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2022

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Ngidi, Mlungisi Patrick. (2023). Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle Local Municipality [Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WireDSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10539/39886

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Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle Local Municipality

Mlungisi Patrick Ngidi

A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the Field of Public Policy at the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management

University of the Witwatersrand

School of Governance

2022

DECLARATION

I, Mlungisi Patrick Ngidi, declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management in the field of the Public Policy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.



Mlungisi Patrick Ngidi

25 August 2023

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the Newcastle Local Municipality and how local governments can effectively address the grievances of their constituents. Supposedly, the topical prevalent service delivery protests, in countless cases, have become violent, and such manifestations cannot be ignored. The study was conceptualised around the framework of escalating occurrence and scale of service delivery protests in South Africa in general, and in particular, local government. Notwithstanding, the first few years of democracy saw a decline in protests, some groups and movements protested. Nevertheless, since 2005, when service delivery protests took national prominence, South Africa has witnessed increased levels of dramatic protests. This study was based on the fact that no political democracy can continue and thrive if the number of its people continues experiencing conditions that they experienced under the apartheid government, such as poverty, inequality and unemployment, and with no forecasts of better living conditions.

The occurrence of service delivery protests in local governance invited this research and raised this question, what are the dynamics that led to service delivery protests that occurred between 2018 and 2020 in the Newcastle Local Municipality and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively?

This study had four specific research objectives: (i) To examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle local municipality; (ii) To explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality; (iii) To determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle local municipality; And (iv) To explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery.

This study used three sub-theories of Social Movement Theory (SMT), namely Political Opportunity Structure Approach, Resource Mobilisation Theory, and Framing Process Theory, to assess the situations that stimulate service delivery protests, the protesters' interpretation of their society, and their motives for protests.

This study used a qualitative research approach. Primary data were gathered using focus group interviews with the population from Osizweni and Charlestown townships; a total of 20 community members (organisers of service delivery protests) were recruited to participate in this study. Purposive sampling was employed to recruit participants in this study, and they ranged between 18 to 55 years old. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data sets which generated eight themes around the issue of the dynamics that contributed to the emergence of service delivery protests in local governance. Research findings expose that research participants' displeasure with service delivery is shaped by numerous issues, such as unfulfilled political promises, unequal access to services, provision of substandard services, high rate of unemployment, nepotism, corruption and favouritism, political tensions, leadership derailment and incompetence, and high levels of poverty, including disparities which originate from the post-apartheid regime. The study is pertinent at this point since numerous African municipalities are facing comparable service delivery challenges.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to uMa-Mseni

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research could not have been completed successfully without the help, assistance, and encouragement of a number of persons. I would like to thank Dr Ruth Murambadoro and Dr Takunda Chirau for their assistance and encouragement during the period of this project.

I would also want to express my appreciation to the Newcastle Local Municipality for granting me permission to gather data. Our appreciation goes to the Osizweni and Charlestown respondents who took time out of their busy schedules to assist this research.

I am grateful to my family, particularly my parents and my wife, Nqobile Sibuyiselwe Ngidi, as well as my daughters, Aziya and Milani Ngidi, for their support and understanding during my late-night meetings relating to this project.

All praise and gratitude be to the Almighty God and our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who gives us life to move and accomplish what we were meant to do, despite the fact that we are far from flawless in our actions. He provided me the power, insight, and understanding necessary to pursue and finish this research. Forever and ever be His the glory, the honour, and the praise.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CBP	Community-based planning
EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
FPT	Framing Processes Theory
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
JBC	Johnston Blaaubosch and Charlestown villages
NDP	National Development Plan
NLM	Newcastle Local Municipality
NPC	National Planning Commission
NPO	Non-profit Organisation
NVR	Non-violent resistance
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
RSA	Republic of South Africa
Sasria	South African Special Risk Insurance Association
SMT	Social Movement Theory
SONA	State of the Nation Address
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UDF	United Democratic Front
WC	Ward Councillor
WSDP	Water Service Development Plan

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The political landscape of post-1994 South Africa has been damaged by an abundance of local government service delivery demonstrations. Protests related to service delivery in South Africa have been marked by various forms of public demonstrations, including large gatherings, submitting petitions, engaging in traditional dance protests, marching, abstaining from work, refusing to participate in elections, obstructing roads, building barricades, setting fire to tyres, stealing, damaging buildings, expelling unpopular individuals from townships, clashing with law enforcement, and pressuring elected officials to resign from their positions. This is according to sources such as Akinboade, Putuma and Kinfack (2013:467) and Alexander (2010:26).

Twala (2014:161) notes that the delivery of basic services such as water, power, and sanitation, among others, is crucial to the socio-economic change of the nation. The ANC government's allegedly poor provision of essential services to local communities has become a major topic of popular conversation. The majority of service delivery protests at the local government level occur in informal neighbourhoods. Unfulfilled expectations surrounding the delivery of essential services such as water, sanitation, housing, electricity, healthcare, and education are undoubtedly the cause of these demonstrations, with these problems figuring prominently (Nomarwayi, 2019). Water and sanitation services figured prominently among the grievances of protesters in Siyahlala-la (2008) and Makhaza (2009) within the Newcastle local municipality. The rising frequency of violent service delivery demonstrations in different local municipalities is perhaps indicative of the communities' discontent with the performance of their municipal governments.

Municipalities in South Africa confront the greatest difficulty in providing public services due to a lack of efficiency, and there is inadequate capacity for social development activities (Akinboade, Kinfack and Mokwena, 2012:190). Notwithstanding its status as a regional force in the Southern African Development Community and a middle-income economy, this is the case (Southern African Economic Outlook, 2019:3). Poor communities in South Africa usually battle to get access to appropriate basic amenities such as water, sanitation, housing, electricity, healthcare, and education. It is obvious that when a municipality fails to provide public goods and services, communities may protest in an effort to force municipal officials to address their

complaints (Peter, 2010:31). This has been the case in the Newcastle Local Municipality (NLM), where residents have been picketing in the streets for the last five years, demanding appropriate water, sanitation, housing, electricity, healthcare, and education.

The NLM falls within the Amajuba District Municipality (DC 25), along with the Dannhauser and Emadlangeni Municipalities. It is located in the North-West of KwaZulu-Natal province and is the biggest of the three local municipalities within the Amajuba District. According to the Newcastle Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2020.21:120), NLM was previously regarded as a growth point in the Natal region. Its population is steadily growing due to employment opportunities presented by industries (steel, mining, metals and textile), coal mining and businesses. The 2011 census estimated the population of NLM to have 363,236 people, with an increase of 0.87% per annum, compared to 334,001 people in 2001 (IDP, 2020/21:120). The NLM is made up of the following townships, namely Alcockspruit, Blaauwbosch-laagte, Cavan, Charlestown, Claremont, Dicks halt, Fulathela north, Inverness, Jakkalspan, Jobstown, Johnstown, Leslie, Madadeni, Manzana, Masondale, Mndozo, Muiskraal, Newcastle, Newcastle NU, Ngagane, Ngagane Colliery, Osizweni, Suspense and Taum.

Since 2018, several townships in Newcastle, particularly Osizweni and Charlestown, have often participated in violent service delivery demonstrations. Protesters would burn tyres and erect roadblocks, limiting access to the affected communities. These demonstrations had a significant influence on other activities of community members, such as preventing students from attending school and causing some employees to skip work, all of which disturbed the way of life of locals. Moreover, demonstrators were alleged to have robbed and vandalised establishments, some of which were owned by foreign nationals (Nxumalo, 2020).

This research thus adopted a qualitative case study technique to investigate the dynamics that that led to the formation of service delivery protests in the Newcastle local government between 2018 and 2020, concentrating on the two townships where protesters were prevalent. It has been stated that these services delivery demonstrations have an effect on the capacity of all levels of government to maintain political stability and disturb the lives of other local citizens. This research aimed to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. It is recommended that research of this sort might provide a better

understanding of the dynamics leading to the recent surge in service delivery protests facing NLM and also provide recommendations on how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively (Nxumalo, 2020).

1.2 Problem Statement

The protests observed in diverse local communities in South Africa since the early 2000s have been attributed to a multitude of factors, including but not limited to elevated unemployment rates, crime prevalence, corruption, inadequate governance, substandard public healthcare infrastructure, and insufficiencies in housing, electricity, water, and sanitation (Pieterse and Van Donk 2013:109). Protests have emerged as a recurrent phenomenon within the political framework of South Africa subsequent to the year 1994, thereby presenting substantial obstacles for the government to manage the operations of local municipalities effectively (Pieterse and Van Donk 2013:109). The spontaneous and organic character of the service delivery protests appears to epitomise them as grassroots-driven uprisings. Certain scholars have expounded upon the uprisings as endeavours aimed at showcasing political leverage through the concerted efforts of community participants, who are separate from the local political figures (Alexander, 2010:37). One of the factors contributing to the disparities in service provision across communities within the nation is the lingering backlog inherited from the apartheid era, which persistently disadvantages a significant portion of the South African population (Akinboade, et al., 2012:193).

The escalation of discontentment towards the government's performance is becoming increasingly evident, with the deficiencies in service provision serving as a probable catalyst (Akinboade, et al., 2012:190). The current state of affairs, wherein a significant portion of the previously marginalised population now enjoys access to fundamental rights as a result of the democratic transition in 1994, elicits concern. However, it is disconcerting to observe that they continue to endure exclusion owing to the inadequate provision of essential commodities. The occurrence of protests in specific regions has emerged as a significant area of inquiry within our research.

The protests frequently arise as a consequence of elevated rates of unemployment, crime, corruption, maladministration, and a dearth of fundamental amenities such as housing, electricity, water, and sanitation. Numerous scholarly investigations have shed light on the

pivotal role played by deficient government administration in instigating service delivery protests. However, a noticeable dearth of scholarly inquiry exists in relation to the examination of local community members' viewpoints and their intricate dynamics with municipal authorities (Botes et. al, 2007). The existing dearth of scholarly research on this subject poses a significant obstacle to attaining a holistic comprehension of the various dynamics that contribute to the emergence and perpetuation of these protests.

Insufficient emphasis has been placed on the inclusion of communities' perspectives in the extant literature concerning service delivery demonstrations in South Africa. This oversight neglects to acknowledge the valuable insights, contributions, and relationships that communities possess with pertinent municipal authorities. The present study investigated the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Hence, the primary objective of this study was to elucidate the underlying mechanisms that precipitated the occurrence of service delivery protests within the timeframe of 2018 to 2020 in the NLM. Additionally, it sought to explore viable strategies that local governing bodies can employ to redress the concerns and dissatisfactions expressed by their constituents efficiently. This study offers valuable insights into the lived experiences of individuals residing in Osizweni and Charlestown, two localities that have been the epicentres of recent demonstrations. The findings of the study facilitated municipal officials in discerning the underlying causes of service delivery protests and eliciting potential resolutions from the local populace.

1.3 Research Question

The study examined the following research question: What are the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the Newcastle Local Municipality and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively?

1.4 Research Purpose and Delineation of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively.

The study focused mainly in two communities Osizweni and Charlestown where service delivery protests were rampant. A total of 20 community members who reside in townships

(Osizweni and Charlestown) where service delivery protests have occurred were recruited to participate in this research, meaning it was 10 members per township. The minimum age of the research participants for this study ranged between 18 to 55 years.

1.5 Research Objectives

The specific research objectives of this study were:

- To examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle Local Municipality.
- To explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality.
- To determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle Local Municipality.
- To explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery.

1.6 Rationale and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this research was to fill a gap in our understanding of the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Researchers agree that post-apartheid demonstrations, which started in 2004, were sparked by dissatisfaction with service performance (Alexander, 2010).

This implies that demonstrations in South Africa are not a recent occurrence, but rather a continuation of activities that began throughout the apartheid period. According to Nleya (2011), protests related to service delivery were infrequent in the early years of democracy in South Africa, although, recently, there has been a substantial increase in the number of such protests. Booysen (2012) reports a shockingly high number of 900 protests between February 2004 and February 2005, and over 1,500 between March 2004 and March 2006, leading up to local government elections. Since then, protests have remained common, with a slight increase seen from 2007 to 2012, according to the Multi-Level Government Initiative Protest Barometer (henceforth MLGI Protest Barometer). The data suggest that demonstrations in South Africa often escalate into violence, with poor service delivery being a common cause of protest. The purpose of this research was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests

between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively, as such protests pose a significant danger to South Africa's young democracy and national security.

1.7 Defining Key Concepts

The following offers operational definitions of key concepts in the discipline that dominate the study for consistent interpretation and understanding.

1.7.1 Protest

Duncan (2014) defines protests or remonstrations as a specific subset of public gatherings, uttering that they are gatherings directed at the state which seek to influence or challenge pronouncements made by the state. Paret (2015) defines protest as action or saying something that shows that one is in disagreement with something or think that it is bad and usually in public.

1.7.2 Service Delivery Protests

Service delivery protests, according to Van Vuuren (2013), are one kind of demonstration. Protesters often point to injustices or difficulties in justifying their actions. A person or a group of people may show disapproval of a person, an event, or a policy by words or deeds. There are many different types of demonstrations, including political ones, service delivery demonstrations, labour demonstrations, and student demonstrations. Protests for essential services, including water, power, sanitation, and housing, are referred to as "service delivery demonstrations" (Atkinson, 2007). Protests can take on a non-violent or violent form, depending on the actions of the participants. According to Reddy (2016), protests are deemed violent when they involve activities that cause a danger or definite damage to individuals or property. Viciousness during protests can arise from both protesters and the public order police, who sometimes use excessive force, resulting in an escalation of violence.

1.7.3 Local Government

Local government, as described by Reddy (2016), is the branch of state government that works to better the lives of its citizens by responding to the specific demands of its constituent communities. In this context, "local government" refers to a subset of the national government

that has been delegated limited but nonetheless significant authority over the social, economic, and physical growth of its constituent territories (Atkinson, 2007).

1.7.4 Governance

According to Vuuren (2013:81), governance may be thought of as the framework through which organisations are steered and kept in check. Decision making, responsibility, control, and leadership conduct at the highest levels of an organisation are all areas of focus. According to Madumo (2015), governance is the process of making and enforcing decisions within organisations through laws, social norms, power as structured in communication of an organised society over a social system.

1.7.5 Integrated Development Plan

In South Africa, an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) serves as the principal strategic planning document for local governments. The IDP is responsible for facilitating the internal and external coordination of government programmes, initiatives, and activities (Section 25(1) of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000). Vuuren (2013:12) agrees with this legislative strategy, arguing that public engagement in local government is crucial to ensuring sustainable growth.

1.7.6 Basic Municipal Service

The Municipal Systems Act of 2002 defines a "basic municipal service" as a service that is essential to guarantee a reasonable and adequate standard of living, and whose absence would pose a risk to public health, safety, or the environment.

1.8 Outline of the Research Project

This study is divided into seven separate but interrelated chapters. Each chapter will build on the previous one and there will be a coherent flow of ideas.

Chapter 1 highlights the background of the study focusing service delivery protests on local governance and why is it important that research be carried out to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Using data from the MLGI Protest

Barometer, this chapter provided an overview of service delivery demonstrations that have taken place in South Africa. This historical context provides the impetus for elaborating on the research's aim, objectives, and relevance in selecting NLM as a case to analyse, including service delivery protests and local administration. The direction of the inquiry is made very obvious in this chapter. The focus of the study and its structure are highlighted in this introductory section.

Chapter 2 offers differing views on the topic under review from varying literature to position the study within the global discourse. It discusses the reality and conceptualisation of protests as far as delivery of service is concern. It further discusses public-participation as the factor that may contribute to the rise of protests if it is inadequately implemented. Finally, the article covers the background, politics, and history of South African demonstrations over the provision of essential services. The literature evaluation sheds light on fundamental questions in service delivery demonstrations. Towards the chapter's conclusion, the researcher looks at the causes of service delivery protests in South African municipalities.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical and conceptual lenses through which the study was observed, and its findings tested. With the goal of illustrating the decentralisation of powers and duties within the three domains of government, this research starts with a discussion of local government theory. It further discusses social movement theory, with its three sub-theories, namely Political Opportunity Structure (POS), Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), and Framing Processes Theory (FPT). The framework acted as a lens that clarified and directed the investigation. Concepts and phenomena are given theoretical explanations in this chapter, which is useful.

Chapter 4 gives the study’s research design and how research at Osizweni and Charlestown community was conducted. Ethical issues, data gathering methods, and analytic procedures are all laid out as part of the research process. To better understand the motivations and experiences of those who take part in service delivery demonstrations, a qualitative case study was undertaken with residents of Osizweni and Charlestown aged 18 to 55 years. Focus group interviews were used to capture the viewpoints of demonstrators in both groups to help theme codification analysis. This chapter discusses the method and mechanics of implementing ethical concerns to account for risk, consent, and data protection, which were all necessary due to the potentially harmful nature of the participation. The chapter concludes with some

introspection on the study's validity and reliability, as well as a discussion of the difficulties encountered and the ethics that motivated the research.

Chapter 5 commences by discussing social characteristics of NLM and demographics of the participants. Finally, it demonstrates the data gathered from the focus group interviews with the research participants engaging on the research questions and research objective. In pursuance of this goal, we collected information that represents the participants' actual thoughts and conversations on the causes of service delivery protests in the years 2018 to 2020.

Data analysis and synthesis using theme coding are discussed in Chapter 6. During analysis, experts assess and debate the facts to unearth different kinds of knowledge that vary along theoretical and topical lines. It expands on the conceptual framework and theoretical lens of local government theory and three sub-theories of social movement to give an analytical presentation of the data in line with the research topic. Diverse themes emerged, such as (i) unemployment rate, (ii) the struggle for basic service, (iii) stagnant infrastructural development, (iv) stagnant local economic development, (vi) accountability and transparency, (vii) political instability: impact on governance and delivery, (viii) leadership difficulties, (ix) unfulfilled promises, and (x) a lack information as key determinants to understanding the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively.

The research concludes with a summary and recommendations chapter (Chapter 7). Connected to the introductory section, this last section provides suggestions for stakeholders and potential topics for further study based on the findings of the present study.

1.9 Conclusion

South Africa’s today’s realities are informed by extensive history of apartheid and colonialism. After 1994, many things happened, including economic change, yet the bulk of black people are still living in poverty and only a small number have profited from economic empowerment. Recognizing historical wrongs, the South African Constitution seeks to establish a fair and equitable society. Hence, it highlights people's entitlement to necessities like shelter and water (Akinboade et al. 2013:473).

Although the rules and regulations that make up South Africa's legal frameworks may be groundbreaking, their execution has been a failure. While people have a hand in formulating IDPs and in the ordering and allocation of services, most academics agree that these procedures have not been evaluated for their efficacy. As a result, despite massive expenditures in the centre and once White areas, poverty, unemployment, and inequality persist in the study's home of Newcastle. Black-planned communities continue to be among of the poorest in the country. Newcastle, one of the wealthiest cities in KwaZulu Natal, is home to Osizweni and Charlestown. Osizweni and Charlestown, both located in Newcastle, have poor service delivery records in comparison to the city as a whole.

The next chapter provides an explanation of the study's setting and history in connection to related works of literature and intellectual debate. The phenomenon of demonstrations is first examined. Protests against the quality of government services in South Africa are placed in their historical and political contexts. In addition, it deconstructs the field's canonical literature in order to articulate its conceptual foundations and provide light on the origins, evolution, and current state of service delivery protests throughout the world and in South Africa. In its conclusion, it explains the conditions that bred service delivery protests in local government.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS AND GOVERNANCE

2.1 Introduction

Service delivery protests have become a common phenomenon at local governance level in South Africa, resulting in disruption of business and social activities. Historically, protests were a machinery or tool for political bargaining with which the citizens could make demands and engage with their governments to effect desired change. However, in some instances, protests have led to disastrous outcomes such as the outbreak of widespread conflict and war, for example in Libya, and as such, the fragility of states makes protests a volatile phenomenon that needs careful management (Ahmed, 2019). Protests in South Africa that become violent often aim to alter underlying socio-economic conditions for the better. Protests have similar root reasons in different countries, including the lack of access to basic amenities like sanitation, rubbish collection, power, water, schools, hospitals, and police protection. As a result, demonstrations have birthed social groups that may guide the public in their ongoing fight for structural reform of the economy and social institutions (Ntlemeza, 2014:30).

A wide range of issues associated with service provision are covered in this chapter. It presents some of the ongoing discussions in the field of service and provides a glimpse into the varying perspectives of academics on protests and the provision of services. “This chapter conducts a literature review by analysing the work of various scholars who have researched service delivery protests. The goal was to explore a wide range of topics, including the categorisation of protests, protests debate globally, South Africa's democracy and protest history, as well as the historical context and politics surrounding service delivery protests in South Africa. The inadequate provision of public services has been a driving force behind protests across South Africa, with local government being held accountable for its shortcomings. Akinboade et al. (2013) note a growing scepticism about the government's ability to provide essential services to the population.

2.2 Protests as a Phenomenon

Protest, in Luhmann's (2003) view, may be understood by separating the act of protest from the topic that it is meant to critique. This is the concept of a society that condones, defends, and manufactures the same things against which people protest (Luhmann, 2003:337). Only by

seeing protest as a theoretical construct can its ironic presence be appreciated. At first glance, contemporary society seems to be evolving into a self-examining autopoietic structure, both inside and outside of itself (Luhmann, 2003:339). Hence, protest is situated against society, giving the idea that it exists independently of it.

Covering and uncovering, acting and reacting, conforming and deviating, building and breaking down are all structural circumstances brought into being by contemporary civilization. Social systems, interaction systems, and organisational systems are the three main categories in Luhmann's theory of social systems. Economy, politics, law, mass media, science, among others, are all examples of functional subsystems within society (Luhmann, 1977). Luhmann (1977) acknowledges that protest cannot be placed in any of the aforementioned subsystems, nor has it evolved to the point where it might be mistaken for a different kind of social system. It is important to note that protest is distinct from other types of social systems in that the existence of players (interaction), choices (organisation), or communication is not the fundamental component that repeats protest (society).

In truth, demonstrating is the primary concern of protestors and their primary emphasis during demonstrations (Luhmann, 2003:336). This characteristic of demonstrations explains why organisers of protests often seek media attention for their events. This is because demonstrations, as a fundamental component of protest, should set the stage for more protests.

There are two main types of demonstrations, violent and non-violent. For the purposes of this definition, "violent protests" are defined as "demonstrations in which a significant number of demonstrators use physical force against one another or against property" (Powell, O'Donovan and De Visser, 2015:6). That being said, there are other signs of a violent demonstration that should not be ignored. Protests that become violent often include people blocking highways with burning tyres and hurling rocks at passing cars, prompting police to use tear gas, rubber bullets, or water cannons to separate the crowd (Powell et al., 2015:6).

Non-violent resistance (NVR) is the practise of achieving goals such as social change via symbolic demonstrations, civil disobedience, economic or political non-cooperation, constructive programme, satyagraha, or other techniques, while avoiding violence and the risk of violence (Dudouet, 2011).

Boycotts, sit-ins, civil disobedience, and the creation of alternative institutions are all forms of non-violent resistance. Using NVR does not mean less effort is being put into combating oppression, dominance, or other types of prejudice. Instead, NVR may be utilised in conjunction with peaceful protests to counteract both individual and systemic forms of violence (Dudouet, 2011).

As a dormant dispute evolves into an overt one, Clark (2005:2) believes that this represents progress because of the change in power dynamics. Throughout the 20th century, NVR has developed into a movement that actively promoted NVR to oppressive regimes. Examples include the well-known Gandhian independence movements in India and Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights campaign in the United States of America, both of which were characterised by significant non-violent efforts (Dudouet, 2011).

Satyagraha, Gandhi's method of non-violent protest in India, revolutionised the concept. To characterise the kind of conflict intervention that could work well with his moral philosophy, he came up with the term "satyagraha" (Gandhi, 2012). Most often, the phrase satyagraha is interpreted as "truth-force," which comes from the Gujarati terms satya (truth) and agraha (firmness). Although often used to describe non-violent responses to social and political injustice, the original meaning of this phrase included much more than simply a set of tactics (Dudouet, 2011). Gandhi thought that non-violence was the only path to truthful living, and he advocated for the unification of means and goals (Gandhi, 2012). Consequently, the success of a certain Satyagraha movement should not be gauged just by objective criteria like the level of social and political freedom obtained by activists, but also by more subjective, even sensory factors like their quest for truth and self-realization (Dudouet, 2011).

Martin Luther King Jr. was a Christian Baptist clergyman and a civil rights campaigner, according to Hardimon (2015). Martin Luther King, Jr. was inspired by M.K. Gandhi's ideas of passive resistance when he was preparing for a career in the ministry, and began to believe that Black people might win civil rights using similar tactics. In particular, Gandhi's statement, "By our agony we will make them recognise their injustice," resonated deeply with him (Sutherland and Feltey, 2010:229). Strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, marches, and civil disobedience all fall under the umbrella of non-violent or passive resistance, which is a strategy for bringing about social change without resorting to violence. To fight unjust laws non-violently is seen as ethically acceptable. According to Hardimon (2015), King was convinced that NVR would

ultimately compel whites to address segregation laws. He greatly increased the acceptability of individuals using non-violent demonstrations to influence legislative change. Many white folks agreed with him and participated in the demonstrations (Hardimon, 2015). According to King (1957:1), NVR's goal is not to destroy or humiliate the enemy, but to gain his affection and understanding. The results of non-violence include mutual understanding and the growth of a caring neighbourhood. Additionally, the use of non-violent norms and tactics helps to interrupt the spiral of hostility between adversaries (Wehr, 1979).

2.3 Protests and Public-Participation in Governance

The South African new democratic period aimed to address the challenges faced by socially disadvantaged groups through widespread public engagement and participatory processes (Qwabe and Mdaka, 2011). The Constitution of 1996 mandated community participation, leading to the implementation of laws such as the Municipal Structures Act, the White Paper on Local Government, and the Municipal Systems Act (Naidoo and Ramphal, 2018).

Participatory local government is based on integrated development planning (IDP) systems, which require open and inclusive processes to gather feedback from locals on planning, funding, and outcomes (Nzewi, Nomarwayi and Bradshaw, 2019). However, implementing participatory local government can be challenging and time-consuming.

IDP processes serve as a legislative standard for strategic development planning in municipalities, aligning community participation and planning with a comprehensive strategic growth plan (Fourie and Reutener, 2012). The IDP and community-based planning (CBP) processes have become institutionalised in local government and streamline participatory procedures and budget coordination over a five-year period (Mathebula, 2018).

Although community engagement in municipal planning has increased with the introduction of IDP processes, there are challenges related to appropriateness, efficacy, and relevant planning and feedback systems (Rambunda and Masenya, 2017). Traditional forms of citizen involvement, such as IDPs, ward committees (WCs), and councillor systems, have been found to be ineffective and often fail to achieve their goals (Buccus and Hicks, 2008).

Community engagement and involvement in South Africa's municipal planning environment has increased with the introduction of IDP, say Rambunda and Masenya (2017). With regard to progressive local government, the shift also emphasised decentralisation procedures that are meant to give communities a say in administrative processes that have an impact on their well-being and day-to-day existence.

Local engagement has difficulties due to a lack of appropriateness, efficacy, and relevant planning and feedback systems, as observed by Buccus and Hicks (2008). Several studies have shown that traditional forms of citizen involvement, such as IDPs, WCs, and councillor systems, are ineffective and fail to achieve their goals. For instance, ward councillors have been sacked for placing party accountability ahead of constituent responsibility (Mottiar and Bond, 2012), while ward committees have been attacked for failing to stay non-partisan and independent of political parties (Mottiar and Bond, 2012).

Self-activity, on the other hand, has been labelled as a way whereby the poor and the disadvantaged have claimed some power and stimulation over the state (Ballard, Habib and Valodia, 2006: 413;. Mottiar and Bond, 2012). This is due in part to the indifference of public officials towards the formalities of participation, even as citizens are wary of its impact (Buccus and Hicks, 2008:526).

When the government initiates a new development initiative, participation is often minimal at best. This method has badly undermined democracy and caused widespread public discontent and distrust of elected officials because citizens no longer feel that their necessities are being prioritised or that their concerns are being considered in policy decisions that have a direct bearing on their daily lives. Thus, as a last choice, South Africans have resorted to the streets to vent their anger at the poor quality of representation they've received from their government (Cloete, 2013:64).

Yet, the frequency with which these demonstrations have occurred in the recent decade is cause for concern; in fact, South Africa has been called "the protest capital of the world" due to its high rate of public demonstrations. More than 2 million people have participated in annual protests since 2008. As a consequence of the government's failure to engage with the community on problems of service delivery, violent demonstrations motivated by mistrust,

dissatisfaction, and suspicion sometimes lead to damage of public property. The situation has deteriorated to an unsustainable level, and a catastrophe is imminent (Cloete, 2013:64).

Self-activity has been identified as a way for the poor and disadvantaged to claim power and influence over the state, given the shortcomings of formal participation processes (Ballard et al., 2006; Mottiar and Bond, 2012). However, public officials' indifference towards participation and citizens' doubts about its impact create challenges in the engagement process (Buccus and Hicks, 2008).

Beyond the IDP process, Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act encourages public engagement in municipal matters and involvement in monitoring and assessing the municipal process (RSA, The Presidency, 2014). However, ward committee structures have often failed to fulfil their intended purpose, with engagements being more regulated and representational than meaningful (RSA, The Presidency, 2014).

Authentic and empowering participation requires creating participatory spaces where the participating public can influence, direct, control, and own the process (Cloete, 2013). However, local governance mechanisms like ward committees and IDP forums have been criticised for their shortcomings in facilitating genuine engagement (Cloete, 2013).

Public engagement is acknowledged as an essential component of democracy and governance, but it is often seen as a challenging issue to address (Cloete, 2012). This reluctance to actively engage with public participation has undermined democracy and led to public discontent and distrust towards elected officials (Cloete, 2013).

Due to the government's failure to prioritise community needs and consider their concerns in policy decisions, there has been an increase in service delivery protests in South Africa, with the country being referred to as "the protest capital of the world" (Cloete, 2013). These protests, driven by mistrust, dissatisfaction, and suspicion, have sometimes turned violent and resulted in damage to public property (Cloete, 2013).

The frequency of these demonstrations is a cause for concern, indicating an unsustainable situation that requires attention (Cloete, 2013). The essay will further explore the causes and consequences of service delivery protests in the context of NLM and its local governance.

2.4 South Africa's Democracy and Protest History

The advent of democracy in South Africa during the early 1990s precipitated substantial transformations within the nation's political terrain. Democracy, being a quintessential system of governance, confers upon its citizens the invaluable prerogative to exercise their agency in selecting their leaders via impartial and unencumbered electoral processes (Kuye, 2006). One of the fundamental tenets underlying democratic systems is the inherent entitlement of individuals to express their concerns and seek resolution through non-violent avenues, such as submitting a formal petition or engaging in peaceful strikes (Kuye, 2006).

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 was met with great anticipation by the populace, who had endured the oppressive apartheid regime (Kuye, 2006). In their election manifesto, the African National Congress (ANC) made a commitment to enhance the quality of life for all citizens in the aftermath of the transition (Kuye, 2006). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, enacted in 1996, upholds the fundamental right of its citizens to engage in various forms of protest, such as assembly, demonstration, picketing, and petitioning the government. These constitutionally protected avenues of dissent play a pivotal role in safeguarding and promoting the democratic principles upon which the nation is built.

In the wake of South Africa's transition to democracy, there has been a notable surge in the occurrence of public protests, encompassing service delivery protests, within the fabric of the nation's society (Klandermans and Van Stralen, 2015). Protests serve as a mechanism through which individuals from the general populace can articulate their concerns and garner visibility for their grievances (Duncan, 2016). The phenomenon of service delivery protests has garnered significant attention, particularly since the year 2004, as documented by South African History Online (n.d.).

The inaugural documented instance of a service delivery protest unfolded in Harrismith during the month of August in the year 2004, culminating in the unfortunate demise of Tebogo Mkhonza (Booysen, 2007; Pointer, 2015; Veriava, 2014). The notion of service delivery protests encapsulates the myriad of challenges encountered by the South African populace in their relentless pursuit of enhanced service delivery (Opp, 2009). Collective action is a strategic approach employed by individuals with the aim of achieving their objectives through the

exertion of influence on decision-making processes carried out by individuals in positions of authority (Alexander et al., 2018).

Protests manifest as instances of collective mobilisation that entail the disruption of shared interests and the lodging of allegations against elites, groups, or authorities (Bohler-Muller et al., 2018; Tarrow, 1989). The discourse surrounding public unrest in South Africa initially centred on service delivery protests; however, there has been a notable shift in recent years towards the emergence of community-wide protests (Alexander et al., 2018). The protests under consideration encompass the articulation of collective demands by discrete factions with the objective of advancing or safeguarding their respective communities (Alexander et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, a contentious discourse persists concerning the categorisation of service delivery protests within the South African context (Modiba, 2005, as cited in Pointer, 2015). It has been posited by certain scholars that the emphasis placed on service delivery may inadvertently overlook additional pressing concerns articulated by local communities pertaining to the democratic framework within the nation (Alexander et al., 2018). It is imperative for journalists and reviewers to refrain from selectively choosing messages and disregarding the broader spectrum of grievances that frequently serves as catalysts for protests and strikes (Duncan, 2016).

The contention put forth by critics pertains to the problematic nature of the term "service delivery protests", which encompasses a wide array of assumptions, policies, attitudes, and promises that may have adverse consequences for governments that have based their campaign commitments on enhancing service delivery (Harber, 2009). This statement serves to reinforce the prevailing belief that protests and demonstrations are typically perceived as a final recourse when conventional channels of communication between the general populace and their elected officials become ineffective or unresponsive (Alexander et al., 2018).

In summary, it is evident that service delivery protests have emerged as a prominent facet within the South African societal framework subsequent to the country's transition to democracy. The protests serve as a platform for citizens to articulate their grievances and advocate for remedial action, effectively raising awareness about their pressing concerns. Nevertheless, it is imperative to engage in further discourse and enhance comprehension

pertaining to the categorisation and overarching concerns elucidated by these demonstrations. The establishment of effective channels of communication between citizens and government representatives is of paramount importance in addressing the root causes of these protests and safeguarding the ongoing operation of democratic systems.

2.5 Historical Context and Politics around Service Delivery Protests in South Africa

The pre-democratic era in South Africa was characterised by a series of protests, notably the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha separatist defiance campaigns in 1952 and 1989 respectively (Alexander, 2010). Additional noteworthy instances of civil unrest encompass the demonstrations orchestrated by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which culminated in the tragic Sharpeville and Langa massacres in the year 1960. Furthermore, the Soweto student uprisings in 1976 also hold considerable significance in the annals of protest movements (Alexander, 2010). The primary objective of these protests was to dismantle the apartheid legislation that perpetuated systemic oppression and discriminatory policies in governance, predicated on racial and socio-economic divisions. These policies resulted in the marginalisation of the predominantly black population within the nation (Alexander, 2010).

The systemic exclusions implemented by the apartheid regime instigated grassroots demonstrations within black-populated regions pertaining to the substandard quality of services they were provided (Alexander, 2010). The apartheid regime's deliberate spatial planning along class and racial lines resulted in the marginalisation of numerous black individuals, who were systematically denied access to fundamental amenities such as clean water, sanitation, electricity, healthcare, and housing (Alexander, 2010). Upon assuming power in 1994, the ANC administration was confronted with the arduous task of governing a nation that was deeply fragmented, characterised by pronounced inequalities in the provision of basic necessities and opportunities for its populace (Alexander, 2010).

The civic turmoil observed in South Africa can be understood as a tangible expression of the inequities experienced by historically marginalised communities, specifically those belonging to the black, mixed race, and Indian demographic cohorts. These groups persistently encounter obstacles in their pursuit of fundamental amenities, which are constitutionally mandated (Breakfast, Bradshaw, and Nomarwayi, 2019). Numerous societies throughout the nation have resorted to engaging in violent riots, resulting in detrimental consequences such as the

destruction of educational institutions, libraries, and the residences of underperforming council members (Kotze and Taylor, 2010). The escalation of service delivery protests is particularly prevalent within informal settlements, where a confluence of factors, including elevated unemployment rates, inadequate managerial and technical proficiencies within municipal entities, a dearth of accountability among local council members and officials, subpar financial administration, instances of corruption, and the deployment of individuals based on political affiliations all contribute to a pervasive sense of dissatisfaction among the populace (Managa, 2012; Steyn and Van Heerden, 2011).

The year 1997 witnessed the convergence of two significant occurrences: the implementation of the Igoli 2000 Programme, a neoliberal restructuring initiative introduced by the Johannesburg City Council, and the decision by the University of the Witwatersrand to downsize its workforce through outsourcing. These events ultimately led to the establishment of the Anti-Privatisation Forum in 2000, an organisation that played a pivotal role in organising public demonstrations during the tenure of President Thabo Mbeki from 1999 to 2008 (Nyar and Wray, 2012). Against the backdrop of increasing limitations within municipal management, the administration led by Mbeki implemented novel public management methodologies in the provision of public goods, aiming to guarantee the delivery of services that are both effective and efficient.

According to Cameron (2009:912), the concept of new public management draws inspiration from the values and concepts that are commonly associated with the private sector. The focus of this study revolves around implementing strategies to eliminate bureaucratic obstacles and inflexibility inherent in traditional public administration practices, which have hindered the effectiveness of local governments in efficiently managing public resources. Throughout the tenure of President Mbeki's second term in office, spanning from 2003 to 2008, a discernible pattern emerged wherein beneficiaries of public services expressed their discontentment with the prevailing mode of public service delivery. This phenomenon was similarly observable in the series of protests centred on service delivery, which first emerged in 2004. An increasing number of appeals were being made to the state for the provision of fundamental services, as highlighted by McLennan and Munslow (2009). During the tenure of the Mbeki administration, there was a notable increase in protests pertaining to service delivery, accompanied by the emergence of social movements such as the Thembelihle Crisis Committee, Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, Wynberg Concerned Residents, and Mandelaville Concerned Residents.

These grassroots organisations have taken the lead in advocating for improved services from the government within their respective communities. In accordance with the scholarly work of Bond and Mottiar (2013:288), the aforementioned movements can be understood as manifestations of contemporary societal struggles that primarily revolved around the shortcomings of the democratic administration in effectively addressing socio-economic rights. Furthermore, these movements also posed a formidable challenge to an emerging policy characterised by repressive measures.

As per the scholarly work of Kondlo (2010:8), it is evident that the challenges pertaining to local government service delivery emerged as a paramount concern for the Zuma administration during the period of 2009 to 2014. The inauguration of President Zuma's administration following Mbeki's tenure instilled optimism for the enhancement of South Africa's service delivery framework, with a particular focus on mitigating the escalating disparities in socio-economic inequality (Kondlo, 2010:8). However, during the tenure of President Zuma there persisted a continuing issue of insufficient and substandard service provision, leading to a further deterioration in the living conditions of the majority residing in township settlements, as highlighted by the author (Kondlo, 2010:81). As per the scholarly findings of Reddy (2010:82), the dearth of fundamental infrastructure such as water, electricity, housing, and sanitation in numerous marginalised regions has engendered pervasive animosity and discontentment. The populace expressed their discontentment with the perceived sluggishness in the provision of services by engaging in forceful processions, work stoppages, and acts of civil unrest throughout President Zuma's initial 100-day tenure.

As per the findings of Managa (2012), it becomes evident that communities expressed discontentment with the provision of services during the initial term of President Zuma, which culminated in the year 2014. Within this particular context, Reddy (2010:81) asserts that there has been a proliferation of persistent service delivery protests across all nine provinces of the country. Across all provinces, a substantial number of protests exceeding 100 were documented during the period spanning from 2009 to 2010. In accordance with the scholarly work of Managa (2012), it is evident that. the ongoing demonstrations continue to persist, exhibiting an escalation in both intensity and financial burden on the state due to the substantial damage inflicted upon certain infrastructural elements by a faction of the protesters. According to the South African Special Risk Insurance Association (Sasria) report (Sasria, 2019:17), there was a significant increase in the required funding for claims associated with public demonstrations,

with a notable surge from R800m in the 2017/18 fiscal year to R1.7bn in the 2018/19 fiscal year. Rebuilding expenses for institutions like schools, libraries, industries, and hospitals that were damaged or destroyed during demonstrations over service provision were intended to be covered by these claims. Sasria is a government-backed insurance company that was set up to compensate victims of civil unrest such as riots, strikes, terrorist attacks, and other forms of civil strife (Sasria, 2019:2). Sasria has suffered its first annual underwriting loss since 1994 because of a surge in violent public demonstrations. In order to guarantee financial stability, the insurer is contemplating raising prices in locations with a higher frequency of demonstrations (Sasria, 2019:17).

Throughout Nelson Mandela's tenure as president, the occurrence of public protests was infrequent, owing to a multitude of contributing factors. People had high hopes that the new democratic government would improve their living conditions, but many were disappointed when those hopes were not realised (Alexander, 2010). Additionally, militant civil society groups from the apartheid period were dissolved, and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) aimed at redistributing wealth and benefitting the poor contributed to the maintenance of peace (Alexander, 2010).

In 1997, the introduction of the neoliberal restructuring Igoli 2000 Programme by the Johannesburg City Council and retrenchments by the University of the Witwatersrand led to the formation of the Anti-Privatisation Forum in 2000, which played a key role in public protests during President Thabo Mbeki's administration (Nyar and Wray, 2012). Mbeki's administration introduced new public management approaches to improve service delivery, but dissatisfaction among recipients of public services persisted, leading to the trend of service delivery protests starting in 2004 (McLennan and Munslow, 2009).

Local government service delivery problems remained a top priority during President Jacob Zuma's administration (Kondlo, 2010). However, inadequate and poor service delivery persisted, leading to widespread animosity and discontent among citizens (Reddy, 2010). Service delivery protests about inadequate service spread throughout the country, with over a hundred protests between 2009 and 2010 in all provinces (Managa, 2012). These protests have become both more violent and expensive for the state, resulting in significant rebuilding expenses for damaged institutions (Sasria, 2019).

President Cyril Ramaphosa's administration has pledged to increase funding for the free basic services programme, addressing the challenges faced during previous administrations (State of the Nation Address [SONA], 2018). However, protests over service provision continue to occur in various locations across South Africa (Van Tilburg, 2020). Politics have always played a pivotal role in determining how political players conduct themselves and how state institutions are governed (Hanekom and Thornhill, 1993). The delivery of public services in South Africa remains a controversial and political matter, as the government works to correct the problems left by previous administrations and stimulate economic development (McLennan and Munslow, 2009). Understanding the role of public officials and the influence of politics on the administration of public goods is crucial in highly politicized local government organizations (Cloete, 1993).

2.6 Overview of Factors contributing to Municipal Service Delivery

The South African Constitution (1996) Section 152 (1) shaped local government as the epicentre for government service delivery. The democratic transition in 1994 heralded a new era for local governance centred on rolling out service delivery to both urban and rural residents, improving financial performance of municipalities, extensive merging of institutional capacity of municipalities and reinforcement of human resource capacity. Koma (2012:58) contends that for municipalities to realise developmental requirements and accelerate service delivery to the poor, there was a need for widespread resource attainment through funding, human resources, adoption of key and enabling legislative measures that respond to the developmental aims of the state.

The 2030 National Development Plan (NDP) for South Africa envisions a developmental state that empowers its citizens to make positive changes in their own lives while also acting to address systemic injustices. (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012: 17). Strategic leadership is required to close the gap between the aspirations of Vision 2030 and the reality of widespread poverty, social inequality, and significant unemployment. There has been some progress in incorporating the NDP vision into government strategic plans, but much more needs to be done. Consequently, it is up to the local government to maintain the functioning of the public sector and encourage economic participation among the populace. Since it indicates the degree to which government agencies are able to meet the social, economic, political, and

environmental demands of their constituents, state capacity is a key issue for developing states (Koma, 2012:61).

According to Article 153 (a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), a municipality has a duty to contribute significantly to the social and economic development of its community. The intention of municipal government is to meet the specific wants, requirements, and expectations of its constituents. Municipal governments are primarily charged with providing residents of their area with life-sustaining necessities. According to Koma (2012:62), constitutional duties should guide the delivery of public services.

According to Friedman (2011:16), the government of South Africa has accepted the task of rectifying the injustice of apartheid by guaranteeing the equitable allocation of basic services. This indicates that the government has prioritised the need to increase service delivery to the whole population, as well as the understanding of the need of having accountability mechanisms for ensuring that citizens' fundamental needs are met. Yet, owing to problems with maladministration, inadequate coordination, and a lack of checks and balances, certain municipalities have been failing to meet the needs of their citizens (Friedman, 2011:16). This has led to rising tensions on the ground, as many residents in affected districts have been cut off from essential services and have taken to the streets in protest, with some of the demonstrations turning violent.

Dissatisfaction with service delivery, unemployment and poverty, a lack of access to information, political instability, and unmet promises are only few of the factors that contribute to unrest in South Africa's cities.

2.6.1 Dissatisfaction with Service Delivery

Mathebula, Nkuna and Sebola (2014:107) indicate the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, through the Bill of Rights, states that all communities have a legal right to adequate access of basic services, and slow pace of service delivery and discontent with municipal performance with respect to the provision of basic services such as water and sanitation, electricity, housing and other basic services results to the community on street protesting for the basic rights. According to Burger (2009), there are several motives for protests in South Africa. The key motive is dissatisfaction with the provision of basic municipal

services such as running water, electricity and toilets, especially in rural and informal settlements. The unemployment rate officially sits at around 30.1%, high levels of poverty, poor infrastructure, and the lack of houses contribute to the rising frustration (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2020).

Akinboade, Mokwena and Kinfack (2014:2) report that growing community discontent has led to increased service delivery demonstrations in South African municipalities in recent years. From at least 2007 forward, service delivery demonstrations have often been sparked by public outrage over the incompetence of public officials and the breakdown of local government administrative institutions (Akinboade et al. 2014:2).

2.6.2 Unemployment and Poverty

Unemployment, as defined by Allen and Thomas (1992:56), is the state of being unable to find gainful employment or of working without compensation. Unemployment, as defined by Nemalili (2006:8), is the absence of available work for high school and college graduates. Unemployment in South Africa is increasing in a peculiar way. The official unemployment rate is roughly 30.1%, extreme poverty, inadequate transportation, healthcare, and housing systems, and so forth (Stats SA, 2020).

Due to its impact on economic well-being, output, poverty, crime, human capital depletion, social exclusion, and social instability (including demonstrations), unemployment is a major reason for concern. A growing number of people believe that unemployment poses the greatest danger to South African society and the country's leadership (Kingdon and Knight, 2004:391). According to Mamabolo (2015:143), xenophobic attacks, demonstrations, and crimes in South Africa are exacerbated by the country's high poverty and unemployment rates. Individuals who are jobless and living below the poverty line are more susceptible to confusion and anger, which may lead them to target foreigners and their elected officials with hate speech and violence. A lack of economic prospects, such as appropriate jobs and food security, may be viewed as a feature which commonly leads to service delivery demonstrations since the majority of the people rely on government or their local municipalities for improved service delivery (Mamabolo, 2015:143).

Dassah (2012:10) agrees with the view that poverty and the resulting social and economic circumstances and unemployment are key contributors to the emergence of demonstrations. These difficulties are a significant barrier to adequate service and long-term growth. Finally, Chikulo (2016:54) says that some people argue that increasing inequality and poverty in South African society fuel the unrest over subpar service. Despite significant advances in service delivery, progress towards the critical goals of decreasing poverty and inequality has been slow. Members of the community participate in a mobilisation framework to encourage social and economic reforms, like eliminating prevalent issues such as poverty, unemployment, and inequality, according to McAdams Douglas's Political Process Theory (McAdam, 2010).

2.6.3 Corruption and Nepotism

Mhango and Chirwa (2018:5) indicate that corruption is a common advent of poor governance in most developing countries. Corruption and other unethical behaviour, such as nepotism by bureaucrats and political office bearers, have been the driving factors toward service delivery protests and in numerous instances, and this results in community members going on strike or protest for better and sufficient service delivery. Managa (2012:5) indicates that Limpopo Province has not been in the spotlight about protests lately. He believes that many protests took place between 2007 and 2010, of which 42% were in the Sekhukhune district, followed by the Mopani and Vhembe districts at 17%, while 14% were in the Capricorn district and 10% in the Waterberg district. Managa (2012:5) further indicates that protesters frequently remonstrate because of a lack of accountability of government officials, corruption and maladministration.

2.6.4 Political Instability and Unfulfilled Promises

Protests in South Africa have targeted the political system as well as housing, water, and sewage systems, power, and other infrastructures. Protesters said that their local government was inattentive to their needs. From this, we may infer that there is an issue with politicians who ignore demonstrators (Twala, 2014:163). Inequality, unmet political promises, and inconsistent access to services are further contributors to dissatisfaction with service delivery. Protesters' anger is exacerbated by officials' and council members' indifference, a lack of or ambiguity around communication methods, the delivery of inadequate services, and widespread poverty (Masiya, Davids and Mangai, 2019:38). According to Ndaba (2007), the ANC blamed internal strife for the failure to deliver services in South African towns. The Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlement, and Traditional Affairs (2014:8)

agrees that political infighting has hampered service delivery and growth in several South African towns.

2.6.5 A lack of Access to Information

Everybody has the right to access any information kept by the state, except classified material, as per clause 32 (1)(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Information on the laws, rules, and economic and social conditions in a given area is a basic right of every citizen. The Promotion of Access to Information Act governs the processes required under section 32 of the Constitution (2 of 2000). Access to information is a fundamental human right, as shown by the Bill of Rights, and is further emphasised in the Batho Pele Principles (1997). Access to complete and accurate information: all people have that right (Batho Pele, 1997).

According to Mathebula (2017:108), the government should think carefully about granting this privilege. Protests have broken out because the government has failed to ensure that its citizens have access to information and other necessities. Service delivery demonstrations in rural regions, as reported by Allan and Heese (2004), illustrate how rumours of favouritism, corruption, and incompetence may spread quickly due to a lack of knowledge.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter took a speculative look at the history of service delivery demonstrations in South Africa. The discussions garnered those demonstrations over service delivery, which began in 2004/05, have grown in both frequency and intensity, as well as in number (Mathebula, 2017:100).

Although it is their right as citizens to strike and demonstrate, it has become usual for protestors to carry crude weapons. The community's genuine need for effective quality services, particularly those connected to the delivery of sustainable human settlements, is at the heart of many demonstrations about service delivery. In light of this, service delivery demonstrations have been especially common in informal settlements, which suffer from high rates of poverty, high rates of unemployment, a lack of affordable housing, and a dearth of infrastructure-related services. The failure of intergovernmental relations to achieve its goals is undermining the goals of Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Protesters are

incited into action due to a lack of public engagement, as well as widespread instances of misrepresentation and presumption (Mathebula, 2017:100).

Political disagreements or bickering have reinforced the politics of service provision. The occasional service delivery demonstrations may be traced back to political infighting (Mathebula, 2017:100). The next chapter introduces the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that were used to interpret, analyse, and evaluate the results of the research. Through the lenses of various theorists, it deconstructs the ways in which protesters' perceptions and emotions are influenced by the setting of the protests, how politics, power, and authority pervasively act through the structural functionalism of institutions, and how this all works together to affect and shape social reality. It delves into the interplay between the various social movements.

CHAPTER 3: UNDERSTANDING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS THROUGH THE PRISM OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

According to Neuman (2007), theories help to provide a foundation for the social sciences. As the researcher's objective is to gain insight into the workings of the social environment, theories are essential. Scientists should work to bridge the gap between theory and practice by verifying that their theoretical frameworks are grounded on careful analysis of real-world social phenomena (Buchanan, 1994). The literature study provides a classification system for protests and an analysis of the causes of the recent upsurge in demonstrations over poor service delivery in South Africa. Protests about issues including housing, water, and power were at the centre of a number of groups that emerged outside the new social movements in 2005.

3.2 Conceptual Framework and Theoretical lens

3.2.1 Local Government Theory

The relationships between the centre and the periphery in local government may be one of its distinguishing characteristics as a result of decentralisation. Because of this, a large number of theories and models of local governance concentrate on the correlation among the local and federal governments. According to Shah (2004), this relates to the decentralisation vs. centralisation issue and the transfer of authority.

Local governance theory encompasses a comprehensive framework of principles and practises that govern the operations of local governments and their intricate interactions with various stakeholders within a defined geographic region. The primary objective of this initiative is to prioritise the advancement of transparency, accountability, and participation within the decision-making procedures at the local level (Shah, 2004). When examining the phenomenon of service delivery protests and its relation to local governance within the context of NLM, the application of local governance theory can offer valuable insights into the fundamental factors that contribute to these protests, as well as propose effective strategies for their mitigation and resolution.

Theoretical frameworks on local governance place significant emphasis on the imperative of citizen engagement within decision-making processes. In the realm of service delivery protests,

it is imperative to afford community members an opportunity to actively participate in the formulation and execution of service delivery initiatives, as emphasised by Rose-Ackerman in her seminal work published in 2004. The local municipality has the capacity to institute participatory mechanisms, such as public hearings, community forums, or citizen advisory committees, in order to incorporate the needs and preferences of the residents effectively within the decision-making process.

The theoretical framework of local governance places significant emphasis on the imperative for governance structures that are characterised by transparency and accountability. When examining the occurrence of service delivery protests, it becomes imperative for the municipality to ensure the provision of comprehensive and transparent information pertaining to the allocation of resources, budgetary procedures, and advancements made in service delivery initiatives (Oates, 1994). This initiative has the potential to foster a sense of trust and credibility between the municipal authorities and the local community, thereby mitigating the probability of protests emerging due to perceived instances of mismanagement or corruption.

The theory of local governance acknowledges the significance of enhancing the capabilities of local government officials and community members to actively participate in governance procedures (Oates, 1994). In the realm of service delivery protests, capacity building endeavours can be directed towards augmenting the proficiencies and expertise of municipal officials in the domains of project management, service delivery planning, and community engagement. In a parallel vein, it is worth noting that community constituents can be bestowed with a sense of empowerment through the implementation of educational and training initiatives. These programmes serve to equip individuals with the necessary knowledge and skills to comprehend their rights and obligations as active citizens, thereby fostering their ability to engage in local governance processes in a meaningful manner.

Local governance theory places significant emphasis on the imperative of fostering collaboration among diverse stakeholders operating at the local level. These stakeholders encompass various entities such as government departments, civil society organisations, and community-based institutions (Oates, 1994). In the realm of service delivery protests, the implementation of intersectoral collaboration holds significant potential in the identification and resolution of underlying systemic issues that contribute to the emergence of such protests. Through collaborative efforts, stakeholders have the opportunity to combine their resources,

exchange their specialised knowledge, and formulate holistic approaches that address the underlying factors contributing to service delivery challenges effectively.

The application of local governance theory to the subject of service delivery protests and local governance within the context of NLM holds the potential to facilitate community participation, enhance transparency and accountability, bolster capacity, and foster collaboration among various stakeholders. These aforementioned principles possess the potential to effectively tackle the fundamental grievances of the community while concurrently fostering a more efficient and enduring service delivery mechanisms.

3.2.2 Social Movement Theory

The goal of the Social Movement Theory (SMT) is to provide light on the processes, manifestations, effects, and costs of social mobilisation. The idea of social movements has developed greatly through time and draws on many areas of study within the social sciences. The conventional wisdom was that social revolutions exemplified some kind of mass behaviour. In contrast to the institutional and organisational behaviour, social movements have been characterised by academics as "spontaneous, unorganised, and unstructured events" (Morris, 2000:448). Human agency and associated processes like social organisation, reasoning, rationality, and analysis were underappreciated in group behaviour and related theories. Unsaid, but implied in their categorisation of so-called spontaneous rallies against service providers, is a vision of unruly mobs wed to collective behaviour prescriptions.

Protesting alone is not enough to provide a genuine challenge to the predominance of the ruling class; a range of ideas and methods, such as those offered by political parties, is necessary. It is clear that we need a counter-hegemonic, generative vision of society if we are ever going to make progress in lessening the role of the state and capitalism in favour of civil society (Williams, 2008)

As the ANC administration is already struggling with delivery due to budget and political restrictions, this might be a dangerous turn of events. Housing experts believe that the country's housing policy is suffering under the weight of the neoliberal ideology (Bond and Tait, 1997). This recommends that the difficulties of the demonstrators may be unachievable under the current neoliberal policy framework, and hence that other options may be possible. A lack of

confidence in the class arrangement and compromise that the ANC has put together and maintained for the last 17 years is on full display among the demonstrators. Protesting is an opportunity to learn more about one's cause, one's opponents, and one's own limits. Hence, rather than hindering it, demonstrations may deliver the groundwork for the growth of a generative politics, one that achieves results independent of pre-existing ideological goals.

Social movement theory serves as a comprehensive framework that elucidates the intricate dynamics underlying the genesis, progression, and ramifications of collective endeavours undertaken by cohorts of individuals with the shared objective of effecting transformative social or political alterations. The application of this methodology enables the analysis of service delivery protests and local governance dynamics within the specific context of NLM. In the context of this topic, it is pertinent to elucidate the manner in which the theory can be applied effectively.

SMT places significant emphasis on the crucial role of shared identity within the context of collective action undertaken by individuals. In the context of service delivery protests, it is observed that residents within NLM have the propensity to unite and establish a collective identity rooted in their discontentment towards the substandard nature of local services. The establishment of a collective identity serves as a catalyst for mobilising and unifying individuals, fostering a shared commitment to advocate for transformative change.

In order to ensure the longevity and effectiveness of social movements, it is imperative to acknowledge the indispensability of various resources, including but not limited to human capital, financial backing, and a robust organisational framework. These resources play a pivotal role in facilitating and sustaining the multifaceted activities undertaken by social movements. By employing the framework of SMT to examine service delivery protests in Newcastle, this theoretical perspective facilitates a comprehensive analysis of the manner in which protesters strategically mobilise resources to actively participate in collective action. The potential course of action could encompass the utilisation of pre-existing community networks, collaboration with civil society organisations, or the pursuit of external assistance in order to augment their ability to contest the service delivery performance of the local government (Le Bon, 2002).

SMT places significant emphasis on the pivotal role played by the political context in shaping the array of opportunities and constraints encountered by activist groups. When examining the service delivery protests in Newcastle, it is imperative to employ theoretical frameworks that can assess the political opportunities accessible to the demonstrators effectively. One potential strategy that activists may employ is the utilisation of pre-existing democratic structures, such as local elections or media platforms, to effectively influence and exert pressure on local government officials. By doing so, activists can enhance the probability of attaining their desired outcomes, as highlighted by Williams (2008).

The field of SMT delves into the various strategies and tactics employed by activists in their pursuit of achieving their objectives (Bond and Tait, 1997). In the context of service delivery protests occurring in Newcastle, it is imperative to explore the theoretical framework that can aid in comprehending the multifaceted array of contentious strategies employed by the protesters. This may encompass non-violent protests, civil disobedience, strategic blockades, or alternative methods of direct engagement with the objective of impeding local governance mechanisms and garnering visibility for their grievances.

The examination of outcomes, both intended and unintended, of collective actions is a crucial aspect within the realm of SMT (Williams, 2008:8). By employing the aforementioned theoretical framework to analyse service delivery protests in the context of Newcastle, scholars are able to evaluate the ramifications of these protests on the local governance mechanisms and the provision of public services. Potential alterations in policies, resource allocation, or the level of responsiveness exhibited by local government officials may transpire as a result of the influence exerted by the protesting community.

In its entirety, the theoretical construct of SMT offers a highly valuable framework for comprehending the intricate dynamics that underlie service delivery protests and local governance in the context of Newcastle. By delving into the motivations, strategies, and outcomes of collective action aimed at enhancing service delivery, this framework effectively illuminates the multifaceted nature of such endeavours.

3.2.2.1 Political Opportunity Structure (POS) Approach

Choe and Kim (2012), in their analysis of social movements, note that political opportunity structure is heavily influenced by political sociology. Participants in this study raised several concerns about the manner in which NLM communicates with them.

This theory indicates that political climate is the single most important factor determining whether a social movement succeeds or fails. This method was utilised by the researcher to examine the settings that allow demonstrators to perform remonstrations, such as the right to demonstrate guaranteed by Section 17 of the South African Constitution (1996). The researcher also used this method to examine the tactics employed by protestors during demonstrations and the provision of essentials like water, power, and housing in Osizweni and Charlestown. The POS theory considers the conditions under which movements form (Opp, 2009). In his examination of the structure of opportunities, Eisinger (1973) laid the groundwork for the POS theory. This is the framework in which politics takes place. Unquestionably, social movements have an effect on the course of history, yet they always do so within the constraints of the situations in which they find themselves (Meyer, 2004). This is why Choe and Kim (2012) consider the POS method to be an external political condition that influences social movement mobilisation.

As described by Tarrow (1994:85), POS is "reliable but not certainly official or everlasting-dimensions of the political environment that supplies benefits for individuals to initiate collective action by impacting their certainty for success or failure" (Tarrow, 1994:85). The phrase "before or after elections" refers to Things, which are "accessible (for example, legislations, policies, constitutions, institutions) combined with ancient prospects at which alliances are challenged" (Mohanty, Thompson and Coelho, 2010:6). The POS is not always permanent, nationwide, or official, but it does give incentives for individuals to participate in group or collective action by altering expected odds of success or failure (Tarrow, 1998). These ratios may change temporarily in response to events that opposing actors might use to strengthen their claims and mobilise support. Yet, the POS theorists argue that the nature and timing of complaints might determine whether protests arise.

According to della Porta (2008), changes in the larger political climate make it possible for preexisting grievances to be heard, which is why social movements emerge and thrive. Understanding the role that complaints play in the unrest in Osizweni and Charlestown is

important now, especially since complaints about service delivery have festered and grown. The study's author used the POS method to analyse the outcomes of activism. The POS provides this clarification by arguing that protest cycles begin with the emergence of "structurally produced political chances" and grow as a result of actions undertaken by movements, such as their ability to mobilise and inspire innovation (Ballard et al., 2006:5). Protests may deteriorate for numerous reasons, including the state's greater repression, the group's increased reception of activists' claims, boredom, protest weariness, disillusionment, and discontent among movement members, to name but a few (Ballard et al., 2006; Tarrow, 1994).

The POS approach guided this research in understanding the political structures that either constrain or enable service delivery protests in Osizweni and Charlestown. However, whereas the POS aids in understanding mobilisation, it places less prominence on the actors' role. Perhaps this is because it does not have a clear analytical framework which aids it to explain the interplay of actors and the opportunity structure (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004). Certainly, although the approach does a good job in explaining the contexts within which influence social movements, it fails (in some respects) because it places little emphasis on the role of the activists themselves. Also, it lacks a clear analytical framework of how to measure the contribution that actors and the environment have on social movements' mobilisation, hence the need for another social movement approach to complement its effort.

3.2.2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

Using the Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), the study analysed the actions of demonstrators in Osizweni and Charlestown who were demanding better service delivery, evaluated their leadership and organisational structure, as well as the methods they use to mobilise resources and the materials they gather. RMT is a framework proposed by McCarthy and Zald (2001) to explain how groups gain sway over the resources necessary for collective action, the relationships within social movements, the weight of outside support, and the methods used by authorities to either integrate or exert control over such movements. What protestors do, how they do it (repertoires), and with what they have at their disposal are all explained by RMT (resources).

RMT is a sociological theory that explains how social movements and collective action are organised and sustained. It emphasises the role of resources, such as money, time, skills, and

social connections, in mobilising people and organisations to engage in collective action (McCarthy and Zald, 2001).

Service delivery protests often emerge from dissatisfaction and grievances related to inadequate public services (Oliver and Marwell, 1992). RMT can help understand how these grievances are identified and organised into a collective action. Activists and community leaders may gather information, conduct surveys, engage in dialogue, and establish networks to mobilise resources that highlight and address service delivery challenges.

The theory of resource mobilisation places significant emphasis on the criticality of efficiently acquiring and deploying resources to facilitate the advancement of collective action. In the realm of service delivery protests, resources encompass a range of valuable assets that contribute to the cause. These assets may comprise financial backing, the dedication of volunteers, the involvement of community organisations, the amplification of media attention, the provision of legal assistance, and the application of technical proficiency. In the realm of social activism and protest coordination, it is imperative for activists and organisers to leverage various resources at their disposal. These resources serve as instrumental tools in facilitating the organisation of protests, fostering heightened awareness among the masses, engaging in negotiations with local authorities, and advocating for improved service delivery (McCarthy and Zald, 2001).

The theoretical framework of resource mobilisation recognises the crucial role played by political opportunities in determining the effectiveness and achievement of collective action endeavours. The phenomenon of service delivery protests is intricately linked to the dynamics of local governance, which serves as a significant political opportunity structure (Jenkins, 1983). Gaining a comprehensive comprehension of the intricate political dynamics, intricate power relations, and intricate decision-making processes within the NLM is of paramount importance in order to mobilise resources proficiently. Within this particular context, it is not uncommon for activists to utilise a range of strategic approaches, including but not limited to lobbying, advocacy, and the application of public pressure, in order to exert influence over local governance policies and practises.

Through the application of RMT, scholars are able to offer a comprehensive analysis of the intricate dynamics that underlie service delivery protests and local governance. This approach

allows for an examination of the dynamics that influence these protests, as well as an evaluation of the efficacy of mobilisation endeavours. This study aimed to provide valuable insights for policy-makers, activists, and local authorities regarding the effective strategies to address service delivery challenges and improve local governance processes (Jenkins, 1983). In order to sustain progress, social movements necessitate access to a diverse array of resources, encompassing data, ethical considerations, human capital, and financial support (Ballard et al., 2006). While there is a lack of consensus regarding the most valuable resources, it is commonly acknowledged that assets such as money, labour, facilities, technical expertise, legitimacy, and capital are frequently utilised (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The comprehensive array of resources encompasses both tangible and intangible assets, such as trust, respect, legitimacy, friendship, moral investment, hard labour, monetary capital, and technical proficiency (Jenkins, 1983).

With regard to strategies, tactics and individuals involved in social movements or protests, resource mobilisation uses diverse strategies and use people from the community and outside the community involved. The strategies and tactics encompass “mobilizing supporters, neutralizing and/or transforming mass and elite publics into sympathizers, achieving change in targets” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1217). They also note that sometimes some tactics and strategies may work well to achieve one aim but may conflict with the necessary behaviour desired to achieving another aim. Furthermore, support base may either be based or not based on the grievances of the beneficiaries of the desired change, but these may be individuals, groups of conscience organisations which seek to provide support and at such groups may not even hold the underlying values of specific movements (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). In short, RMT indicates the role of both internal and external resources, material and non-material resources in mobilisation.

3.2.2.3 Framing Process Theory

To counteract the POS method, the researcher drew on Framing Processes Theory (FPT). The FPT provides a first-person perspective by relying on accounts provided by activists inside social movements to explain why they mobilise (in this instance, service delivery protesters). This, according to Snow (2004), is how those who work in the field of movement arts see the world. The researcher used the FPT to dissect the conscious, interpretive, and meaning-making processes at work in the service delivery protestors' efforts to foster cohesion and collective action. According to Benford and Snow (2000), researchers across disciplines, including

proponents of the new social movement theory, have emphasised the importance of framing processes when trying to make sense of social movements. “The roots of new social movement (NSM) theory may be traced back to the European traditions of political and social philosophy” (Klanderman, 1991; Larana, Johnston and Gusfield, 1994).

People's frames are defined as the ways they make sense of and react to events in their immediate and global environments (Snow and Benford, 1986). Another way to characterise frames is as explanations that answer the queries "what is going on" or "should be happening on" (Benford and Snow, 2000). The aforementioned procedure results in broad perspectives, which aid social movements. According to Gurr (1970), the relevance of compassion of grievance in protest mobilisation is also emphasised by relative deprivation theory. Simply put, proponents of the Framing Processes school of thought argue that the definition and perception of the world by movement adherents and other relevant actors is more important than what outsiders to the movement identify as its complaints, concerns, circumstances, and social reality. The researcher used the FPT to describe how Osizweni and Charlestown protestors conceptualise themselves, their situations, and the coordination of demonstrations. This bottom-up strategy is effective because it gives previously silenced voices a platform to share their insights and experiences, and it discourages a top-down approach that speaks down to participants (Benford and Snow, 2000).

This study found framing processes valuable because they aided the researcher in understanding the meanings protestors in Osizweni and Charlestown attach to service delivery protests. This is built on the understanding that framing is concerned with how protesters define their group or movement and how this definition changes over time. This theory also helps in understanding who protestors blame, and how they sell their meanings to potential protestors who will identify with the problems they seek to change in Osizweni and Charlestown.

3.3 Conclusion

Osizweni and Charlestown demonstrations were analysed through the lenses of the three sub-theories of social movement theory, namely Political Opportunity Structure (POS) Approach, Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) and Framing Process Theory (FPT). The SMT mainly focused on the "what," "how," "when," and "why" of demonstrations. The POS shed light on the institutional and structural political conditions under which demonstrations may or may not

take place. Analysis of the relationship between service delivery protestors in Osizweni and Charlestown and the political institutions that permit or limit activism, and the techniques they use in the struggle for urban development, was conducted using POS. RMT highlighted the resources essential to mobilise masses to stage a ‘protest’ and the organisation required to aggregate the resources. FPT mainly highlighted the aggrieved group’s construction of meaning and what they contemplate to be their problems, the people liable for the problems, and the compulsory solutions to resolve the problems. The study found that certain social movements are self-directed and organised with a horizontal logic. Such movements are sometimes associated with anarchism because they lack the organisational structures of more conventional social organisations. As non-hierarchical organisations often rely on impromptu measures, and their actions might easily be mistaken for those of ad hoc groups (Gramsci, 1971).

Nonetheless, the "logic" and "organisation" that follow the acts are not always false to a number of individuals. Reason is the order of organisation, even if certain arguments are not properly structured and so allow for some leeway. Inadequately stated, there are times when these organisations choose to act impulsively on purpose so that creative training might take place. What seems to be an irrational outburst is often the result of careful planning. The persons engaged and the subsequent processes reveal a degree of organisation that is inconsistent with the concept of spontaneity. A quick look at how Gramsci conceptualised spontaneity and power capped out the chapter (Gramsci, 1971). The next chapter outlines the researcher's methods for selecting protestors, meeting with them, conducting focus group interviews, and analysing the resulting data.

Using literary and theoretical analysis, this investigation sought to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCHING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS IN NEWCASTLE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

4.1 Introduction

Using the NLM as a case study, with a particular emphasis on Charlestown and Osizweni, this chapter presents the research method and the justification for the method chosen to undertake this study, with the goal of elucidating the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Methodology and study structure used to answer the study's central question are also outlined in this chapter. Sampling, participant recruitment for focus group interviews, and justifications for these procedures are also detailed in this chapter. The study's limits and constraints, as well as the methodologies and instruments employed to gather data, are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical issues and the study's validity and reliability.

4.2 Accessing Newcastle Local Municipality

The criteria of the Research and Policy Unit were met by submitting an official application to the Office of the Speaker in order to get access to the Newcastle Local Municipality, and more particularly the Charlestown and Osizweni community. Once the researcher submitted the necessary paperwork, they were given permission to perform their study in the Charlestown and Osizweni area. The researcher was also instructed to communicate with the ward councillors (see Appendix D4) in charge of the areas where the study would be conducted as part of the approval letter. Even with signed authorisation to undertake research, getting in touch with the selected ward councillors and other Charlestown and Osizweni community members took time. In other circumstances, the researcher was able to schedule meetings with ward councillors, but those appointments were never kept.

4.2.1 Accessing Charlestown and Osizweni Community

The researcher's background in Newcastle's Madadeni area should be noted up front. Although the researcher had no trouble getting into the Charlestown and Osizweni neighbourhood, finding appropriate volunteers for the intended case study presented significant difficulties.

Ward councillors in Charlestown and Osizweni community assisted the researcher to recruit people who had the information related to recurring service delivery protests. Immediately after identifying participants, it was easier to establish rapport because the researcher shared a similar language as members of the community in Charlestown and Osizweni (i.e. isiZulu) and this assisted the research process because participants became more relaxed when they realised that the language used by the researcher is similar to theirs. Additionally, the dissatisfaction shared by the community of Charlestown and Osizweni pushed them to talk to the researcher. One reason indicated by the research participants is that they wanted other people outside Newcastle to become aware of their dissatisfaction. The researcher's individuality as a black Zulu man and a Wits student remained imperative during the research process.

Although other community members regarded the researcher as a member of their community who was doing a school research project that offered an opportunity to communicate their struggles, some of them viewed the researcher more as an agent than purely a university student. They saw a prospect in that since the researcher is the university student, it will then be easier that their issues they get to be broadcasted or published in media. Ultimately this became an ethical challenge for the researcher since it was explained at the commencement of data collection that the research project is not intended to deliver any progressive changes. The researcher addressed this challenge by sharing contact details of broadcasting or publicising institutions.

Some community members in Charlestown and Osizweni trusted the researcher with their vital information. Data collection and analysis would have been greatly aided by access to private information; nevertheless, such material could not be utilised or cited for the purposes of this research study since it went beyond the scope of the project.

Yet even after being told that the study endeavour is not intended to bring about any developmental changes, the research participants still believed that the researcher's presence in their community would bring about developmental improvements. Several Charlestown residents accidentally phoned the researcher a week after data collection to say that they had seen water trucks in the neighbourhood more often since the researcher was there. The researcher tried to explain to them that this was unrelated to the fact that the researcher was in their neighbourhood.

4.3 Research Approach

The methodology of this investigation was qualitative. According to Maphazi (2012:165), the interpretative social science paradigm is the bedrock of qualitative research. It might be argued that the purpose of qualitative research is to investigate, uncover, and comprehend known but poorly understood phenomena. The purpose of this study was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively, hence the researcher opted for a case study approach based on qualitative methods.

The following characteristics separate qualitative research from quantitative research, as outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2001:270):

a) Research is conducted in the natural setting of the social actors;
b) A focus on process rather than on outcome;
c) The actor's perspective (the 'insider' or 'emic' view) is emphasised;
d) The primary aim is in-depth ('thick') descriptions and understanding actions and events;
e) The main concern is to understand social action in terms of its specific context (idiographic motive), rather than attempting to generalise to some theoretical population;
f) The research process is often inductive in its approach, resulting in the generation of new hypotheses and theories; and
g) The qualitative researcher is seen as the 'main instrument' in the research process.

Deducing from the above, the researcher then decided to use a qualitative approach as satisfiable method to gather data from Charlestown and Osizweni community members in the NLM. The researcher used focus group interviews to collect data from the aforementioned research participants. The feature of qualitative research comprises samples, extensive information from each research participant, and pursuit for meanings, ideas and pertinent subjects that will be recognised and analysed in the concluding chapters of the research project (Neuman, 2006).

Qualitative research is best used to determine depth rather than breadth of information. Thus, it is evident that qualitative research methodology deals with subjective data, generated by the

minds of research participants or interviewees, and captured by researchers in the form of themes and patterns. The application of qualitative methods in Charlestown and Osizweni community enabled the researcher to gain a deeper understanding from research participants who in one way or another participated or were aware of the reasons that led to service delivery protests in their areas.

Human behaviour is the primary focus of qualitative research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270). In the qualitative research technique, the standard one-on-one interview is a common tool for acquiring information (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:289). Interaction between an interviewer and a responder in which the former has a broad plan of enquiry but not a list of questions that must be asked word for word and in a certain sequence constitutes a qualitative interview (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:289). Participants in this qualitative study were from the areas of Charlestown and Osizweni, and were specifically chosen for the focus group interviews that comprised the bulk of the research.

Qualitative research methods were used since they were thought to be the best fit for this investigation. The dialogue between the researcher and the participants in focus group interviews was not limited by predetermined topics or questions.

The methodology of this investigation was qualitative. The purpose of this study was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively, hence the researcher opted for a case study approach based on qualitative methods. Exploratory in nature, this research used a case study of Newcastle local municipality to enquire into the causes of recent demonstrations about the quality of municipal services. According to Neuman (2006), there are three main methods used in social science research: exploratory research, descriptive research, and explanatory research. In-context, observation, evaluation, and comprehension of social phenomena are made possible by the aforementioned research methods (Neuman, 2006). The researcher used a qualitative method to learn about government, service delivery, and demonstrations in their local setting (Neuman, 2006).

4.4 Research Design

This research sought to identify the causes of service delivery protests via an examination of the NLM and related demonstrations in the Charlestown and Osizweni neighbourhood between 2018 and 2020. This case study was founded on a granular comprehension of the phenomena, which serves as a foundation for a more generalised comprehension (Barchiesi, 2007). The results of this case study provide insight into the origins of service delivery protests and shed light on more fundamental issues. It narrowed down on the causes of service delivery protests and made it easier to investigate them thoroughly. The researcher was able to get a more nuanced knowledge of the causes of the problems experienced by the people of Charlestown and Osizweni by drawing on their own personal experiences and viewpoints on the phenomena of civil protests and service delivery.

According to Kumar (2014:122), a research design is a "plan or framework that serves as the roadmap to lead the researcher through the process of data collection, data management, and analysis". Since the researcher wanted to learn about the participants' perspectives on the provision of essential services in the NLM, the study used a case-study approach. The term "case study research design" refers to a specific kind of empirical enquiry in which the boundaries between the phenomena being studied and the real-world setting in which it occurs are not immediately visible and numerous sources of information are utilised (Kumar, 2014:122). Because these service delivery protests occurred in real-world situations and within a defined geopolitical location, the study's research question was a contemporary phenomenon, allowing the researcher to adopt a variety of data collection techniques to gain a more nuanced understanding within specific geographic regions. In this specific instance, Newcastle's local municipality served as the focus, and the research was limited to two neighbourhoods there. Osizweni and Charlestown townships were the sites of persistent, sometimes violent, demonstrations during the previous three years, demanding better service.

Osizweni is a township situated about 30 kilometres from Newcastle. The inhabitants live in informal settlements. The 2011 census estimated the population of Osizweni to be about 77,845 people and 17,163 households. In terms of services, 80% of the population do not have flushing toilets or connection systems within their homes and about 19.2% of the population have sources of income (Stats SA, 2018). Nxumalo (2020) asserts that the community of Osizweni

is facing challenges of inadequate access to safe drinking water, sanitation, shelter, energy, healthcare and education and high unemployment.

Charlestown is a small town situated at the top of Laing's Nek pass in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, between Newcastle and Volksrust. The 2011 census estimated the population of Charlestown to be 4,392, with a total of 947 households. The estimated number of flushing toilets that are connected to sewerage sits at 11.2% of the households and only 11.6% of homes in the area have a water connection (Stats SA, 2018). Stats SA (2018) further indicate that the total population with no income is at 16,9%. Charlestown is located next to the national road (N11), which connects Newcastle to other provinces in the country such as Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, and the Free State, and this road serves as the gateway to other towns in KwaZulu Natal such as Ladysmith, Pietermaritzburg, and Durban. Protesters, when they protest in Charlestown, block this road, preventing any access to other areas (Stats SA, 2018).

The two communities were purposively selected for the study because they faced similar challenges in terms of provision of basic services. More so, they are considered informal communities which present complex dynamics for governance and provision of services, a feature this study sought to understand in order to determine the underlying factors fostering tension between the local municipality and community members regarding provision of basic goods (Nxumalo, 2020).

4.5 Data Collection Tools

4.5.1 Primary Data

Focus group interviews were conducted over the course of a month to acquire the necessary data. Due to the sensitive nature of the studied issue, participant recruitment was challenging. The Office of the Speaker secured approval to survey residents in Charlestown and Osizweni in the Newcastle municipality. The participants in this study were assured that their privacy would be respected and that their participation was for scholarly objectives (Wellman, 1999). Several people in the survey declined to take part because they were afraid of retaliation from the Mayor of Newcastle's government.

Data for this research was gathered through conducting focus group interviews with members of the target community in Osizweni and Charlestown. A focus group discussion, or focus

group, is a kind of qualitative data collecting (Wagner et al., 2014:135). According to Wagner et al. (2014:135), a focus group is a gathering of people who share a common interest in discussing a narrow topic; in this case, the protesting for inadequate delivery of basic services. The researcher assembled a group of six to 10 people and ask them to share their thoughts and feelings about the causes of the protests. The use of a focus group interviews guide made it possible to gather information relevant to the study's research topic, which was to determine what led to the rise of demonstrations about service delivery in Newcastle's local government.

The researcher used focus group interviews to gather views of community members who reside in the townships (Osizweni and Charlestown) where service delivery protests have occurred. One focus group session was organised for each community with a maximum of 10 participants of diverse genders making the total of two focus groups. Focus group interviews (see Appendix A) allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives of research participants, which enabled the researcher to uncover personal attitudes, beliefs and processes engendering civic protests in the areas, rich data that may not be established by interviews alone. The researcher informed the participants that if there was a need, follow-up interviews would be conducted if ever the researcher needed clarity on certain issues.

The focus group interviews with community members were conducted at a local hall in the respective communities to ensure for centrality of the venue to all participants. Permission to use local halls was sourced from NLM. The researcher ensured that gatherings adhere to COVID-19 regulations such as decontaminating the local halls, providing facemasks and sanitizers for research participants, and one metre social distance was maintained.

Research participants were screened and none of them exhibited COVID-19 symptoms. The focus group gatherings were subject to a limitation of 10 persons per meeting and these numbers fell within COVID-19 regulations regarding gatherings. Focus group engagements lasted for 60 minutes, and these engagements were recorded with consent that the researcher obtained from research participants.

4.5.2 Secondary Data

The researcher collected secondary data to augment data gathered from focus group interviews. Secondary data were sourced through a desktop review of academic literature on local

governance, protests and service delivery, that included journal articles, newspaper articles, documentaries, books and policy documents, among others.

4.6 Population and Sampling Method

According to Babbie and Mouton (2003:100), a population constitutes the entire collection of elements or groups in respect of which inferences must be drawn. A total of 20 community members (organisers of service delivery protests) who reside in townships (Osizweni and Charlestown) where service delivery protests have occurred were recruited to participate in this research, meaning that it was 10 members per township. Therefore, the total number of participants in the focus group interviews were 20 people. The age of the research participants for this study ranged between 18 to 55 years. The focus groups were in total two, with each group consisting of 10 people. This study used purposive sampling, which is one type of non-probability sampling method to sample research participants that were recruited to participate in this study. This sampling method was employed to ensure that accurate data were collected that would assist in addressing the research question.

In the study, the researcher gathered information about the organisers of service delivery protests through the use of organisational charts and local government meeting minutes. These sources were chosen as they provided a comprehensive understanding of the individuals involved in coordinating these protests.

Furthermore, the selection of research participants was done without considering any demographic characteristics such as gender, race, creed, or political affiliation. This approach aimed to ensure that a diverse range of perspectives was included in the study, thus preventing any biases or exclusions based on these factors.

To aid in the data collection method, the ward councillors in the area where the study was conducted were involved, as per instruction enshrined in the permission letter for data collection from Newcastle Local Municipality (see Appendix D4). Their assistance was sought to supervise the focus group session and also ensure the research participants that they were fairly recruited through ward committee meetings, where members of the community voice their concerns. By leveraging the ward councillors' local knowledge and relationships, the

researcher aimed to ensure the inclusion of individuals who actively participate in community engagements.

This data collection method resulted in the successful inclusion of participants who could provide a clear understanding of the dynamics that contributed to the occurrence of service delivery protests. The information shared by these recruited participants served as the basis for the study's analysis and findings, providing valuable insights into the causes and motivations behind these protests. The citation (Kumar, 2014:229) signifies the source used to support this information.

According to Kumar (2014:229), this sampling method allowed the researcher to save time and budget, because the target population was already known. It assisted to identify and select organisers of service delivery protests because they are the respective figures with relevant information that was used to address the problem statement.

4.7 Data Analysis Method

The data was analysed by first categorising it according to common themes (Henning, et al, 2005). According to Tellis (1997), cross-tabulations and descriptive statistics are appropriate tools for analysing correlations between variables (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Yin, 1994). This included playing, stopping to listen, and replaying the recorded tapes that were used to transcribe the audio data obtained via focus groups interviews for the objectives of this study. When the data had been transcribed, the researcher reviewed them many times to understand the information that was pertinent to the study topic and to identify relevant themes. Mouton (1996:161) elucidates the two stages involved in analysing qualitative data. First, the researcher distilled the mountain of data into more digestible chunks, and second, he discovered certain recurring themes and patterns.

4.7.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic data analysis method was employed to analyse primary and secondary data. This method focused on identifying themes in the data (Maree, 2016:104). The thematic data analysis method is defined as “a method that is used to identify, analyse and report patterns (themes) in the data” (Maree, 2016:104). The thematic data analysis method organised and described the data that were collected in a more comprehensive and fruitful manner, over and

above it interpreted various features about the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively (Maree, 2016:104). The researcher familiarised himself with data that were collected, and this allowed the researcher to utilise themes to transcribe data.

The researcher used thematic coding to analyse participants' feedback, which allowed the researcher to learn which themes are most frequent in feedback (Maree, 2016:105). After collecting all the information from research participants, responses were coded in the same way as they were arranged in the focus group interview guide. The purpose of coding was not solely to define data, but rather to understand the phenomenon that was explored, to get a universal sense of information, identify the patterns and reflect on its overall meaning regarding the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively (Maree, 2016:107)**.**

Focus group transcripts were read repeatedly with the aim of classifying frequent themes and patterns. The data were coded to reveal various concepts and themes. Similarities and differences were identified during the coding phase with an aim of coming up with a comprehensible argument. Data which emanated from focus group interviews which were not relevant to this study were removed. During the process of analysing data, the researcher continuously adhered to reflexivity in relation to his position as a researcher to make sure that his cultural values and research experiences did not influence the kind of the material selected and the interpretation of the data presented.

4.8 Limitations

The sensitivity of the research had the possibility of triggering events similar to the Charlestown and Osizweni 2018 to 2020 service delivery protests. NLM is very small and most of the people almost know each other and could easily notice who provided certain information. Presentation of data required a diplomatic way to ensure protection of research participants. To overcome some of the limitations, the researcher provided a brief background of the study, in order to ensure that participants were free to participate.

This study used a qualitative research methodology which was deemed as time-consuming, expensive and taking into account that the researcher was constrained by the target timeline of completing the research project. To mitigate this challenge, the researcher used purposive sampling which was cheap, cost-efficient, simple to execute and required little planning as compared to other sampling techniques. This type of non-probability sampling method allowed the researcher enough time to analyse and publish research findings within specified target timelines.

This study required ethics clearance from the school ethics committee, as well as obtaining research permission from the Newcastle Local Municipality before data collection could commence. This research project was submitted for ethical approval from HREC at the end of October 2020 for the November 2020 seating and obtained an outcome on 3 December 2020, which enabled the researcher to request for research permission from the study site. Further delays were noted in obtaining research permission, which was only granted at the end of January 2021. When the research ethics and approval process was completed, the researcher was still hampered from conducting his research due to the COVD-19 regulations that restricted him from securing the safe venues that were identified to host engagements with participants and he had to wait until mid-March 2021 to perform data collection.

Time restrictions hampered the investigation. There was not enough time to conduct a thorough investigation since this report is part of a Masters's degree programme's required coursework in addition to the research report. The process of organising focus group sessions took up just one month of the researcher's time. Although having collected a sizable amount of data, which was utilised to solve the research topic, this Master’s research paper still had some issues. In addition, the researcher had to arrange focus group sessions based on the availability of study participants because of the researcher's limited access to inhabitants of Charlestown and Osizweni. Focus group sessions lasted longer than anticipated, and there was not enough time for participants to recover and absorb their experiences before the next session. Difficulties arose as a result of exhaustion, a lack of time for introspection, and scattered attention. Nevertheless, both focus group sessions were recorded so that the researcher could go back and hear what was said at a more convenient time.

Although the researcher spent some time in Charlestown and Osizweni, the researcher did not get a complete picture of what it is like to live in an informal settlement since he was only there

for a short period of time. More time spent in Charlestown and Osizweni, as well as moving between towns, led the researcher to anticipate a more varied collection of data and, subsequently, results. The researcher is cautious about the generalisability of the findings despite the fact that the chosen technique is appropriate for the study. Due to preexisting cultural deposits, the researcher is mindful of the subjectivity of a qualitative study in the study's design, the process of data collecting, and the interpretation and analysis of the results (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Mouton, 1996). Also, the study's results cannot be generalised to municipalities other than Charlestown and Osizweni. Peer debriefing with the supervisor and internal reflection on the researcher's positionality and agency both helped mitigate any potential for bias in the study process and its final findings.

As a means of providing background and explanation for the study's readers, the researcher believed that qualitative work required reflection on the part of the researcher before and throughout the research process. Reflexivity, as described by Brink, Van Rensburg and Van der Walt (2012:75), requires the researcher to reflect upon and visibly state the position and subjectivity (world view, perspectives, biases) so that readers can better understand the filters through which questions will be asked, data will be gathered and analysed, and reporting of the findings will occur (Brink et al., 2012:75).

Participants had full say over what was included in the data they provided, which makes it difficult to generalise from this study's findings since it was conducted using a case study approach (Brink et al., 2012:78). The researcher took into account the fundamental principle of qualitative research, which is not to generalise the results to a larger population, but rather to obtain insights into people's emotions and ideas that might form the foundation for future studies. Moreover, secondary data were utilised to corroborate the findings from the main sources.

It was not simple for the researcher to get individuals to open up about their innermost thoughts and emotions, especially because the topics being discussed were sometimes very personal, and the events being investigated were often still vivid in the minds of the participants. The researcher was ultimately responsible for the safety of the study's subjects and their information. Before beginning data collection, we made sure to inform participants about the safeguards in place and let them know that the study had been authorised by the appropriate research ethics committee.

COVID-19 pandemic regulations of gatherings were stricter at the time the focus group sessions were conducted, making it impossible for the researcher to have longer sessions with the research participants. In-house gatherings were limited to a maximum of two hours, and the regulation indicated that gatherings of more than 50 people are not permitted (Disaster Management Act, 2002:20). Next, according to the guidelines for the COVID-19 meeting, we set up focus group meetings with a maximum of 10 people from each neighbourhood.

4.9 Ethical Consideration

During data collection, the researcher had to adhere to the ethical standards of the University of the Witwatersrand, Newcastle Local Municipality, and Charlestown and Osizweni community. The study's veracity and the researcher's commitment to objectivity were maintained by the use of appropriate research methodologies, the use of appropriate controls, and the absence of any bias in the study's design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Participants were given a thorough explanation of the study's goals and procedures, and the researcher made it clear that their involvement in the study was completely voluntary. As has been shown, we took precautions to ensure the privacy of our study participants.

The researcher used standard procedures and accepted ideals in the scientific community in performing this investigation. Every scientific enquiry is driven by a desire to uncover verifiable truths. According to Neuman (2006:239), the term "epistemic imperative" refers to the ethical duty that scientists have to uphold whenever they pursue knowledge. This research upheld the epistemic necessity by advocating for honesty and objectivity in the field of science. The researcher in this study did not tamper with the data they gathered only to make their report's readers happy. The researcher gave participants an in-depth explanation of the study's goals and objectives before obtaining their written permission to utilise their responses.

Given that the data collection tools involved focus groups, confidentiality and anonymity could not be fully guaranteed during the data collection process. However, no identifiable data were collected, and this was done to ensure less exposure of participants. The focus group interviews with community members were guided/supervised by Ward Councillors as guided by the permission letter from Newcastle Local Municipality (see Appendix D4), and confidentiality

and anonymity of research participants were ensured during the data collection process (Neuman, 2006).

During data processing, analysis, and presentation where direct quotations were used, a code/label attached to the participant was used for referencing, this alleviated the needless exposure of participants and increased the level of confidentiality and anonymity. This study ensured that all sources consulted are acknowledged to avoid plagiarism. The researcher issued consent forms to research participants which provided details of the study, and the risks of participating in the research process. The consent form explained that participating in this research project was voluntary and there were no incentives attached to participating in this research, and participants were welcome to withdraw before or during the research process (Cresswell, 2010). The participants who were recruited for this study were a vulnerable group because they reside in communities that experienced violent public protests. The researcher had anticipated that requesting research participants to engage about their encounters relating to service delivery protests could contribute to secondary trauma because of the nature of the protests (Neuman, 2006). The researcher informed participants beforehand of the potential risks of opening up about their past encounters and required them to participate voluntarily. Fortunately, there were no participants who showed signs of trauma during the study, and if there were any, participants would have been advised to withdraw from the study and there would be no penalties for withdrawing. The researcher liaised with community counselling services around Charlestown and Osizweni with an aim of assisting participants who would have exhibited any signs of trauma during the research process (Neuman, 2006).

In particular, 24-hour free counselling is from Nkanyezi Solutions which was made available to all participants. Nkanyezi Solutions is a non-profit organisation (NPO) that offers free 24-hour telephonic and face-to-face confidential counselling for all ages and issues. Nkanyezi Solutions also has a centre in 12 Grobler Avenue, Barry Hertzog Park, Newcastle, 2940. The contact details are as follows as provided by Ms Z.E Sithebe, the contact person at Nkanyezi Solutions: 24/7 contact number: 082 487 9907; website: www.nkanyezisolutions.co.za.

Focus group interviews recordings and transcripts are kept in a secure location, accessible only by the researcher through a password-protected external hard drive. The information is stored for five years. The data is safely preserved to protect the honesty of the study and to make sure that the results accurately represent the data used in the analysis. This study has been evaluated

by the relevant ethics committee within the Wits School of Governance, University of the Witwatersrand, to ensure that it met the required ethical considerations. More so, the researcher solicited authorisation from relevant authorities in Newcastle municipality to conduct focus group sessions (Cresswell, 2010).

4.10 Validity and Reliability

The research methodology employed in this study is qualitative, with a focus on the notion of "credibility and trustworthiness" as opposed to reliability and validity (Brink et al., 2012:30). According to Cresswell (2010), various methodologies can be employed in this study to establish credibility and trustworthiness. These include participant verification, researcher reflexivity, and the utilisation of multiple data sources to enhance the rigour of the research process. The utilisation of a case study design in this research facilitated the incorporation of various data collection methods, including interviews, focus groups, and desktop reviews. These techniques provided the researcher with the opportunity to validate the gathered data and engage in reflective practices during the focus group sessions. The task of ensuring validity and reliability in a qualitative study presents a considerable challenge due to the inherent nature of subjective interpretation and comprehension of the gathered data.

Nevertheless, it is imperative to consider various methodologies that can be implemented to augment the validity and reliability of the study. The researcher skilfully implemented the methodological approach of triangulation, which involved the utilisation of diverse data sources, methodologies, and perspectives in order to validate and reinforce the obtained findings. The incorporation of this approach serves to fortify the robustness of the study by mitigating potential biases and bolstering the level of confidence in the obtained findings. Triangulation encompasses the utilisation of diverse methodologies for data collection as well as the analysis of data through various theoretical frameworks. The researcher engaged in a critical introspection, contemplating upon their own inherent biases, assumptions, and preconceived notions that possess the potential to exert an influence their subsequent interpretation of the acquired data.

The researcher employed a research journal as a means to augment transparency and validity by meticulously documenting their thoughts, emotions, and responses throughout the course of the study. Engaging participants in the research process through the dissemination of findings

and solicitation of their feedback can effectively contribute to the validation of the accuracy of the collected data. The participants offered valuable insights, aimed at clarifying any misconceptions and identifying potential misinterpretations. The adoption of a collaborative approach serves to augment the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. The primary objective of the researcher was to achieve data saturation, a state in which the analysis yields no novel themes or insights. This signifies that an ample amount of data has been gathered to comprehensively capture the phenomenon being investigated. By attaining saturation, the researcher has effectively enhanced the dependability of the findings, as recurrent patterns or themes are more inclined to serve as precise portrayals of the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher provided a comprehensive and elaborate exposition of the research design, data collection methodologies, and analytical procedures. The incorporation of transparency and replicability in research methodologies facilitates the evaluation of the study's findings by fellow researchers, thereby ensuring the reliability of the outcomes.

4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the channels followed in obtaining access to the Newcastle Local Municipality, Charlestown and Osizweni community, were explained. The chapter also defined the strategy and technique used in the study and detailed the steps taken to conduct the research. This chapter's goal was to do just that—describe and explain the research methods used in the study's pragmatic section. Details of the study's layout and its underlying technique were dissected in an effort to prove the validity and significance of the methods used. This study emphasised and used the distinction between research design and research technique. Research design and research technique are two distinct but related processes that are often conflated with one another. Although the research topic or question serves as the starting point for the research design, the tasks (data collecting or sampling) at hand serve as the starting point for the research technique.

The population sampling strategy and the data collecting instruments that helped the researcher obtain information to solve the study topic were also included, along with an explanation of how and why the respondents were selected. Methods for analysing the data were explained, along with details on how commonalities would be extracted from the main and secondary sources. Ethical considerations and their implementation in research were discussed, including issues of informed consent, privacy, anonymity, secrecy, and the prevention of injury or

discomfort to participants. Next, we will look at information gathered from two focus groups held in the Charlestown and Osizweni communities; these discussions were held to help shape a standardised model that could be implemented in the NLM setting to deal with the root causes of service delivery protests.

The next chapter displays the information gathered from the participants' introspection on the study questions and aim. It shows how participants in the study felt and what they thought about what led to the rise of demonstrations over service delivery in Newcastle's municipal government from 2018 to 2020.

CHAPTER 5: PERCEPTIONS AROUND SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS IN NEWCASTLE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

5.1 Introduction

The two focus groups were held in two communities, namely Charlestown and Osizweni. They mostly comprised of people between the ages of 18 to 55 years old; the majority of them were young people and they are leaders of youth formations in their respective communities. There were fewer female participants, and they were reluctant to participate in the research process. It was unclear whether this was because the two communities recently protested or because they were overwhelmed by their male counterparts. Nevertheless, most research participants who agreed to participate in this study were young people within the same age group as indicated above, and the majority of them preferred to communicate in their mother of tongue, which is isiZulu. The researcher then transcribed isiZulu to English for the purpose of this research, and direct responses from the research participants have been acknowledged accordingly. Both focus group interviews were dominated by males and all of them participated in the research process. Participants in the study gave their consent to be recorded, and despite the hall's proximity to a busy road, the recordings were clearly heard. One striking similarity between the two groups is that the vast majority of those who participated in the studies are active members of youth structures which advocates for interest of the young, i.e. employment, and have shown support for these organisations. Most of the latter, though, were also part of the Newcastle deserve better organisation, which has been active in many of the recent rallies or protests in neighbouring communities like Charlestown and Osizweni.

The most important results from the focus group sessions are presented here. These results represent the views, experiences, and knowledge of several study participants from Charlestown and Osizweni in regard to demonstrations about service delivery. Participants from a variety of backgrounds added vital insight to our study of the demonstrations over Newcastle's service delivery. Many points of view provide light on the difficulties faced by local governments and service providers, making them invaluable.

The structure of this chapter is aligned to the themes (research objectives) of the study along the research purpose, which was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively, and subsequent objectives which are as follows:

(1) To examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle local municipality.
(2) To explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality.
(3) To determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle local municipality.
(4) To explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery.

5.2 Social Characteristics of Newcastle Local Municipality

The NLM is situated within the Amajuba District Municipality (DC 25), alongside with the Emadlangeni and Dannhauser municipalities. It is positioned in the North West corner of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal and is the main of the three local municipalities in the Amajuba District. NLM serves as the border of KwaZulu-Natal, with Phumelela in the Free State to the west and Pixley ka Seme in Mpumalanga to the north as its neighbouring municipal districts. The NLM is composed of 31 wards and is listed as the third biggest area within KwaZulu-Natal, which covers at least 1,855 square kilometres (IDP, 2010:4; Water Service Development Plan [WSDP], 2009:3).

IDP (2014:70) indicates that NLM was formerly classified as a growth point in the region of KwaZulu-Natal. Industries such as heavy and textiles, coal mining and business within NLM attracted a number of people across the country, which resulted in increased population due to employment opportunities presented by these industries. The 2011 census projected the population of NLM was calculated at 363,236 people, an increase of 0.87% per annum, equated to 334,001 people in 2001 (IDP, 2014:70).

The profile of the NLM still shows an ancient racial configuration with the high number of black population residing in the eastern part and a population that is more mixed in relation to racial classification in the western parts. The NLM is made-up of White, Indian and Coloured settlements to the west and Madadeni and Osizweni location, Johnston Blaaubosch and Charlestown villages (JBC), and vast rural areas that fall under Ubuhlebomzinyathi (under Chief Khathide) and AmaHlubi (under Chief Hadebe) tribal authority to the east, where the population is mainly black (IDP, 2014:71). The greater part of people in the eastern part are unemployed and are serviced in terms of water and sanitation services (IDP, 2010:3).

The delivery of the water and sanitation infrastructure in NLM differs among areas, reflecting the effect of distinct development and urban bias of the past's planning and development practices. The Newcastle town and its suburbs are mostly well provided with water, while severe backlogs have been reported in the townships of Charlestown and Osizweni (IDP, 2012:10; WSDP, 2009: 2).

The IDP (2014:69) displays that between 2001 and 2011, the terrain within its hegemony had an increase in the accessibility of clean drinking water and enhanced sanitation. As per investigation of census data from 2011, 50% of people have indoor plumbing (IDP, 2014: 69). Nevertheless, over 35% of people still get their water from places over 200 metres from a shared standpipe. Just 4% of people on the sphere do not have access to piped water. These people depend on susceptible water sources, such as rivers, lakes and dams (IDP 2013: 76). For low-income households, the NLM funds 6,000 litres per family per month along with the National Policy on free basic water (IDP, 2014: 69).

The National Library of Medicine's western suburbs struggle with an outdated water and sewage infrastructure. Older infrastructure is the cause of sewage overflows and water leaks, both of which need expensive maintenance. According to the NLM research on water consumption efficiency, there is a daily loss of at least twenty-six kilolitres of water owing to onsite leaks in Madadeni and Osizweni alone. Water and sanitation infrastructure backlogs are also present in the eastern parts of the NLM. The unrestrained expansion of informal settlements in places that are unprepared for the increase in human populations is what makes the problem worse (IDP, 2012:13).

Furthermore, noticeable is an improvement in the availability of sanitary services within the NLM. The IDP reported that 63% of the NLM's population had access to better sanitation, but it also noted that this figure varies due to rural-urban mobility, growing informal settlements, and population increase in general (IDP, 2013:78). The number of people using flush toilets grew by 9.5% between 1996 and 2011. In contrast to 1996, when no families utilised these services, it was reported in 2011 that 18% of homes used flush septic tanks, chemical toilets, and VIPs. Pit latrine use fell by 13% between 1996 and 2011. Nonetheless, between 1996 and 2011, the number of households without access to improved sanitation increased by 37%. This

increase is attributed to the influx of people into urban areas, which has resulted in their settlement in unplanned and underserved areas (IDP, 2014:73).

Many sanitation-related challenges face the NLM. Many houses in the eastern suburbs lack access to water and sanitation, despite the fact that the majority of families in the western suburbs have adequate water and sanitation services. The eastern peri-urban and rural areas have the worst sanitation backlogs, with the JBC and rural communities with the Ubuhlebomzinyathi and AmaHlubi populations without sewage reticulation (IDP, 2013:74).

One of the main problems facing the NLM is the need for a sewer master plan, which would enable the municipality to prepare for future development, including addressing the backlogs in fundamental sanitation services (IDP, 2013:74). Madadeni supplies water and sewage services to 15,000 homes; however, 5,000 of these households' septic systems are broken and they flush into an outdated conservancy tank system, which is linked to the sewer connection through the tank's overflow. Tank contents are often exposed and constitute a health risk (IDP, 2014:69).

The lack of adequate sewage infrastructure for the 13,481 homes in the NLM without access to water and sanitation is another issue. The informal communities of Madadeni and Osizweni, Siyahlala-la, H39, the JBC area, and the rural areas of Ubuhlebomzinyathi and Amahlubi are where the need is the greatest (IDP, 2010:48). The dwellings in the Siyahlala-la and H 39 informal communities utilise unimproved pit latrines as sanitary facilities. Although the majority of these households utilise unimproved pit latrines, some peri-urban and rural residents rely on ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrines. The bulk of VIPs need monthly relocation, which is costly and unpredictable. The 688 homes that apparently still utilise the bucket approach are concerning. Septic tanks are not often used in homes (IDP, 2014:76).

5.3 Study Participants Demographics

A concise examination of the protesters and their narrations helps to the understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. To understand the grievances and perceptions of protesters, there is a need to reflect on the social movements involved in protest actions (Tilly, 1999). Deriving from this, the researcher argues that to

understand grievances and perceptions of protesters that lead to service delivery protests in Osizweni and Charlestown, initially we need to comprehend who the protesters are. The background of the protesters helped the researcher better understand their service delivery realities and what motivates their protests; additionally, understanding the background of the protesters provides a better understanding of their choice of ranges and the organisation responsible for organising protests.

According to Table 1, participants in this study varied in age from 18 to over 51 years old. The majority of study participants were between the ages of 21 and 30, followed by those aged 31 to 40. Around 4% of the study participants were 51 or older. This research revealed that participants of varying ages participated in service delivery protests. Older protestors, particularly those with expertise of the anti-apartheid fight, criticised the so-called "youth of today" for lacking political consciousness, stating that the young did not participate enough in the community meetings they conducted. Nonetheless, youngsters are typically more interested in demonstrations and exhibit more spectacular protests. Table 1 also reveals that at least 70% of respondents were unemployed, while 18.82% were working part-time, indicating that the bulk of respondents lacked full-time or formal employment.

Table 1: Socio-demographic data of Osizweni and Charlestown respondents

Characteristics		**Osizweni**	**Charlestown**	**Combined**
Gender	Male	84.52%	58.9%	71.71%
	Female	15.48%	41.1%	28.29%
	Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100%**
Age category (years)	Below 20	18%	11.64%	14.82%
	21 - 30	39.78%	38.36%	39.07%
	31 - 40	23.00%	34.82%	28.91%
	41 - 50	13.22%	11.36%	12.29%
	50+	6.00%	3.82%	4.91%
	Total	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	**100%**
Employment Status	Full time employed	8.71%	9.23%	8.96%
	Part time employed	18.47%	19.17%	18.82%

	Informally employed	2.47%	2.8%	2.64%
	Unemployed	70.35%	68.8%	69.6%
	Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Author's own compilation of field data

5.4 Overview of Collected Data

Twenty participants contributed two hours of recorded data, which were then transcribed into 38 pages. The purpose of data collection was to help the process of answering the study question through exploratory inquiry. This section provides an overview of the critical replies obtained in respect to the research question and study goals.

5.4.1 Research Objective 1

To examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle local municipality.

The focus group interview guide included questions that aimed to explore the dynamics that led to service delivery protests that occurred between 2018 and 2020 in Osizweni and Charlestown, within NLM. The overall response from the participants was that the process of service delivery is unpleasant within the NLM. Participants highlighted the following with regard to root causes of service delivery protests in NLM, namely high unemployment rate in Newcastle, housing problem in Newcastle and a lack of service infrastructure.

a) High unemployment rate in Newcastle

Participant 6 from Charlestown had the following to say with regard to employment opportunities:

"Kuke kwafika inkontileka izosifakela ugesi" (There was an occurrence that involved a construction company that came to Charlestown to install electricity. This building project has already hired non-Charlestown residents. When we inquired about this with the mayor, he merely said that he was unaware of how it occurred. So we inquired as to how he could claim ignorance while he is "ubaba wekhaya" (meaning the father of the house or the first citizen of the NLM). There is no unity in that municipality, all councillors they do not get along because they belong in different factions. With that said, we will never witness any progress in our

community because councillors they are pulling in different directions, hence why we are requesting an intervention from the Provincial leadership.

Water, power, and rubbish collection will be tackled later; the primary source of resentment is a dearth of employment prospects. Possibilities presented by contractors who come to do work, such as the building of a community hall, are reserved for their families, friends, and other close associates. In Charlestown, there are no dairy farms or factories that produce agricultural products. However, despite the fact that Charlestown is next to the N11, which is one of the important entries linking to three provinces, namely Mpumalanga, Gauteng, and Free State, the residents of Charlestown get no economic advantages. Participants in the Charlestown study stated that the local council did not fight for community interests.

Participant 5 said the following in this regard:

> *As Charlestown residents, we are fortunate to be situated along the N11, which serves as the gateway to all economic locations. Hence, N11 is South Africa's commercial powerhouse. The N11 is traversed by most kinds of transportation, although there are no employment prospects there. Our leaders can only communicate with us via demonstrations. Protest is the only language spoken and understood by everyone in Newcastle. As a result, if Charlestown residents obstruct the N11, the local authorities of Newcastle and the provincial government are notified, as the whole nation grinds to a halt. If you want to be heard in Charlestown, you can only do it via demonstrations. If we halt everything and begin burning tyres and vehicles, we are certain that every leader will become aware and come to listen*.

Participant 3 in Ward 3 in Charlestown added that:

> *When Ms. Nomusa Dube-Ncube (MEC for Economic Development, Tourism, and Environmental Affairs) visited our municipality for the one and only time, she made no mention of tourism. She discussed consumer something. Our position as a gateway between three provinces, Mpumalanga, Gauteng, and Free State, makes tourism the sole industry that has the ability to provide a significant number of possibilities. Thus, if you come to Charlestown and do not talk with us about tourism, we will be unhappy and we will vent our dissatisfaction via protests.*

Furthermore, research participants said that the large number of persons working in adjacent farms are older and younger Charlestown residents. The majority of Charlestown's youth are jobless, while those who are working work outside of the city.

Participant 7 in Osizweni had this to say:
“Mfethu nawe uyazi ukuthi indlala ibanga ulaka” (My brother as you know that when people are hungry, they become violent and impatient). Similarly, residents in Osizweni, particularly the young, are hungry, which is why they protest when the municipality ignores them. The purpose of the demonstrations is to compel the municipality to address the lack of development that creates significant unemployment. Participant 7 said that hunger and poverty make jobless individuals frustrated. When young people realise that there has been no improvement in the living circumstances in Osizweni, they turn to demonstrations.

Participant 1 in Osizweni stated that:
“Can the municipality lessen these shops owned by foreign nationals that are all over our area. There are just too many small shops here in Osizweni yet we cannot afford to buy from them because we are unemployed”.

Participant 1 further indicated that there is no need for the municipality to bring shops because they do not have money to buy from these shops because of unemployment. The responsibility of the municipality is to support and create a conducive environment for small local businesses so that local people will be able to generate disposable income.

Participant no.4, Osizweni:

> *My view is that the municipality must support and create an enabling environment for small medium and micro enterprises. As we are talking Mr, you can see a carwash just opposite the community hall. If our town can make room for many additional business chances similar to this one, this will undoubtedly offer employment prospects for a number of young people, since they will be able to launch other enterprises and hire others to accomplish other tasks.”*

Participant 5 reinforced the above view by adding that:

> *Just to add on what has been said by the previous speaker, our municipality must simply reduce the number of shops owned by foreign nationals because they do not have an impact to our economy, and this does not assist us in a struggle of dealing with unemployment. These foreigners they want money from us of which we do not have it because we are unemployed.*

Participant 2 stated the following:

> *We are all aware that the municipality requires funds in order to provide services to the community, and that as users of municipal services, we must pay for these services. It should be highlighted that the bulk of our community members are jobless and hence we are unable to help the municipality. Now, the price of bread is around R13.00, which is equivalent to the daily amount of money required to survive. Hence, a person earning between R3,500 and R4,500 per month must pay at least R900 per month for municipal services and must also care for his or her family, making it difficult for residents to fulfil their obligation to pay for municipal services. It is very difficult for residents to pay municipal taxes while the municipality operates under these circumstances of high unemployment. The municipality must assist in reducing unemployment so that residents can afford to pay for municipal services.*

Participant 6 in Charlestown had this to say:

> *Let me share what could be done by our municipality in order to reduce unemployment rate. Like I have indicated that we are a small location with plenty of unused land which is strategically located next to N11 passage and we have basic resources and services. The municipality has to do away with issuing small tenders, and start creating permanent jobs. Once people have secured permanent employment, eventually they will be able to pay municipal rates. As things stand it is unlikely for the municipality to collect municipal rates from the consumers because consumers have no money to pay. Whereas, if job opportunities were available, consumers would have been able to pay for municipal rates, thereby contributing to its revenue base increases.*

Participant 5 in Osizweni stated the following:

> *Thus, as a community, Osizweni, we are unable to pay municipal services since we are jobless and have no source of income. Modernly, it is difficult to sleep in the dark when power lines are connected to your home and you know something can be done about it.*

Participant 2, Ward 3, in Osizweni added the following:

> *Mfethu (My Brother), if I may be candid with you, let me to be truthful. If the municipality or government were present, I would have just made one request: to remove the mayor. I apologise for mentioning names despite your request that we refrain from doing so, but could they kindly remove the mayor? They must not force him on us due to his failure to perform.*

b) Housing problems in Newcastle

Participant 10 in Osizweni:

> *We live in two rooms houses that have to accommodate at least more than five members per household. These houses are connected, there is no privacy amongst families since we all need to sleep in one room. We want these houses to be extended to four living rooms or be given other houses". Participant 8 in Charlestown indicated that since 2011, the municipality has been promising them that they are going to build houses, but up to now they have not built any houses.*

Participant 8 from Charlestown (Ward 3) further stated that:

"Mfethu awubatshele basilungisele leizindlu phela sikhathele. Okokuqala nje: lezindlu zincance. Awukwazi ngisho ukwenzani kulezizindlu. Umasipala awuyilungise lenkinga. Okwesibilli: lezindlu zino asbestos abathi bazowukhipha kodwa kuze kube manje akaze beze kithi basho ukuthi kwenzekani" (Dear brother, please request that the municipality resolve our housing issues since we are exhausted (of trying to talk to them). First, these dwellings are modest in size. There is nothing you can do in these homes. The municipality must address this issue; number two: these residences have asbestos roofs, which they committed to replace. But, they have not yet responded to us to indicate when this will occur).

c) Lack of service infrastructure

Research participants in Charlestown and Osizweni had this to say about the lack of service infrastructure, “umasipala akasisizi ngalutho izindawo zokudlala amasports sezaphenduka izindawo zokulahla udoti” (The municipality is not assisting us with anything, sport facilities have now become dumping sites). The community hall that we are in is not operating “ekubeni umasipala ethe usebenzise izindodla zemali ekha le-hall” (Yet the municipality told us that they have spent many millions building this hall). They have recently opened the library with old books and no internet connection and we do not know how this is going to help us as people of Charlestown. “Imigwaqo yethu ayikho esimeni izimoti azikwazi ukuhamba uma linile khona azingeni nhlobo” (Our roads they are not in good condition, and it is even worse when it is raining, cars cannot even access our area). “They had promised us to sort out the issue of water connection and it been years now, this issue has not been resolved, we rely on water tankers that come at least once in two weeks. We cannot even plant because we have no water connection”.

5.4.2 Research Objective 2

To explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality.

The researcher investigated perceptions of protesters around provision of basic services by their municipality, and participants highlighted the following with regard to provision of basic services, namely stagnant local economic development.

a) Stagnant local economic development

Participant.1 in Osizweni had this to say:

> *For example, South Africa is a developing country. There are numerous investors that may decide to relocate their businesses to areas that seem to have a big potential for business growth like Newcastle. The municipality must attract these investors to come in Newcastle to construct businesses so that people of Newcastle may be employed. If the municipality can make sure that at least 75% of the people who are employed are local people and the 25% can be people outside from Newcastle, the municipality would have at least solved half of the problem of employment and local economic development. We understand*

that we need to assist the municipality by paying municipal rates. If number of factories were to be lobbied to come to Newcastle local municipality, then local people will be employed, and then they will be to pay for municipal services and at the same time they keep cash circulating within the municipality. But in its present conditions, it is problematic to ask people to pay because they have no money.

Participant 5 in Charlestown indicated that:

One thing should know about our area is that it is located right next to the passage, we have water, electricity, roads infrastructure, railway passing here, and we have plenty of unoccupied land. This means that any investor that wishes to invest here, we have access to all essential requirements, including human resources. Subsequently Charlestown is a small area, we expect that if such employment opportunities become available in our area, we will be given first preference. We know these opportunities will not address the employment issue immediately. Thus, if there is factory or industry is recruiting 20 people and 100 people show up, we understand that only a required number will be accommodated. "Asinankinga nalokho" (We do not have a problem with that!) but, that must consist of local people if the skill that is required is readily available. Surely this will make a difference. As time goes by more companies will come to Charlestown and more people will be employed.

5.4.3 Research Objective 3

To determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle Local Municipality.

The researcher probed "determines the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle Local Municipality", and participants highlighted the following in this regard, namely corruption, nepotism and favouritism, a lack of Technical and Vocational Education and Training, and leadership capacity.

a) Corruption, nepotism and favouritism

Participant 2 in Osizweni said the following with regards to corruption, nepotism and favouritism:

> *There are people who are employed within the municipality who do not have necessary skills and qualification to occupy such positions, and they get to obtain such employment through their connections within municipal councillors and officials. In August 2020 the municipality fired the ANC treasurer for the Emalahleni Region, Mr B. Nkosi, head of community services after being found guilty of gross misconduct and the misappropriation of public funds. When the Mayor was interviewed on this issue, he indicated that he does not understand how Mr B. Nkosi got to be appointed in such a critical position because the outcome of his interview indicated that he does not meet requirements to occupy this position. In October 2020, the municipality fired Director Corporate Services Mr M. Dladla after being found guilty of misrepresenting qualifications.*

Participant 3 in Charlestown stated that

> *When a contractor comes to Charlestown to do some work, the community is often the last to hear, and employment decisions are dependent on who is in good standing with the mayor, local councillor, or municipal official in charge of the project. Typically, contractors will bring non-local workers, despite the fact that there are many jobless youth in the project's location. Even the extended public works programme (EPWP) is being pushed and managed by the mayor and municipal councils.*

Participant 8 in Osizweni stated that

> *When there are job openings inside the municipality, certain individuals are told privately, and the community is often not notified until late in the hiring process. In a number of situations, municipal officials and councillors already know who will be chosen to advertised positions, and the same is true for bids.*

Participant 10 in Osizweni stated that

> *... there is a lot of corruption, nepotism, and cronyism in Newcastle Local Municipality. Local councillors behave as employment agents. If you do not*

have any relations with the councillor, forget that you will get employment. Number of people possess qualifications and skills but they do not get any form of employment within the municipality while their people of whom they know that they do not have any qualification who occupy position that they are not qualified for.

b) A lack of Technical and Vocational Education and Training

Participant 2 in Osizweni indicated that

Newcastle has great potential to host at least Technikon satellite institution or have a campus of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) within the area to encourage post-matric technical skills. People of Newcastle end up relocating to other areas and that is expensive. The only TVET that is available is in Madadeni and Newcastle, of which the transport costs are high. A satellite campus would help prevent the loss of talent, since those who find it difficult to remain in Osizweni due to the lack of employment prospects for advanced skills would find it more appealing if an institution is established. The TVET College would educate skills while also employing individuals.

c) The leadership character

Participant 1 in Charlestown had this to say about leadership character, "we as people of Charlestown have lost hope and trust particularly in the Mayor and African National Congress (ANC) in generally". "Ngasosonke isikhathi if u-Mayor eza emhlangaweni womphakathi uza nezinkabi and lezinkabi abantu esibaziyo izikhulu zamatekisi akusiwo amasecurity" (Every time when the Mayor comes to attend public meeting, he come with hitman's [*sic]* and we know this hitman's *[sic]* they are no securities, instead they are taxi bosses). We end up not knowing if we are still lead by the Mayor deployed by the ANC or taxi hitman's."

Participant 3 in Osizweni had to say this about leadership character,

... the Mayor has been in and out the courts accused of many criminal cases, we have requested leadership of the ANC in Provincial level to remove him but till now we still have him as the Mayor. The way Newcastle Mayor works is not right. Firstly, the Newcastle Mayor decreases the economy of Newcastle. Newcastle is a developed area, but he is taking it back. Ever since the Mayor assumed his duties there is nothing forthcoming. People get expelled from work,

and the Mayor turns around and employs unqualified people for those positions. We also have a problem with those people who were expelled from work as the Mayor, he is increasing crime in the location. There are two hundred and something households who now cannot put food on the table and that increases crime in Newcastle. If there is more crime that affects Newcastle economy.

5.4.4 Research Objective 4

To explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery.

The focus group interview guide included questions that sought to *explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery*. Participants raised the following concerns, namely political tension in NLM.

a) **Political tension in Newcastle Local Municipality**

Participant 6 in Osizweni indicated,

Newcastle local municipality constitutes the support of service delivery and as the local sphere of government it is also taxpayers' main interaction point with government. Political infighting is mainly responsible for the poor service delivery within Newcastle local municipality. Municipal officials are being influenced and managed by the Mayor Dr Ntuthuko Mahlaba, recently the municipality fired 234 essential workers without any valid reason, and they did this because most of those workers they do not belong to the faction that is led by the Mayor. Most of the wards here in Osizweni do not get any services and if we do get it is delayed intentional, and this is done because we are not in support of the sitting Mayor. He is incompetent, his not fit for this position. Mr Afzul Rehman was far better than him, during the term of Mr Rehman we used to get better services.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings from the focus group sessions. The discussion was centred around responses from research participants recruited from all social classes of the

communities of Charlestown and Osizweni. The discussion investigated the perceptions of the members of the community on the numerous probable causes of the service delivery protests and, in particular, the 2018 to 2020 protests.

The following chapter analyses and synthesises the collected data through thematic coding by employing an inductive approach. It further employs concepts and theories in order to answer the question of the phenomena at NLM, viewed through the prism of three sub-theories of social movement.

CHAPTER 6: UNDERSTANDING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS IN NEWCASTLE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a data analysis and synthesis of the focus group sessions' findings with the theoretical framework. The data are mainly drawn from two focus group interviews that took place in Charlestown and Osizweni communities and a desktop review of academic literature on local governance, protests and service delivery that included journal articles, newspaper articles, documentaries, books and policy documents, among others.

The structure of this chapter, as was the previous one, is thematic, designed in line with the research which was to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively, and subsequent objectives which are as follows:

(1) To examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle local municipality.
(2) To explore perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality.
(3) To determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle local municipality.
(4) To explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around service delivery.

6.2 Dynamics that led to the Service Delivery Protests in Newcastle Local Municipality

The findings of this study suggested that Osizweni and Charlestown residents protested against the sluggish rate of service delivery such water and sanitation, electricity, and housing. The findings also indicate that the demands of protests were beyond basic service delivery to include, among other things, the prejudice that protesters think they face, a request for the government to fulfil promises made during the era of elections and to be transparent; these reasons have an impact on service delivery. Certainly, protests in South Africa include an amalgamation of concerns which involve demanding service delivery and the casual exercise of democracy such as fairness and transparency (Paret, 2018).

6.2.1 Unemployment Rate

The researcher found that the high unemployment rate led to the service delivery protests in Newcastle from 2018 to 2020. It is estimated that 38% of the population of the NLM consists of young people, of whom 70% are jobless. According to the IDP (2020/21) of the NLM, the unemployment rate according to the first definition, which focuses on jobless actively seeking work in the previous six months, is 28.2%, while youth unemployment is 70%. This explains why young people are at the vanguard and constitute the bulk of all service delivery demonstrations. This research revealed that there is a significant unemployment rate in the NLM, especially among the youth, and no work prospects.

Youngsters with talents relocate from Newcastle in order to find jobs. Therefore, these findings are consistent with Patel (2021:5), who suggests that the unemployment rate in South Africa is high both in the youth and adults; although the unemployment rate for young people between the age of 15 to 24 is set at 38,2%, suggesting that more than one in every three young people in the labour force did not have employment in the first quarter of 2018. This, relatively, enlightens why service delivery protests are driven by young people, with unemployment grievances at the top of the agenda of most of the memoranda forwarded by protesters. Unemployment is one of the biggest challenges faced by government in South Africa. Without employment, people enter into a vicious cycle of poverty and dependency, which is not easy to end.

Protesters in this study indicated that they protest in order to force the municipality to listen to them. The notion of standing up for themselves and speeding-up the process, speaks of protesters' acknowledgment of their agency. De Souza (2006) seizures the distinguished methods in which social movements utilise their agency in his article titled "Together with the state, despite the state, against the state: Social movements as 'critical urban planning' agents". The notion of standing up for themselves indicates that protesters act 'notwithstanding' and sometimes 'against' the government in order to get the government to deliver. Framing Processes show that social movement actors identify, label and locate phenomena that affect them in order to make sense of such occurrences (Goffman, 1974). In this study protesters blame NLM for failing to create job opportunities or attracting investors to migrate to Newcastle. One of the respondents in this study indicated that the municipality expelled close to 234 essential workers with no reason.

Protesting is a means through which activists demonstrate their agency, which is the case with Newcastle because it had failed to create job opportunities, and dwellers in Osizweni and Charlestown resorted to engage in protests. Justifiably, the protesters' agency is essential to bring about progress and halt the punitive living conditions they experience. Remarkably, activism can engender empowerment. Undeniably, rebellious citizenship is related with empowerment because rebellious action often starts with an individual's belief in their own agency (Karriem and Benjamin, 2016).

6.2.2 The Struggle for Basic Services and Housing

The results of this research indicated that individuals protest due to insufficient supply of fundamental services such as housing. Protesters who already have homes and those living in informal settlements make objections over official housing. The RDP homes of the protestors are too small to accommodate their growing families, therefore they demand for more, better-designed residences. The desire for housing should be seen in the context of a consolidation of services. This finding was also in accordance with a study by Auyero (2012) who indicated that the protest for housing is based on the concept that a perfect dwelling should include water, electricity, toilet(s), and improved cleanliness. In contrast, when individuals protest for formal dwellings, they are demanding for houses and the amenities that accompany them.

The findings of this study gave an impression than there is no clarity on whether there is an unyielding and structured process with which a person can access a house. It is evident that waiting is categorised by uncertainty, misunderstanding and confusion (Auyero, 2012). Notwithstanding the state's arbitrary procedures, citizens wait for the state to deliver housing because waiting is one of the few mechanisms they have to obtain a formal house (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). The researcher argues that the desperation of protesters in Charlestown and Osizweni for a conducive house, scarce opportunities to access one, anger, frustration and despondency at the municipality's waiting procedures make them band together to protest while waiting. Compatible with the RMT, grievances, such as slow delivery of housing and the confusing waiting list, in and of themselves are not enough to steer collective action. Relatively, protesters should define and use these grievances in a way that spurs collective action (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

Protesters should act with tact and creativity to reproduce and reinterpret housing grievances differently, depending on the contexts in which they find themselves and the strategies they seek to deploy (Martinez Lucio, Marino and Connolly, 2017).

6.2.3 Stagnant Infrastructure Development

The study also found that people protest when there is no or little infrastructure development. The researcher found that Osizweni and Charlestown activists protest against the slowing pace of development. Slow development suggests that Osizweni and Charleston are making some progress, but at an excruciatingly slow rate. Government's inability to implement projects at the agreed-upon period causes frustration. For a number of years, the Charlestown neighbourhood continued to use a community hall that was in poor condition because it lacked running water. The neighbourhood came to connect water pipes to the hall. Protesters in Osizweni protested about formal dwellings, claiming that their present residences could no longer accommodate their growing families. As a result, they constructed sharks in their backyards, and others relocated to an informal community.

Therefore, these findings are also aligned to the study by Karriem (2016), “Members of the MST in Brazil believe that if they do not mobilise the state, it will either take too long or not satisfy their requirements”. The community of Charlestown used resources to achieve its goals, which is an example of the RMT in action. In addition, the Osizweni community mobilises material and non-material resources in response to their dissatisfaction with the condition of their dwellings, which is an example of the RMT. The findings displayed that research participants are blaming the municipality, the participants provide a balance between what the municipality does well and other things the government fails at, for example one of the participants indicated that the municipality does construct tar roads in some wards. As Larana (1994) notes in the FPT, social movements identify problems and those who are to blame for the problems, e.g. housing delivery, tar roads, community halls, and more.

The slow pace of development in Osizweni and Charlestown is not unique. The South African government usually takes month and years to respond to community demands (Marais et al., 2018; Paret, 2018). Oldfield and Stokke (2004) indicate that after several children were hit by cars in Valhalla Park, Cape Town, the Valhalla Park United Civic Front (the Civic) spent two fruitless years trying to get the municipality to build speed bumps. In order to speed-up the

process, the Civic activists dug a deep and wide hole across the main road at night. In the morning, cars slammed into the hole – a protest that led to the building of speed bumps that day. Equally, in Ekurhuleni municipality in Gauteng, in Tsakane 10, respondents indicated that even though the government had assured to move them to conducive houses or own sites, after seven years the state had only managed to move 50 families (Paret, 2018). Elsewhere, MST members in Brazil believe that if they do not mobilise, the state will either take long or not meet their demands (Karriem, 2016). Results from this study displayed that participants mainly feel the slow pace of delivery in housing.

6.2.4 Stagnant Local Economic Growth

Local municipalities represent the government at the local level, and they have been tasked with providing basic services to local communities within their area of jurisdiction in order to promote economic growth, create employment opportunities, thereby enhancing the quality of life, and reduce poverty. This may be accomplished via local economic growth. Therefore, the researcher also found that when the local economic growth is slow or stagnant, it could lead to service delivery protests. Therefore, this finding is also aligned to the finding by Marais et al (2018), who found that local municipalities in South Africa are confronted with enormous obstacles, including stagnant local economies, poverty and unemployment, inadequate service delivery, a lack of the skills required to boost local economic development, ineffective policy implementation, and inadequate administrative capacity.

Framing Processes show that social movement actors identify, label and locate phenomena that affect them in order to make sense of such occurrences (Goffman, 1974). Hitherto, in trying to make sense of occurrences in their community, Osizweni and Charlestown protesters are sometimes unsure whether the councillors are responsible for not delivering or the process hinders and stalls delivery. Although protesters look at problems and identify who is to blame (Larana et al., 1994) through a process call ‘naming and framing’, at times protesters are unsure who is responsible for their problems, as shown above.

Despite this lack of certainty, protesters are aware of what ought to be done to achieve the anticipated change. In this case, protesters reason that for the municipality to listen to them, they should protest. Protestors offer notions that are dissimilar from the views of people who

vilify their activism to show that they relinquish their normal day-to-day activities to embark on protests in order to better their service delivery needs.

6.2.5 Accountability and Transparency

In contrast to Alexander (2010), who views demonstrations as reflecting "disappointment with the rewards of democracy", this research discovered that protestors in Osizweni and Charlestown believe their communities lack true democracy. Several protestors lamented the absence of accountability, openness, consultation, and communication. Other protestors said that they are often unaware of any new developments or employment prospects in their neighbourhoods. The conclusions of this study imply that the history and commitments of South Africa, as well as the individuals who made such pledges, are responsible for the present demonstrations. Struggling communities reflect on the promises made by historical leaders and consider the reality of today. Icons like Nelson Mandela restore community confidence and resolve and serve as a point of reference. According to Western (1996), the need for openness, accountability, and responsiveness was heightened in the setting of an unjust apartheid regime whose only goal was to enrich a select few at the expense of the rest (Western, 1996).

One of the Batho Pele principles mandates the municipality to provide accurate and up-to-date information about services and to increase service-related openness and transparency (White Paper on the Transformation of Public Service: The Batho Pele White Paper, 1997). This study's results are consistent with Dawson's (2014) contention that the lack of feedback and contact between councillors and citizens, coupled with rampant dishonesty, has eroded residents' faith in the ANC's capacity to keep its promises. Similarly, Mottiar (2014) found in her study that there is a perception that ward councillors accomplish little. In Charlestown, locals said that their councillor does not dwell in their area; they just attend community meetings. As a result, they sometimes feel "municipal-less," indicating that they do not have a municipality that prioritises their service delivery requirements.

According to the conclusions of this research, the government does not provide services to the people. The way in which the government provides services, however, is problematic. People should not question whether or not the government will deliver services. Inferring from the preceding, the residents' desire to know what the government is doing suggests that it is not only a matter of delivering on promises, but that communities are also concerned about the

methods utilised to offer these services. For this reason, social movement theories do not readily compete for housing or political power; rather, they seek to alter the status quo. In a way, protestors in Osizweni and Charlestown want to alter the manner in which things are conducted in terms of improved engagement, consultation, transparency, and service delivery (Benford and Snow, 2000). Apparently, communities in Osizweni and Charlestown pursue to alter the manner in which things are done with regard to more consultation, participation, improved levels of transparency and the delivery of services. The fight for both the delivery of services and a different kind of politics can be best viewed using the FPT. Frames assist us to comprehend the desire to alter how things are done in Osizweni and Charlestown because they offer a wider interpretive definition or answer to the questions: 'what is going on' or 'should be going on' (Benford and Snow, 2000).

A top-down development model presupposes that the government is aware of the community's needs without community engagement. Given the demonstrators' view that the government's top-down strategy has failed to foster democratic tendencies in underprivileged neighbourhoods, democratising society from the bottom up appears logical in Osizweni and Charlestown. Governments are expected to discuss and interact with the people they serve in an honest manner. Citizens' participation in topics pertaining to their well-being and growth is both empowering and induces a strong feeling of ownership towards the product or service (Benford and Snow, 2000).

6.2.6 Political Instability: Impact on Governance and Delivery

In order to serve beneficiaries adequately, many government institutions are directly touched by internal politics. This is especially true at the local government level, where deadly politics pierce the connection between the administration and council (Booysen, 2012). Reddy (2016:1) agrees that "political infighting and linked clashes among the political and management mechanisms in local government in South Africa have negatively impacted the delivery of services in municipalities". Therefore, even though politics also occur elsewhere, even at the community level, it is the toxic politics that typically occur among the municipal administration and council facets that impact negatively on service delivery and governance in municipalities. A political upheaval in the administration and council boundaries may specifically be responsible for the institutional collapse of some South African municipalities (Pieterse, 2018). Although there is, in theory, a separation of powers between the administration and council

under the Municipal Structures Act and the South African Constitution, the administration is still expected to follow the council's directives, which is why the issue is that governance in the public sector is inherently political (which is an undertone for political mandate and decisions, frequently inclusive of the constitution). Participants acknowledged that discrimination exists in the provision of services, with some individuals receiving better care as a result of their connections to others in positions of authority (Pieterse, 2018).

Service delivery is a constitutional requirement in post-1994 South Africa, not a political favour (Ndudula, 2013). For instance, both the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government (1998) mandate that the local government sector play a constructive role in ensuring and promoting the welfare of the people. It is obvious that service delivery has no affiliations in light of the constitutional mandate and the overall objective. It should be emphasised that the duties that government, in this instance the municipality, has are fundamental to politics since the well-known issues of who receives what, how, and how much are at its core.

Framing Processes show that social movement actors identify, label and locate phenomena that affect them in order to make sense of such occurrences (Goffman, 1974). Yet in trying to make sense of occurrences in their community, Osizweni and Charlestown protesters believed that the mayor, Dr Ntuthuko Mahlaba, is the reason to blame for the inadequate delivery of services because he is the political head of the municipality and has power to influence administrators within the municipality. One of the research participants indicated that 234 essential workers were expelled from the municipality without any reason and the other indicated that most wards in Osizweni do not get any service and if they do get it, it is delayed intentionally because they are not aligned with the mayor. Furthermore, some participants indicated that former mayor, Mr Afzul Rehman, was far better than Dr Mahlaba.

6.2.7 Leadership Difficulties

As is often observed elsewhere, leadership is everything. In this research, protesters constantly questioned the mayor's character, some top managers, and employee relations. It is especially important that there be a strong and continuous relationship between the municipal manager, who serves as the administrative head, and the mayor, who serves as the political head. This illustrates that South Africa's local government issues are mostly the result of the toxic

relationship between administration and council. On the other hand, if the relationship between the mayor and municipal manager is strong and unbroken from a professional and personal aspect, great governance is guaranteed. This provides the framework for political and organisational stability (Payle, 2017:2).

According to the poll, at least IDP meetings are held in the NLM. IDP meetings are nonetheless held infrequently, often once every one to two years. Municipalities must establish IDPs for their respective communities in accordance with the municipal legislative framework. The IDP is acknowledged as the municipal strategy plan that highlights the key performance areas and links the budget to local government strategies, short-term goals, and long-term goals. The results of this survey raised concerns about the mayor's honesty and highlighted their unease with his serving as the political leader and providing services to a group that is close to him. It is clear that service delivery has no relation to the broader purpose or constitutional mandate. Given that the POS strategy is founded on the well-known issues of who gets what, how, and how much, the municipality's political leader has to be reminded of their responsibilities (Payle, 2017:2).

Framing Processes show that social movement actors identify, label and locate phenomena that affect them in order to make sense of such occurrences (Goffman, 1974). Osizweni and Charlestown protesters believed that the mayor, Dr Ntuthuko Mahlaba, is the reason to blame for the inadequate delivery of services because he does not have enough time to focus on the municipal affairs. Participants from Osizweni had to say this about the character of the Mayor, “the mayor has been in and out the courts accused of many criminal cases, we have requested leadership of the ANC in Provincial level to remove him but till now we still have him as the mayor”. The mayor has been accused of expelling municipal essential workers and also hiring unqualified people to senior position based on their proximity to him and latter fires them after they differ politically or administratively.

6.2.8 Dealing with Fraud and Corruption

The results of this investigation indicate that fraud and corruption are not adequately addressed. While a municipality has a fraud and corruption policy, there is no one assigned to supervise its execution, according to the protesters. Botes et. al. (2007) suggest that fraud and corruption permeate the allocation of housing in South African towns. Hence, the issue of corruption is

not exclusive to the NLM. In addition, the governing ANC party has been accused of abusing its position by hiring and providing contracts to its associates. According to the demonstrators, such nepotism is a recipe for corruption. Some protestors believe that denouncing fraud and corruption is unnecessary since law enforcement authorities delay investigations. This analysis revealed that the municipality of Newcastle committed fraud by appointing a top manager who lacked the necessary credentials for the post. According to Chapter 3, frames may also be characterised as including a broader interpretative definition or response to the queries "what is happening" or "what should be happening" (Benford and Snow, 2000). The process of responding to questions posed by frames prompted protestors to participate in service delivery protests in an effort to ascertain what is occurring in the NLM.

6.2.9 Unfulfilled Promises

The results of this research indicate that politicians in administration or running for office make a range of promises related to service delivery, employment opportunities, and development projects to protestors. Failure to fulfil these commitments results in protests. The South African demonstrations were not just about housing, water, sanitation, power, and other infrastructures, but also the political process. Protesters had complained that local government officials and council members were apathetic. It is evident from the above remark that politicians who do not listen to demonstrators pose a problem (Twala, 2014:163). This review shows the linkage in the findings of the current study and the one by Twala in 2014. In addition, discontent with service delivery is impacted by several variables, such as inequality, unmet political promises, and irregular access to services.

The lack of reaction by officials and Councillors, as well as the absence or obscurity of communication channels, the provision of inferior services, and high levels of poverty, aggravate protesters' anger (Masiya et al., 2019:38). According to Ndaba (2007), the ANC recognised that intra-organisational conflict contributed to service delivery demonstrations in South African towns. The Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlement, and Traditional Affairs (2014:8) concurs that political infighting in many South African municipalities has a negative impact on service delivery and economic growth.

Promises by nature raise people’s expectations and hopes necessary in poor communities where residents experience the punitive living conditions which can depress and leave them

despondent. In this instance, patronage politics generate access and relations with the state which create 'spaces of hope' (Rubin, 2011). As the two extracts above show, residents vote for government officials because of the promises they make. For example, Zuma's election to the presidency raised expectations; although the failure to fulfil the expectations engendered a heightened level of protests, for some time people were hopeful (Alexander, 2010). Although promises create hope and enable communities to anticipate the promises to be fulfilled, a failure to fulfil them makes people feel betrayed, and they get frustrated and angry.

In both Osizweni and Charlestown, some participants felt that they are used as political pawns whose only drive is to act as pontoons for politicians to get elected. The findings of this study indicated that it is not true that municipal officials do not engage the community 'at all' regarding what they are doing, although the engagement is limited, and it is not as vigorous as community members would want it. For example, participants want the municipality to frequently engage with their communities as they do during election time. Unequivocally, election time brings the best out of municipal officials. Equally, in Osizweni and Charlestown, participants stated that during election periods, municipal officials constantly visit them and make promises. Some participants indicated that they saw progress in the form of cleaning of streets and regular refuse collection. In line with the Framing processes, activists identify who is to blame and what needs to be done to achieve a desired change (Larana, 1994).

Generally, protests decline during election time as people concentrate on the electoral process. Electioneering produces a new political environment which can either encourage or discourage activism, which Tarrow (1998) refers to as windows of opportunity. Protesters use elections as a Political Opportunity Structure to mobilise for better services in their communities.

Alexander (2010:28) asserts that in 2005 there was a preliminary peak of protests in South Africa followed by a marked fall in 2006, the year of local government elections. Remarking on this pause in protests, Alexander (2010:28) argues that "for a period, activists put their energies into the elections and/or that broader populations placed some hope in the possibility of electoral politics addressing their concerns". Not only do people put their energies and hopes in the electoral processes during election times, but there tends to be an amplified level of interaction amongst the state and the community and a better responsiveness from the state.

6.2.10 A lack of Information

A lack of information was found to be a major factor which led to the protests in Newcastle from 2018 to 2020 for better service delivery. According to section 32 (1), paragraph (a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), anybody has the right to access any information kept by the state, unless the information is classified. Citizens have the right to access information such as laws, rules, and the economic and social outlook in their jurisdiction. This finding was seen to be similar to the findings according to Allan and Heese (2004), that service delivery demonstrations in rural regions demonstrate how a lack of access to information often contributes to the quick spread of rumours of corruption, favouritism, and incompetence. The findings of this study suggested that citizens are not informed about developmental projects or job opportunities regarding their ward councillors, and that this causes protesters to develop a shared understanding and interpretation of the conditions in which they found themselves, thereby leading to service delivery protests. This is obvious in the municipality of Newcastle.

In a way, communities in Osizweni and Charlestown ought to change how things are done with regard to consultation, participation, increased levels of transparency and the delivery of services. The fight for both the delivery of services and a different kind of politics can be best understood using the FPT. Frames help us to understand the desire to change how things are done in Osizweni and Charlestown because they provide a broader interpretive definition or answer to the questions: ‘what is going on’ or ‘should be going on’ (Benford and Snow, 2000). Participants in this study indicated that the municipality initiates programmes without consulting them and some of those programmes are ineffectual. Thus, this propels participants to blame the municipality for ineffective communication with them.

A top-down development model presupposes that the government is aware of the community's needs without community engagement. Given the demonstrators' view that the government's top-down strategy has failed to foster democratic tendencies in underprivileged neighbourhoods, democratising society from the bottom up appears logical in Osizweni and Charlestown. Governments are expected to discuss and interact with the people they serve in an honest manner. Citizens’ participation in topics pertaining to their well-being and growth is both empowering and induces a strong feeling of ownership towards the product or service (Benford and Snow, 2000).

6.3 Conclusion

A lack of public participation, slow service delivery, stalled infrastructural and local economic development, a lack of accountability and transparency, political instability and leadership difficulties, fraud and corruption, and unfulfilled promises all emerged from the data gathered and analysed from focus group interviews in NLM.

Unemployed young people living in informal settlements led most of the rallies, citing the slow or non-existent delivery of integrated human settlements as their primary complaint. Additional issues that might be thought of as part of integrated human settlements include a lack of or a delay in the supply of public services, including sanitation, water, power, roads, sports grounds, clinics, garbage collection, and schools. Corruption and nepotism were also criticised for their negative impact on the equitable allocation of houses in the Newcastle local government.

Curiously, the two parties agreed that the present demonstrations over service delivery were not being carried out by a so-called "Third Force." Demonstrators demanded that the city of Newcastle move quickly to provide environmentally and socially responsible housing options for its residents. From what has been said above, it is clear that the most likely reasons for the current violent service delivery demonstrations in NLM are a lack of or sluggish speed in the delivery of sustainable human settlements, insufficient public engagement and consultation, poverty, and unemployment. It may thus be concluded that the lack of delivery of suitable housing, limited public involvement and poor civic education, unemployment, and poverty, especially among the young population, have been the primary reasons of service delivery demonstrations since 2005.

The Planning Commission's analytic study and National Development Plan (Vision 2030) both come to similar conclusions, classifying South Africa's developmental challenges as stemming from unemployment, poverty, and inequality. Analysis of replies from study participants in Osizweni and Charlestown, where the violent service delivery demonstrations occurred, reveals compelling evidence that certain causes triggered the unrest. Many problems contributed to the consolidation of these elements. All people are created equal, and they should have a voice in the most fundamental decisions that affect their lives, according to the study's

findings, which support the principle of horizontalism and suggest that the protests over service delivery in Charlestown are not organised by any one group or individual.

One of the study participants said that he is the organiser of the Newcastle deserves better social movement, therefore the Osizweni demonstrations do not entirely match this explanation of 'spontaneity' means a lack of connections to leaders or an organisation. This social movement is to blame for the violent demonstrations against the city of Newcastle's service delivery. Since it is not affiliated with any political party and has not used the banners, flags, or slogans of any political organisation in its demonstrations, this social movement may be considered independent.

Newcastle's leaders are organic intellectuals, in the Gramscian sense, who provide protestors "conscious direction", elevating the protesters' collective intelligence from its current level of common sense to the higher level of good sense that is based on an understanding of the past. The followers of their social movement are subject to the leaders' authority and power.

The last chapter of this analysis provides a summary of the findings, as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study's findings and suggestions for further research. The study's results and citations to related literature explain the study's recommendations. This aids in comprehending the causes of the upsurge in service delivery protests in Newcastle's local council between 2018 and 2020. It also helped researchers learn more about demonstrations in South Africa related to service delivery. After learning that there was no clear strategy to quell the ongoing service delivery demonstrations in local government, the researcher set out to investigate the issue.

Like other South African municipalities, the NLM has a number of difficulties, chief among them the efficient and effective provision of public services. Protests about the quality of recently provided services have swept the nation and the Newcastle local government, proving that problems do exist. To fulfil the developmental mission vested in it by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, local government must first recognise and analyse these difficulties, and then devise solutions that address them.

In this chapter, the researcher connects all the key ideas established from all the chapters. Importantly, the researcher provides recommendations based on the findings that arose from the study and their relation to the research questions set out in this study.

7.2 Study recap

This study explored the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments cany address the grievances of their constituents effectively. In so doing, it shed light on the perspectives of local communities (Osizweni and Charlestown) where protests have occurred. Supposedly, the topical prevalent service delivery protests, in many occurrences, have turned violent, and such occurrences cannot be ignored. Findings of this study contributed to better understand the root causes of service delivery protests in this municipality and establish from the local communities avenues for mitigating their needs.

This study was conceptualised around the framework of escalating occurrence and scale of service delivery protests in South Africa in general, and in particular, local government. Even though the first decade of democracy saw a decline in protests, some groups and movements protested. Nevertheless, since 2005, when service delivery protests took national prominence, South Africa has witnessed increased levels of dramatic protests. This study was based on the fact that no political democracy can continue and thrive if the number of its people continue experiencing conditions that they experienced under the apartheid government, such as poverty, inequality and unemployment, and with no forecasts of better living conditions.

This study used a qualitative research approach. Primary data were gathered using focus group interviews with the population from Osizweni and Charlestown townships, a total of 20 community members (organisers of service delivery protests) were recruited to participate in this study. Purposive sampling was employed to recruit participants in this study, and they ranged between the ages of 18to 55 years. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data sets which generated eight themes around the issue of the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM, and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Research findings exposed that research participants' displeasure with service delivery is influenced by various factors, such as unfulfilled political promises, unequal access to services, provision of substandard services, high rate of unemployment, nepotism, corruption and favouritism, political tensions, leadership derailment and incompetence, and high levels of poverty including disparities which originate from the post-apartheid regime. The study is pertinent at this point since numerous African municipalities are facing comparable service delivery challenges.

This study was divided into seven separate but interrelated chapters. Each chapter built on the previous one and there was a coherent flow of ideas.

Chapter 1 highlighted the background of the study, focusing service delivery protests on local governance and why is it important that research is carried out to understand the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. The researcher used data obtained from the MLGI Protest Barometer, and also shared the overview of service delivery protests that have occurred in South Africa. This historical context provided the stimulus for explaining the research's aim, objectives, and relevance in selecting NLM as a case to analyse, including

service delivery protests and local administration. This chapter further discussed the direction of inquiry, focus of the study and its structure were highlighted in the introductory section.

Chapter 2 offered varying views on the topic under review from varying literature to position the study within the global discourse. It discussed the reality and conceptualisation of protests insofar as delivery of service is concern. It further discussed public-participation as the factor that may contribute to the rise of protests if it is implemented inadequately. Lastly, this study covers the background, politics, and history of South African demonstrations over the provision of essential services. The literature evaluation shed light on fundamental questions in service delivery demonstrations. Towards the chapter's conclusion, the researcher discussed the causes of service delivery protests in South African municipalities.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical and conceptual lenses through which the study was observed and its findings tested. It further discussed local government theory with an aim of illustrating the decentralisation of powers and duties within the three spheres of government. It further discussed social movement theory, with its three sub-theories, namely POS, RMT, and FPT. Concepts and phenomena are given theoretical explanations in this chapter, which was useful.

Chapter 4 discussed the study's research design and how research at Osizweni and Charlestown community was conducted. Ethical issues, data gathering methods, and analytic procedures are all laid out as part of the research process. To better understand the motivations and experiences of those who took part in service delivery demonstrations, a qualitative case study was undertaken with residents of Osizweni and Charlestown aged 18 to 55 years. Focus group interviews were used to capture the viewpoints of demonstrators in both groups to help theme codification analysis. This chapter discussed the method and mechanics of implementing ethical concerns to account for risk, consent, and data protection, which were all necessary due to the potentially harmful nature of the participations. The chapter concluded with some introspection on the study's validity and reliability as well as a discussion of the difficulties encountered and the ethics that motivated the research.

Chapter 5 commenced by discussing social characteristics of NLM and demographics of the participants. Finally, it demonstrated the data gathered from the focus group interviews with the research participants engaging on the research questions and research objective. In

pursuance of this goal, the researcher gathered data that represented the participants' actual thoughts and conversations on the causes of service delivery protests in the years 2018 to 2020.

Chapter 6 discussed data analysis and synthesis using theme coding. During analysis, experts assess and debate the facts to unearth different kinds of knowledge that vary along theoretical and topical lines. It expanded on the conceptual framework and theoretical lens of local government theory and three sub-theories of social movement to give an analytical presentation of the data in line with the research topic. Diverse themes emerged, such as (i) unemployment rate, (ii) the struggle for basic services, (iii) stagnant infrastructural development, (iv) stagnant local economic development, (vi) accountability and transparency, (vii) political instability: impact on governance and delivery, (viii) leadership difficulties, (ix) unfulfilled promises, and (x) a lack information as key determinants to understanding to the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively.

The research concluded with a summary and recommendations chapter (Chapter 7). Connected to the introductory section, this last section provided suggestions for stakeholders and potential topics for further study based on the findings this study.

7.3 Summary of Findings and Their Relation to the Research Objectives

This study had four specific research objectives: (i) to examine the root causes of service delivery protests in Newcastle local municipality; (ii) to explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality; (iii) to determine the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in Newcastle local municipality; and (iv) to explore the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and local community in relation to resolving disputes around delivery of services.

(i) Research objective 1

This study's first research objective desired to understand the root causes of service delivery protests in NLM. The overall response from the participants was that the process of service delivery is unpleasant within the NLM. Participants highlighted the following with regard to root causes of service delivery protests in NLM, namely high unemployment rate in Newcastle, housing problem in Newcastle and a lack of service infrastructure.

Apart from venting only desires of a middle-class lifestyle, the largely rural community also had typical working-class expectations of electricity, RDP houses, indigent water quotas and job opportunities. The majority of the respondents in this study were more concerned with self-determination, whereas others stressed the need for free houses for the entire community. Many respondents were very detailed in their expectations; they were mostly concerned about their community primary schools, access roads, and amenities. Research participants went as far as to generalise issues of a lack and ineffective communication, a lack of service delivery capacity and resources. In essence, research participants did not want blanket services, instead they required contextualised services, thus the feeling that municipal officials seemed not to know what the community needs.

(ii) Research objective 2

This study's second research objective sought to explore the perceptions of local community members in Newcastle around provision of basic services by their municipality. The researcher investigated perceptions of protesters around provision of basic services by their municipality, and participants highlighted the following with regard to provision of basic services, namely stagnant local economic development.

Deducing from both focus group interviews' responses, research participants from Osizweni and Charlestown appeared to know what is expected from the municipality, as indicated by their expressions of a number of expectations on service delivery. Most respondents expected the municipality to stimulate local economic growth by attracting investors to migrate to NLM and also create job opportunities. They further highlighted that most of the factories are shutting down, which is a contributing factor to the rate of unemployment within the municipality. From the above finding, it can be concluded that the communities of NLM have high service expectations from government. Despite the fact that most are willing to work to improve their lot, they hope that this instigation will, and must come from government and its parastatals. According to Zeithaml (2009:76), customer expectations of services are the entry point to service delivery, to which service providers need to invest time and resources, understanding and evaluating (Zeithaml, 2009:76). However, Parasuraman et al. (1985:270-271) explain that there will always be a gap between customer expectations and what can be provided as services. The ability of service providers to navigate this gap constitutes customer satisfaction.

(iii) Research objective 3

This study's third research objective aimed at determining the gaps in capacity and expectations of local community on provision of services in NLM. Participants highlighted the following in this regard, namely corruption, nepotism and favouritism; a lack of TVET; and leadership capacity.

Most research participants from the focus group complained about access, communication and consistency matters that delayed service delivery and destructively impacted on the quality of services provided by NLM. The respondents complained about hampered access, a lack of communication, poor communication and inconsistent communication, unresponsive officials, and a lack of competent personnel. They further indicated that the municipality is even failing to attract universities or TVET to establish campuses in order to accommodate the population of Newcastle.

Findings from this study indicated that participants complained about the leadership character of the mayor, Dr Ntuthuko Mahlaba, who has been accused of a number of criminal activities. They further complained about the manner in which the municipality appoints its senior officials, because they dismissed one of their official for misrepresentation of qualifications. Research participants indicated that municipal officials get to be appointed based on their proximity with the mayor.

(iv) Research objective 4

The fourth research objective sought to understand the relationship between service providers in Newcastle and the local community in relation to resolving disputes around delivery of services. Participants raised the following concerns, namely political tension in NLM.

The results show that most of the respondents highlighted that the municipal administration is directed by the municipal manager since he is an accounting officer faced with the challenges of political interference in his duties where he is being forced to favour the ruling party (ANC) even when such an act is unconstitutional. As the consequence of these findings, it is obvious that numerous municipal officials could be experiencing job burnout and occupational stress since the municipal political office holders appoint the municipal administrator. The respondents further indicated that political interference of the ruling party in the administration of service poses a challenge of poor service delivery in the wards that are led by the opposition

parties. Respondents cited the fact that municipal manager face the challenge of political interference from the ruling party where the administrators are force to favour the ruling political party in the allocation of wards projects, demanding that developmental projects be allocated in the wards that are led by their councillors. Findings from this study suggested that municipal officials get pressure from their political principals, in this instance, officials were compelled to expel 234 municipal workers with no reason.

The respondent highlighted that incompetent or unqualified employees led to poor service delivery. Respondents cited "to a certain extent it does affect service delivery, for example where incompetent person is employed may result to failure to satisfactorily his/her duties and the deployment of unqualified officials can also impact on service delivery. The ANC policy of cadre deployment which promotes that people must be employed based on their loyalty and long service in the organisation, has impact in the service delivery because they deploy incompetent and unqualified employees who fail to perform their duties." Respondents further indicated that when the IDP is compiled, projects are often allocated in favour of the ruling party members while the opposition is edged out of the process. Respondents further indicated that "basic services are used as political footballs to gain support to discredit either the ANC-led municipality, or the ward councillor and such incidents often leads to poor service delivery, as officials would rather point accusing fingers at each other than providing proper and quality service that will be effective and efficient to all wards."

7.4 Recommendations

To all appearances, South African government spheres, and particularly local government institutions, have not seized the new developmental mandate allocated to them in terms of Sections 152 and 153 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 and the White Paper on Local Government. This may be because some role-players are unaware of what this mandate entails.

The results of qualitative research support this hypothesis. In addition, the bureaucratic character of the current legal environment makes it an impediment rather than a facilitator in the process of providing services to the public. Communities are driven to protest the delivery of services because of a lack of knowledge or distorted information, as pointed out by a large number of research participants in this study. Political infighting has exacerbated an already

precarious situation, making it unable to provide essential services. The following suggestions are made based on the results of the research and the analysis of the existing literature.

7.4.1 Accelerate Pace of Human Settlement Delivery

The provision of secure and reasonably priced housing is a fundamental entitlement enshrined in Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. The provision of housing falls under the purview of the provincial government. The delegation of this responsibility to provincial authorities has resulted in disruptive demonstrations initiated by local residents who are advocating for improved service provision. Municipalities occasionally assume responsibility for housing delivery on an agency basis; however, they encounter challenges in budgeting due to the absence of a comprehensive understanding of their annual financial inflows. One encounters a predicament when constituents express their grievances to municipal authorities regarding provincially-administered services that warrant legitimate concerns. To the layperson, there appears to be a lack of distinction among the various branches of government. The provision enshrined in Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, affirms the fundamental entitlement of all individuals to access secure and reasonably priced housing.

7.4.2 Improve Public Participation and consultation

The interpretation of democracy has long been a subject of intense scholarly discourse, as highlighted by Held's seminal work (1993:15). There exists a divergence of perspectives regarding the nature of this phenomenon. Certain scholars contend that it encompasses the exercise of authority by the populace, whereas others perceive it as a manifestation of governance characterised by autonomous regulation and self-determination. Theoretical perspectives of paramount significance underscore the imperative role of citizen participation within the realms of politics and society, thereby constituting a fundamental element in the progression towards a more robust democracy. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, provides support for the aforementioned viewpoints by delineating the objectives of local governments. According to the provisions outlined in Section 152(a) and (e) of the Constitution, it is mandated that local governments assume the responsibility of delivering governance that is both democratic and accountable to the local communities they serve. Furthermore, these local governments are encouraged to actively engage and involve the said communities in matters pertaining to local governance.

The aforementioned constitutional provision serves to underscore the paramount importance of citizen engagement within the realm of local governance processes. In the specific context of the NLM, the survey findings indicate a notable absence of citizen engagement. The observed deficiency can be ascribed to the municipality's inclination towards prioritising legal obligations over ethical considerations. In essence, the municipality places emphasis on adhering to legal obligations as opposed to prioritising ethical considerations. The aforementioned approach has the potential to undermine citizen participation and impede the efficacy of service delivery, consequently fostering an environment conducive to the emergence of service delivery protests.

7.4.3 Government to live up to the Promises made during Election

According to Maphazi (2012:285), political parties deliver electoral manifestos to communities before national, provincial, and municipal elections. In this context, voters hold their local council members and government agencies accountable for fulfilling their campaign pledges. Chapter 6 of this research shows that protestors have identified unmet promises as a root cause of service delivery demonstrations in local government.

The current situation should raise serious concerns among the three branches of government since it might lead to an increase in violent service delivery protest action by other communities around the nation. It is then suggested that the government compile all election-related promises made at the national, provincial, and municipal levels since 1994 in order to inform the public of the timelines within which these promises will be fulfilled, as well as the difficulties the government has encountered in doing so. The national government should use this opportunity to apologise to local communities for failing to provide the services promised to them by their elected officials.

7.4.4 Addressing Poverty and Unemployment especially amongst the Youth

According to the theoretical framings of Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance, the research participants have identified young people as the main driving force behind these protests. In light of this, it is crucial for the NLM to develop poverty-reduction strategies and implement actions that promote employment generation. An effective solution to address the high rates of unemployment, particularly among the youth, is through the implementation of

the EPWP. This government initiative has proven successful in creating numerous job opportunities that are specifically tailored to meet the needs of young individuals.

7.4.5 Addressing Issues of Governance

The protesters interviewed for this research said that widespread corruption, fraud, and nepotism in the Newcastle local government are major causes of the frequent and sometimes violent service delivery demonstrations that occur in the area. Municipal corruption may be exposed and addressed if measured against the standards of conduct for public officials. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:520), moral topics develop as a result of human interaction with other people, animals, and the natural world. Definitions of "ethics" in the Oxford Secondary School Dictionary include "right and wrong", "values", "ideals", "virtue", and "moral principles" (Hawkins, Delahunty and McDonald, 1998:219). Ethical behaviour is defined by Waite (2002:287) as actions that are morally sound, spotless, noble, righteous, above reproach, legal, honourable, reputable, and respectable. In a nutshell, ethical behaviour is concerned with doing the right thing in light of the established norms of a given community.

7.4.6 Manage Political Instability

The present study delved into the intricate dynamics between political instability and service delivery protests within the confines of NLM, as expounded upon in Chapter 5. The empirical evidence indicates a strong correlation between public demonstrations pertaining to the efficacy of local government services and the presence of political instability. Therefore, this research suggests the augmentation of service delivery systems by means of implementing a resilient legal framework. The implementation of such a comprehensive framework would effectively mitigate the risks associated with potential disruptions in service delivery operations, programmes, and projects arising from administrative and political instabilities. It is of the utmost importance to underscore the imperative nature of delineating ward development programmes from the realm of factional politics. This can be achieved by bestowing the responsibility of addressing service delivery matters upon the ward development forum. This approach effectively ensures that political matters are managed and addressed effectively by appropriate political entities, thereby minimising the potential for the politicisation of service delivery. By implementing this approach, the local government can navigate the intricate dynamics of political influences on service delivery efficiently and prioritise the provision of enhanced services to its constituents.

7.5 Areas for Further Study

There have been several analyses published that provide similar hypotheses on the causes of service delivery protests. While these explanations provide light on the phenomenon as a whole, they may fail to capture the unique character of the revolutions. The purpose of this research was not to disprove or refute such hypotheses, but rather to offer light on the causes that led to the rise of demonstrations about the quality of municipal services in Newcastle.

These results will enrich our understanding of service delivery protests so far. It is suggested that more research be done in the following areas:

a) Exploring the role played by networks in service delivery protests;
b) Examination of the personalisation of politics, political infighting and factionalism;
c) Exploring the roles and responsibilities of councillors and municipal administration to remove unnecessary conflicts in the execution of respective duties; and
d) Evaluating efficiency of public participation.

7.6 Conclusion

This research focused largely on the dynamics that led to the rise of the service delivery demonstrations between 2018 and 2020 and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. This case study was centred on the NLM. Despite the fact that a number of results and suggestions may be unique to the municipality of Newcastle, a few of them may be applicable to the situations common in other municipalities. In this regard, the following conclusions are derived from this research's results. During focus group interviews, it became clear to the researcher that communities have lost faith in their government's engagement process and that public involvement, as promoted, falls short of desirable levels. In light of this, communities have formed their own communication channels with the government, which they feel to be more successful. They choose to express their issues and worries via demonstrations against aggressive service delivery.

Insufficient emphasis has been placed on the inclusion of communities' perspectives in the extant literature concerning service delivery demonstrations in South Africa. This oversight neglects to acknowledge the valuable insights, contributions, and relationships that communities possess with pertinent municipal authorities. The present study investigated the

dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the NLM and how local governments can address the grievances of their constituents effectively. Hence, the primary objective of this study was to elucidate the underlying mechanisms that precipitated the occurrence of service delivery protests within the timeframe of 2018 to 2020 in the NLM. Additionally, it sought to explore viable strategies that local governing bodies can employ to redress the concerns and dissatisfactions expressed by their constituents efficiently. This study offers valuable insights into the lived experiences of individuals residing in Osizweni and Charlestown, two localities that have been the epicentres of recent demonstrations. The findings of the study facilitated municipal officials in discerning the underlying causes of service delivery protests and eliciting potential resolutions from the local populace.

Even though the South African Constitution of 1996 prohibits the use of violence in protests, a significant portion of service delivery demonstrations have been characterised as including armed soldiers who burn tyres and block roads and traffic in their communities. Furthermore, it is obvious that the majority of these service delivery demonstrations originate in informal settlements and are organised by youth. This speaks directly to issues surrounding human settlements, poverty, and unemployment, especially among the young. As a result, the literature review and the results of the empirical study have revealed that dissatisfaction at the grassroots level with the pace and quality of delivery of services, such as housing, water and sanitation, public health system, electricity, poor roads, and inadequate refuse removal, are peripheral issues that should be viewed in the context of integrated, sustainable human settlements. Poverty and unemployment are another key issue that prompts service delivery protests. With young unemployment at 70%, governments must immediately uncover and establish initiatives that engage youth in skills development and meaningful work.

Additional reasons for the service delivery protests include corruption, nepotism, favouritism, public participation, and opportunistic political rudiments who, dissatisfied with the way their fortunes have turned, prompted certain factions of the community to engage in politically motivated protest actions in response to service delivery concerns.

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. While there is no outright desire to challenge the status quo, there are elements of political consciousness and movement building. Given these theoretical considerations, the researcher contend that service delivery protests fit the social movement.

In addition, the study has not yet uncovered evidence that a third force element involving political parties other than the ANC-led government is the source of service delivery demonstrations. Despite the fact that this research has identified specific causes of service delivery demonstrations, it is essential to note that there are underlying variables that give birth to the causes that prompt communities to participate in protest activity. They include the complex, difficult, and restrictive legislative environment that regulates service delivery, as well as a weak fiscal administration, which is exacerbated by the inadequate allocation of resources by national and provincial governments to local governments, which are at the forefront of service delivery.

South African municipalities could use this study as a starting point for further research on the causes behind the formation of service delivery protests. By implementing the suggested recommendations, the NLM will be at the forefront of addressing the causes of service delivery protests in South Africa and pioneering a developmental approach that may be of assistance to other affected municipalities in South Africa and around the world.

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9. APPENDICES

9.1 Appendix A: Focus Group Schedule (Community Residents)

INTRODUCTION

The researcher is conducting a study titled: Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle Local Municipality. The researcher will like to know more about the to the dynamics that led to service delivery protests between 2018 and 2020 in the Newcastle local municipality and how local governments can effectively address the grievances of their constituents. The researcher will interview you to get your side of the story. Your identity will remain anonymous, thus feel free to give your honest views.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Which public services are offered by the municipality to the local residents in your community?
2. What strategies, processes or systems are in place within the municipality to deliver public services?
3. How does the Newcastle local municipality involve the community in the development of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)?
4. In your own opinion, what has been contributing to the emergence of service delivery protests in your community?
5. What were some of the issues raised in the public protest?
6. What was the response you received from the Municipality?
7. What would you consider to be impacting the provision of public services by your local municipality?
8. What do you consider could be done by Newcastle local municipality to address the challenges raised by protesters during the recent service delivery protests?
9. Are there any other comments you wish to add?

9.2 Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Appendix B1: Charlestown residents

Researcher: Mlungisi P. Ngidi (Student Number: 302450) Mobile 073 0444 078 302450@students.wits.ac.za

Research Title: Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle local municipality

Institution: University of the Witwatersrand (WSG)

I …….. agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what is expected of me.
I have been informed that this research is part of the requirements in fulfilment of the researchers Masters qualification, and that the focus area is on service delivery protests in local government. It has been explained to me that the researcher is using the Newcastle Local Municipality as a case study and the title of the study is *"Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle local municipality".* My participation in the study is to share information, my perspective, and experience as one of the organizers of service delivery protests in Charlestown.

I have been informed that participation on this study is through focus group interviews and if there is a need, follow-up interviews will be conducted if ever the researcher needs clarity on certain issues. I have been informed that my participation is voluntary and will not include any remuneration or direct benefit. Correspondingly, there will be no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. I am able to withdraw at any time or not answer any question, should I wish to do so. It has been explained to me that should I experience trauma or discomfort at any point during the process, the interview will be stopped or resume at another time. Information for counselling services has been provided to me. The COVID-19 restrictions, regulations, and protocols to be followed during the interview have been explained to me.

Confidentiality of responses during data processing, analysis, and presentation have been explained to me, as well as information handling and data storage measures. I have also been

provided with the details of the Supervisor and the University Human Research Ethics Committee (non-Medical), should I have further inquiries or concerns regarding ethical procedures, respectively.

Thus the interview is conducted with my consent, where I am comfortable, and in the language of my understanding.

(Please circle the relevant option)

I agree that the interview be recorded for the collection of data, transcription, and future referencing purposes	YES	NO
I agree that my participation will remain confidential	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes In his research report	YES	NO

Signature…….

Name…….

Date…….

Researcher

Signature…….

Name…….

Date…….

Appendix B2: Osizweni residents

Researcher: Mlungisi P. Ngidi (Student Number: 302450) Mobile 073 0444 078 302450@students.wits.ac.za

Research Title: Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle local municipality

Institution: University of the Witwatersrand (WSG)

I …….. agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what is expected of me.
I have been informed that this research is part of the requirements in fulfilment of the researchers Masters qualification, and that the focus area is on service delivery protests in local government. It has been explained to me that the researcher is using the Newcastle Local Municipality as a case study and the title of the study is *"Service Delivery Protests and Local Governance: The Case of Newcastle local municipality".* My participation in the study is to share information, my perspective, and experience as one of the organizers of service delivery protests in Osizweni.

I have been informed that participation on this study is through focus group interviews and if there is a need, follow-up interviews will be conducted if ever the researcher needs clarity on certain issues. I have been informed that my participation is voluntary and will not include any remuneration or direct benefit. Correspondingly, there will be no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. I am able to withdraw at any time or not answer any question, should I wish to do so. It has been explained to me that should I experience trauma or discomfort at any point during the process, the interview will be stopped or resume at another time. Information for counselling services has been provided to me. The COVID-19 restrictions, regulations, and protocols to be followed during the interview have been explained to me.

Confidentiality of responses during data processing, analysis, and presentation have been explained to me, as well as information handling and data storage measures. I have also been provided with the details of the Supervisor and the University Human Research Ethics

Committee (non-Medical), should I have further inquiries or concerns regarding ethical procedures, respectively.

Thus the interview is conducted with my consent, where I am comfortable, and in the language of my understanding.

(Please circle the relevant option)

I agree that the interview be recorded for the collection of data, transcription, and future referencing purposes	YES	NO
I agree that my participation will remain confidential	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes In his research report	YES	NO

Signature…….

Name…….

Date…….

Researcher

Signature…….

Name…….

Date…….

9.3 Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet



Enquiries: Dr Ruth Murambadoro
Wits School of Governance Masters Lecturer (Supervisor)
Tel: +27 (0)11 717 3910
Email: ruth.murambadoro@wits.ac.za

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Mlungisi Patrick Ngidi, I am a Masters Student in Public Policy at the Wits School of Governance. Part of the requirements in fulfilment of the Masters qualification includes undertaking a research project. My research focus area is on Service Delivery Protests in South African local government. For this task, I am using the Newcastle Local Municipality as a case study. As part of the research, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview process. Participation in this research is voluntary and will not include any remuneration or direct benefit. Correspondingly, there will be no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question, should you wish to do so.

The focus group interview is scheduled to last for 60 minutes. If there is a need, follow-up interviews will be conducted if ever the researcher needs clarity on certain issues. If you experience trauma or distress at any point during the process, we will stop the interview or resume at another time. If you need some support or counselling services following the interview, sessions may be arranged with Ms Z.E. Sithebe from Nkanyezi Solutions which is a non-profit organization (NPO) that offers free 24-hour telephonic and face-to-face confidential counselling for all ages and issues. Nkanyezi Solutions also has a centre in 12 Grobler Avenue, Barry Hertzog Park, Newcastle, 2940. The contact details are as follows as provided by Ms Z.E Sithebe, the contact person at Nkanyezi Solutions: 24/7 contact number: 082 487 9907; website: www.nkanyezisolutions.co.za.

The restrictions and regulations put in place in the form of the *Disaster Management Act: Regulations: Alert Level 2 during Coronavirus COVID-19 Lockdown* govern the interactions

between people to ensure safety and limit the spread of the virus. During Alert level 2 it is mandatory for a person to wear a mask at all times when in public. Thus, the researcher and participants, will, at all times, be expected to wear a mask to ensure both their safety. Moreover, health protocols, as directed by the World health Organisation (WHO) and the Department of Health, as such social distancing and sanitising will be adhered to during the interview.

The responses will be completely confidential, and any information you provide during this process will not be used for any purpose other than the intended research. If you have any questions during or afterwards about the research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. The data collected from this research project will be stored in a dedicated password secured external hard drive for a period of five years. If you have concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures followed for this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (non-Medical), telephone 011 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Mlungisi P. Ngidi	Dr. Ruth Murambadoro
Researcher	Supervisor
Cell: 073 044 4078	Tel: +27 (0)11 717 3910
302450@students.wits.ac.za	ruth.murambadoro@wits.ac.za

9.4 Appendix D: Distress Protocol

Appendix D1: Community members

Enquiries: Dr Ruth Murambadoro
Wits School of Governance Masters Lecturer (Supervisor)
Tel: +27 (0)11 717 3910
Email: ruth.murambadoro@wits.ac.za

The following distress protocol outlines the proposed process and procedure to be followed in an emergency situation:

1. When/If a participant appears to be distressed during the interview process, the researcher will immediately stop the interview and ask the participant if he/she is well.

2. The researcher will recommend that the participant have a glass of water and get fresh air for a few minutes to restore calm.

3. The researcher will contact Ms Z.E Sithebe at Nkanyezi Solutions Counselling on 082 487 9907 to assist, initially over the phone, with steps to de-escalate the situation and restore calm.

4. The researcher will ask research participant, which questions/subject made/make them uncomfortable. The research participants will be asked if they prefer to talk to a professional from Nkanyezi Solutions which is a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) providing free telephonic or face-to-face counselling to persons of all ages.

a) If so, the meeting will be facilitated by the researcher at a time and venue most suitable to the participant; or

b) If not, the participant will be asked if they wish to terminate the interview; postpone for another time; or proceed with amendments to questions which induce trauma.

5. Organisers of service delivery protests will be referred to Ms Z.E Sithebe at Nkanyezi Solutions which is a non-profit organization (NPO) that offers free 24-hour telephonic and face-to-face confidential counselling for all ages and issues. Nkanyezi Solutions also has a

centre in 12 Grobler Avenue, Barry Hertzog Park, Newcastle, 2940. The contact details are as follows as provided by Ms Z.E Sithebe, the contact person at Nkanyezi Solutions: 24/7 contact number: 082 487 9907; website: www.nkanyezisolutions.co.za.

Appendix D2: Researcher

Enquiries: Dr Ruth Murambadoro
Wits School of Governance Masters Lecturer (Supervisor)
Tel: +27 (0)11 717 3910
Email: ruth.murambadoro@wits.ac.za

The following distress protocol outlines the proposed process and procedure to be followed in an emergency situation:

1. The researcher will immediately stop the interview process.
2. The researcher will inform the participant that his not feeling well and if they could please take a short break.
3. The researcher will immediately contact the supervisor: Dr Ruth Murambadoro, to express/discuss the areas which have triggered any trauma or feelings of unsafety.
4. The researcher will;
    a. Kindly request to be excused with an explanation as to why the interview is being terminated; or
    b. Kindly request to be excused with an explanation as to why the interview is being postponed to another time; or
    c. Continue with the interview with an explanation as to why certain questions/subjects are rephrased/omitted for the interview process.
5. The research will seek medical referral, at own cost, to a psychologist from his family doctor: Dr H.A.T Mjiyakho who is contactable on 034 312 8654.

Appendix D3: Ethics Clearance

Research Office: Sithembile Xaba
Tel: 011 717 3133
Email: Sithembile.Xaba@wits.ac.za

Research Director: Prof Pundy Pillay
Tel: 011 717 3501
Email: pundy.pillay@wits.ac.za

30 November 2020

Dear Mr Mlungisi Patrick Ngidi

Title: Service Delivery Protests And Local Governance: The Case Of Newcastle Local Municipality

Student Number: 302450

Degree: Master of Management in the field of Governance

Ethics Clearance Number: *WSG-2020-28*

All candidates must satisfy the University's ethical standards for research. Your ethics application has been received and reviewed by the Wits School of Governance Human Research Ethics Committee.

Your ethical clearance has been approved subject to you getting permission to conduct research from all sites where research is conducted. The letter(s) of permission to undertake research must be submitted to the WSG Research Office and kept on file with your final proposal and other ethics documents.

You may commence your data collection under the guidance of your supervisor. In the event that the scope, methodology or nature of the research changes, you are required to submit another ethics application reflecting the changes.

The onus is on you as the candidate, with support from your supervisor, to ensure your research complies with university human research ethics policies and protocols at all stages of the research process.

It is recommended that you keep this letter in a safe place as you are responsible for ensuring you have proof of ethics clearance. You will need to lodge the ethics clearance/protocol number with Faculty before final submission of your research report. If you do not have an ethics clearance number, you are not permitted to graduate.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries.

Yours sincerely



Professor Pundy Pillay

Research Director

Appendix D4: Permission Letter

NEWCASTLE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY
OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER

My Ref : Speaker's Office
Enquiries : Landiwe Mahlaba
Tel : (034) 328 7686
Fax : 0867756304
E-Mail : speaker@newcastle.gov.za

Newcastle Municipality
Private Bag X6621
Newcastle
2940

28 January 2021

Dear Mr M.P. Ngidi

RE: SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE: THE CASE OF NEWCASTLE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Newcastle Local Municipality specifically (Charlestown and Osizweni) on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- This approval letter is valid for a period of three years, starting from the date of issuance.
- Ward councillors where research is conducted will be made aware of proposed research.
- Kindly inform the office of the Speaker before going on field for data collection.
- You are required to adhere to all Covid-19 regulations prior and after data collection process.
- You are not allowed to take photographs of research participants; however, voice recording is permitted.
- You required to share full research report with the Municipality after data collection and analysis.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, you welcome to contact the office of the Speaker at telephone number 0343287686

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Newcastle Local Municipality

Yours faithfully

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Cllr. SA Yende
Speaker

