

6.5.3. Letters and Committees

I contend that the process of SDPs in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha involves certain structures which do not comprise the popcorn protests categorisation. The processes include community meetings, signing of registers, drafting of letters, seeking permission from community leaders, mobilising communities for protests and assigning marshals for the day of protest. Reflecting on how activists mobilise their community to protest, Mandla a male protester in Khayelitsha with a wealth of knowledge on protest dynamics stated:

Ah there are letters neh. You have to speak to the head of the area, neh then he will give you the go-ahead for the meeting that is to be called. Then letters will be sent like to each and every household. This happens way before the day of protest. You see, today is Monday, they can start calling the meeting today when they want the meeting on Sunday when everybody is not at work – after church around about 3pm. And they will call the meeting at that time...we would want all household members to be there – but if the household members are not there then maybe one person from that house must go and represent that certain house because sometimes there are registers so that they can know that these people are actually coming to our gathering.

In both Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, leaders wield authority and are listened to and approached for mobilisation purposes and other community related concerns. An appreciation of these leaders helps us understand how protests come about, the local networks they capitalise on, and the access they have to material and political resources (Ballard et al., 2006). The leaders' desire for 'all household members' to attend meetings resonate with ideas of horizontalism. Horizontalism, as a form of organising assumes that all people are equal and should actively participate in fundamental decisions that affect their lives (Rowe and Carroll, 2015; Sitrin and Azzellin, 2012). Horizontalism was best displayed in the General Assembly process during Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protests in the USA in 2011. Although not at the same level as the horizontal democracy decision making practices applied in the movements in Egypt, Spain, and the United States' OWS movement (Sitrin, 2011), Gugulethu and Khayelitsha community structures aspire to make collective decisions through modified consensus. Given that it is not always possible for everyone to attend the community meetings, leaders encourage families to send their representatives to the meetings. Sending family representatives to the meetings ensures that there is a family member who can contribute to decisions that affect the family and community. Participating in meetings also helps

build solidarity and collective identity necessary for collective action. Leaders, household members, letters, and registers are crucial resources in mobilisation. Indeed, both material and non-material resources such as money, services, concrete benefits, friendship, labour, legitimacy, technical expertise and authority are important in mobilisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1978; Jenkins, 1983, della Porta and Diani, 2006).

Mandla's comments above suggests that there is some level of organisation in the community protests. Registers are meant to provide a general idea to the organisers of the number of people who promise to attend the protests which is helpful in planning; the registers can also be used to identify and even discipline the people who do not participate in these processes. Activism in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha is, as Ballard et al., (2006) note, "built upon existing and material resources" such as leaders, letters and registers. For Alexander (2010:36), "while there are class interests that can unite workers and non-working or underemployed township residents, there are also divisions, especially in terms of use of time and organisation." While this is plausible, in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, I found that communities take considerations of days when most of the members of the community will be available – for example on Sundays to hold the meetings for planning purposes. Considerations for 'Sundays' are in tandem with the RMT's emphasis on organisational processes, organisational base and coordination by the majority of political actors (Carey, 2009).

While the actual protests are usually conducted on weekdays to disrupt the normal routine of business days and get the attention of the government and media, the planning for the protests is done prior to the protest event. Meetings for the protests are usually done at a time which affords many people an opportunity to attend. This suggests aforethought and planning, which does not suit the popcorn protests. This does not mean there are no protests that suddenly erupt. There are times when a pressing need requires an immediate reaction. This was best exemplified by the hostage situation that took place in Gugulethu that I referred to earlier.

The hostage situation shows that sometimes protests erupt when an urgent need such as water is shut without people's knowledge. In these cases, people sometimes take to the streets right away to pressure the government to deliver the service in question immediately and to register displeasure at the lack of consultation. Clearly, activists do not passively accept the actions and

inactions of municipalities. They resort to the quickest way that will restore their services. In one such similar case, protesters held hostage a contractor who was installing water meters in Gugulethu – an action that led to the provision of water. Mama Dlamini praised the hostage situation:

Now reflecting on this success story that happened here, the water meter, it was a great success... If we look at the hostage that we had about those guys who were installing water meters, because it was just like that, in less than 30 minutes everything was sorted out, and the debate that everyone was running away from, it happened you know, at that moment. And then that leads me to conclude that cellphones, people's contacts are very useful in protests. Because it was just a question of calling us. 1, 2, 3 is happening. And then we called people to come. People came and gathered. We informed them in seconds (quoted by Chiwarawara, 2014:100).

In a short space of time, activists staged a protest. A protest erupted and rapidly subsided. Yet before the hostage, activists tried to engage with the municipality and only adopted a more radical tactic when other means failed. Mama Dlamini's comments reveal that activists utilised the networks they had to phone people to fight for water provision. Clearly this protest did not require a lot of planning and organising. Interestingly, spontaneity is not only prevalent in SDPs, but organised movements also engage in spontaneous actions. A Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (WCAEC) activist and Valhalla Park Civic member, Gertrude Square, applauded her community's display of power through, among others, spontaneous action, negotiation, persuasion and force:

If someone saw a white man or somebody just hanging around a letterbox or by the water meter, then they [would] just call the people. A lot of people are out of work here and that is what makes us so strong. If something happens during the day, then we get all of the people together and we hop in our cars and we chase them right out. And we warned them, if ever you come in here again, there is going to be trouble ... [But in one case] we talked [to them], and they said: "No, we don't want to come here to cut people's water off, but we are the contractors. The contract is a piece of bread." [We said to them:] "It's a shame...you leave me without water, you leave me thirsty with children, yet it's your piece of bread." [Then] they made an agreement with us. [They said:] "So, that my children can eat, we will come in here and we will issue the water cutoff papers." So they asked us nicely, can they come in here and issue the papers to the people, but if it comes to the point when the people don't pay, then they won't cut the water off. So we said fine. (Gertrude Square, interview, in Miraftab and Wills, 2005:208).

In Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, activists draw on social, religious, and political networks they have in the community. Interestingly, I found that members of different political organisations have separate political meetings in the community hall. Although these political meetings serve the needs of each political organisation, leaders use their networks to connect with leaders of the political organisations who then mobilise their members when the need for protests which affect the community, such as service delivery, arises. Leadership and organisation ensue from pre-existing association, networks or community that exist in a population (Oberschall, 1973). Participants were quick to point out that committees that address political meetings are apolitical. In underlining this point, Fezile, a street leader in Gugulethu stated that “you do not drink water as a political entity.” Indeed, networks against service delivery protests are strong and transcend party lines. A caveat to this involves individuals and political parties using legitimate service delivery needs to benefit their political ambitions.

However, as is often the case, individuals and parties are advised to steer clear of party regalia and slogans to accommodate all aggrieved community members. This is in keeping with the logic espoused by autonomous movements which refuse to use party and union flags, acronyms, and banners at protest events (Flesher Fominaya, 2015). Similarly, the Movement for the Right to Housing, a precursor movement for the 13-M (after 13 March) forbade the use of flags and acronyms and barred unions and parties from ‘advertising’ at their events (Haro Barba and Sampedro, 2011). Understandably, the refusal to use recognisable names, labels and flags makes it difficult for analysts to get a handle on the protests; analysts then mistakenly regard such protests as popcorn. In this context, journalists, scholars, and other commentators often regard episodes of intense protest as “spontaneous, unprecedented and unexpected” due to a lack of clear visible network between established social and political organisations and protesters (Flesher Fominaya, 2015:142). Although observers fail to recognise a known network between protesters and conventional organisations, different individuals play a critical role in mobilisation which challenges the ‘spontaneous’ descriptor.

6.5.4. Youth, Women, Men, Leaders and Comrades in mobilisation

My study found that the youth are not actively involved in the community structures that meet on a regular basis to discuss community problems. The youth, many of them unemployed, who felt hopeless about prospects of getting a job were quite instrumental in protests. Many of these were school dropouts and some of them were involved in petty crimes. In both Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, there were some youth who were involved in gangsterism. One of the focus groups in Gugulethu had about 12 members of the same gang. In Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, the youth were not as actively involved in the community meetings that took place as the elders. The elderly people stated that the youth often got involved in protests on the day of the protest action. For the older protesters, some youth ‘hijack’ protests. The youth were actively involved on the day of protests and helped in staging dramatic protests – which made the protests more visible. Youth who are students at local colleges and universities also got involved in the protests – whenever they could. Given the low involvement of the youth in community meetings, older people often use the more traditional forms of communication such as ‘letters’ and ‘word of mouth’ instead of social media. In the case of OWS, the youth creatively used social media platforms to disseminate their messages.

Both women and men actively participated in service delivery protests. Women’s involvement is understandable in the often-patriarchal communities of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha where women are responsible for some daily chores such as cooking, washing and bathing children. In view of this, services such as water, electricity and housing directly affect them. Women were also actively involved in the community meetings. Several women got emotional as they discussed the basic services and developmental challenges they faced in their communities. This finding echoes results elsewhere in South Africa where women played prominent roles in the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) and Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) struggles; older women – called the ‘grannies of Soweto’ – actively participated in SECC (Egan and Wafer, 2006; Buhlungu, 2006). Men played a crucial part in both the community meetings and in the protests. They held several key positions in community structures. However, in the party-political structures, both men and women occupied key leadership positions. Men who had anti-apartheid struggle credentials were

held in high regard and were listened to in the community even by the notorious youth. The youth, women and men played diverse roles in mobilisation and protests.

Leaders were central in organising meetings as well as in consciously mobilising people to join the protests. To expand the protest network, protest leaders mobilised different people – not merely friends to get involved in protests. In Gugulethu, Sithembiso, a protest leader, reflected on whether protesters network with friends or friends of friends. The protest leader explained with enthusiasm:

Not really ... it's not about friends, it's about talking. To say ... our interest is seeing such and such happening in our area... We just talk about it informally. Now maybe two or three will buy into it ... [then] I am going to sell it. Now whilst I am busy [doing his business from home] ... I usually sit under that tree when it is hot. Then I meet people who pass by and I sell it. It's going to be my way of selling it ... Because when you are leading people, you have a way of talking (quoted by Chiwarawara, 2014:88).

In interpreting this extract, Chiwarawara (2014) argued that the phrase “buying and selling” articulates ways the leader influences others to join protests. The extract brings out economics ideas of demand and supply to speak about the marketability of protest ideas; “they can be ‘sold’ or communicated – using persuasion not money as a means of exchange. It also suggests that there are people who can ‘buy’ or have an affinity with these ideas – potential customers who are willing and able to buy protest ideas” (Chiwarawara, 2014:88). This study revealed similar sentiments in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. This suggests that protesters actively mobilise other residents and frame their problems in a way that garner bystander support.

As discussed, while I see SDPs as a form of social movements, I do not regard them as SMOs. In fact, although the market-centric formulation of movements which views SMOs as firms which accumulate resources, employ staff, and ‘sell’ ideas to potential recruits (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) applies to rich Western NGOs and not necessarily many movements in the global South, I found that leaders tactfully ‘sell’ protest ideas through persuasion and painting a picture of urban development and thereby win over potential ‘buyers’ into the protest network. Also, although I do not view leaders in SDPs as issue entrepreneurs in the strict Resource Mobilisation Theory sense, I consider leaders particularly those with prior mobilisation experiences as crucial in defining, creating, and manipulating grievances in a manner that steers collective action (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Essentially, while RMT is overly economic and fails to fully reflect on SDP praxis,

its value lies in acknowledging that activists engage in producing and interpreting grievances differently based on strategies they seek to utilise (Martinez Lucio et al., 2017).

If a protest is regarded as ‘spontaneous’ partly because it has no connections to leaders or an organisation, then Gugulethu protests do not quite fit the description. Sithembiso, was keenly aware of his leadership role in mobilisation as exemplified by going about his business while at the same time ‘selling’ protest ideas well before the protest event. As a leader, he was also conscious of his influence – for example in the ‘way of talking’ consciously framed to garner support from prospective adherences and neutralise and demobilise antagonists (Snow and Benford, 1988). I interviewed Sithembiso for the current study. He lamented popular media’s reluctance to ‘attend’ protests they organise in Gugulethu. He commented:

Now, when we call these media guys (people) to come and cover our protests they do not want to come. And we even call them to tell them about the protests before so that they may prepare but they don’t want to come. So that’s a problem.

Sithembiso’s account reveals an understanding of the value of publicising their protests through the infrastructure that society provides such as ‘communication media’ (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Indeed, popular media selectivity involves cherry picking the big and dramatic protest; small, orderly protests without incidents are underreported. Aside from cherry picking large, dramatic protests, sometimes newsmedia only graces the scene of the protests when the protest action is already underway and report only one side of the story. My findings reveal conflicted views regarding the involvement of popular media in protests. On the one hand, protesters want the popular media to publicise their protests, on the other hand, they are aware of media’s tendency to misrepresent them.

The act of inviting popular media personnel to report on the protests ahead of time shows that protests are planned in advance. In fact, Tata Xolani in Gugulethu mentioned that protests only happen when other processes have failed: “But you know when you have exhausted all avenues you know the outcome [people resorting to protests]” (quoted by Chiwarawara, 2014:89). While activist-scholar Trevor Ngwane recognises “all [the] protocols observed” (van Schie, 2014:np) before a protest as insufficient to rename the ‘popcorn’ descriptor, I see a close link between ‘exhausting all avenues’ with the ‘avenue’ of protest itself. If people take the trouble to follow all the peaceful processes to secure development, why do we suppose that they do not tap from their

‘organisational base’ of the formal processes to prepare and execute protests. Suggesting that processes involved prior to protests do not exist in protests only makes sense if we divorce actors involved in the ‘protocols’ or ‘avenues’ from the people involved in the protests that follow the failed formal processes.

Another reason South Africa’s SDPs are regarded as popcorn protests is because they are often localised. Indeed, South Africa’s protests tend to be localised in nature (Paret, 2018). While this is true of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, evidence in these two localities also show that protesters mobilise and organise beyond the immediate locality. Olwethu, a woman protester in Khayelitsha who has been on the housing waiting list for the past 20 years explained:

On the day of the protest, besides us gathering here at one place [pointing to an open area], we move from this place. Like we know where our councillors are. They are at X section [pseudonym to protect the identity of my participants] ... so on the day of the protests we will go from here to the first councillor there and give out our grievances. And then again we march to a second councillor there on Y section.

Prior planning helps to know when and where activists will gather on the day of protests. From the open field people visit councillors, sometimes of different Wards. This is important because it shows that problems and demands of protesters transcend ward divisions and, in many ways, townships have similar problems. Importantly, it suggests that there is camaraderie between people of different wards and communities. The same issue was raised by Gugulethu protesters where Ward 44 residents sometimes join with other wards and at other times with other locations outside Gugulethu – under the leadership of well-connected leaders (Chiwarawara, 2014). This is important as it suggests a level of coordination. Interestingly, some protesters, particularly the protest leaders or students at tertiary institutions, made connections to other struggles. For example, some protesters mentioned protests of poor people as the same, citing examples of the farm workers strikes in the Western Cape, the Fees Must Fall protests of students, the workers’ strikes, and service delivery protests. While these links are not at the level of well-established SMOs, it is clear that protesters do not see their struggles in isolation. In the case of Gugulethu, connecting Ward 44 protesters with protesters from other wards ensue from planning, networking, and coordination.

In both case study areas, but particularly Gugulethu, many protesters who had anti-apartheid experience in activism assumed the role of leaders and they – as one of the protest leaders stated – ‘conscientise’ potential recruits. Such conscientisation is crucial in building a political consciousness. Some of these experienced leaders were also former soldiers in the liberation struggle with connections and a wealth of organisational knowledge. Well-connected protest leaders with anti-apartheid experience were respected even by the notorious youth gangsters and had what Chiwarawara (2014) called a ‘badge of honor’ at least among protesters especially the not-so-connected protesters. In a Gramscian sense, these leaders are ‘organic intellectuals’ who provide ‘conscious direction’ to protesters; they help turn rank-and-file protesters from ‘common sense’ to ‘good sense’ comprised of historical awareness. Likewise, Runciman (2011) found that ‘bridge leaders’ are central for political education in the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). Similarly, in Brazil, the experienced MST members (called militants) who have participated in or led several land occupations “clarify to potential recruits their constitutional rights to land which they explain will only be enforced by the government after land is occupied” (Karriem and Benjamin, 2016:24; Karriem, 2005). Effectively, in my case studies there is a desire for everyone to participate and avoid the non-hierarchical forms of organisation. At the same time though, there are leaders who wield experience and power which are relied upon for organisational experience, which seems to show a level of hierarchy. Here, there is a disconnect between what people aspire and what actually happens in practice.

The centrality of leaders in protests clarifies the structure in protests and gives grounds to question the popcorn descriptor which characterises SDPs. For example, the 13-M is often described as spontaneous with scholars like Blakeley (2006:342) arguing that 2004 Madrid train bombings were “entirely spontaneous and were organised through mobile phones.” The reality though was that a handful of seasoned activists with extensive networks they had built in prior mobilisations organised the protests (Flesher Fominaya, 2011; Sampedro, 2005). Although individuals who did not have initial contacts to the instigators joined the movement when it was underway, Blackeley’s (2006) ‘entirely spontaneous’ description is flawed. Similarly, in Gugulethu I noted that some leaders who had anti-apartheid struggle experience played an important role in mobilisation. Although people who are not initially connected to leaders and mobilisers join once the protests are underway, this does not make them an ‘entirely’ popcorn protests which spring from nowhere.

I found that many protesters in Gugulethu called each other ‘comrades’ – suggesting that there existed a comradeship which helped in their struggles. The word ‘comrade’ is a struggle term which speaks of the people who had participated in the struggles against apartheid; these seasoned activists serve as mentors of the next generation while at the same time also participating in the struggle for urban development. These seasoned activists kept referring to having waged a struggle against apartheid and having to fight again in the post-apartheid era. Indeed, activists come from diverse backgrounds; protesters stated that their activism includes people from different religious backgrounds (even pastors) and political parties. To accommodate everyone, protesters are discouraged from wearing party regalia. Interestingly, protesters stated that activism is sustained through the meetings of different political parties – who meet for their own political agendas. When community needs arise, protest leaders make use of their connections to mobilise the different political party leaders and members to take part in the protests. In Gugulethu, one of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) leaders took me to an ANC meeting – suggesting some level of cooperation between people from different political parties. Somewhat similarly, Staniland (2008:41) found that “[e]ven the ANC and SANCO members in the area [in Gugulethu] acknowledge that the local council is failing to deliver on its promises and to include people in decision-making promises.” This then makes people of different parties band together not as ‘political entities’ but as suburban residents. Residents’ meaning-making helps to forge collective identity and solidarity among social movements and protesters, which helps in mobilising and movement activities (Hunt and Benford, 2004). Social movements participants’ ‘subjective elements’ which include values, identity and status are crucial in activism (Ballard et al., 2006). One protest leader in Gugulethu, Moses, stated that the regular meetings “keep the fire of protests burning.” I argue that although protest actions die down after a while, these regular meetings keep the network and momentum which help in future mobilisation. Such periodic meetings suggest a level of organisations which is unlike the spontaneous categorisation. While von Holdt, et al., (2011) found that many community protests do not leave any lasting level of organisation in their cases, I found elements of continued activism in Gugulethu. These are certainly not similar ‘in every word’ to the organisation in social movement organisations, but I found that some of the people I interviewed for my Masters thesis – in 2013 and 2014 were still actively involved in protests when I interviewed some of them in 2016-2017 for the PhD thesis. There is no data for

this in Khayelitsha because I only conducted research for the PhD thesis. These insights require further interrogation in Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and other areas where SDPs have taken place. Research would benefit from a longitudinal study of service delivery protests to ascertain levels of continuity, organisation, coordination, and growth over time.

Service delivery protesters in Gugulethu engage in different processes before they protest. When these processes fail, they make use of their structures to plan and organise protests. Community committees call meetings, send out letters to call residents, consciously mobilise residents, meet to discuss their grievances, course of action and the protest they will take, the repertoires they will use. Flowing from these inner working of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, I have argued that the popcorn metaphor does not correctly capture the dynamics of protests in these two communities.

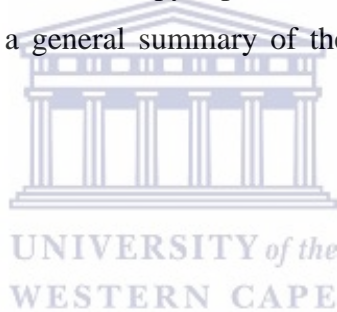
6.6. Conclusion

This chapter captured the subjective reasons, feelings, thoughts, views, and perceptions of the protesters. While service delivery circumstances painted a picture of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha communities, the ways in which the community members understood these circumstances, what they felt and thought about actions and inactions of the state and what they thought should be done helped understand what contributed/gave rise to protests. I argue that the reasons provided show that protesters in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha compared their community circumstances and delivery with other places in Cape Town. This, I argue, helps us think about township struggles, not in isolation, but in the context of the greater Cape Town.

Findings from this study showed that the repertoires and organisation of service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha involved an important degree of planning and organisation which I argued fell between the social movement organisation and popcorn/spontaneous protests. The activists had diverse backgrounds which they drew upon in mobilising for protests. Different categories of people brought to the fore their own unique contribution to the protests. Protesters were sustained by different political and other meetings which were then drawn upon when the time for mobilisation came. This meant that the community networked before a protest action, during a protest action and after a protest action. However, protests were not the preferred means of engagement. Activists protested owing to the failure of the other means of engagement to yield

results. Protesters employed different tactics in order to pressure the government to deliver more and better services. In Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, protesters used a variety of means to secure service delivery, for example land occupations, electricity reconnections, etc. but rarely used courts for service delivery related complaints.

Service delivery protesters in both Gugulethu and Khayelitsha followed peaceful and formal processes before they resorted to protests. These processes required planning and organisation which included getting permission from community leaders, drafting letters, making decisions about the tactics necessary to solicit a response from the government. Based on these processes, I argued that although the service delivery protests and other struggles for development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha were not as organised as to call them social movement organisations, but they were also not as unorganised as to call them popcorn/spontaneous protests. It is my contention that these community protests occupy a place between these two extremes. The next chapter concludes the thesis with a general summary of the findings and their relation to the research questions.



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

This study investigated service delivery protests and the struggle for urban development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, Cape Town. In this chapter, I tie up all the key ideas developed from all the chapters. Crucially, I provide a general summary of the findings that emerged from the study and their relation to the research questions set out in this thesis. To do this successfully, I first trace the journey I have trodden starting from the background of the study, the gaps I found in the literature, the theory I employed, the ways I gathered data and the findings that emerged from the research. This synopsis highlights my triangulation of different data sources which has enriched the insights of the study.

Following this, I consider the findings in relation to each of the 3 interrelated research questions. The first question restates and reinforces the ‘end’ or reasons for service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. Apart from highlighting the real and justifiable reasons residents protest for, the discussion shows that so-called spontaneous SDPs struggle for the same things that the more organised social movements fight for as well. The second research question considers the repertoires deployed in the SDPs and the reasons for choosing each of the repertoires. The aim of the second research question is to show the repertoires activists choose, why they choose these repertoires and the level of thought and preparation required in each of the tactics. The section also shows that some of the repertoires deployed in these protests are similar to those utilised in organised social movements. The third and final research question analyses the organisational processes that characterise SDPs in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. Here, I consider the ‘form’ of the service delivery protests to evaluate the oft-held view that contemporary service delivery protests are popcorn/spontaneous. I see my contribution to be the insight that service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha are not as rigidly organised as to call them social movement organisations but they are not as unorganised as to call them popcorn protests. Service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha occupy a middle ground, a hybrid (spontaneous-organised movement) which incorporates both relatively organised and informal means of mobilisation and

organisation. I end the chapter with the implications my study has on literature, Social Movement Theory and practice.

7.2. General summary of the chapters

In **Chapter 2**, I highlighted South Africa's impressive legal framework. I considered the Constitution of South Africa, the supreme law of the country, which emphasises that citizens' rights to basic services, including housing and water, should be provided equitably, fairly, and impartially. I also discussed the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS) and its emphasis on transforming the public services, including service delivery. I also considered the Integrated Development Planning (IDP), an umbrella plan that guides municipalities' budgeting and decision-making processes aimed at improving the quality of life. Following this, I painted a picture of the contexts within which protests occur in South Africa. Historically, three centuries of colonialism, four decades of apartheid and Cape Town's neoliberal stance are to blame for creating unparalleled forms of inequality (McDonald, 2008). In 1950, the then government passed the Population Registration Act (PRA) which grouped people into three distinct racial types. Informed by the PRA, the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 segmented cities and towns into racially exclusive suburbs and thereby eliminated racial residential mixing. By 1991, towns were hypersegregated – a condition where there was high racial residential segregation. In 1994, South Africa transitioned to democracy, which brought new hopes for inclusive development. However, South Africa is still characterised by marked inequalities which manifest themselves in, *inter alia*, the delivery of housing, electricity, water, and sanitation. I contrasted service delivery in the greater Cape Town with that in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. Essentially, the chapter showed that there are two Cape Towns – one which is well serviced and rich and another which is poorly serviced and requires urban development such as Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.

In **Chapter 3**, I reviewed literatures on global protests for urban development as well as 'organised' and so-called 'unorganised' service delivery protests in South Africa. I considered the experiences of what is often considered spontaneous protests around the world, namely, in the United States of America's student sit-ins in the 1960s, Eastern Europe's and post-Soviet republics' colour revolutions in the 1990s and 2000s, Spain's 13-M, Spain's indignados/the 15-M movement, the Arab Spring, and South Africa's so-called 'popcorn' protests.

In South Africa, I considered the struggle for better services or urban development. The struggle for service delivery has been fought by ‘organised’ and ‘unorganised’ protests. When the African National Congress (ANC) won office in 1994, it introduced a raft of measures to address the historic marginalisation of Black communities and neighbourhoods throughout the country which had very little access to basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, and housing. However, South Africa is still characterised by extreme inequalities which manifest themselves in many areas including service delivery such as housing, electricity, water, and sanitation.

Almost paradoxically, protests for service delivery have increased since 1994. Since the fall of apartheid in 1994, organisational forms and repertoires that were used in the anti-apartheid struggle continue to shape post-94 struggles in both ‘organised protests’ and ‘unorganised protests.’ After the ANC government adopted a neo-liberal macro-economic policy framework it considered non-negotiable in 1996, it censured and even expelled members who publicly criticised its new framework. These activists and other dissatisfied activists who felt the brunt of the policy shift which resulted in privatisation and commodification of services, health spending cutbacks, trade liberalisation and the adoption of the willing buyer and willing seller to land redistribution banded together. The disgruntled members engaged in protests between 1997 and 2006 which, over time, became more formal and structured organisations, called new social movements, which fought for a range of services.

Although some of the community formations that comprised the new social movements remained existent at the local level, by 2006 the majority of these movements were either in decline or defunct due to a host of reasons (Runciman, 2015; Naidoo and Veriava, 2013). Paradoxically, around the time organised movements declined, unorganised or ‘spontaneous’ service delivery sprang onto the national scene, many of which protested for similar issues demanded by the new social movements before them. While such protests dotted the socio-political sphere since the 1990s, from 2005 South Africa witnessed a steady increase of such, reaching sustained levels of protests in 2009 (Municipal IQ, 2017; Runciman et al., 2016). These protests were over housing, electricity, water, other municipal services, corruption in the allocation of houses and plots, and actions and inactions of authorities. These protests that have appeared on the South African scene as unorganised, not under the umbrella of any organisation, the ones often called spontaneous protests. These protests have occurred in many cities and are widely reported by popular media

and scholars. South Africa's post-1994 protests have predominantly emanated from Black and Coloured areas and communities, with rare protest action from better serviced and resourced suburbs (Alexander et al., 2018). My study focused on service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, two predominantly Black communities in Cape Town which has many socio-economic problems.

Then, in **Chapter 4**, I presented three sub-theories of Social Movement Theory that provided the lenses to view protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. The theories explained 'why', 'when' and 'how' protests emerge. Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) underlined the key resources that are necessary for rallying people to stage a 'protest' and the organisation necessary in aggregating resources. The Political Opportunity Structure (POS) underscored the political contexts and structures within which protests may or may not emerge. Framing Processes Theory (FPT) underlined an aggrieved group's meaning-making and what the group considers to be its problems, the people responsible for the problems and the necessary solutions to address the problems.

I used the RMT to analyse the ways in which Gugulethu's and Khayelitsha's service delivery protesters mobilise resources. I then utilised POS to explain the ways protesters interact with the political structures that enable or constrain activism, the tactics. Finally, I employed the FPT in explaining the ways activists frame their problems to determine whether such protests can be regarded popcorn protests. To complement the efforts of the SMT, I also drew from the logic of horizontalism, the practice of autonomous movements and discussions around spontaneity and Gramscian notions of 'common sense' and 'good sense.' Based on these complementary works, I noted that some social movements are autonomous and use the horizontal logic of organisation. Such movements do not organise like the traditional social movements, and they are often associated with spontaneous action. The findings of this study show both the logic of organisation activists hold and the actual organisation that happens on the ground. For, while activists aspire to use the horizontal logic of organisation, there are prominent leaders who wield great power in the community and in the protests.

In **Chapter 5**, I presented the research methodology that the study followed. My research questions necessitated a mixed methods study which involved a blend of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. I collected data using both primary and secondary sources with the former

involving in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires. I consciously triangulated different research methods to capture a more complete, contextual picture of service delivery protests. Triangulation helped boost my confidence in the results; particularly given that basic geometry suggests that several viewpoints of the same phenomenon provide greater accuracy (Jick, 1979). Notwithstanding, I heavily relied on qualitative methodology because my primary concern was on the ‘depth’ of understanding instead of ‘breadth’ (Blaxter, 2001). Using the intrinsic case study approach, I focused on service delivery protesters in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. This helped narrow my inquiry to boundaries of place, activity and definition. To avoid harming my participants I strictly adhered to laid down ethics of research. This also involved not mentioning the specific areas my participants reside in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, and using pseudonyms instead of their real names. Expectedly, I encountered some challenges in the field; notwithstanding these, I managed to adapt and work around the challenges.

In **Chapter 6**, I presented the findings and analysis of the study. In the next section, I discuss the findings in relation to each of the research questions of the study. The aim is to see whether the study succeeded to answer the questions it set out to answer.

7.3. Summary of findings and their relation to the research questions

7.3.1. Research question 1

This study’s first research question sought to understand the reasons for participating in protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. The findings show that Gugulethu and Khayelitsha residents protest in order to fast-track the process of development. The belief that protests will fast-track the process of urban development should be understood within the context of South Africa’s often slow pace of service delivery of housing, water, electricity, sanitation etc. The findings show that one of the key reasons people protest is for housing. The struggle for formal houses is waged by both people who reside in formal houses as well as those who stay in informal settlements and backyard shacks. Residents who stay in RDP houses, hostels and council houses built during apartheid demand bigger houses to accommodate many family members, more services, and a better design of the houses. There is an intersection between the formal and informal, where backyard shacks are

erected behind formal houses. These backyard dwellers and residents in informal settlements also mount dramatic protests to fight poor and or non-existent service delivery. The struggle for houses should be understood within a context of the conflation of services. Essentially, this means the fight for a house has in it a belief that a better house comes with better services such as electricity, water, toilet(s) inside the house and better sanitation. Seen this way, when people fight for formal houses, they are also fighting for better services that a modern house offers.

The struggle for service delivery or urban development is also marked by a conflation of issues. Protesters' demands extend beyond basic service delivery to include, among others, a demand for the government to fulfil election promises, be fair in the way the government delivers services to different communities and be transparent with the community. As I have shown, these reasons have a bearing on service delivery in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. Indeed, South Africa's protests are characterised by a conflation of issues which include demanding services (services are loosely conceptualised) delivery and the daily practise of democracy such as fairness and transparency (Paret, 2018; Mottiar, 2013).

South Africa has had times when protests "reached insurrectionary proportions with people momentarily taking control of townships," a phenomenon Alexander (2010:37) described as the "rebellion of the poor." However, radical tactics of protest movements do not necessarily ensue from revolutionary politics (Sinwell, 2011). As Paret (2014) found, disruptive tactics for example barricading roads, burning tyres, and destroying property were only meant to attract the attention of state officials. I took this further and argued that protesters in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha fight for a relationship with the government – a relationship which is beneficial for a better delivery of services and other benefits to their communities.

I argued that although activists in my two case study areas generally harbour feelings of anger, betrayal, and hold a belief that the state does not really care enough for the poor, service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha are not a rebellion of the poor but poor people's contestation for the government to hear, listen and act on demands for service delivery and other grievances. Generally, most activists considered a successful protest as one which ultimately leads to a better relationship between the government and residents. This happens when the government acknowledges that the protests were for genuine service delivery demands and communities reach

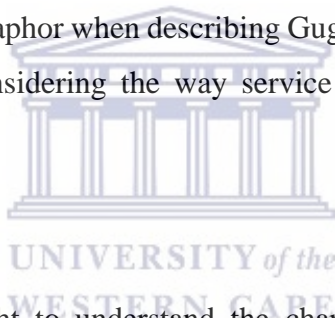
a compromise with the government through consultation and participation. Activists' desire for a relationship with the government makes protesters avoid challenging the status quo. Notwithstanding the reluctance to challenge the status quo, protesters employ several tactics from their bag of repertoires to fast-track the process of development in their communities.

7.3.2. Research question 2

The study's second research question aimed to assess the repertoires used in Service Delivery Protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha with a view of understanding how they are tailored to achieve urban development. The findings that emerged from research question 2 led to two-pronged arguments. First, I argued that although the choice of each repertoire is intended to speed up service delivery, some tactics such as land occupation and illegal reconnection of electricity and water directly address the needs of activists for housing, electricity, and water. Second, I showed that most repertoires that Gugulethu and Khayelitsha service delivery protesters utilised are thought through, planned, organised and coordinated prior to the protest events, which as I have argued, puts to question the often-romanticised popcorn categorisation of these protests.

The findings from this study revealed that protesters choose a given protest tactic for each protest event. The level of anger, frustration, the urgency with which a grievance has to be addressed, and the type of service(s) protesters would be fighting for determine the choice of protest tactic(s) activists select from their bag of repertoires. Sometimes protesters choose to utilise 'orderly' tactics; at other times they employ 'disruptive' tactics such as barricading roads, burning tyres and destroying property, what I have regarded as 'vandalistic' tactics, in order to attract the government's attention. At other times, protesters decide to mount dramatic protests meant to shame and embarrass the government. I have regarded these protests as shame tactics; where activists' intentions in employing these tactics is to soil the government's public image nationally and internationally, by, for example, pouring raw faeces at airports and municipal buildings. Also, sometimes protesters occupied land to build houses. Here I showed that the fight for houses involves the conflation of services where the fight for land to build a house is meant to achieve the house along with access to basic services such as water, electricity, proper toilets, and sanitation that many South Africans take for granted.

In most of the repertoires I considered, activists engaged in some form of thought, planning, organisation prior to utilising the tactic. This involved, choosing the road to barricade, when and at what time to barricade and with what objects to barricade it, gathering buckets with human excrements, securing transport to and from the airport, digging a hole in the middle of the road at a convenient time – the night, and digging up a few banana trees elsewhere, carrying them to the road and planting them in the potholed road. Following this, I argued that the Gugulethu and Khayelitsha service delivery protests I considered do not spring from nowhere and are not activities by irrational people who suddenly find themselves engaged in these activities. I did not consider the planning and organising in these protests to be at the same level with that present in social movement organisations, but I saw a considerable level of planning which does not fit the spontaneous protests description (of course some actions were spontaneous, just as organised movements also strategically include spontaneous actions in their struggles). Given this, I argued for a rethinking of the popcorn metaphor when describing Gugulethu’s and Khayelitsha’s protests. I buttressed this argument by considering the way service delivery protests are organised in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.



7.3.3. Research question 3

The third research question sought to understand the character of service delivery protests’ organisation in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. The findings which answered research question 3 focused on the inner workings of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha protests with a view of understanding the character of service delivery protests’ organisation. I also sought to understand the popcorn description of protests in relation to Gugulethu and Khayelitsha protests. To do this successfully, I presented protesters’ thoughts about protests, the processes they engaged in prior to a protest, leaders’ involvement in protests, structures in the community and the processes they followed ‘before’ and ‘after’ a protest event. I noted that activists involved in the protests had varying degrees of experience; some leaders had extensive mobilisation experience with roots in the anti-apartheid protests. I argued that quite unlike the oft-held spontaneous characterisation of service delivery protests, where protests are considered to emerge from nowhere with no proper planning and organisation, activists in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha plan and organise prior the protest event. While there is not much coordination between different protest groups outside the locality and no

desire, in the main, to change the status quo, some activists – particularly those who were involved in the anti-apartheid struggle are crucial in raising political consciousness among participants of SDPs.

Activists consider it unfair that they have to fight for what they deserve. Interestingly, unlike the commonly held view that protesters are eager to protest, this study found that in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, protests are not the preferred means of engagement. In fact, protesters in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha engaged in different processes before they resorted to protests. It is only when these processes failed that activists utilised their structures to plan and organise protests. Community called meetings, sent out letters to invite residents, consciously mobilised residents and met to discuss their grievances. Here they discussed the course of action they would take, the protests they would engage in, and the repertoires they would deploy. After considering these inner workings of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha protests, I argued that the popcorn metaphor does not correctly capture the dynamics of protests in these two communities. I contended that although the current service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha are not as organised as to call them social movement organisations, they are also not as unorganised as to call them popcorn/spontaneous protests. Service delivery protests in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha occupy a place between these two extremes – a hybrid (spontaneous-organised movement).

While I concede that, by and large, SDPs have not yet coalesced into one ‘social movement’, is a strictly ‘formalised organisation’ what the protesters want? Sometimes, there is a disjuncture between what scholars think works to bring change and what activists on the ground ‘can’ do and ‘want’ to do. This is important given that even formal organisations also subside and become defunct as exemplified by the new social movements I discussed. More research is needed to consider whether protesters in the SDPs want ‘formally’ organised social movements or they are content with their hybrid protests (spontaneous-organised movement) which marry both an important level of organisation and a dose of flexibility.

7.4. Concluding remarks

Post-apartheid South Africa is still marked by inadequate and, in some cases, non-existent service delivery in low-income communities such as Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. Poor or nonexistent service delivery of housing, water, electricity, and sanitation inconvenience and endanger people. I considered the fight for the services which improve the quality of life for example housing, electricity, sanitation, and water as struggles for urban development. One may wonder whether Cape Town requires urban development. After all, Cape Town has managed to earn the label of a ‘world city’ with state-of-the-art infrastructure due to massive upgrading. Yet Cape Town is a divided city juxtaposed with affluent suburbs at the core of the city and in economic centres, and low-income and poverty-stricken communities at the fringes of the city with poor service delivery such as housing, water, electricity, and sanitation. In a city where elites and the rich lead lavish lives and the poor wallow in squalor, Cesar Chavez’s words ring true. Cesar Chavez, a farm worker and labour organiser who burst onto the America’s national scene in 1965, rightly noted that:

History will judge societies and governments — and their institutions — not by how big they are or how well they serve the rich and the powerful, but by how effectively they respond to the needs of the poor and the helpless (Del Castillo and Garcia, 1997:116).

In the context of my study, the poor and helpless live in sub-standard houses, such as poorly built RDP houses, shacks at the back of formal houses or in informal settlements. With Chavez’s words in mind, politicians and all concerned stakeholders should heed S’bu Zikode’s words:

Those in power are blind to our suffering. This is because they have not *seen what we see*, they have not *felt what we are feeling* every second, every day. My appeal is that leaders who are concerned about peoples’ lives must come and stay at least one week in the *jondolos* [shacks]. They must feel the *mud*. They must share 6 *toilets* with 6 000 people. They must dispose of their own *refuse* while living next to the *dump* ... They must chase away the rats and keep the children from knocking the *candles*. They must care for the sick when there are *long queues for the tap* ... They must be there when we bury our children who have passed on in the *fires*, from *diarrhoea* or AIDS (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2006:np, emphasis added).

In this except, Zikode, the chairperson of AbM, makes a passionate plea to the political leaders to stay in the ‘jondolos’ [shacks] for at least one week. Doing so, it is argued, would make them ‘see’

and ‘feel’ the lived realities of shack dwellers. The lived realities that pertain service delivery include housing (shacks, mud due to lack of proper floors, overcrowding), ‘shared toilets’, uncollected ‘refuse’ and the stench that is emitted from ‘nearby refuse dumps’, ‘candles’ (due to no electricity) and the threat of ‘shack fires’, ‘water’ (long queues for communal taps) with the danger of water borne diseases.

The general aim of the study was to assess how SDPs are used to achieve urban development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. The study revealed that activists use their agency to deploy varied tactics from their arsenal of repertoires in their fight for more and better services as well as dignified treatment and relationships with the government and state apparatus. Although SDPs have been labelled popcorn protests by the media and many academics, my study showed that these protests are marked by some level of organisation which does not fit the spontaneous descriptor. Thinking about SDPs as popcorn has implications for theory and practice.

Theoretically, analysts risk viewing SDPs as a form of collective behaviour characterised by spontaneous, unorganised, irrational, and emotional reactions. Evidence from this study revealed that service delivery protesters engage in resource mobilisation (Resource Mobilisation Theory), deliberations about the structure that exists in South Africa which enables or constrains protests such as the right to protest enshrined in the Constitution (Political Opportunity Structure) and making sense of occurrences in their settings (Framing Processes Theory) with a view of forging collective solidarity necessary for collective action. Also, SDPs manifest a level of organisation which borrows some aspects of horizontal ways of organisation as practiced by autonomous movements e.g., a refusal to use party and trade union banners, colours, and flags. While there is no outright desire to challenge the status quo, there are elements of political consciousness and movement building. Given these theoretical considerations, I contend that service delivery protests fit the social movement categorisation, albeit with their own uniqueness. In that light, SDPs contributions should not be underestimated.

In practice, the underlying belief that SDPs are not organised has proved helpful to sceptics of the protests. Some commentators particularly government officials, have found grounds to label the protests as the work of the ‘Third Force.’ The term the third Force “is highly pejorative, [and it] implies covert white manipulation towards evil ends and, in its contemporary avatar, assumes an

absolute inability for poor black people to exercise historical agency on their own” (Zikode, 2006:np). Turning the phrase on its head, S’bu Zikode, the chairperson of the Abahlali baseMjondolo argued that:

We are driven by the Third Force, the suffering of the poor. Our betrayers are the Second Force. The First Force was our struggle against apartheid. The Third Force will stop when the Fourth Force comes. The Fourth Force is land, housing, water, electricity, health care, education and work. We are only asking what is basic – not what is luxurious. This is the struggle of the poor. The time has come for the poor to show themselves that we can be *poor in life but not in mind* (Zikode, 2006:np, emphasis added).

Indeed, the materially poor people are, by no means, ‘poor in mind.’ They can, and do, organise. While governments and the state apparatus should be wary of sordid internal and foreign interferences in the smooth running of their countries, they should be careful not to view poor people as gullible, irrational and whimsical individuals who can be easily swayed. As I have argued, scepticism about the alleged existence of a cabal fixated on destabilising South Africa’s democracy should not blur the government’s, police’s, scholars’ and development practitioners’ image of the real and justifiable service delivery problems people fight for. Although the findings of the study were specific to the studied cases, the government will do well to heed the struggle for urban development (land, housing, water, electricity, refuse collection, transparency, and fairness) in low-income communities.

The media should avoid an unbridled overemphasis on the vague ‘violent’ protests. Equally, academics should deploy media generated terms and accounts with a fine toothcomb in order to avoid being an accomplice in misrepresenting, vilifying, demonising and further marginalising protesters. The notion of ‘violent’ protests should be carefully considered; the media and academics should explicitly distinguish the actors who are responsible for the violence – the police or activists. It is helpful to think about the ‘orderly’, ‘disruptive’, ‘vandalistic’ and ‘violent’ protests (by the police or activists); in the case of activists, these tactics should be considered light of the reasons they are protesting and the previous attempts to get the government’s attention.

I hope my little ‘excavation’ helped shed some light on the not-so-popcorn protests for urban development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, which I argued, constitutes a hybrid (spontaneous-

organised movement). Importantly, it is plausible that SDPs and other forms of protests are likely to continue for as long as there is a deficit of basic services, lack of transparency, fairness, genuine consultations as well as other factors and practices that impinge on urban development.



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APPENDICES

A. Table 3: Cost of Electricity and Electricity disconnections

Characteristics		Gugulethu	Khayelitsha	Combined
Main source of energy for cooking	Electricity	91.67%	88.89%	90.32%
	Paraffin	0%	2.22%	1.08%
	Gas	8.33%	4.44%	6.45%
	Total	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=45)	100.00% (n=93)
Perceptions regarding the price of electricity	Low	6.38%	4.26%	5.32%
	About right	6.38%	38.30%	22.34%
	High	23.40%	23.40%	23.40%
	Too high	63.83%	23.40%	43.62%
	Do not know	0%	10.64%	5.32%
	Total	100.00% (n=47)	100.00% (n=47)	100.00% (n=94)
Electricity disconnections	Yes	58.33%	39.58%	48.96%
	No	41.67%	60.42%	51.04%
	Total	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=96)

Source: Author's own compilation

B. Table 4: Cost of Water and Water disconnections

Characteristics		Gugulethu	Khayelitsha	Combined
Pay for water	Yes	80%	33.33%	55.91%
	No	17.78%	66.67%	43.01%
	Total	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=45)	100.00% (n=93)
Perceptions regarding the cost of water	Too low	4.65%	0%	2.60%
	Low	6.98%	5.88%	6.49%
	About right	9.30%	20.59%	14.29%
	High	0%	2.94%	1.30%
	Too high	69.77%	8.82%	42.86%
	Do not know	9.30%	61.76%	32.47%
	Total	100.00% (n=45)	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=93)
Water disconnections	Yes	65.22%	42.50%	54.65%
	No	19.57%	42.50%	30.23%
	Total	100.00% (n=46)	100.00% (n=40)	100.00% (n=86)

Source: Author's own compilation

C. Table 5: Efficacy of Service delivery protests

Characteristics		Gugulethu	Khayelitsha	Combined
Effectiveness of SDPs to bring development in the community	Yes	33.33%	52.94%	41.77%
	No	33.33%	29.41%	31.65%
	Not sure	31.11%	17.65%	25.32%
	Total	100.00% (n=45)	100.00% (n=48)	100.00% (n=93)

Source: Author's own compilation

D. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographic information

How many persons stay with you in the same house?
How many people are employed in your family?
Describe the state of basic services in this area?
Do you think this area is developed?
What are the areas you would want to see develop?

Other means of engagement before protests

What does this community do before it engages in protests?
Have you ever approached the courts to hear your concerns?
If yes, what were the challenges you encountered?
If yes, what was the outcome of this encounter?

Motivations for participating in service delivery protests.

What are your reasons for participating in service delivery protests?
What is the main reason that people protest for?
How would you describe the relationship between the municipality and this community?

During the protest

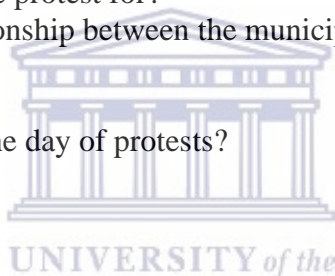
What tactics do protesters use on the day of protests?
Why do you use such tactics?

Results of a protest

What changes have occurred as a result of service delivery protests?
How has the government responded to protesters' demands?
What are the challenges you have encountered in trying to utilise protests for better services?

Perceptions on protests

What do you regard as a successful protest?
What do you regard as an unsuccessful protest?
Which are some of the most successful protests you can remember?
What were the outcomes of each of the protests you mentioned?



E. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

What are the reasons that people protest for?

What is the main reason that people protest for?

Describe the state of basic services in this area?

Do you think this area is developed?

What are the areas you would want to see develop?

How would you describe the relationship between the municipality and this community?

How do you organise protests?

What tactics do you use on the day of protests and why do you use those tactics?

Describe to me some of the outstanding protests you can remember?

What were the outcomes of each of the protests you mentioned?

What do you regard as a successful protest?

Why do you regard these as successful?

What do you regard as an unsuccessful protest?

What do you think should be done to bring better services in this community?



F. QUESTIONNAIRE ON SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Good day. My name is Kenny Chiwarawara. I am from the University of the Western Cape, a university located in Bellville. I do not represent the government or any political party. I am studying the views of residents on service delivery protests and urban development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.

Your answers will be confidential. Please feel free to tell me what you think. This interview will take about 25-30 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed?

Name of interviewer: _____ Interviewer Code: _____

Survey Site: Gugulethu Khayelitsha

Ward Name: _____ Code: _____

Language of Interview: _____ Date of Completion: _____

Interviewee Code: _____ Number of Household Members: _____



SECTION A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA

Instruction: Please tick the box that applies to you and fill in the space provided

1. Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
2. What is your age?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Below 20 years <input type="checkbox"/> 2 21-30 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3 31-40 years <input type="checkbox"/> 4 41- 50 years <input type="checkbox"/> 5 51+
3. What is your marital status?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Married-civil/religious <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Married-customary/traditional <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Living together as married years <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Single - Never married <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Widow/Widower <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Separated <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Divorced
4. Which language do you speak at home?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Xhosa <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Zulu <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Swazi/ Swati <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Venda <input type="checkbox"/> 5 SiPedi/North Sotho <input type="checkbox"/> 6 SeSotho/South Sotho Separated <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Shangaan/SeTshangane <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Ndebele <input type="checkbox"/> 9 SeTswana <input type="checkbox"/> 10 English <input type="checkbox"/> 11 Afrikaans <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Other (specify) _____
5. How many people in your household go to school?	_____
6. How many people in your household are employed?	_____
7. How many people in your household are unemployed including yourself?	_____
8. Which of the following applies to you?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Full time employed <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Part time employed <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Informally employed <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Unemployed
9. How much do you earn monthly?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 R1000 and less <input type="checkbox"/> 2 R1001-2000 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 R2001-3000 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 R3001-4000 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 R4001-5000 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 R5001-6000 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 R6001-7000 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 R7001-8000 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 R8001-9000 <input type="checkbox"/> 10 R9001-10000 <input type="checkbox"/> 11 R10000 and above
10. How long does it take you to get to your place of work?	hours _____ minutes _____
11. How often, have you been late for work?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> 2 A few times <input type="checkbox"/> 3 A lot <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Don't know
12. Which of the following applies to your housing situation? (Tick one)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 House <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Flat <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Hostel <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Room in backyard <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Squatter hut/shack <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Other (specify) _____
13. What type of toilet do you use?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Flush – internal <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Flush – yard <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Flush – communal <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Improved/VIP latrine – yard <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Improved/VIP latrine – communal <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Ordinary pit latrine – yard <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Ordinary pit latrine <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Chemical toilet – yard <input type="checkbox"/> 9 Chemical toilet – communal <input type="checkbox"/> 10 Bucket toilet <input type="checkbox"/> 11 No toilet access <input type="checkbox"/> 12 Other (specify) _____
14. What is your household's main source of water?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Piped – internal with prepaid meter <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Piped – yard tap with meter <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Piped – yard tap with prepaid meter <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Piped – paid communal tap <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Piped – yard tap with no meter <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Piped – free communal tap <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Other (specify) _____
15. Does your household have access to electricity?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2 No
16. If yes, how do you access electricity?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Contract <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Prepaid metre <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Other (specify) _____
17. Which of the following do you use for lighting?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Electricity <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Paraffin <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Gas <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Other (specify) _____
18. What is your main source of energy for cooking?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 Electricity <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Paraffin <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Gas <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Firewood <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Other (specify) _____

SECTION B: PERCEPTIONS OF SERVICE DELIVERY AND PROTESTS

Instruction: Please tick the box that applies to you

19. How would you describe the economic conditions of this community?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very good <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly good <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Neither good nor bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Fairly bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Very bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Do not know	
20. How would you describe your own living condition?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very good <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly good <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Neither good nor bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Fairly bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Very bad <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Do not know	
21. How do you think the Municipality is performing in the following services?	a) Housing	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	b) Water Supply	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	c) Sanitation	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	d) Refuse removal	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	e) Electricity	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
22. Over the past year, how often, have you or anyone in your family gone without the following	a) Basic food to eat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ A few times <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ A lot <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Don't know
	b) Clean water for home use	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ A few times <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ A lot <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Don't know
	c) Medicine or medical treatment	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ A few times <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ A lot <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Don't know
	d) Fuel to cook your food	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ A few times <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ A lot <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Don't know
23. Do you pay for water?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No	
24. If you pay for water, what do you think of the amount you pay?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Too low <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Low <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ About right <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ High <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Too high <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Do not know	
25. If you pay for water, have you ever had your water disconnected?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not sure	
26. Do you pay for electricity?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No	
27. If you pay for electricity, what do you think of the amount you pay?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Too low <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Low <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ About right <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ High <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Too high <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Do not know	
28. Have you ever had your electricity disconnected?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No	
29. How well or badly would you say the <u>National Government</u> is	a) Narrowing the gaps between the rich and the poor	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know

performing in the following matters?	b) Fighting corruption in government	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	c) Creating jobs	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	d) Reducing crime	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	e) Delivering household water	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	f) Improving basic health services	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	g) Addressing educational needs	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	30. How well or badly would you say the <u>Provincial Government</u> is performing in the following matters?	a) Narrowing the gaps between the rich and the poor
b) Fighting corruption in government		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
c) Creating jobs		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
d) Reducing crime		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
e) Delivering household water		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
f) Improving basic health services		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
g) Addressing educational needs		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
31. How well or badly would you say the <u>Local Government</u> is performing in the following matters?	a) Narrowing the gaps between the rich and the poor	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	b) Fighting corruption in government	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	c) Creating jobs	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	d) Reducing crime	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	e) Delivering household water	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	f) Improving basic health services	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	g) Addressing educational needs	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
32. How much do you trust each of the following in	a) National government	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Just a little <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A lot <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know

relation to service provision, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?	b) Provincial government	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Just a little	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A lot	
	c) Municipal government	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Just a little	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A lot	
	d) Courts of law	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Just a little	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A lot	
	e) Ward councillor	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Just a little	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A lot	
33. What do you consider to be the 4 most important problems facing this community that the government and the municipality should address?			1st	2nd	3rd	4th
	a) Unemployment					
	b) Education					
	c) Housing					
	d) Water supply					
	e) Sanitation					
	f) Refuse removal					
	g) Storm water/Drainage					
	h) Electricity					
	i) Rates and taxes					
	j) Health					
	k) Roads					
	l) Crime and Security					
	m) Nothing					
	n) Do not know					
	o) Other 1 _____					
	p) Other 2 _____					
q) Other 3 _____						
r) Other 4 _____						
34. Most important issue facing your community?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Unemployment <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Housing <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Crime/Safety <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Services <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Street lighting <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Roads <input type="checkbox"/> ₇ Poverty <input type="checkbox"/> ₈ Poor living conditions <input type="checkbox"/> ₉ Health <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₀ Drug/Alcohol abuse <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₁ Pollution/environmental issues <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₂ Sport and recreational facilities <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₃ Grants <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₄ Corruption <input type="checkbox"/> ₁₅ Education					
35. How well or badly would you say your municipality has addressed the issue in number 34 in the past year?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know					
36. How satisfied are you with the delivery of services in your area?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not very satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not at all satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know					
37. How much of the problems in your area do you think your municipality can solve?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ All of them <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Most of them <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Some of them <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very few of them <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ None of them <input type="checkbox"/> ₆ Do not know					

38. If you think your municipality cannot solve all the problems, who do you think can solve the problems?	<hr/>	
39. How well or badly would you say your ward councillor is handling the following matters.	a) Allowing citizens like yourself to participate?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	b) Making council's programmes known to ordinary people?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	c) Providing effective ways to handle complaints about councillors or officials?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Very well <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Fairly well <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Fairly badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Very badly <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
40. What is your perception of the work of the councillor as it relates to the following:	d) Ability to perform tasks	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	e) Experience in managing public service programmes	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally competent <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	f) Extent he/she is concerned about the community	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all caring <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very caring <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat caring <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally caring <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	g) Honesty in handling public funds	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	h) Fairness in allocating services	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
	i) Fairness in allocating employment opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Not at all fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Not very fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Somewhat fair <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Totally honest <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know
41. How much can you do to solve the problems in your area?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Nothing <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ A small amount <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Some <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ A great deal <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Do not know	

SECTION C: PROTESTS AND DEVELOPMENT

Instruction: Please tick the box that applies to you

42. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following:	a) People like me do not have any influence over what the government does	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	b) Politicians do not care much about what people like me think	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
43. Have you taken part in a protest or demonstration in the last 12 months?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No	
44. If yes, how many protests have you participated in?	_____	
45. I am going to read out a list of groups that people attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are a leader/official, a member, attend meetings even though you are not a member or are not involved in the group at all.	a) A religious group (e.g., church, mosque)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
	b) Political party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
	c) A community policing forum	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
	d) A street committee	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
	e) A school governing body	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
	f) Some other association or community group	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Leader or official <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Member <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not a member, but attend meetings <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Not involved at all <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Don't know/haven't heard enough
46. Have you ever attended a meeting organized by:	a) Your ward committee?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ No, never <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Yes, once or twice <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Yes, often
	b) Your street committee?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ No, never <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Yes, once or twice <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Yes, often
47. If no, why have you not attended Ward committee/Street committee/School governing	c) I did not have any information about the meetings	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
	d) I did not have the time	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
	e) I am not interested	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
	f) It will make no difference, nothing will change	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No

	g) They will not listen to my opinion	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
	h) I am not aware of this committee	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
	i) Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No
48. Do you think Service delivery protests can bring development in this area?		<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ No <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Not sure
49. Do you agree with this statement?	a) Protests have brought an improvement in our community	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	b) After protests there have been improvements on roads	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	c) After protests there have been improvements on sewer pipes	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	d) After protests there have been improvements on residential houses	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	e) After protests there have been improvements on water supplies	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	f) After protests there have been improvements on street lighting	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	g) After protests there have been an increase in employment levels	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	h) After protests there has been more inclusion of youth in the job market	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	i) After protests there have been improvements in participation and engagement between the municipality and the community	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree

	j) After protests government officials have become more accountable to this community	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree
	k) After protests there has been a decline in crime rates	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁ Strongly agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ Agree <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ Indifferent <input type="checkbox"/> ₄ Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> ₅ Strongly disagree

THANK YOU!





OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION DIVISION

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535
South Africa
T: +27 21 959 2988/2948
F: +27 21 959 3170
E: research_ethics@uwc.ac.za
www.uwc.ac.za

22 August 2016

Mr K Chiwarawara
Institute for Social Development
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

Ethics Reference Number HS/16/4/7

Project Title: Service delivery protests and the struggle for urban
development in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

Approval Period: 18 August 2016 – 18 August 2017

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval. Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.



*Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape*

PROVISIONAL REC NUMBER - 130416-049