SUMMARY

The main results of the study can be summarized as follows:

i) Reasons for Protesting

The results indicate that the major reasons for the protests were about service delivery issues and employment in both townships (Wesselton and Siyathemba). Service delivery issues and employment were not the only reasons for protesting, with respondents also revealing that the protests were about a range of other municipal issues, including maladministration, nepotism, fraud, corruption and the failure of the councillors and administrators to listen to residents within these townships. Many of the protests took place in different wards within both areas and in all wards protesters gave similar reasons.

ii) Reasons Certain Protests were Violent

The results show respondents' anger, frustration, deprivation, hopelessness and involvement of the police as main reasons for violent protests. The results also indicate that people were tired of waiting, that they had expectations from the government which were not being fulfilled. Respondents indicated that government had done nothing to address the problem in either township, while in Siyathemba they indicated that although the president had visited them, until now there had been no changes, the situation was still

the same. Only 10% of respondents said they thought government was trying to solve the problem.

iii) Hindrance of Service Delivery and Solutions from the Community

The respondents also indicated that corruption, nepotism, cadre deployment, poor management and maladministration were hindering service delivery.

The last section of this chapter outlined the possible solutions from respondents' point of view on what needs to be done to reduce the problem of service delivery in Mpumalanga Province. Municipalities alone cannot find solutions to their own problem, without involving the community.

From the interpretation phase, the researcher will be able to summarise findings and make recommendations and draw conclusions regarding a profile of the youth in Mpumalanga Province towards service delivery protests. This will be illustrated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study has examined the perceptions of youth on service delivery protests, with specific reference to service delivery protests of Wesselton and Siyathemba townships in Mpumalanga province. This chapter provides a summary of the findings, and makes recommendations aimed at reducing service delivery protests and improving service delivery in South Africa.

5.5 RESEARCH FINDINGS

After analyzing the data it was found that protest movements appear to be driven mainly by the youth. In both townships (Wesselton and Siyathemba) it was found that young people were the ones most severely affected by lack of services, jobs and houses. The South African Youth Movement (SAYM) also acknowledged that “the challenges the country faces are about young people. The most hungry are young people, the unemployed are young people and the working poor are young people”.

The results show that poor service delivery is the cause of violent protests in both townships. Results also show that males participated more than females in protesting. The most educated respondents, for example, those with diplomas and degrees, did not participate in service delivery violence, nor did those who were employed. The study indicates that education level plays a significant role in protesting, that the respondents who participated in protesting were of high school qualification level and those studying at tertiary institutions were less likely to embark on violent protests. Therefore, the study indicates that amongst the youth in both townships the following groups were the most affected by challenges of poor service delivery:

- Unemployed youth
- Illiterate youth
- The poorest

Results also reveal that young people of Wesselton, particularly those in the Thusi section, Ward 9, felt that they were deprived of the services, as they did not have toilets, but were sharing them with neighbours. The councillor was capable of buying himself an expensive car yet people did not have houses. These findings confirm those of Alexander (2010), who highlighted that it is no surprise that protest activity has mainly emanated from shack settlements and townships rather than the better resourced suburbs. The results also show that councillors are not accountable for the people as they put their own needs first. It was alleged that the councillor in Wesselton township was greedy, while respondents from Siyathemba claimed that their Mayor was greedy and 'taking all the money' for his personal benefit. This supports the views of Alexander (2010), Ngwane (2010a), Booysen (2009), as they argued that inadequate service delivery and lack of accountability by local councillors were ubiquitous as justifications for protest.

The study reveals that young people in both townships were protesting over poor service delivery, including a lack of water, sanitation, electricity and housing, as well as damaged roads, absence of a hospital and poor infrastructure in general. The youth also identified several youth development priorities, the most demanded services for Wesselton and Siyathemba townships being:

- Youth employment
- Sports and Recreation facilities
- Hospital in Siyathemba township (Balfour)
- Clean water
- Electricity
- RDP Houses
- Toilets, road maintenance
- Demarcation process to be resolved (Balfour).

Furthermore, results shows that the councillor, particularly in Wesselton, was failing the community as he thought mainly of himself, members of his political party (comrades), family and friends. Oldfield (2006) notes that councillors and ward committees have been criticized for failing to remain non-partisan and independent of political parties while ward councillors have been dismissed as subordinating constituent accountability to party accountability (Pithouse, 2007).

Results show that the majority of the respondents were protesting violently to reflect their frustration and anger. The majority indicated that they were tired of empty promises and of waiting, therefore they were expressing their anger and frustration and wanted to show the government that they meant business. Some other respondents felt that they were being deprived, as they were saying that the government was ignoring them. Public officials were not doing their job, and a few (28%) said that sometimes police were the cause of violent protests. The above confirms the theory of Barker, Dembo and Lewin (1941), that aggression is caused by frustration, which in turn results from unfulfilled expectations. This frustration then turns into aggression when something triggers it. Protestors have indicated that they have waited for too long for the services to be delivered, whilst promises for service delivery made by government, who protestors view as elitist, have been largely unfulfilled. Therefore, the young people of Mpumalanga province are frustrated and are behaving or protesting aggressively. Results also indicate that the involvement and interference of the police results in violent protest.

Furthermore, this study reveals that respondents have lost their trust in government as they have indicated that it is not accountable to their demands. In Wessellton, 90% of respondents said the government was not doing enough to address the problem of poor service delivery, 10% said it was trying, although not enough. 100% of the youth in Siyathemba thought that government had done nothing to address their problems. The majority of the youth indicated that although the government visited their township there had been no changes, and a memorandum had been submitted to the local municipality. Respondents felt that those public officials, as well as the government, were not accountable to their mandate. Campbell (in Chapman, 2000:185) states that public officials, who are employed in complex government departments, have to be accountable to their immediate superiors, the political leadership and the public at large. It can be argued that accountability is the 'fundamental prerequisite' (Raga & Taylor, 2005:19) for preventing the abuse of power and for ensuring that power is directed towards the achievement of efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness and transparency, and also that governments must accept responsibility for what they do and are therefore accountable to the society.

The study results also illustrate that both municipal government, Msukaligwa and Dipaleseng municipalities suffer from a severe lack of managerial and other skills. Youth has indicated that municipal officials and councillors have limited experience in the field

of municipal service provision, they do not know how to do the job, and are unqualified. They were deployed because of nepotism. Results also indicate that corruption and nepotism are the main causes of poor service delivery and hinder it. This accords with articles and reports related to service delivery protest, as they usually acknowledge that there are factors that account for the current protests and these can be placed into three broad categories: systemic (such as maladministration, fraud, nepotism and corruption in housing lists); structural (unemployment, and land issues); and governance (such as weak leadership and the erosion of public confidence in leadership). The results of this study provide evidence that Wesselton and Siyathemba townships are affected by all the above factors and that they have led to protesting.

In addition, results indicate that respondents are still angry and they become sensitive when they are responding to the questions. Other respondents indicated that there was no solution unless nepotism and corruption were stopped. Poor people will always suffer. Some other respondents said they did not see any solutions, except bringing back the white government, because this one does not care about the people or their needs. Respondents and youth in both townships have a general understanding of the basic services that the municipality is expected to deliver to its citizens, and they also have an understanding of *Batho Pele* principles.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the findings of the study, the critical challenge facing Wesselton township (particularly Thusi section Ward 9) and Siyathemba is poor service delivery, and associated challenges that hinder the government in playing a meaningful role in enhancing basic service delivery within Mpumalanga Province.

The following recommendations aim at assisting in reducing violent protests within Mpumalanga Province and will also give an insight into what can be done to reduce service delivery protests in South Africa as a whole:

1. To overcome the challenges of empty promises and the people waiting too long, the South African government (specifically local government) has to put people's needs first. Councillors must do their job for the benefit of the people, not for their own ends, and government has to respond to people's demands. They must deliver services to the people, stop making empty promises and lying. In South Africa, it is

legislated that local government should interact with communities in an endeavour to carry out the responsibilities of service delivery and so ensure growth and development in a manner that promotes and enhances community participation and accountability (White Paper 1998: ix). Furthermore, the Municipal Systems Act, (Act No. 32 of 2000), section 73, stipulates that municipalities should use allocations in order to give priority to the basic needs of the local community, engage in the development of the local community, and ensure that all members of the community have access to basic services.

2. To avoid corruption and nepotism, services must be delivered fairly and without bias. Section 195 (1) (d) of the Constitution of 1996 provides that services must be provided impartially, fairly and without bias. Based on the above it is recommended that the government must provide services in an equitable and sustainable manner. Respondents have also mentioned that if the government officials can stop nepotism services can be better delivered. Kroukamp (2007:16) has found that municipal performance to deliver quality services adequately is questioned because of alleged financial irregularities, maladministration, corruption and mismanagement.
3. There has to be a relationship between the government and the people. Community participation and accountability is a mirage in these two townships (Wesselton and Siyathemba). Local government has to respond to the grievances of community members, for example, a memorandum was submitted to Dipaleseng but the community of Siyathemba township did not receive any response from the municipality. Atkinson (2007:53) agrees that these mass protests are directly linked to municipal ineffectiveness related to service delivery and poor response to the grievances of community members.

In order for the community of Siyathemba and Wesselton townships to be able to bring back trust of the government, it is recommended that the government has to show that it cares for the people by using and following *Batho Pele* principles as a broader strategic mechanism to enhance accountability and community participation. The community needs consultation, information, openness and transparency, therefore, as part of the solutions from the respondents it is recommended that municipalities practice and make use of *Batho Pele* principles as part of service delivery.

5.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is limited by the following:

1. Only the perceptions of Mpumalanga-based protestors were used to formulate recommended solutions to the problem.
2. The research was conducted in only two townships of Mpumalanga province (Siyathemba and Wesselton).

5.8 CONCLUSION

Altogether this study has revealed the nature of the protests, the causes of violence against these protests, and the response from government and possible solutions to reduce protests. It is suggested that the government (all spheres) implements the aforementioned recommendations and, based on the possible solutions from the respondents, the study proposes that municipalities should use, practice and follow *Batho Pele* as a broader strategy to enhance service delivery, not only in Mpumalanga province but in South Africa as a whole.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Responses from respondents in both townships (*Microsoft Excel Table*).

Appendix B: Balfour Memorandum

We as the youth of Dipaleseng we demand the following:

- Training centre – to develop skills
- Policies governing recruitment – in any public or private sectors around Dipaleseng (Dipaleseng youth must have first preference)
- Visible and Active youth officers.
- Police station in Siyathemba, Mini-Hospital, F.E.T.
- Stadium – Function fully and be fully equipment also accommodate all sporting cotes, maintenance and security.
- To be included in this new financial year.
- Youth councillor, Youth Centre.
- Full – time cleaning campaign.
- C.P.F (C.S.F) must be active or re-launch.
- Public and Private sector should contribute to the development of our youth.
- Proper clean water and proper simulation
- Quarterly report: on development and expenditure from the councillors.
- To know tendering system.
- Houses
- Streets lights and much more high mass lights.
- Paving of all roads and storm water drainage.
- Municipality must re-claim the land from private sector
- Dipaleseng incorporated into Gauteng Province (Demarcation)
- All the computers within the Library to be utilized and have accesses to internet.
- Community hall must be available for community.
- Officers of public works must operate daily and train local personnel to work on those officers.

7 days we demand our respond (in Siyathemba Hall)

Youth Representative

Municipality Representative

Appendix C: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

All participants are kindly requested to fill in this questionnaire. The results will be used to evaluate the perceptions of youth on Service Delivery violence in Ermelo townships (Wesselton and Siyathemba). This questionnaire is for academic research purposes. As youth, you are regarded as a crucial stakeholder in service delivery violence; therefore, your co-operation in the completion of this questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. I assure confidentiality and anonymity in your responses. NB: Please complete the following sections by marking with an X.

SECTION A

1. In which township do you reside?

Wesselton	Siyathemba
-----------	------------

2. Please state your gender?

Male	Female
------	--------

3. How old are you?

Under 20	20-30	31-35
----------	-------	-------

4. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

Zulu	Swazi	English	other
------	-------	---------	-------

5. Highest level of education?

Primary	High School	Collage/Diploma	Degree
---------	-------------	-----------------	--------

6. Are you employed?

Yes	No	Self Employed
-----	----	---------------

7. Have you participated in Service delivery protest before?

Yes	No
-----	----

SECTION B

1. What do you think are the reasons for the service delivery protests?

i.-----
ii.-----
iii.-----
iv.-----

2. Which services do you think are mostly demanded in your township?

- i.-----
- ii.-----
- iii.-----
- iv.-----

3. Why are some protests violent and others are not?

- i.-----
- ii.-----
- iii.-----
- iv.-----

4. Is the government doing enough to address the reasons for the protests in Ermelo/Siyathemba Townships?

Yes	No
Why do you think so?	Why do you think so?

5. What do you think are the hindrances of service delivery in your township?

6. What do you think are possible solutions to the problem of service delivery protests?

- i.-----
- ii.-----
- iii.-----

Thank you for your participation