



**Impact of violent service delivery protests on community
development: Impasse or progress**

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DECLARATION

I, Nsizwazonke Ephraim Yende, declare that: -

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Date: **December 2021**

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother, **Thandiwe Busisiwe Yende**

for her encouragement and sacrifice through tough times. Her infinite adoration and unceasing support in making my dreams become a reality will never be forgotten. In her words, “*Indlela eya empumelelweni yinde kodwa ukubekezela kuyenza ibe mfishan*” (The road to success is long, but perseverance makes it shorter).

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ABSTRACT

Since the early 2000s, democratic South Africa has witnessed an increasing number of protests turning violent towards municipalities over poor or unmet service delivery. The available literature highlights that violent protests have been predominant in the previously disadvantaged townships and informal settlements. Furthermore, such protests have devastating effects on peoples' living conditions, well-being, and the functionality of municipalities. Therefore, this research explores the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Mixed-methods research focusing on the sequential exploratory design was adopted to explore people's perceptions of violent service delivery protests to determine the impact of violent protests on development. Thus, the frustration-aggression theory and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation were selected as a theoretical lens to frame the study and guide the analysis. The research was divided into two phases. The first phase consisted of the qualitative research located in the constructivists' paradigm, sampling 33 participants. Purposive and snowball sampling were both employed to recruit the study participants for semi-structured interviews. Qualitative data were analysed using thematic analysis. The second phase was the quantitative research design positioned in the positivists' paradigm, and it sampled 450 respondents using a systematic sampling method. The quantitative data was collected through face-to-face survey questionnaires across the four (4) Wards in Cato Manor. The data was analysed using inferential and descriptive statistics.

The findings illustrate that due to the influx of people from the surrounding rural communities to Cato Manor, post-1994 South Africa has witnessed intensified housing deficit giving rise to unlawful land occupation. Thus, the land invasion has increased in informal settlements, escalating the demand for essential services such as clean water, proper sanitation, and stable electricity. Hence, the rise in demand for such services has intensified violent protests, negatively impacting community development. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that violent protests in Cato Manor are complex structural and contextual phenomena that need to be understood from the historical and colonial events of dispossessions, spatial and systematic inequalities. Moreover, the perennial struggle for identity and a sense of belonging, contestation of land, and the politics of development continue to define Cato Manor.

A conceptual framework to understand and explain the manifestation of violent protests is the contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge. Violent protests cannot be divorced and defined outside South African historical and political settings. The historical, socio-economic conditions in Cato Manor act as a trigger for violent protests.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ABM	Area-Based Management
ANC	African National Congress
BLA	Black Local Authorities
CoGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
GEAR	Growth and Employment Redistribution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LGEs	Local Government Elections
LGE	Local Government Election
LGNF	Local Government Negotiating Forum
LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
NDP	National Development Plan
RDP	Redistribution Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations :
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
SWOP	Society, Work and Development Institute
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
WLA	White Local Authorities

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The background of the study

South Africa's transition from the inhuman apartheid period to the democratic dispensation has been accompanied by several establishments to advance sound democratic, service delivery, and constitutional values (Vuuren, 2013; Powell, 2012). The local government is an indispensable mechanism through which democratic principles and constitutional values manifest themselves most visibly because of its ability to interact with local people (South African Local Government Association - SALGA, 2015). The formation of local government was cemented by various legislatures such as the Municipal Systems Act, among others, to facilitate its ability to redress the imbalance of the past (Powell, 2012). The responsibility of local government in the delivery of basic services is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) 1996, Sec. 152), which states that a municipality must strive, among other things, to make sure that services to communities are provided sustainably. The RSA White Paper on Local Government (1998) highlights that both the national and provincial governments are “committed to supporting and consolidating local share of government to perform its constitutional mandate effectively through citizen participation” (p. 3). Despite the complex history of service delivery in pre-democratic South Africa, the local government is given an enormous responsibility to work collaboratively with local people and other community stakeholders to facilitate service provision (Dikotla, Mahlatji & Makgahlela, 2014; Nye & Glickman, 2000).

The local sphere of government is consolidated with the developmental local government, which is significant in service provision. Thus, the RSA - White Paper on Local Government (1998) describes the developmental local government as a government devoted to working in partnership with local people in their locality to find “sustainable ways to meet their socio-economic needs and improve their lives” (p. 23). However, the inability of local government to work in partnership with local people to provide basic services such as clean running water, electricity, sanitation, and housing as a result of corruption, lack of institutional capacity, political instability, and financial

constraints among other factors perennially remains a challenge (Tsatsire, Raga, Taylor, & Nealer, 2009). Accordingly, this has created a feeling of discontent among the constituencies (Lancaster, 2016). As a result, since the early 2000s local people have shown their discontent with the inability of local government to meet their basic needs in a wave of violent protests (Sinwell, Kirshner, Khumalo, Manda, Pfaffe, Phokela, & Runciman, 2009). Writers such as Lancaster (2016), Cronje (2014) and Patel (2013a) report that violent protests for service delivery at the local level have been a stumbling block to community development. This is a process whereby local people, together with development stakeholders, synergise available resources to stimulate sustainable development and the well-being of the local people (Cavaye, 2006). Subsequently, Vuuren (2013) argues that after more than two decades into democracy in South Africa, violent protests for service delivery have become even more problematic for the government as they have been reported as one of the highest worldwide.

Violent service delivery protests have had devastating impacts on societal progress (SALGA, 2015; Sinwell et al., 2009). This is because during such protests, essential amenities such as roads and buildings have been damaged and burnt, while local shops are burgled and looted (Shaidi, 2013; von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini, & Kirsten, 2011). This further strains local government's limited budgets, as municipalities are required to fix the damage, which delays community development (SALGA, 2015; Le Roux, 2005). Based on personal observation, Cato Manor has not been an exception to these violent protests. The township with informal settlements experiences violent service delivery protests, which distract the government from its socioeconomic programmes by deferring much-needed social reforms (Nyamapfene, 2017; Ka-Manzi, 2013). The eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2017/18) attests to this, arguing that such violent service delivery protests hurt community development. Meanwhile, scholars such as Nleya (2011) and Burger (2009) have conducted research studies that interrogate the reasons associated with violent protests and the link between service delivery and protests, respectively (Seferiades & Johnston, 2012). The literature shows that previous research has not engaged with the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Therefore, it is from this background that this research is conducted. While the focus of the study is on

the impact of violent protests on community development, the discussion will first unpack the history and factors that perpetuate such demonstrations.

1.2 Different forms of community protests and their evolution from the colonial to the democratic era in South Africa

This section looks at the available literature on the different forms of community protests in South Africa. It further discusses service delivery protests and local municipalities from the colonial to the democratic era.

1.2.1 Different forms of community protests in South Africa

From the different historical dispensations, protesting in South Africa undertakes different and multifaceted forms. As such, scholarly writers including Alexander, Runciman, Ngwane, Moloto, Mokgele, and van Staden (2018); Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe, and Alexander (2017) among others, identify and distinguish between three forms of protests, namely, ‘orderly’, ‘disruptive’ and ‘violent’ that engulfed South Africa, especially in the democratic era. Runciman, Alexander, Rampedi, Moloto, Maruping, Khumalo, and Sibanda’s (2016) study was conducted in four different sites and identified the three forms of protests as more prevalent in South African communities. Alexander et al. (2018) conceptualise orderly protests as those which are known as peaceful. Accordingly, such protests are regarded as legal and tolerated because they are usually negotiated with legal authorities in advance before they are staged. Writers such as Alexander et al. (2018); Bohler-Muller et al. (2017); Runciman et al. (2016); Almeida (2003); and Halliday (2000) regard the following forms of community protests as orderly, i.e. pickets, massive public rallies, marches.

Disruptive protests are perceived differently from those which are identified as orderly. For instance, Alexander et al (2018); Runciman et al. (2016); Cornell and Grimes (2015); and Paret (2015) claim that disruptive protests are those which use tactics such as blocking a road through the use of rocks and/or burning of tyres. It is noted that disruptive protests do not involve injury to persons or damage to infrastructure (Bohler-Muller; 2017; Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016). These protests are reported to be minimal in

South Africa, especially during service delivery. Unlike orderly and disruptive, violent protests are claimed to be those where participants have engaged in actions that create a clear and imminent peril of, or result in, harm or injuries to persons or damage to property, e.g. looting of shops (Bekker, 2021; Alexander et al., 2018; Runciman et al., 2016; Paret, 2015). Furthermore, De Visser, Powell, Staples, and Gilliland (2012) state that protests considered to be violent involve instances “where police disperse the protestors with tear gas, rubber bullets, or water canons, where stones are thrown at passing motorists or pedestrians” (p. 5). Such protests are dominant in the democratic dispensation (Jansen & Walters, 2019; Mpofu, 2017; Ndelu, 2017). For instance, Lancaster (2018) claims that violent protests have seen an increase in the democratic era, but worsened between 2013 and 2016, as they skyrocketed from 43% to 65%, respectively. During service delivery protests violent tactics in local municipalities emerge, where the property including municipal offices is destroyed and shops are looted (Paret, 2015). Therefore, within the context of Cato Manor protests associated with service delivery are usually disruptive and violent (Naidoo, 2020; Nyamapfene, 2019; Pithouse, 2011). This is because it involved barricading of the road with burning tyres, property damage, severe injuries to people, and sometimes loss of lives (eThekweni Municipality, 2017; Gray & Maharaj, 2017).

1.2.2 Protests in the colonial era

Protests and resistance are not new in South Africa. Du Pisani, Broodryk, and Coetzer (1990) argue that even during colonialism, the free burghers and French Huguenots protested because of poor treatment in the Cape. Piper, Tapscott, Nleya, Thompson, and Esau (2011) argue that “protest politics in South Africa has a long history and has been deployed differentially in different historical moments” (p. 14). Thus, like any other African country, South Africa is embedded with a brutal history of colonialism, human exports, land dispossession, and enslavement. Thus, to respond to these issues, different tribes in the country - as they were divided - adopted different politico-military development through social collective to defend the interest of the members, more especially resist dispossession (Rodney, 1974). During the peak of colonialism, the kind of confrontation was based on fighting and resisting the European encroachment and invasion of land, which led to the era of conflict and warfare between the tribes of South

Africa and the white settlers (Meredith, 2005). The encroachment began in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company, led by Jan van Riebeeck in the Cape (Pooley, 2009).

The process of land invasion and dispossession of the natives commenced early in the days of white settlement at the Cape (Feinstein, 2005). The desire to establish farming activities is cited as one reason the Khoikhoi were immediately coerced to surrender portions of their native grazing lands to the hand of the white European settlers, who had just landed (Feinstein, 2005; Christopher, 2002). Van Riebeeck was discontented with insufficient land available to meet their agricultural demands including farming and the grazing of the company's livestock (SAHO, 2018). Hence, this led to the growing desire to expand their territory. Feinstein (2005) claims that the war fought by the natives in the mid-1670s was one of the activities in which Khoisan - in what is now known as the Western Cape - offered an organised resistance to settlers' expansion. The 1844 Berlin Conference cemented the land dispossession of the native throughout the region in Germany under "the doctrine of effective occupation, which permitted powers to acquire rights over colonial lands in Africa, on condition that they possessed them" (Ngcukaitobi, 2018, p. 28). However, the natives were not willing to give up their land without a fight (Feinstein, 2005). Furthermore, in the 1900s, the Indian community used passive resistance against racial discrimination in Natal, which forcefully imposed a poll tax that restricted their liberty and free movement (Hiralal, 2010; White, 1982). The pre-apartheid era was also composed of such forms of protests (Feinstein, 2005).

1.2.3 Protests in apartheid South Africa

When the National Party assumed power in 1948 in South Africa, the apartheid and discriminatory policies were implemented and officialised (South African History Online - (SAHO), 2016). The discriminatory policies were increasingly rejected by the nemesis of the apartheid in the white and black communities alike (Polakow-Suransky, 2010). Hence, the apartheid government experienced several forms of resistance from different groups in the 1950s (Christopher, 2001). For instance, the United Party opposed the apartheid government's popular move to remove the Coloured community from the common voter's roll (Du Pisani, et al., 1990). Furthermore, on August 9, 1956, over 20 000 multi-racial groups of women from across South Africa engaged in one of

the most celebrated and observed political activities in anti-apartheid history: the 1956 Women's organised March in protest of the apartheid government's decision to compel them to carry passes (Miller, 2011). Among many other resistances against the apartheid system in the 1960s, the 1960 Sharpeville massacre remains one of the most horrific events in the struggle against apartheid racial policies in South Africa (Simpson, 2010). While in the 1970s, the Soweto uprising in 1976 emanated after the decision by the government that half of the black people's education would be delivered through the medium language of Afrikaans (SAHO, 2016). Thus, on 16 June, 20 000 schoolchildren and students staged a march in protest of the government's decision. Protestors encountered the brutal apartheid police, who fired guns at them which led to the massacre of more than 100 people (Maedza, 2019; Hirson, 2016).

The apartheid regime had more violent confrontations throughout the country, which were a struggle for political emancipation, human rights, and social justice which saw thousands of people vehemently killed by the police (Cebekhulu, 2013; Simpson, 2010; Meredith, 2005). Until the early 1990s, "black resistance against the apartheid inhumane policies in South Africa became more militant as the result of the growing impatience of the younger generation of Africans" (Du Pisani et al., 1990, p. 582). Cato Manor has not been immune to violent protests in the pre-democratic society because it has been at the center of the liberation struggle in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (Odendaal, 2007; Robinson, 1997). Furthermore, Edwards (1994) encapsulates that the urban dispossession in areas such as Sophiatown in Johannesburg, District Six in Cape Town, and Cato Manor in Durban are "political metaphors for resistance" (p. 415). However, Edward (1994) acknowledges that Cato Manor remains complex and violently contested in Durban's land ownership and occupation history. Likewise, Olowolagba (2000) maintains that "Cato Manor was one of the great tragedies associated with the apartheid regime" (p. 49). Furthermore, the historical dispossession of Africans in Cato Manor due to the Land Act of 1913 was met with resistance and riot but amounted to nothing (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). Hence, Edward (1994) claimed that "the future of Cato Manor is a major political controversy" (p. 415).

1.2.4 Protests in the democratic era

Despite the mere fact that violent and disruptive protests have been severely condemned by the democratic government, they remain a huge challenge for the government (Paret, 2015a). Such protests in the democratic era are associated with poor service delivery, low salaries, and unceasing university fees increment, and the violent and disruptive approach remains similar to those of the struggle against apartheid (Manala, 2013). Likewise, Mashamaite (2014) proclaims that violent protests related to essential services emanate from the African National Congress' (ANC) "better life for all" manifesto and slogan. Additionally, Chikulo (2016) contends that local people have waited too long for essential services. Hence, they view the ANC's slogan as just a political statement. Cebekhulu (2013), Taylor, Martin, Hutchinson, and Jinks (2007), Berry, Forder, Sultan and Moreno-Torres, (2004), and Bartone (2001) stipulate that the ANC slogan is often used by political leaders who lack the political will and prioritise their needs. Local people are angry at the government's inability to fulfill developmental promises. Manala (2013) asserts that the government's inability to respond to community needs is associated with the lack of institutional capacity, as unqualified ANC comrades occupy strategic positions. Furthermore, Maharaj (2012) maintains that the violent service delivery protests countrywide need to be perceived as evidence that the government is not meeting the people's needs.

Authors such as von Holdt (2014a) and Shaidi (2013) are convinced that violent protests associated with service delivery in South African local municipalities are highly politicised and contentious. Similarly, Ellis (1998) argues that violent protests may be attributed to third force elements due to the local people's dissatisfaction with the kind of services and how they are rendered to the local community. On the other hand, von Holdt et al. (2011) maintain that violent service delivery protests are sometimes instigated by resentful and angry politicians from the ANC¹ because of power dynamics within the ruling power. In their study findings, the scholars reveal that what appear to be genuine protests associated with service delivery, is an organised method by people who were kicked out of the ANC "fighting for tenders by using the community to do

¹ The ruling political party in South Africa since the first democratic elections in 1994

so” (p. 11). Not everyone agrees with this view. Some maintain that huge socioeconomic inequalities among South Africans perpetuate the ongoing violent and disruptive service delivery protests (SALGA, 2015). Furthermore, the body of literature suggests that the unstable social order, growing inequalities between the rich and the poor in a democratic dispensation, allows the development of new patterns of social order, which have then been defined by von Holdt (2013) as violent democracy.

Violent democracy “is an unstable social order in which intra-elite conflict and violence are growing, characterised by new forms of violence and the reproduction of older patterns of violence” (von Holdt 2013, p. 589). In essence, violent democracy connotes a social system accompanied by growing infighting and conflicts between the dominant groups. The components of violent democracy have been visible within the ruling party - ANC, where infighting and conflict manifest because of a desire to attain political hegemony (Booyesen, 2018). Furthermore, the intra-elite conflict is characterised by the struggle to attain the power to control the state institutions (von Holdt 2013). Political actors often use violence to contest political power and make demands within the existing democratic institutional frameworks (Pérez-Armendáriz, 2021). For instance, in the early 2000s, the battle for the presidential position in the ANC saw the party being divided among those who supported then-president Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma (who Mbeki fired as his deputy president because of allegations of corruption) (Renwick, 2018; Basson & Du Toit, 2017; Johnson, 2017). Such conflicts and factions within the ANC have compromised the ability of the government institution to deliver services to the people. This is partly the reason that the intra-conflict has increased patronage, neopatrimonialism, clientelism, and factional appointment of unqualified personnel which has substantially undermined and weakened the functioning of the significant state institutions (Renwick, 2018; Johnson, 2017). Therefore, violent protests within the South African context can be said to emanate from this background where government institutions and sectors are unable to deliver services. Violent protests manifest from the subalterns² to dismantle and destabilise the existing social orders which exacerbate issues of poor service delivery, structural inequalities, abject poverty, and the high unemployment rate among other things (von Holdt et al. 2011).

² It describes people in the society who occupy the lower strata within the social ranks and are usually excluded from in the social, political and economic hierarchy of power – see von Holdt et al. (2011).

Violent democracy transpires because of conspicuous disparity within socio-economic order which is characterised by a vicious cycle of abject and absolute poverty, deprivation trap, and structural violence, among other issues (Paret, 2015a; von Holdt 2014b). Thus, violent protests become a critical instrument and an alternative source of power, through which this social order may be preserved or dismantled (Alexander, 2010). Consequently, drawing from the ideas of von Holdt (2014b) and Paret (2015a) it can be argued that the conflict of power between the rich and the poor, mark the highest level of inequality in society, whereby the rich become wealthier, while the poor find themselves poorer. Although democracy and violence are contradictory phenomena, it is essential to highlight that these two symbolic orders are not entirely exclusive; they can enable each other (von Holdt, 2014b; von Holdt, 2013). For instance, the history of South Africa reveals that a certain amount of violence became a valuable tool to attain democracy - with the outburst of resistance in the 1970s including the Soweto revolt in 1976 (Charney, 1999). The nature of violent democracy complements the idea that “violence practices a critical resource in a struggle for dominance which democratic institutions are unable to regulate” (von Holdt, 2013, p. 489). This elucidates that violent and resistant outbreak manifest when there are a growing and visibly uneven distribution of social resources. Therefore, based on the provided definition of violent democracy, it can be contended at this stage that violent service delivery protests in South Africa are thought to be the results of the growing unequal distribution of resources and unredressed social issues (Alexander, 2010).

Writers such as Alexander, Runciman, and Ngwane (2014) affirm that the impact of violent and disruptive service delivery protests could be perceived as an essential element used for social change and to maintain social order. Paret (2015b) enunciates that violent service delivery protests are shaped to bring social order and hold the government and its executives accountable, and be responsive to the needs of local people. Similarly, von Holdt (2014a) notes that most of the oldest democracies in the contemporary world are "violent." Furthermore, von Holdt argues that considering their political history, most of the post-colonial, developing global South, such as Mexico, and India amongst others, continue to experience excessive levels of violent community protests. Based on the analysis associated with the increase in the usage of non-orderly tactics as an effective alternative form of political participation, von Holdt (2013)

concluded that South Africa is "making a transition to a violent democracy in which democratic institutions and forms, elite instability and violence sustain each other" (p. 602). Therefore, with South Africa transitioning to a violent democracy, it is violent and disruptive protests that become the order of the day with political killing as well manifesting in black communities not ceasing to exist (Charney, 1999). Furthermore, Hough (2008) cautioned that the current violence and disruption continues, "it has the potential to spread and develop into a full-fledged revolt" (p. 6).

It can be argued that the growing violence and disruptive behaviour related to service delivery in South African local municipalities is a symbolical symptom of a democratic deficiency in redressing past imbalances (Alexander et al., 2014). With violent protests emanating as the order of the day in South Africa's violent democracy, Alexander et al. (2014) suggest that within service delivery perspectives, the use of violence consequently destabilises and threatens the symbolic order of democracy and threatens community development. Furthermore, the report by SALGA (2015) highlights that violent and disruptive service delivery protests in a democratic dispensation negatively affect government development plans. This has also been raised by Paret (2015b) and von Holdt et al. (2011) as they proclaim that such protests are a threat to South Africa's maturing democracy. This comes as a result that violent protests and confrontation are not a consequential part of democracy, which "constitutes multiple institutions that protect rights, provide a voice for different interests, and allow for the peaceful resolution of social and political conflict" (von Holdt, 2014b, p. 129).

Protests and strikes are an essential aspect of South African democracy embedded within the freedom of expression stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1996). To give effects to this right, the Regulation of Gatherings Act (RGA) 205 of 1993 provides a legal framework through which the state regulates this right. The right to assemble freely without any intimidation is a legitimate and valued means of civil action and political participation (Lancaster, 2016). Thus, protests emerge as a legitimate part of political participation in the affairs of the country. Nonetheless, South African local municipalities continue to experience violent and disruptive service delivery protests. Furthermore, the Durban Metro has not been immune to this crisis. For instance, citing Abahlali Base Mjondolo (also called

Abahlali) in the increasing confrontation, Mottiar (2014) claims that “the post-apartheid Durban has a varied and exciting culture of public protest and participation” (p. 371). According to eThekweni Municipal IDP (2017), during the "2015/2016, there was a spate of violent protest action resulting in severe damage to municipal properties such as vehicles" (p. 156). Most of these protests are associated with service delivery (Municipal IDP, 2017). Cato Manor has been at the center of protests in the municipality, and the emanating violence emerges in various forms with no signs of stopping (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). Additionally, Mottiar (2014) contends that violent protests in Cato Manor have been elevated by Abahlali BaseMjondolo - a vocal movement against eviction from an illegally occupied land. Therefore, the study will analyse people’s perceptions of violent protests in Cato Manor.

1.3 Protests, social capital, and community development

Social capital lies at the heart of community development, and at the center of organised community protests, which assumes a collective responsibility to integrate, bond, and unite local people for a shared outcome and goal (Bourdieu, 2011). In this instance, social capital is perceived in Garrido's (2014) line of thought, which is then defined as the societal values, customs, and web of rules that establish the necessary trust and rapport for local people to cooperate to solve social issues collectively. Furthermore, Hanna, Vanclaya, Langdonb, and Arts (2014) enunciate that the existing social capital is characterised by cultural unison and behavioural unification during community protests, including those associated with service delivery, which grows out of a collective realisation of the common heritage, aims, goals, and destiny of local people. For protests to triumph, Teo and Loosemore (2017) argue that from the perspective of “collective action and community protest, social capital must be nurtured over time through close physical interactions between activists” (p. 1448). Therefore, social capital is crucial because it provides local people with access to the community resources that are significant to facilitating and maintaining protest action (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Furthermore, van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) identified commitment and a sense of oneness as other essential and critical characteristics of protest movements. Therefore, such elements are preserved and forged through sacrifice, rapport, shared vision, belief in the social whole, and collective action.

Similarly, Teo and Loosemore (2017, p. 1447) claim that "collective identity has long been acknowledged in the social movement literature as one of the most important drivers of collective action". Despite the mere fact that Teo and Loosemore (2017) wrote their argument in the context of a project management perspective, it presents a sound contextual and comprehensive rational understanding and the ability of social capital in influencing decision making processes in community development initiatives and within the entire development perspective.

Teo and Loosemore's (2017) utterances on social capital and its impact on collective decision-making processes demonstrate the mere fact that it is always characterised by mutual trust. Subsequently, as it offers local people an opportunity to have total control over decision-making processes, it can be stipulated that service delivery protests can play a critical role in affecting community development. Scholars in the field of social movements, such as von Holdt et al. (2011) and Pithouse (2007), claim that protests primarily related to service delivery at the local level sometimes act as the voice of the voiceless. Furthermore, writers such as Teo and Loosemore's (2017); Hanna et al. (2014) argue that community protest has a considerable impact and the potential to contribute to the implementation of any projects and programs adversely that fail to consider the needs of the people. Thus, this section stresses that community-led protests, which are often characterised by social capital are an essential element of community development. This is for the reason that community protests can enhance development and facilitate citizen participation. This, in turn, contributes to building a strong and stable government (Stewart 2014). While social capital is observed in some community protests, especially violent ones, it can be counter-productive to the substantial principles of community development which promote collective and active citizenship with rights and responsibilities (SALGA 2015). This is because during violent protests, significant elements of citizenship cease to exist as protestors destroy existing community assets instead of taking responsibility to protect their infrastructure.

1.4 Impact of violent service delivery protests on development

A total of 32 protests were reported in the eThekweni municipality between 2015 and 2016 (Municipal IDP, 2017). In 2016, the then Mayor of eThekweni Municipality James

Nxumalo condemned the violence and disruption used during community protests associated with service delivery. This is partly due to the fact that the violent service delivery protests saw the ward councillors' offices at Folweni, Umlazi, and other parts of the Municipality being tortured and burnt. Furthermore, Khumalo (2016) reports that violent service delivery protests are a serious setback to Municipal development plans and initiatives. This is because, during violent service delivery protests, the protesters destroy basic but essential facilities such as community health clinics, public schools, roads, and other amenities, which burdens the government's responsibilities (Shaidi, 2013). As a result of this, the government is simultaneously anticipated to rebuild the damaged infrastructural capital and respond effectively to the initial needs that the people were protesting for (Mathekgga & Buccus, 2006). Furthermore, the consequences of damage to infrastructure and property during violent protests associated with service delivery have also been discussed by Sinwell et al. (2009) in their research in four hotspot areas including Piet Retief (now eMkhondo municipality), Balfour, Thokoza, and Diepsloot. Subsequently, in their study, they discovered that violent protests associated with service delivery are disastrous to the community's well-being as the community clinic was tortured (Sinwell et al. 2009).

Violent protests possess severe consequences because they delay the municipal plans and initiatives to attend to the needs and desires of the constituencies - as the municipality needs to reconstruct the infrastructure damaged (Manala, 2013). For instance, at eMkhondo, the public resources, such as a community health clinic, library, and hall, which were burnt during the 2009 violent protests, are yet to be restored. Regardless of the causes, violent protests are dreadful at the local level that should be addressed as a matter of urgency (Manala, 2013). This comes as a result of the increase of such protests in South African local Municipalities, including eThekweni, which poses severe challenges to community members as some are affected by the inability to access facilities such as community health clinics in their locality (Mottiar, 2013). Shaidi's (2013) research in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality reiterates that problems such as lack of genuine community participation and limited consultation, among other issues, are central in understanding service delivery protests. This is because such are seen to increase deficiencies in service delivery, which intensify community protests related to service delivery. Nevertheless, this research moves

beyond the knowledge of the host of central issues to service delivery protests to understand the impact of violent protests on community development in line with objective two of the current study. Also, it discusses this by looking at the historical issues and patterns of violent protests in Cato Manor within the municipality.

1.5 An overview of the theoretical framework

1.5.1 Frustration-aggression theory

Yale psychologists, Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower, and Sears coined the Frustration-Aggression Theory in 1939 to explain the root cause of violence. Furthermore, the theory posits that aggression and violence are often the results of prolonged and sustained frustration. Barker, Dembo, and Lewin (1943) define frustration-aggression as a psychological feature fundamental to the violence of the act. Accordingly, aggression is instigated by frustration emanating from several factors including difficult tasks, the inability to meet basic needs, and unfulfilled promises among others. Therefore, frustration is converted to aggression when uncertainty occurs, leading to aggression (DeWall, Anderson, & Bushman, 2011). Furthermore, Barker et al. (1943) maintain that violent behaviour transpires when uncertain circumstances prevent set goals. Nevertheless, the theory has undergone two significant revisions by Miller (1941) and Berkowitz (1989). For Berkowitz (1989) and Miller (1941), the initial proposition of the theory that frustration leads to aggression is misleading and needs enhancement. The scholar maintains that frustration does not always lead to violence or aggressive behaviour, but several responses and violence are just one of those responses. Expanding on Miller's proposition, Berkowitz (1989) presented a multistage occurrence of aggression from frustration. Additionally, Berkowitz (1989) contends that frustration leads to negative affect, which leads to aggression inclinations, consequently leading to aggression. Berkowitz's reformulated proposition is adopted in this research because it offers a comprehensive explanation and different phases of the causes of aggression. As such, the reformulated theory is significant in explaining the occurrence of violence during service delivery protests. However, the theory is limited to understanding protests from the individual perspective while overlooking the collective and communal perspectives. In light of this, the Arnstein ladder of citizen participation is adopted.

1.5.2 Arnstein ladder of citizen participation

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein developed a framework that elucidates and describes the involvement of community members in planning processes for citizen participation. She coined the term “ladder of participation” to delineate factors that influence participation from low to high levels of genuine engagement. In her seminal work, Arnstein (1969) posits that the highest level on the ladder of citizen participation is about the ability of a community to organise themselves to lobby and influence public opinion, decision-making processes, public policy, and make their voice heard. In the context of service delivery, the lack of genuine community participation, consultation, and transparency in development activities is identified as some of the issues that lead to local people organising themselves to lobby in a form of protests in local municipalities. Ultimately, the idea is to make their voices heard (Shaidi, 2013; Seferiades & Johnston, 2012; Nleya, 2011; Burger, 2009). This understanding of Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation has many benefits in the context of citizenship since it accounts for key principles of community development including people-centered development. As a result, the philosophy of citizen participation has been widely used, developed, and defined since it is about people at the grassroots level whose voice is unheard, and their participation is not genuine, collectively assuming power to contribute towards social change (Ploštajner & Mendeš, 2005). Essentially, community development principles such as mutual trust, commitment to social change, and collective responsibility are at the center of effective citizen participation (Teo & Loosemore, 2017).

Moyo (2014) and Ploštajner & Mendeš (2005) predicate that citizen participation has been in the discourse and the heart of development since the 1960s. Moreover, in a democratic state, it is a basis of citizenship and decision-making (Michels, 2011). Tesoriero (2010) maintains that development is commonly used as a key to community development principles because it is interrelated with the ideas of human rights and social justice. Chambers (1994) asserts that citizen participation, as one of the key principles of community development, positively affects the quality of democracy. In the South African context, “citizen participation is placed high on the development agenda, and democratic government increasingly expects citizens to get involved in the process of sustainable development” (Lues, 2014, p. 790). From its initial definition by

Arnstein to the current reports, citizen participation still acknowledges the massive responsibility to be assumed by local people in community development initiatives. This is partly because it promotes collective efforts and action to alter people's living conditions. However, Connor (1988) claims that Arnstein accepted that the scheme had some limitations. For instance, "citizen power is not distributed as neatly as the divisions used" (p. 250). Other scholars question the systematic progression from one phase to another (Babu, 2015). The scheme is still relevant in understanding citizen participation. While on the other hand, the frustration-aggression theory facilitates our understanding of the causes of frustration and anger that result in violent protests.

1.6 Problem statement

The literature review illustrates that just after four years of the first official LGE in 2000, the local government experienced a wave of violent protests that saw public and private facilities being damaged by angry protesters over lack and poor service delivery (Cronje, 2014; Municipal IQ, 2014). Furthermore, Dawson and Sinwell (2012) state that these violent service delivery protests are predominant in semi-urban areas and the previously deprived townships such as Cato Manor. According to von Holdt (2014), the waves of violent service delivery protests in local municipalities intensified around 2004. Research by Paret (2015b) and Cronje (2014), among other scholars, demonstrate that since then, municipalities are averaging approximately four to five violent protests a day, which are known to be directed at the local government's inability to deliver services to its constituencies. For instance, the Municipal IQ (2014) reports that municipalities combined in Gauteng province have experienced the highest protests in the country. Furthermore, nearly 500 of these protests are associated with service delivery. Additionally, from the 500, over 100 of these protests turned violent and disruptive of the government's pursuit of development processes.

When municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) were combined in 2014, they recorded the second-highest number of violent service delivery protests in the country (Municipal IQ, 2014). Patterns of violent protests within the eThekweni municipality have been witnessed in most of the previously disadvantaged areas such as Cato Manor (Dlamini, 2020; Amisi, Bond, Cele, & Ngwane, 2011). The area is plagued by a high level of

violent protests, which are believed to be related to the municipal's inability to deliver services as per their promises, especially sufficient houses (Naidoo, 2020; Tshishonga, 2011). Nyamapfene (2017) and Ka-Manzi (2013) argue that protests associated with service delivery in Cato Manor usually turn. The Regulation of Gatherings Act, 205 of 1993, demonstrates peaceful gatherings as an essential form of public expression and citizen participation. However, the violent act which stems during such gatherings (protests) associated with service delivery among other things in Cato Manor is identified in the literature as a huge challenge and danger to South Africa's maturing democracy (Paret, 2015b; Ka-Manzi, 2013). Furthermore, violence during protests is the language the government seems to understand because government executives and officials respond to community needs, yet it harms community development (von Holdt et al., 2011). In addition, Cronje (2014) states that violent protests related to service delivery have dire consequences for communities.

Beinart and Dawson (2010) contend that municipalities, which witnessed a brief highpoint of violent social movements mainly based in disadvantaged communities, have experienced harm to physical capital meant to facilitate development. Thus, Cato Manor is not immune to the repercussions of violent protests related to service delivery (Ka-Manzi, 2013). The National Planning Commission (2011) admits that the outbreaks of violent protests have had a devastating impact on the country's well-being. Hence, the township revolt increased pace, engaging in violent service delivery protests affecting local economic development (Alexander & Pfaffe, 2014).

The unceasing increase in the level of violent service delivery protests in local municipalities across the country including Cato Manor remains a controversial issue (Municipal IQ, 2015). The aftermath of such protests appears to negatively impact the well-being of the people (SALGA, 2015). Even though protesters view violent tactics during protests as effective and a language the government understands, such protests harm development (von Holdt et al., 2011). Accordingly, it is against this background that this research explores the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development and uses Cato Manor within eThekweni municipality as a study area.

1.7 Significance of the study

Various studies on protests have been conducted in Cato Manor. For instance, the research by Amisi et al, in 2011 looked at the periodic upsurge of xenophobia. Also, the research by Mottiar in 2014 interrogated the understanding of protests by citizens in Durban, including in Cato Manor. Pithouse's different studies considered different issues, including the contestation of land by Abahlali BaseMjondolo, historical struggle, and the new urban poor. On the other hand, the 2016 study by Lodge and Mottiar considered whether the militant upsurges threaten or complement existing democratic procedures. Gray and Maharaj, in 2017, investigated the effect and the extent of violence in general in Cato Manor. A gap in the literature exists on studies that consider violent protests and community development. Therefore, the research contributes to knowledge production by exploring the impact of violent protests on community development. In doing so, the study considers the struggle and liberation credentials, the historical patterns of violence, and the study area's structural issues from the colonial period to the democratic period. Unpacking violent protests from different epochs is essential in tracing their nature and meaning. The research further contributes to the body of knowledge by looking at the violent service delivery protests outside the formal social movements. Existing studies on violent protests, such as that of Gray and Maharaj (2017); Shaidi (2013); and von Holdt (2011) among others, have adopted a mono-research method - primarily qualitative method. This study is significant because it explores the subject using mixed methods research in the form of exploratory sequential design. This knowledge is crucial to address or limit the violent element during protests in Cato Manor. The findings and recommendations will be shared with the municipality to further assist in understanding the structural issues that contribute to violent protests.

1.8 The rationale of the research

In doing this research, I was motivated by various incidents of violent protests. Firstly, in 2009 the residents of eThandukukhanya within Mkhondo Local Municipality (where I grew up) staged one of the most violent protests in the municipality's history. During such a violent protest, the essential public resources, including but not limited to a community health clinic, library, and hall, were burnt. The protestors went on to burn

houses of individual ward councillors. Furthermore, they barricaded the national road (N2), causing unbearable traffic congestion in the city. For days, the township was non-operational, schools were severely affected, and livelihoods came to a standstill. The basic amenities which were affected during their riot are not fixed to date. As a result, the township does not have a community library. For years, residents did not have a community health clinic, which could be accessed at a walkable distance. This meant that the residents had to pay to access health assistance.

In 2010, when I was doing my junior degree at UKZN Howard College, which is closer to Cato Manor, I frequently saw and experienced the wave of violent protests, encompassed by barricading roads with timbers, rocks, burning tyres, and garbage from the waste. At one time, the protest caused traffic congestion when we were writing final examinations. Classmates who stayed in Cato Manor complained of violent protests, including burning the community hall, library, and community health clinic. Not only have violent protests affected communities, but more people and police officers continue to lose their lives during such demonstrations. Furthermore, the increase in violent protests across the country on the eve of the local government election of 2016 increased my interest in studying protests of this nature. With Cato Manor being composed of informal settlements, unlike eThandukukhanya, I became interested in unpacking the causes of such violence during protests and their impact on community development. Also, I wanted to understand people's perceptions of violent protests and why they engage in them the way they do. Therefore, despite being influenced by various incidents that transpired in eThandukukhanya township and across South Africa, I opted to conduct the research in Cato Manor.

1.9 Location of the study

1.9.1 KwaZulu-Natal and eThekweni Municipality

The research was carried out at eThekweni Municipality (sometimes called Durban Metro), focusing on one Municipal area-based management - Cato Manor. Durban Metro is classified as Category A Municipality (Municipal IDP, 2017). According to Chapter 7, section 155 of the constitution of the RSA act 108 of 1996, such a

“municipality has an exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area.” As shown in Map 1.1, eThekweni Municipality is situated on the east coast of South Africa in the province of KZN, the second-largest province in the country, following Gauteng province, with approximately 11.1 million-19.9% (Statistics South Africa - StatsSA, 2016). EThekweni Municipality is the largest city in the province and the third-largest city in the country (Municipal IDP, 2017). The municipality spans approximately 2 297km², which constitutes 1.4 percent of the total area of the KZN Province (StatsSA, 2016). Thus, eThekweni Municipality “contributes about 3.6 million to the population of the province, with 51.1% of the population being female compared to their counterpart at 48.9%” (Municipal IDP, 2017: p. 32-33). Furthermore, approximately “35 percent of the Municipal area is urban and contains 60 percent of the province’s output, employment, and income” (Municipal IDP, 2017: p. 33).

In South Africa, KZN is the second most significant economic complex province after Gauteng (StatsSA, 2016). Furthermore, eThekweni has attracted enormous volumes of immigrant workers into the province (Nengomasha, 2011). This is partly due to the reason that it is regarded as the heartbeat of economic activities in KZN and has the largest and most important harbour in South Africa, (Municipal IDP, 2017). Additionally, part of the reasons associated with the substantial number of people is that the Municipality comprises Durban, which is regarded as an economic hub in the province. The “municipality consists of a diverse society that faces various social, economic, environmental, and governance challenges, among others” (Municipal IDP, 2017, p. 24). The Municipality is multi-racial, predominantly Africans (73.8%) with Coloureds in the minority at 2.7%, with Indians and Whites being 16.7% and 6.6%, respectively. Furthermore, Durban Metro is a multilingual Municipality with the dominant language being IsiZulu, approximately 62%. Within the entire Municipality, approximately 70% of the people have access to adequate sanitation, with only 2% having no access to toilets at all (StatsSA, 2016). Even though most people have access to water, approximately 17% of the people in the Municipality obtain water from the street taps (Municipal IDP, 2017; StatsSA, 2016).

Map of eThekweni Municipality



Picture 1.1: Map of the Republic of South Africa with KZN shaded



Picture 1.2: Map of eThekweni Municipality

The report by eThekweni Municipality (2017), highlights that the municipality is faced with looming violent and disruptive protests associated with service delivery and land invasion. Part of the reasons disclosed in the report is the expectation of improved living conditions. The eThekweni Municipality, in its annual report, highlighted countless incidents of violent and disruptive service delivery protests (eThekweni Municipality, 2017). It is argued that such protests have emerged and manifested because of the “growing frustration with seemingly never-ending processes and unfulfilled promises” from relevant municipal administrators (eThekweni Municipality, 2017, p. 27). The violent and disruptive service delivery protests that were recorded by the municipality in the annual report, include the intense service delivery protest that transpired in the latter part of 2015. During such an intense protest, the protesting group attacked and burnt Municipal facilities including a vehicle that was on its way back to a local depot, which nearly led to serious injuries to the driver (Mthethwa, 2015).

Apart from the vandalism of Municipal property and other Municipal assets, the protest led to the distraction of the normal business of the day, as protesters blocked the city’s main road, which led to frustrating traffic congestion during rush hour (Thekweni Municipality, 2017). Furthermore, such an intense protest was also known to be the result of the irate protester’s demands which are highly linked to a fire that occurred in 2014. More than 700 of the dwellings were highly affected, leaving local communities in a state of despair, disruption, and homelessness, because of violent protests (Mthethwa, 2015). Mthethwa (2015) enunciated that in as much as the protesters had a genuine concern regarding human settlement, the protesters had not followed correct procedures and had no written memorandum to be tabled to the municipality to engage with their interests. The local communities were requested to exercise their right to protest responsibly and table their concerns through appropriate channels so that they could be addressed amicably without resorting to violence (Mthethwa, 2015).

A memorandum by the protesters makes it convenient for the municipality to respond adequately to the demand of the people and prevent further damage to facilities. It is therefore safe to argue that such a violent protest transpired because of the slow response of the municipality on the issue of human settlement that had affected local people (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). Hence, the optimal service delivery became visible and

caused frustration with the municipality and led to anger, which then translated into violent and disruptive protests in the municipality. Mahabir (2012) suggests that the dissatisfaction and discontent with the local government's ability to deliver basic services according to its constitutional mandate have increased over the past years. Moreover, the growing evidence that faltering service provision, poor institutional capacity, and weak administration suggest that many municipalities are driven into "distress mode" (Mahabir, 2012 p. 38). Furthermore, evidence reveals that eThekweni Municipality has not escaped from the ongoing violent and disruptive service delivery protests affecting various South African Local Municipalities since the early 2000s. A similar sentiment is shared by Mashaba (2013) as he argues that collective service delivery violence became a national problem in South Africa since 2004. During the early 2000s, various community members staged violent and disruptive protests and marches countrywide to lament what they called poor service delivery (von Holdt et al., 2011). Durban has experienced pockets of intense violent and disruptive social protests related to service delivery (Galvin, 2016; Karamoko, 2011).

In the early 2000s, eThekweni Municipality was faced with protests based on water disconnection. Thus, this interruption of water provision to an average of 800 to 1000 families per day, or 4000 to 5000 per week, disturbing an estimated 25 000 people, led to an increasingly intense protest within the Municipality (Mashaba, 2013). Furthermore, the shortage in water supply was then the focus of the protest through a 2001 court case (Galvin, 2016; Vuuren, 2013). In as much as eThekweni Municipality has adopted various service delivery approaches such as a comprehensive community participation strategy, violent and disruptive service delivery protests continue to mushroom (Municipal IDP, 2017). Jain's (2010) research illustrates that between 2007 and 2010, the eThekweni Municipality was leading with approximately 42% of violent service delivery protests in KZN. Furthermore, the lead increased to 45% in the period from February 2007 to May 2011 (Karamoko, 2011). Subsequently, Karamoko and Jain (2011) emphasise that since 2006, eThekweni Municipality has been among the highest contributors to violent service delivery protests in the province.

Jain (2010) argued that the Whistle Blower South Africa data cemented this view by reporting that eThekweni had 40 incidents of violent service delivery protests from 01

January 2009 to 30 November 2012 with 167 incidents of peaceful service delivery protests in the same period. Furthermore, regarding percentage contribution to collective service delivery protests, KZN ranked number 7 in 2007, 4 in 2008, 6 in 2009, 4 in 2010, and 5 in 2011 (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016; Karamoko, 2011). Additionally, Mashaba (2013) and Jain (2010) argued that KZN had contributed approximately 10% of violent and disruptive service delivery protests in South Africa, and eThekweni municipality was the highest contributor in KZN between 2007 to 2011, with 45% of protests related to service delivery. Durban is the largest city in the municipality and the province (Tshishonga, 2011). Furthermore, Bond and Meth (2009) maintain that Durban has been at the center of the province's rich and intense political history. Mottiar and Bond (2012: p. 318) contend that the

the city is rife with contradictions and social conflict, beyond the standard South African conditions of world-leading unemployment, poverty, and inequality as political history was also made in Durban.

The above statement is about the various incidents such as the “initial resistance - and then capitulation - by the Zulu King Shaka to British settlers in the early 1800s and a century later with Mahatma Gandhi’s 1928 political innovation, Satyagraha, used to advance Indian ethnic rights” (Mottiar & Bond, 2012, p. 318). Durban is known for its robust, radical, and vigorous mobilisation of anti-apartheid movements and the establishment of the modern trade union in South Africa in the continent’s biggest harbour with a 1973 dockworker strike (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). For example, in 1973, the Chatsworth community led the new urban social movement (Desai & Wood, 2003). Additionally, the shack dwellers in Kennedy Road in 2005 made history by establishing a social movement, which came to be known as Abahlali baseMjondolo (Beyers, 2017; Brown, 2015; Kell & Nizza, 2011 in Mottiar & Bond, 2012).

Even though the political killings and differences between the ANC and IFP have stopped in the province and the municipality, killings of local councillors appear to be the order of the day (Tshishonga, 2011). This is regarding various local councillors within the municipality who have been lost through gunshots. Furthermore, von Holdt et al. (2011) suggest that in some cases, local councillor killing is an opportunity to overthrow political competitors and reconfigure ANC power relations and influence. Mottiar and Bond (2012) and von Holdt et al. (2011) analysed local councillor killings

and protests. They maintained that what became known as violent and disruptive service delivery protests against certain local councillors and municipal administrators is instigated by the former councillors. They suggest that to some extent it is led by potential councillors because of access to opportunities for lucrative council business and benefits. De Haas (2016) highlights that the ongoing violent and disruptive service delivery protests in most municipalities in KZN, including eThekweni Municipality, can be associated with factions in the ANC. While on the other hand, Bond and Meth (2009) cited in Mottiar and Bond (2012, p. 315) argue that some protests, including that of service delivery in Durban, emerge because of

Political party dissatisfaction with the ANC, per media reports, shows tactics of violent protest carried out openly against the ANC by the party's members, especially concerning political appointments and the formulating of election candidate lists.

In line with the above quote, Bond and Meth (2009), cited in Mottiar and Bond (2012), used Durban as a reference point and an example to emphasise that “grievances associated with election lists were the main cause for the murder of ANC leader Sibusiso Sibiya in July 2011. Furthermore, there are many other cases of political and community leaders being assassinated in Durban” (p. 315). EThekweni Municipality has not been immune to the subjugation of innocent local people's concerns over service delivery to the criminal activities that lead to violence, disruption, and the loss of lives, with Cato Manor being part of the protests in the municipality (Mottiar, 2014; eThekweni Municipality, 2011). According to Maharaj (2012, p. 154), “Cato Manor is part of the local townships identified within the eThekweni Municipal area with enormous inequality and neglect stemming from the apartheid era”. Therefore, executing this research within eThekweni Municipality ultimately provides insight into the impact of protests on community development (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016).

1.9.2 Cato Manor

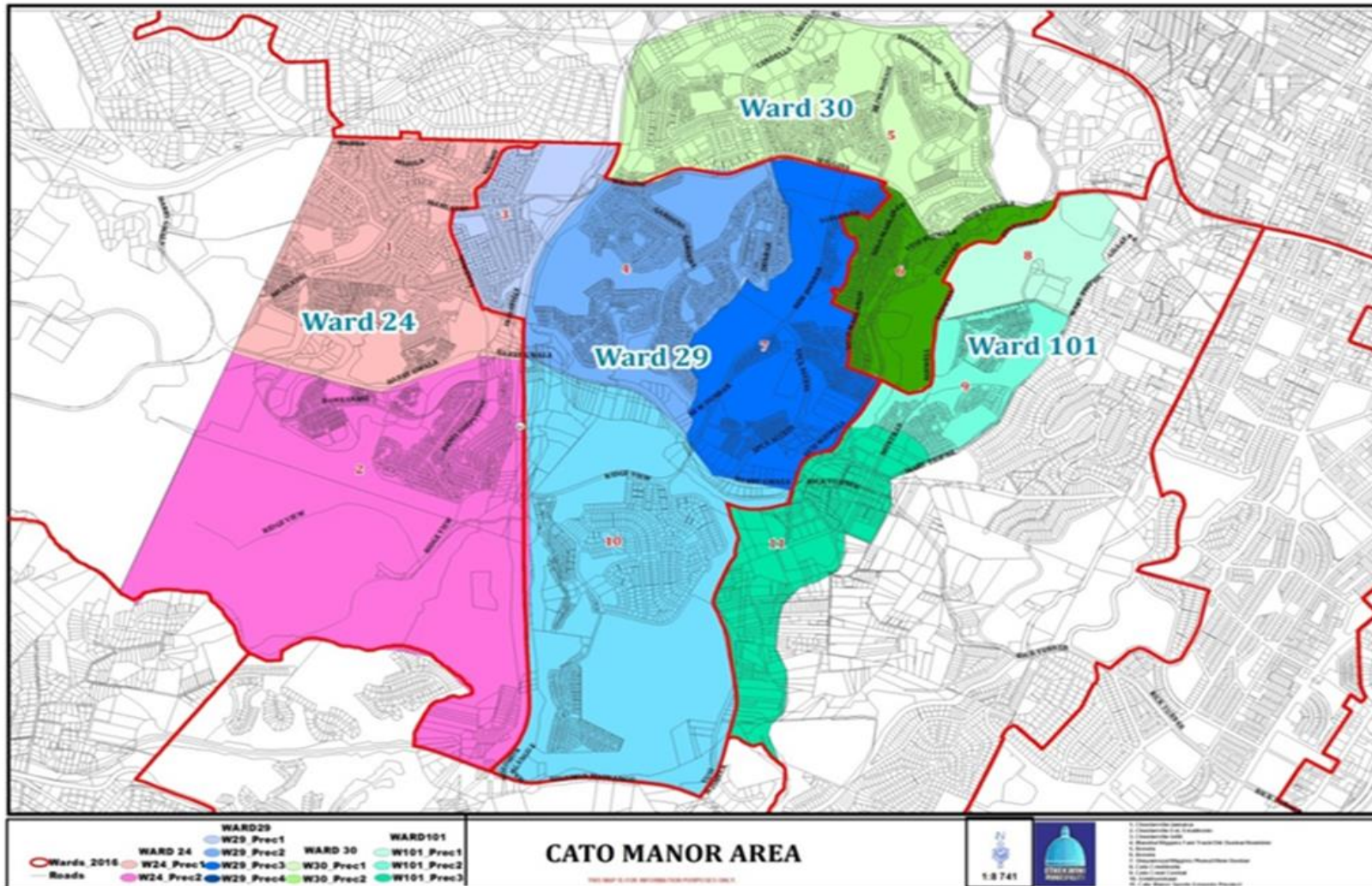
1.9.2.1 Geographical location

The research was conducted at Cato Manor Areas-Based Management (ABM) because violent service delivery protests have transpired in that area before (Municipality IDP,

2017). Cato Manor (also known as Umkhumbane) is known for the liberation struggle, freedom credentials, conflict, and violence (Olowolagba, 2000). It is a local working-class area with a high illiteracy rate and lies on 2000 hectares, and is located roughly 10 kilometers west of Durban (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). It accommodates approximately 90 000 residents, with Africans being the dominant population, nearly 100% (Statistics South Africa - Stats SA, 2016). Cato Manor is composed of four Wards (Ward 24, 29, 30, and 101) – as shown in map 1.3. The ANC has enjoyed dominance in Cato Manor, governing all four wards since the early 2000s (Meth, 2013). Furthermore, Cato Manor is composed of informal settlements. Thus, until the 2016 LGEs, the Democratic Alliance (DA) won Ward 30, which is currently governed by proportional representation (PR) councillors. Cato Manor is rich in ethnic diversity and cultural groupings, with Zulus in the majority, followed by Xhosa, Sotho, Ndebele, and other African nationalities (Tshishonga, 2011). Cato Manor is located within the vicinity characterised by precious infrastructural resources (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). For instance, Gray and Maharaj (2017: p. 4) contend that:

the Cato Manor borders the Pavilion Shopping Centre and N3 Highway on the north, Sarnia Road to the South, the University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard College Campus, and Manor Gardens to the east, and Westville Prison in the west.

However, the residents of Cato Manor especially those who live in the informal settlement experience and enjoy limited access to these valuable resources because of their socio-economic status (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). Moreover, Gray and Maharaj (2017) maintain that Cato Manor also experiences persistent socio-economic and spatial inequalities among the black community who are still the marginalised sector of the population and continue to live in deteriorating informal settlements with poor basic but essential service delivery.



Picture 1.3: Map of Cato Manor

Source: (eThekweni Municipality, 2011)

1.9.2.2 The development of Cato Manor and the historical violence evictions

It is recorded that in the 1600s the township was occupied by the Nqondo clan, which was replaced by the Ntuli clan in 1700 (SAHO, 2011a). However, the township is named after its first mayor George Christopher Cato, who was given the land in 1865 as compensation for a beachfront property expropriated for military purposes (Robinson, 1997). The naming of Umkhumbane after Cato was perceived as “a reward because of countless years of his personal commitment and dedication to community service and recognition that he was first Durban’s Mayor in 1865” (SAHO, 2011a). Together with the people, Cato cultivated the land in the early 20th century until it was turned into small farms. After the big farm was turned into small farms, the landowners tended to lease out or trade portions of land to Indian communities who were working as market gardeners (Ladlau, 1976). Despite that, under the then Union's laws, Africans were prohibited from owning and building houses in urban areas.

The natives of KZN came to settle in Cato Manor (Tshishonga, 2015). The mass influx of Africans to Umkhumbane and the more substantial part of Durban in the 1920s is associated with industrialisation, which intensified the economy of Durban (SAHO, 2011b). There was an influx of Africans in Durban and they came into contact with the Indian community; however, the relations were hostile. This was because Africans raised rent-hike allegations, which led to African Indian hatred in the late 1940s (SAHO, 2011a). The racial tension between Africans and Indians peaked, sparking violence associated with the anti-Indians war, spreading into Cato Manor. This war led to looting, destruction of property, thousands of injuries, and more than 130 deaths. Most Indians who owned shops and rented shacks lost their property to Africans (SAHO, 2011b). Following this riot, the Africans erected more shacks and began renting them to Africans. Shacks grew to more than 6000 in the area. They saw about 50000 people flock to start building their shacks along the Umkhumbane river between the end of World War II and the 1950s (Tshishonga, 2011). Furthermore, Humphreys and Maasdorp (1975) claim that the shacks which were built in Cato Manor were the first African shacks to be constructed in Durban. Tshishonga (2011) maintains that the massive influx into the Cato Manor area was because many people were “running away from violent and state-controlled townships” (p. 964).

Robinson (1997) encapsulates that Africans moved to Cato Manor, mainly because of rural areas and severe poverty eviction. Hence, during this period, the residents of Cato Manor, who were mostly from rural areas, sustained their livelihood through various activities, including the production and selling of beer to workers in the street of Durban (Tshishonga, 2011). The selling of brewed beer as a mode of livelihood caused tension and conflict between the residents and the authorities because of the Native Beer Act of 1908 (Walker, 2010). This permitted only the municipality to engage in the sale of beer (Walker, 2010). Between 1949 and 1950, the massive settlement brought more significant riots when the Group Areas Act was legalised (Cato Manor Development Association - CMDA, 2002). The legitimisation of this act led to the ruthless and brutal evictions of Africans, Indians, and Coloureds (Gery & Maharaj, 2017). Hence, the large-scale forced removals relegated Coloureds and Indians to places such as Chatsworth, Phoenix, Wentworth, Westville, and Durban North. While on the other hand, Africans were moved to places such as KwaMashu, Umlazi, and Lamontville, among other places (Amisi et al., 2011). As a result, Umkhumbane ceased to exist as the last shack was bulldozed early in the 1960s (SAHO, 2011a).

Robinson (1997) maintains that the substantial and forced removal of people in Cato Manor saw a small proportion being left behind. They started a Cato Manor Residents Association (CMRA) to further oppose and resist methods of forceful removals and a racially-oriented form of development in Cato Manor. Despite the coercive reductions of both the African and Indian communities in Cato Manor, which was because the Apartheid policy had identified the land as suitable for White occupation, it never occurred (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). Subsequently, the excessive part of the area remained unoccupied until the 1980s (Edwards, 1994). Moreover, the CMDA (2002) highlights that the empty land in Cato Manor attracted many people to build informal settlements in the area, and widespread land invasions took place. Many people who invaded and settled in the area had previously lived in or had family ties with the area. In comparison, some were escaping political violence in the townships, while others were looking for a space near employment centres (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). Furthermore, Africans invaded the formal houses which were built around Wiggins during the late 1980s for the Indian community during this period (Robinson, 1997).

During the same period, as people began to move back into the unoccupied areas and built informal settlements, Cato Manor re-emerged as one of the violently contested urban spaces in South Africa (CMDA, 2002). Both the ANC and IFP backed the squatters, which came in various groups. Gray and Maharaj (2017) explain that the late 1980s political, economic, and housing crisis in Durban had a massive impact on developing informal settlements in Cato Manor. The growth of shacks in Cato Manor accelerated during the 1990s. Edwards (1994) attributes this to the mere fact that Cato Manor was under no control at the time, which meant no one could influence how the settlement develops, and the power is sustained. Furthermore, spatially, and socially a vacant land generates a prospect for “freedom and social mobility furthering the process of shack land development” (Edwards, 1994: p. 424).

Despite that, numerous efforts have transpired to resettle the land debate since the 1980s, even after 1994, and more recently, most black people from diverse cultural backgrounds remain landless (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). From this background, writers such as Odendaal (2007) state that because of these forced removals, Cato Manor has a significant and complex history that is embedded in the apartheid context and hence has subsequently become significant symbolic order of a post-apartheid future of South Africa. Furthermore, Gray and Maharaj (2017) argue that the “name Cato Manor presents a reminiscent in KZN and has powerful connotations with the history of the dispossessed and violence in South Africa” (p. 4). In contrast, Edward (1994) maintains that in Durban, Cato Manor has the most multifaceted and violently contested history of land ownership, resistance, as well as occupation. Furthermore, Cato Manor embodies a living monument to the anguish and annihilation intoxicated by the apartheid regime on the black community.

1.9.2.3 Redevelopment of Cato Manor

The re-emergence of Cato Manor in the democratic era can be traced to the formulation of the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), which was established per Section 21 as a company but not for gain (Odendaal, 2007; Olowolagba, 2000; Robinson, 1997). Despite the formulation of the CMDA, which was primarily meant to facilitate the development agenda in Cato Manor, land invasion proved to be one of the

major tests facing the newly formed association (CMDA, 2002). The “CMDA was designed in 1993 with its mandate to facilitate the Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) in an integrated way” (Odendaal, 2007, p. 935). Furthermore, through the CMDP, the CMDA, had a massive responsibility to facilitate the holistic development process in Cato Manor. Subsequently, Gray and Maharaj (2017) maintain that the “goals for development set out by the CMDA can be categorised into different large projects” (p. 12). Thus, such projects include large-scale human settlement, local economic development (LED), crucial physical capital (infrastructure), and human resource development opportunities (human capital).

Before the establishment of the CMDA, Cato Manor was a battlefield with crime, violence, and disorder (Tshishonga, 2011). Equally, Gray and Maharaj (2017) state that even today, “Cato Manor remains an area where violence also associated with protests has been commonplace over the past 70 years” (p. 2). With the emerging democracy in the early 1990s, Cato Manor began to reflect South African racial characters as it was alienated from development processes during apartheid (Odendaal, 2007). In addition, Cato Manor became a place where people of low socioeconomic status, low-skilled and unemployed find their sense of belonging (Odendaal, 2007). So, Cato Manor reflected the need for immediate intervention from the government (Ka-Manzi, 2013). Hence, it was declared a presidential node in 1994 in the “Urban Renewal category of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)” (Khan & Maharaj, 1998: p. 204). This meant that Cato Manor would receive a preference for funds in the RDP budget (CMDA, 1994). Despite being part of the Urban Renewal Programme, in Cato Manor, residents continued to use the land whenever they thought fit (CMDA, 1994). Furthermore, shacks were built in dangerous and flood-prone areas near rivers, contaminated and uninhabitable sites (Tshishonga, 2011).

Hence, the CMDA (2002) reported that effective housing delivery during its operation was also hampered by the emergence of powerful shacklords who benefit from crowded informal settlements. Despite all odds, the CMDA demonstrated an ability to address housing issues and contributed to community development and the empowerment of the people (Odendaal, 2007). The CMDA continued to operate until the new municipal systems and structure as well as the development of local authority for Durban (today

known as eThekweni Metropolitan Council), which assumed charge of development issues in Cato Manor in 2003 (Odendaal, 2007). Due to the demand for housing, the municipal's ability to deliver quality and adequate housing becomes a political weapon in the struggle for freedom and a priority for the new democratically elected government post - 1994 (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). Today, the residents of Umkhumbane comprise some of the underprivileged of the urban poor, and it is a place with a potential for municipal urban development and redevelopment projects (Tshishonga, 2011).

Despite various ongoing development plans and projects associated with the construction of the "RDP" houses and other infrastructure development such as clinics, schools, and roads, among others, violent protests over "lack of service delivery" in Cato Manor continue to exist and define the place as a hotspot for such protests within eThekweni Municipality (Mottiar, 2014). Furthermore, Gray and Maharaj (2017) and eThekweni Municipality (2011) stress that the vulnerability in Cato Manor is aggravated by the prevalence of growing poverty, unemployment, and Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV and AIDS). Gray and Maharaj (2017) stipulate that indeed socio-economic disparities continue to persist in Cato Manor. Also, the black majority are still among the most disadvantaged group living in dilapidating shacks with poor service delivery. Access to essential services such as proper sanitation and housing is shaped by and around race and class (Ka-Manzi, 2013). Although Cato Manor is a resourceful place, with residents characterised by substantial social capital and a sense of belonging, it remains one of the municipality's most vulnerable communities (Small and Obioha, 2014).

Gray and Maharaj (2017, p. 2) maintain that even today, "Cato Manor remains an area where violence also associated with protests has been commonplace over the past 70 years". Like any other Black dominated informal settlement in South Africa, Cato Manor is chosen because violent service delivery protests have transpired before (eThekweni Municipality, 2017; Gray & Maharaj, 2017; Mottiar, 2014). It was essential to conduct contextual research in this township. Furthermore, the study focused on Cato Manor because the literature illustrated that it contains people who were negatively affected by spatial segregation during the apartheid era (Edwards, 1994). Most non-

urban areas, such as townships and rural areas, were crippled and suppressed by the apartheid regime through the Group Areas Act.

1.10 Research objectives

1.10.1 The primary purpose of the study

The primary purpose of this research was to explore the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development in Cato Manor within the eThekweni Municipality.

1.10.2 Research objectives

The objectives of this research sought to:

- Understand community perceptions of violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor.
- Determine the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development.
- Explore why people engage in service delivery protests in the way that they do.

1.11 Main research question

1.11.1 The main question of the study

What is the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development within Cato Manor, eThekweni Municipality?

1.11.2 The research sub-questions

The research questions of this research are as follows:

- What are the community's perceptions of violent service delivery protests at Cato Manor?
- What is the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development?
- Why do residents in Cato Manor engage in service delivery protests the way that they do?

1.12 Research hypothesis

The study is hinged on the idea that violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor township within the eThekweni local municipality have had a devastating impact on the community development processes, which in turn affect the municipality's ability to respond adequately to socio-economic issues and the needs of the people. Hence, three null and alternative hypotheses are formulated as follows:

¹H₀: There is no association between the community's perceptions and the occurrence of protests.

¹H₁: There is an association between the community's perceptions and the occurrence of protests.

²H₀: There is no association between the service delivery protests and the municipality's ability to respond adequately to socio-economic issues.

²H₁: There is an association between the service delivery protests and the municipality's ability to respond adequately to socio-economic issues.

³H₀: There is no association between protests and the development

³H₁: There is an association between protests and the development

1.13 An overview of the research design and methodology

This research adopted a mixed-methods research approach. According to Chen (2006) and Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007), the mixed methods research approach is a systematic combination of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches in a single study for various purposes, including obtaining a fuller, more in-depth

comprehension of a phenomenon under study. This approach was adopted because it promotes deep understanding as it produces data that unveil people's perceptions, experiences, and knowledge on service delivery and community development and statistics that were used to measure levels of satisfaction. A sequential exploratory approach was used. Considering this design, the qualitative data was gathered and analysed in the first phase. The second phase of the research focused on collecting and analysing quantitative data (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Wu, 2011). The findings from the qualitative research methods informed the set of questions to be explored in the quantitative research method (Johnson et al., 2007).

The justification for adopting this research design was that the qualitative data analysis would provide a thorough understanding of the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development processes. The findings were refined by exploring the participants' views quantitatively (Creswell, 2013). The combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches yields more in-depth knowledge to inform theory and practice (Johnson et al., 2007). The quantitative research phase provided a numerical description of the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. The qualitative component is grounded in the constructivism paradigm and involves in-depth interviews and observation (Migiro & Magangi, 2011). The quantitative phase is located in the positivism paradigm.

A face-to-face survey was conducted using a closed-ended questionnaire to supplement the qualitative data (Johnson et al., 2007). As Bless, Higson-Smith, and Sithole (2013) emphasised, the ability to triangulate- combine the methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon-the data and assure its validity and level of variance is instrumental. As adopted in the research, Johnson et al. (2007, p. 17) highlight that the mixed method's "logic of inquiry includes the use of induction of patterns, deduction testing of theories and hypotheses, and abduction uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results." Hence, the strength of this method to legitimatise the use of multiple approaches in responding to the research questions was of vital importance in giving the researcher various choices, as it rejects dogmatism – the tendency to lay data as sole truth without considering other methods (Bless et al., 2013). The mixed-method procedure and the interface were executed as follows.

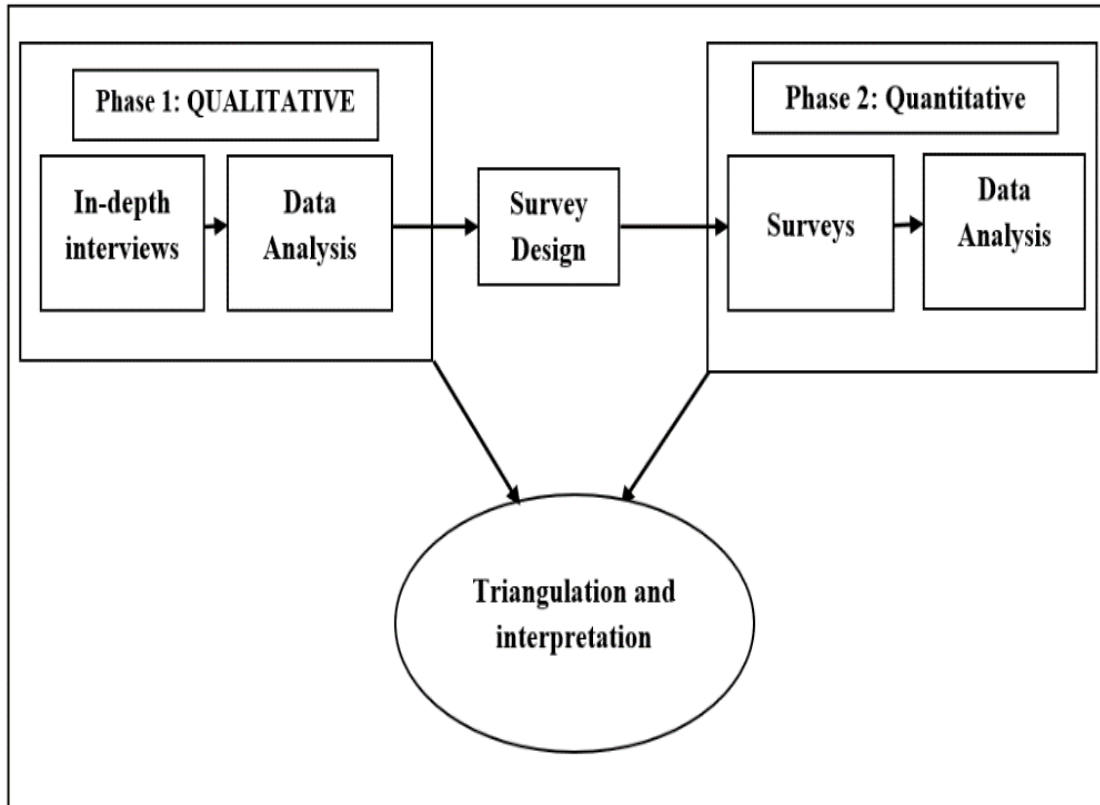


Figure 1.1: Sequential exploratory research

Source: Wu (2011)

Figure 1.1 shows the sequential exploratory research approach, which was adopted. Then, as per the argument by Morse and Niehaus (2009), the interface in this research refers to the phase where the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches occurs. Bloomberg and Volpe (2016) highlight that mixing can transpire at various points during the research process, namely, “data collection, data analysis, and interpretation and discussion of the research findings” (p. 161). Subsequently, the interface occurred only in the interpretation and discussion phase primarily because the research adopted an exploratory design (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). This design permits the interphase to occur during the discussion and the interpretation phase because the study can compare and combine the results from both methods to explain the problem under study in-depth. Methodological triangulation, where different data collection methods, commonly qualitative and quantitative, are combined were applied in this research. The qualitative and quantitative findings were combined to generate results and conclusions (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006). Triangulation was used to provide a comprehensive and precise understanding of the impact of violent service

delivery protests on community development (Decrop, 1999). The combination of these methods produced a more substantial research design that yielded valid and reliable findings and increased the level of confidence in the research findings (Decrop, 1999).

1.13.1 Sampling method

This research adopted qualitative and quantitative sampling methods, i.e., judgemental non-random sampling and systematic random sampling, respectively. The former method is used based on a researcher's judgment regarding the characteristics of the population in Cato Manor. In contrast, the latter method selects participants based on equal intervals with a random start (Creswell, 2013). The research identified and fostered collaborations with community gatekeepers and built respectful and trusting relationships with potential participants as a recruitment strategy (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2010). Furthermore, the research established a substantial rapport through contact-making with both community gatekeepers and the potential participants. Additionally, prolonged engagement with local people in various community projects, programmes, dialogue, and campaigns was used to create working relations and build a relationship with the community gatekeepers and the community where the research was conducted (Bless et al., 2013). Without overlooking community structures, the researchers worked with the area-based research institute (MILE) and identified potential research participants during the data collection process.

Qualitative research: Judgemental Sampling

The judgmental sampling method was employed to choose the study sample. Initially, the qualitative phase of this research intended to collect data from 20 participants, that is ward councillors, ward committee members, municipal officials, and local constituencies. However, a total of 33 participants were interviewed (see Chapter 4).

Quantitative research: Systematic Sampling Methods

A representative sample in the quantitative phase was crucial as the research findings had to be generalised to the entire population of Cato Manor. Therefore, as Suresh and

Chandrashekara (2012) noted, “the sample size had to be large enough to allow the researcher to conduct reliable and sound statistical analysis” (p. 9). Consequently, to reach the desired sample size with a high level of confidence, the researcher adopted Solvin’s formula and Du Plooy to calculate the quantitative research sample. Thus, according to the last census in 2011, the Cato Manor area had a population of 93 000 (Stats SA, 2011).

The research team used a sample size of 450, including an allowance of 50 spoilt questionnaires. Therefore, this strategy allowed a 95% level of confidence that the research findings are representative of the entire population (Du Plooy, 2009). The research arrives at 450, considering Slovin’s formula. Thereafter, as indicated above, a systematic sampling method was implemented to upsurge the chances that everyone in the population can be selected to participate in the study. It is important to note that Cato Manor has approximately 18600 households (Stats SA, 2011). Consequently, the total number of households (18600) was divided by the required sample (450), which produced a sampling interval of 41. The research team approached every 41st household until the desired sample of 450 was reached - with a random start from the first household. In the process, one adult above the age of 18 from 450 was recruited to participate in the research until the desired sample was obtained. The interval was maintained until the sample was reached.

The Total Sample Size

A total of 483 participants for both qualitative and quantitative phases were recruited to participate in this study. For the qualitative research phase, two semi-structured interview guides were designed, one for local people and another for municipal officials. The semi-structured interview guides were separated to capture the perceptions of the research participants from different facets. From the qualitative research findings, a structured survey was designed and administered to 450 local people to measure the level of satisfaction with service delivery in their respective wards. The quantitative research method was used to complement the data and findings from the qualitative research method.

1.13.2 Data Analysis

1.13.2.1 Thematic Analysis

In this phase, an interpretive method was employed where the research focused on qualitative methods to comprehensively explain and interpret people's views and the situation under investigation. After the transcription of the interviews, the NVivo software was used to facilitate the data analysis process. Also, the analysis phase was conducted to generate findings from the raw data and produce new knowledge and a comprehensive report of the research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Consequently, a thematic analysis was used to facilitate this process. According to Clarke, Braun, and Hayfield (2015, p. 297), a thematic analysis "is a method which is used to identify, analyse, and interpret patterns of meaning (which are defined as 'themes') within qualitative data". Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that "this qualitative analysis method minimally organises and describes a data set in more detail" (P. 2). However, it usually goes further to interpret different facets of the research to address the research objectives. The analysis phase was then executed, considering the six steps in the thematic analysis as identified by Braun and Clarke (2006) - See Chapter 4.

1.13.2.2 Quantitative Data Analysis (Descriptive and Inferential Statistics)

The statistical methods were used to analyse and interpret quantitative data. The quantitative data analysis was executed in the following procedure. Firstly, data validation was done to ensure that the data collection process was performed as per the standard set. Hence, data validation was performed as proposed by Dey (2003) by continually checking the completeness of the questionnaires after each day of data collection. Secondly, because the data from the surveys were already coded, the data was then captured into Microsoft Excel (MS Excel) with double entry, the examination of data ranges for implausible values, and logic checks for ensuring response validity. Thirdly, the data which was captured in MS Excel was then imported into an R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020 for analysis. Afterward, a descriptive analysis was conducted where the frequency distribution of categorical variables and variables related to the research objectives were calculated. Percentages

and frequency of occurrence of variables were calculated. After that, the research engaged in inferential analysis to make statements and decisions based on numerical data relating to the sample of the population. During this phase of analysis, the relationship between variables was identified. Inferential analysis was essential to reach conclusions that extend beyond the immediate data alone.

1.13.3 Data interpretation

In the interpretation phase, the qualitative data was substantially significant to interpret, clarify, describe, and validate the quantitative results. Also, it was essential to ground and modify the data procedure (Johnson et al., 2007). As indicated in the section on the mixing of the methods, the data were juxtaposed and amalgamated in a manner that they respond to and complement each other (Ivankova et al., 2006). In this phase, this researcher used the qualitative data to enable a thorough understanding of the feedback from the survey and the statistical analysis to provide a substantial evaluation of the patterns of responses from the participants (Creswell & Clark, 2017). Qualitative and quantitative research are merged and juxtaposed during the interpretation phase.

1.14 Ensuring the quality of data

Ensuring the quality of data is crucial in any research to ensure that the research findings respond to the research objectives (Anney, 2014). Despite that this research adopted a mixed-methods approach to study the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development, different criteria were adopted between the qualitative and quantitative, trustworthiness and reliability, respectively, to ensure the quality of the research findings (Anney, 2014; Bless et al., 2013).

1.14.1 Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

The general principles, including “credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity to ensure the quality of data” in the qualitative research approach, were considered (Anney, 2014: p. 272). Additionally, the researcher adopted four approaches: prolonged engagement, freedom of participation, pilot study, and

digital recorder to increase trustworthiness. These approaches were crucial in ensuring the quality of data. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter four.

1.14.2 Reliability and validity in quantitative research

Validity is used to determine the extent to which the study measures what it aims to study (Bless et al., 2013). Reliability is the extent to which studies can be repeated and still be able to produce similar results. Criterion-related validity was adopted to ensure the validity. Meanwhile, reliability was ascertained by pre-testing in the form of a pilot study, which assessed whether the questions had the same meaning to different people. Also, Cronbach's alpha was adopted to measure the internal reliability of the scale.

1.15 Ethical consideration

The execution of this research project was guided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's research ethics. Subsequently, ethical considerations are specified by researchers such as Bless et al. (2013) and Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis, and Dillon (2003), amongst others, as one of the most important parts of the research project. Ethical considerations are vital in research because they limit the fabrication and falsification of data and, therefore, promote the pursuit of knowledge and minimise errors in a way that values the unit of analysis (Bless et al., 2013; Resnik, 2011). In addition, ethical considerations encourage the respect of the social norms and social facts of the local people. Bless et al. (2013) identified a host of ethical research principles, and important ethical guidelines, such as encouraging "voluntary participation, causing no harm to the participants, keeping anonymity, and upholding confidentiality, among other principles" (p. 32).

Voluntary participation

All participants were informed about this research project, how it affects them, and the potential risks and benefits that are involved as they participate in the research project. Most importantly, the potential participants were informed that they have a right to refuse or discontinue being part of the study at any time without being punished.

No harm to the participants

The research team emphasised the universal research principles by informing the participants that their participation will not bring any harm to them. If the participants felt distressed after the interview, arrangements to see a psychologist at the cost of the research were made. See Appendix B

Anonymity and confidentiality

The research participants were informed before the engagement that the research team would ensure that responses will remain anonymous.

Not deceiving subjects

All information that was circulated to the participants ensured that it did not provide false hope, as this research looked at the critical issue of service delivery, which has been advocated through protest. The ethical guidelines were comprehensively explained in the consent form that was given to the participants for their signature before participation in the study. See Appendix B

1.16 Limitation of the study

The financial limitation was one of the major barriers. Therefore, to limit this, funding was sought from various institutions such as the National Research Foundation (NRF) and the University Capacity Development Programme (UCDP). The researcher encountered reluctance among local people to participate because of the sensitivity of the research topic. To minimise such challenges, the researcher created and developed a rapport with the community through effective communication. The nature of this research explored critical issues (service delivery, violence, and protests) and local peoples; views could be subjective, therefore, to minimise such a challenge, the researcher interviewed the gatekeepers of the municipality.

1.17 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

Chapter One provides a comprehensive background of the research problem. The chapter further provides the main aim and objectives of the study, research questions, and the research justification.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter presents literature on the impact of violent service delivery on community development.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This Chapter discusses two theories, namely Frustration Aggression Theory or Hypothesis, and Citizen Participation within which this research is grounded.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Chapter Four discusses the research approach - mixed-methods, which is adopted. Furthermore, this chapter explains the research interphase. The chapter also describes the data analysis process and concludes by discussing how research ethics were observed during the research.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Research Findings

Using the thematic analysis, Chapter Five presents the qualitative research findings and the data obtained from the participants.

Chapter 6: Quantitative Research Findings

Using inferential and descriptive analysis, Chapter Six presents the interpretation of the quantitative research findings.

Chapter 7: Discussion of the Emerging Conceptual Framework

Chapter seven discusses the study's contribution to the existing body of knowledge by presenting the emergent conceptual framework.

Chapter 8: Implications and Conclusion

This chapter provides the implications of the research and a substantial conclusion.

1.18 Chapter summary

This chapter illustrates that since the early 2000s, countless South African local municipalities have experienced an unceasing increase in the level of service delivery protests, which remains a worrying record that needs to be addressed. According to the reviewed literature, one of the reasons is that such protests (violent and disruptive service delivery) have had devastating impacts not only on the socioeconomic strategies of the local people but also a disturbing impact on the health and safety of local people. Also, the persistence of service delivery protests, which sometimes turn violent and disruptive in local municipalities, pose a significant danger to both public and private property and has the potential of disrupting commercial and educational activities. While peaceful protest is a democratic right that the Republic of South Africa's constitution recognises, protests, according to the literature, are then used as a strategy by local people to get the local government to respond to their needs and wishes.

Therefore, from this background, this chapter presented a critical argument on the significance of this research project. It pointed out that the increase in violent and disruptive service delivery protests in South African local municipalities has had a considerable impact on community development, leaving communities devastated. While stretching the municipal financial capacity beyond its ability to respond to its constituencies' needs and eThekweni Municipality, Cato Manor has not been immune to these protests. Cato Manor is one of the South African municipalities where service delivery protests have turned violent, with protesters barricading roads with burning tires on the national road (N2), burning community facilities, and clashing with the police, leading to emotional, psychological, and physical injuries. Thus, it is critically important to recognise the impact of service delivery protests on community development initiatives. This chapter began by providing a comprehensive background of the research problem. It further unpacked the main aim and objectives of the study, research questions, hypothesis, and definition of the critical concepts such as local government, community development, service delivery, violent protest, and disruptive protest. The research method was discussed, and the justification of the research was provided. The following chapter presents critical and extensive literature on the impact of the ongoing service delivery on community development and development at large.

CHAPTER TWO: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the background and the introduction of the research. Furthermore, it briefly discussed the research approach and the research aims and objectives. The primary purpose of this chapter is to critically engage with the available literature on local government, such as its origin and its operation in three different periods – the colonial era, apartheid epoch, and the democratic dispensation. The bulk of this chapter unpacks the subject of violent service delivery protests and their impact on community development. Thus, in this section, literature relating to people's perceptions of violent service delivery protests will be discussed. Moreover, literature that explains the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development will be addressed. The chapter explores the literature on people's engagement in service delivery protests. To conclude, a summary of the key points will be provided.

2.2 The history of local government in South Africa

2.2.1 The colonial era

The formation of the local sphere of government in South Africa, as it is known today, can be traced to the 17th century (Binza, 2005). Two crucial activities influenced the establishment of local government in colonial South Africa, namely Dutch and British influence (McKenna, 2010). The former transpired during Dutch settlement in the Cape of Good Hope in two distinct periods: 1652 to 1795 and 1803 to 1806 (McKenna, 2010). The first British influence happened between 1795 and 1803, during their occupation. The second influence occurred when South Africa became a Union from 1806 to 1910 (McKenna, 2010). A structured form of governance emerged when Jan van Riebeeck who represented the Vereenigde Landsche Ge-Oktroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie, first settled in Table Bay in 1652. Binza (2005) states that under the Dutch influence, the gradual development of local authorities was influenced by population growth, commerce, and farming, among other activities. Subsequently, the need for structured administration of business establishments "earmarked the first local economic activity,

which led to the formation of municipalities” (Binza, 2005: p. 71). Additionally, the gradual expansion of the inner-city, which was identified as Cape Colony improved from a traditional state into an industrial state and led to the appointments of landdrosts (magistrates) and heemraden (councillors). The former was a magisterial structure established to oversee local affairs, while the latter was a council system used to address farming disputes among other issues (Bryceson & Bank, 2001).

Seekings (2000) explains that the appointments of landdrosts and heemraden marked the emergence of the local governance outside the Cape. The cornerstone for a sound administration with the elected council, like the modern system, was arranged when the Municipal Ordinance of the Cape emerged in 1836 (Binza, 2005). The Landdrost plan was formalised by the Dutch government (Bryceson & Bank, 2001). The administration contained various local government groups, including the College of Landdrost and the Heemraden, with Stellenbosch identified as the first seat of the local council. The first college of Landdrost and Heemraden at Stellenbosch incorporated the Landdrost, who was the chairperson, while four Heemraden worked voluntarily. The college of Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch is identified as the initial authority at the local level, which is like the present-day local government. Binza (2005) posits that the persistent challenges associated with local governance and service delivery were further exacerbated by population growth. Hence, “in 1836, Cape Municipal Ordinance No. 9 of 1836 was passed” (Tsatsire et al., 2009: p. 129). The Ordinance established a board of commissioners for each town, which was elected by the landowners (Binza, 2005).

The Cape Municipal Ordinance established a systematic structure that was crucial for the development of municipal procedures, considering the landscape of various towns. Also, the Ordinance provided scope for the local people to utilise available resources for active public participation (McKenna, 2010). The results of the Municipal Ordinance were effective in advancing legislatures on municipal affairs and activities for the former colonies of the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal. The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 came with the South Africa Act 1909, which gave power to provincial councils to be accountable for municipal and local authorities (Beall, 2005). Section 93 of the South Africa Act 1909 safeguarded that all the affairs, responsibilities, powers and authority are legitimately practiced at the beginning of the

Act and continue operation until varied by the orders of the superior structures such as Parliament and the provincial councils. The Act gave voting rights only to the white community. Non-whites were prohibited from partaking in electorate activities and decision-making processes at the local level. The advisory boards for townships, which Africans populated, were developed through the support of white municipalities and continued to be operative until 1971 (Makobe, 2002). Bryceson and Bank (2001) argue that during this period, most foreign companies, such as Anglo-American, came into existence to provide jobs to local people. White dominance over other races was visible in the workplace as management and superior positions were available to white males only (McKenna, 2010). Therefore, this discussion shows that this period was characterised by discrimination towards Africans which led to structural inequalities.

2.2.2 The apartheid-era

The National Party formalised the apartheid system in 1948 under the governance of D.F Malan (Binns & Nel, 2010). The principal purpose of the formalisation of apartheid was to ensure effective and far-reaching operations of colonial segregation and discrimination policies (McEwan, 2003). Hence, various acts, including the Population Registration Act (1950) were introduced to vehemently relocate black South Africans to a designated racial group, with different privileges and prohibitions (Binns & Nel, 2010). Political liberty, societal rights and socioeconomic status and employment activities among other opportunities were primarily decided by the ethnic group to which the person belongs. Thus, there were three fundamental racial groupings and categories under the law, namely, Black, Coloured and White. Indians were perceived as having no historical right in the country, hence, they were excluded. However, they were later added to these racial classifications. Therefore, this illustrates that in South Africa, local municipalities arose in a racially segregated environment.

Polunic (1999) argues that the revision of the Group Areas Act in 1962 made crucial necessities for the formation of distinct local structures for Indians and Coloureds, while Africans were not considered. The apartheid policy legalised the movement of Africans out of South Africa into Bantustans nationalities. In these areas, the system of local government was administered by chiefs under the Bantu Authorities Act, characterised

by poor service delivery (Tshishonga & Dipholo, 2013). However, as Africans settled in urban areas, the apartheid authorities steadily recognised them and provided Africans with segregated local government. This process began “in early 1977 in the form of community councils, the legitimising of the Black Local Authorities Act (BLAA) in the early 1980s, institutionalised local government for the Black community” (Todes & Watson, 1984: p. 23). Despite the operational powers the BLA Act gave the black local authorities, such capabilities could not be compared to the white local authorities’ counterparts, even the provision of services could not be compared.

Suburbs, urban areas and other white-dominated places in South Africa were administered and managed by White Local Authorities (WLA) that had taxation powers and were autonomous and better-off municipal institutions with political committees and administrative sections to perform committee functions (SALGA 2015; Nyalunga, 2006; and RSA - Green Paper on Local Government 1997). White-dominated areas had extensive facilities and amenities, which were well-managed and well-maintained. This was because the government could collect revenue even from black-owned areas through kings to support and empower white people. During the 1980s, the racial framework of local government was at its peak. Thus, the Black Local Authorities Act led to the Black Local Authorities (BLA) inception, replacing community councils, which never gained political credibility (Nyalunga, 2006).

The role of the BLA was associated with providing services to Black people in the township (SALGA, 2015). The RSA - Green Paper on Local Government (1997) reports that one of the disadvantages associated with BLA was that the arrangement had no source of revenue, which was crucial in enhancing the financial affairs of the African townships. Also, van Donk and Pieterse (2006) argue that limited capabilities due to the outset of apartheid structures became extremely difficult for BLA to execute their roles. Hence, the BLA was rejected, many saw it as illegitimate by militant opposition from black communities and it was perceived as incompetent towards black people, while at the same time, it was thought to be in partnership with white people to advance their interests (Nyalunga, 2006). Even though they accepted the presence of black people in urban areas, the nature of local government was to exacerbate racial and economic segregation (Tshishonga & Dipholo, 2013). Urban areas became apartheid cities

because of the level of racial segregation (Nyalunga, 2006). Due to the deterioration of living conditions among black people, during the 1980s, widespread mobilisation with violent protests and consumer boycotts erupted including but not limited to the different tax-base that funded white people's living conditions (SALGA, 2015).

When such protests emerged, the government introduced strategies such as “*win the heart and minds*”³. Despite such vigorous efforts, the success of the policy was minimal. As a result of the minor impact of the strategy, the protest action increased (SALGA, 2015). This led to the emergence of the anti-apartheid civic organisations, which pushed the “*one city, one tax base*”⁴ agenda. Meanwhile, the living conditions in various townships were unbearable. The Soweto accord resulted in the formation the two essential forums, namely, the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber. Such a forum offered a crucial space where discussions with WLA to improve the quality of living among black people in the township were negotiated in 1990 (SALGA, 2015). The RSA - Green Paper on Local Government (1997) highlights that the severe crisis within the local government during 1990 became a vital force leading to the social-political transition. Later, the LGDF started the debate regarding the future of local government. An accord on finance, services, and local government transition Act of 1993 emerged, where the former wrote off arrears to BLAs, while the latter provided a convenient framework based on the process for social change (Tshishonga & Dipholo, 2013). This section illustrates that the apartheid and segregation policy significantly exacerbated structural inequalities by relegating Africans to places far away from essential amenities.

2.2.3 The democratic era

Following the 1994 elections, the democratically elected government assumed control and it subsequently inherited a highly impoverished and socially dysfunctional country, and continuously growing levels of disparity, which was caused by the apartheid legacy (Nyalunga, 2006). The post-1994 local government also inherited a system aimed at

³ This was programme which was implemented by the NP government with an intention of addressing the tension

⁴ Slogan that emerged to advocate for municipal financial restructuring. See Green paper on Local Government

deracialising service provision and local government policies (Tshishonga & Dipholo, 2013). To effectively attend to the apartheid legacies, the democratically elected local government rehabilitated the previous degrading legislation and policies to address segregation, social injustice, human inequity, poverty, and new transitional local authorities (Ntsebeza, 2004). Furthermore, to strengthen the democratic policies, various new institutions such as LGNF were established with the new values, approaches, and support systems and provisions to transform democratic local government (Atkinson, 2007). The transition from the racial to the non-racial local government did not take place instantly. However, it was a necessary transformational process that lasted for almost a decade and was also guided by civil society organisations (CSOs) (SALGA, 2015). Considering that apartheid had left the majority of black South Africans deliriously powerless, miserable, psychologically, mentally crippled, and landless (Clark & Worger, 2013; Alexander, 2006), the democratic government's key role (as stipulated in the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000) is to integrate social and economic imperatives (Thabethe, 2012).

Naude (2001) observes that the transition process of local government was supported by a procedural and powerful constitutional mandate through different legislations. Thus, the new local sphere of government has an enormous role and responsibility to revitalise local government policies to ensure sustainable development (Tshishonga & Dipholo, 2013). In addition, the government needs to restore trust, hope, and the confidence of the people in themselves and the government to further attain deracialised local government policies and legislation (Binza, 2005). A plethora of legislation has been introduced since 1993 (Atkinson, 2007) including the RSA - Green Paper on Local Government to provide for revised interim measures to promote local government restructuring. Also, the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) No. 209 of 1993 is an essential piece of the local transition act that promoted the local government restructuring process. This facilitates both the restructuring and transformational process of local government (Nyalunga, 2006). Such methods became a critical tool that smoothed the transition of the local government, which saw a phase in local government that led to the formation of municipal, responsibilities, powers and functions (SALGA, 2015). Hence, Koma (2012) expresses "the process was a locally

negotiated transition, which has resulted in a wide diversity of forms of local government” (p. 107).

For instance, the LGTA became a substantial document within the emerging local government, giving it the power to address segregation, participation, and poverty, among other matters (Binza, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2004). This act was careful not to “provide a blueprint for a new local government system but simply sketched a process for change” (RSA - Green paper on Local Government, 1997: p. 14). Furthermore, LGTA provided a path for the transitional local government and a clearly defined transition process (Nyalunga, 2006). Figure 2.1 depicts the stages of apartheid's transition to the democratic local administration.

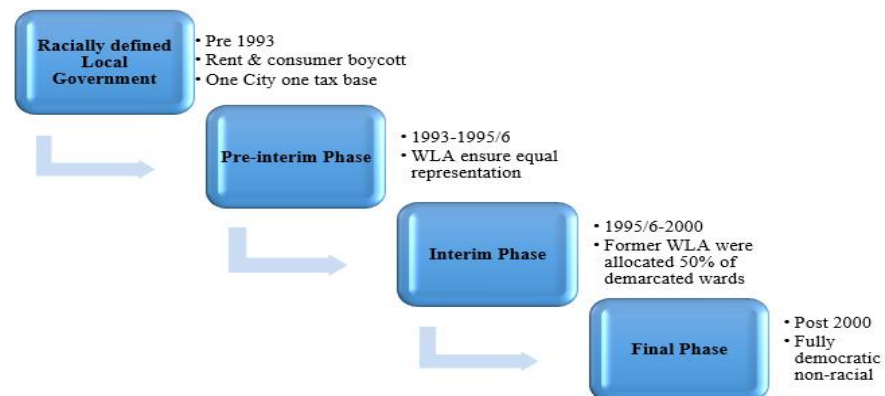


Figure 2.1: Local Government Transition

Source: SALGA (2015, p. 15)

- **Racially defined local government: prior to 1993**

The racially defined local government before 1993, was characterised by the peak of the apartheid regime, which led to the emergence of the racial-based local government policies. Such policies were meant to exacerbate the already existing segregation laws. This policy played a significant role in disintegrating local townships from urban areas. The policy limited the degree to which well-off “white-dominated municipalities would carry the financial burden of servicing deprived black areas” (RSA - Green Paper on local government, 1997: p. 12). It meant that the local township must find their source of revenue to fund service delivery. Part of this became a significant period in history.

This is for the reason that it led to the hike in local taxes, which was later characterised by the violent protests and boycotts that led to the establishment of LGNF. The LGNF was vital in democratising the South African local government (Serino, 2014).

- **The pre-interim 1993-1995**

This period was characterised by negotiation structures and was composed of all local governments, regardless of race (RSA - Green Paper on Local Government, 1997) hence, was later referred to as “local governments of unity”. Such arrangements were crucial in the appointment of provisional councils, which were anticipated to govern local municipalities until LGE in 1995/96 (RSA - Green Paper on Local Government, 1997). These structures were also responsible for “defining municipal boundaries, appointing councillors and establishing a financial system” (van Donk & Pieterse, 2006, p. 112). Furthermore, these structures were seen to have played a vital role in establishing stability and peace prior to the general (national and provincial) elections in 1994, at the local level, and LGEs in 1995/96 (SALGA, 2016).

- **Interim phase 1995/6-2000**

The interim phase was vital in the transition from the 1995/6 election until the 1999 elections. This phase commenced with elections of the “Transitional Metropolitan Councils, Transitional Metropolitan Substructures, Transitional Local Councils, and the Rural Local Government Structures” (LGTA, No. 209 of 1993: p. 11). The interim phase allowed transitional local government to be established. It was also important because it set to conclude the municipal arrangements, including the re-demarcation of municipal jurisdiction and the promulgation of legislation. The idea behind the sudden finalisation of the municipal arrangements was to execute the local government provision of the final constitution and the holding of the second municipal elections. During this period, various local government supporting structures were established to implement the final phase of the local government restructuring (SALGA 2015).

- **The final phase: 2000 and beyond**

The final stage marks the period in the 21st century where the new local government structure was established (SALGA, 2015; Van Donk & Pieterse, 2006). The post-2000 phase is where the massive task associated with redressing the imbalance and the past injustice began to prove to be more significant than in any other period. Subsequently, by this time, based on the social challenges, essential documents on local government had been introduced. Furthermore, the structures of local government from the previous regime had been wholly transformed (van Donk & Pieterse, 2006). The establishment and the development of the three municipal categories, including “category A (single-tier municipalities), category B (local municipalities), and category C (district municipalities which contain two or more local municipalities)” as adopted within the Constitution of the RSA, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996: p. 1331(3)). In December 2000, the democratic local government system was fully established (SALGA, 2015). Hence, it was perceived as a futuristic institution within the democratic society, which was introduced to facilitate the functionality of the local government system to attain its developmental mandate (RSA - Green paper on Local Government, 1997).

The newly elected councils were placed at the heartbeat of the democratic government (SALGA, 2015). This is partly because they were at the forefront in promoting and addressing backlogs and poor service provision that local townships encountered during the apartheid era. Furthermore, they were trying to win the trust and the heart of the people (Kampen, van De Walle, & Bouckaert, 2006). The local government was faced with a vast infrastructural disparity inherited from the apartheid government (van Donk & Pieterse, 2006). The RSA - Green Paper on Local Government (1997) articulates that it was indispensable to transform the old institutional framework which was inherited from the apartheid system. This is primarily because the transition process proved that it was going to be difficult to overcome the injustices of apartheid and endorse sustainable development and the envision of “a better life for all”. Thus, this demonstrates that deracialising the apartheid local government has been an arduous and perplexing task. Its policies and laws ensured that service delivery is characterised by significant disparity and social injustice between well-equipped white-dominated suburbs and poorly serviced black rural and semi-urban communities. Furthermore, the

apartheid laws and the segregation policy fragmented and separated the city and urban areas in how and where the government will deliver basic but essential goods and services to the people (Nyalunga, 2006). Thus, this section illustrated the transition of the local government from the apartheid era into the democratic government.

2.3 Contextualisation of protests in South Africa

2.3.1 Protests and Resistance during the Colonial Era

Protests and resistance against government and authorities' unjust decisions and policies are not new in South Africa, but several such instances can be traced throughout history (Du Pisani et al., 1990). Prior to the arrival of the white settlers in the Cape in 1652, communities in South Africa were semi-nomadic people, moving their herds from one pasture area to another (Bundy, 1972). Thus, such communities were characterised by communal values of balanced and unbalanced reciprocity and the protection of one's kin. During the first millennium, Bantu-speaking African communities emerged, where domestic animals and animals became the basis of their lifestyle (Bundy, 1972). The arrival of white settlers brought a system and a structure of governance, which degraded the communal way of life among Africans. Thus, as white interest grew in the Cape this led to the occupation of land, which was previously used for grazing.

This led to the Dutch East India Company importing slaves to its tiny colony to work the land. Moreover, as the economy grew, a structured form of business administration was established (Ngcukaitobi, 2018; Bundy, 1972). The free burghers were among those who were working the land with no property but experienced excessive exploitation. Du Pisani et al. (1990) argue that the free burghers were among the first people at the Cape to protest lower prices for their products. At the same time, three decades later, the French Huguenots protested and opposed the ill-treatment they received. Furthermore, in the early 18th century, the colonists protested and rebelled against the tyranny and the dictatorship of W. A. van der Stel and his fellow colleagues in the government (Du Pisani et al., 1990). Furthermore, scholarly writers such as Erasmus (1995) and Du Pisani et al. (1990) classify the famous movement of the Dutch colonists to the interior part of South Africa -the great trek- as a form of Boer rebellion

against British policy which advocated for ending of forced labour with the passing of Ordinance 50 in 1828 and the emancipation of the slaves.

The movement of the Boers to the interior part of the country led to wars between black and white, as black people were resisting subjugation, encroachment, and dispossession from their lands (Oliver, & Oliver, 2017). As the expansion increased, the protests and resistance among black people increased. Thus, this led to the large-scale inter-tribal genocide called the Difaqane and South Africa came firmly under white control. Similarly, Du Pisani et al. (1990) argue that peaceful protests occurred in South Africa until the 20th century. For instance, Tielman Roos organised a huge mass gathering in Pretoria in December 1912. Furthermore, as part of passive resistance, the Indian community struggled against British imperialism (King, 1999). Furthermore, the pre-apartheid protest marches were distinctive in their approach and feature; for example, women played a substantial and distinguished role, and objectives were achieved.

2.3.2 Protests during the apartheid regime

The apartheid period (1948-1994) was propelled by insurgence by black people in local townships against the state subjugation and their expulsion from citizenship and meaningful development (Leonard & Pelling, 2010). South Africa has a long history of organised citizen participation and mass social mobilisation against the apartheid state (Mbazira, 2013). Protests emerged because policy and the law were culturally invasive and economically racially structured. The conventional systems of protest proceeded with reformed meaning in the considerably new forms of violence and disruption, reflecting the changing symbolic order of the democratic systems (von Holdt, 2013; Simpson, 2010). During the apartheid period, protests and marches were distinguished not only by white settlers' brutal dominance of the mining industry and their state but also by black people's violent and peaceful protests against the repressive apartheid policies that subjected them to severe and unbearable poverty (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2011). Nonetheless, their attitude towards political liberation and emancipation changed dramatically and immediately after the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960.

The incident transpired when the white brutal police started shooting on a mass protest, which was organised by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) led by Robert Sobukwe where 69 Black people succumbed to police bullets, and 180 were injured. The Sharpeville massacre led to violent protests nationwide (Seferiades, & Johnston, 2012). Likewise, Simpson (1993) contends that apartheid's legacy has resulted in a culture of violence as a result of this tragedy. Hence, the culture of violence was conspicuous throughout the political arena. In these areas, violence was seen as both a means to retain political power, achieve social change and resolve conflicts (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2011). Also, Olzak, Beasley and Olivier (2002) claim that South Africa was viewed as a natural laboratory for understanding the course of a highly effective mass protest movement in a repressive apartheid system during the 1970s and 1980s. During apartheid, protests became an essential and useful tool in dismantling the authoritative apartheid regime, which had laws that ensured that the black majority were not provided with critical services and were “migrants” in urban centres throughout South Africa (Simpson, 1993). Throughout the struggle to overpower and dismiss such laws, the unrest spread and skyrocketed to become more productive and militarised. Consequently, the state organisations responded with repression against the indigenous population (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2011). The system of racial segregation was enforced by an excessive number of acts and laws, which served to institutionalise racial discrimination and empower the dominance of white people or white supremacy against any other racial groups in the country (Leonard & Pelling, 2010).

Another heroic event in South Africa's history of rebellion is the Soweto Uprising in June 1976. This event can be used to study the historical perspective of violent protest to understand its relation to contemporary society (Seferiades, & Johnston, 2012). The Soweto Uprising led to the instigation of the social movement, which was characterised by individuals who were frustrated with the way the laws of the time hindered social progress, among Africans (von Holdt, 2013). Moreover, Seferiades, and Johnston (2012) encapsulate that the symbolic aspect of the apartheid regime was an obstacle to social progress. The movement encouraged the use of violence and disruption at all costs as an essential tool against an unjust regime. During the apartheid era, local communities were slow to respond and act to unjust treatment by the government laws such as water and electricity cut-offs because of their living conditions (Petrus & Isaacs-

Martin, 2011). When people began to protest, their protests were not ideologically motivated, but a necessity to survive and the desire to live decent lives. For instance, a case in history was when local people from townships were prohibited from residing in urban areas in 1923 (Apartheid Legislature in South Africa, 2016). Local people protested such Acts to better their standard of living (Hengeveld, 2013). Protests became a significant response of the dominated class, to dismantle social injustice.

Violent protests remained an intrinsic aspect of the anti-apartheid project. All apartheid governments devised coercive methods to monitor and control the subject population, even in townships (von Holdt, 2013). South African history illustrates that strikes, boycotts, and protest actions are not a new phenomenon but have been a critical part of the past and democratic liberation (von Holdt, 2013). Likewise, Hengeveld (2013) argues that the apartheid system was a ruthless chapter and imperilled most black South Africans to perplexing levels of state violence. Notwithstanding, the democratic transition in South Africa between 1990 and 1994 appeared to mark the end of violent and disruptive protests to adopt a broad foundation for resolving and addressing societal conflicts among other challenges (Kanyane, 2014; Petrus & Issacs-Martin, 2011). Therefore, it is evident that the seed of the nation's violence and disruption sown in the former apartheid-era over social injustice continues to manifest in the democratic era over social injustice in the form of poor service delivery.

2.3.3 Protests in post-apartheid South Africa

The literature suggests that community protests especially in post-apartheid South Africa are a multifaceted phenomenon. For example, Jiboku (2021) and Alexander (2010) claim that unlike in the apartheid era where protests were based on challenging the illegitimacy of the state and radically transforming the apartheid system, social movements in the post-apartheid era are not staged against the democratic system but increasing socioeconomic inequalities. Furthermore, Sinwell (2011) stipulates that protests in the democratic era are not challenging the state to overthrow it "*per se* rather than to seek to gain a piece of the pie on offer" (p. 62). This means that protests are staged to get access to the fruits of democracy, including access to basic essential services. Alexander (2010) identifies community protests related to service delivery as

the “rebellion of the poor” (p. 25). This view emanates from the perception that the majority of the protests are related to issues of poverty and high unemployment rate which perpetuate socio-economic difficulties and exacerbate the historical imbalances. For instance, the protests of the shack dwellers are a struggle for citizenship as they lack basic materials for daily survival (Pithouse 2011). Furthermore, Mottiar (2014) claims that “social movements contribute to making participation transformative by extending the boundaries of citizenship to marginal groups...” (p. 374). This insight reverberates with Matebesi (2018), Gray and Maharaj (2017), and von Holdt et al. (2011) who claim that the social movements as insurgent citizens because they offer poor alternative channels of political expression. Hence, Miraftab and Willis (2005) state that community protests are a form of invented spaces of citizenship that emerge when existing institutionalised participatory spaces designed to advance human rights, are ineffective.

At the center of the transition to democracy were community protests, which compelled the redistribution of political power (Desai & Wood, 2003). Protests became a tool of liberation, endorsing democracy by uplifting the marginalised poor black majority (Mottiar, 2014). The first decade of democracy (1994-2004) was embedded with crucial history and low protest action. The first five years (1994-1998) of Mandela’s administration faced various challenges, including inheriting a state that is on the verge of collapsing. Hence, it was inundated with legislative reviews to address social needs, among others (Ndlovu, 2014). Political contestation occurred in contrast with some government policies and campaigns but was not levelled towards service delivery. The second five years into democracy (1999 -2004) was Mbeki’s administration, with the final phase of the transition that led to the first LGEs under the new system (Powell, 2012). For Ndlovu (2014), the first decade was like a “honeymoon phase”, as people were hopeful that the new administration would bring essential transformation.

In the second decade (2004-2014) with Mbeki’s second term (2004 - 2008) and Zuma’s era (2009 - 2017) of the democratic era, confrontation accompanied noticeable violence and disruption. Alexander and Pfaffe (2014) enunciate that since early 2000, South Africa experienced thousands of local protests. The South African Institute of Race Relations - SAIRR (2014) reports that in 2004, there were at least ten violent protests

associated with poor service delivery across local municipalities in South Africa. From then, violent protests related to service delivery worsened and suppressed peaceful protests in the following years (von Holdt, 2013). Hence, Twala (2014) and Simpson (2010) posit that the current violent protests during service delivery directed at South African local municipalities are nearly identical to what transpired in most black-dominated areas throughout the late 1980s over service delivery. Furthermore, Hough (2008) states that looking at the level of violent protest over service delivery and land invasion in the present-day local government, it can be stated that the events of the apartheid era are repeating themselves. This view originates from the fact that more than 75% of the post-apartheid violent protests emanate in Black dominated areas with informal settlements such as Cato Manor and where the lack of basic services such as electricity, water, and proper sanitation is more visible (Gray & Maharaj, 2017; Mottiar, 2014). Human settlements remain a challenge despite programmes, such as “Breaking New Ground” (Mgushelo, 2018). Hence, the number of violent protests appears to be rising. Municipalities experienced a dramatic upsurge from 2008 to 2016 and massive and visible protests were reported (Municipal IQ, 2016). The graph in Figure 2.2 details the number of protests in South African Local municipalities from 2004 to 2016.

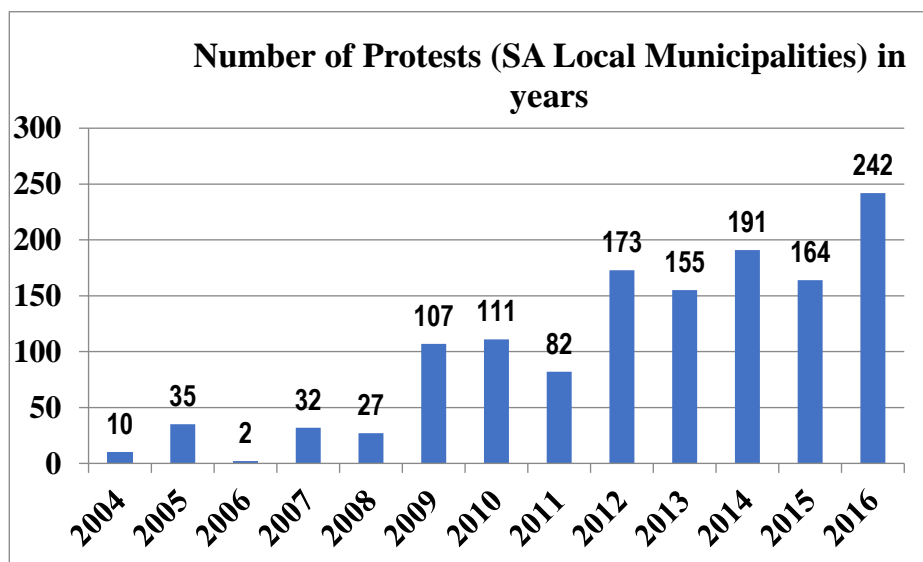


Figure 2.2: Number of Protests (SA Local Municipalities) in years

Source: Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor (2016)

The graph above demonstrates an upwards spiral in violent protests linked with service delivery in South Africa since demonstrations started in early 2004. Subsequently,

between the periods 2004 to 2008 less than 55 violent service delivery protests were recorded. However, such protests grew massively by more than 100% between 2009 and 2011. Thus, the reviewed literature associates such an increase with the conspicuous factions in the ANC, resulting in the ousting of then-president Thabo Mbeki and the formation of the Congress of the People (COPE) (Hunter, 2011). The literature divulges that the factions exploited service delivery as a scapegoat for their dissatisfaction with Mbeki's removal. Likewise, Zuern (2014) argues that during the first year of Jacob Zuma as President, the country recorded more violent service delivery protests (107) compared to the last five years of Mbeki's administration (106). Furthermore, between 2012 and 2015, it grew by 80% to 191 in 2014 and dropped to 164 in 2015. Meanwhile, 2016 recorded 242 violent service delivery protests, which is the highest number of such demonstrations in the democratic era. The intensification of protests is also associated with LGEs, which were to take place in that year (Municipal IQ, 2016). With such statistics, violent protests for service delivery have become a common occurrence in South African politics and daily life (Botes, Lenka, Marais, Matebesi & Sigenu, 2007).

Hough (2008) contends that violent protests associated with service provisions are marked by a deep conflict between highly aggrieved communities and the relevant local authorities. Hence, the outbreak of violent protests in local municipalities is a stern warning and a reminder of the continuation discounted with the performance of the legacy of the apartheid laws (Hunter, 2011). Additionally, von Holdt (2013) contends that one of the reasons for the unabated occurrence of violent demonstrations in the post-apartheid government is the mere fact that the people who were most affected are the same people who are negatively affected by the lack of essential services. Seferiades and Johnston (2012) maintain that under the ANC-led government there is a mismatch between expectations and limited skills, capacity, commitment, and the dream of the local democracy. Even though the democratic government has introduced strong policies on service provision, it is yet to be fully attained (Zuern, 2014). Hence, von Holdt et al. (2011) stipulate that the movement of the government's ability and capacity to fulfill its developmental and constitutional mandate has been marked by the proceeding and ongoing violent service delivery protests. From this background, van der Merwe (2013), projects that because of the level of frustration with the municipal

provision of services, violent protests which result from this will continue to be part of the municipalities until the government development mandate is fully realised.

The violent service delivery protests in the second decade illustrate that the black majority are frustrated by the local government's incapacity and inefficiency to provide essential services (Twala, 2014; van der Merwe, 2013). Bond and Mottiar (2013) argue that such protests are aggressively against what people view as injustice concerning the provision of basic but essential services. Subsequently, Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2011), identified two of what they argue are some of the reasons associated with violent service delivery protests in the second decade of the democratic era. The first one is recognised to be part of the value system inherited from the apartheid system. In contrast, the second reason is acknowledged to be associated with dissatisfaction with the level of services (Ngcobo & Whittles, 2016). Cebekhulu (2013) argues that violent service delivery protests during the post-apartheid era point towards a feeling of betrayal over unfulfilled promises and unmet needs. The sense of betrayal by the government leads to the development of grievances, which are assumed to be external far beyond service delivery (Piper et al., 2011).

Violent service delivery protests continue to be a piece of empirical evidence that the majority of black people are unhappy and disgruntled with the capacity of the government's response to their needs (Von Holdt, 2013). Hence, local people decide to take it to the street and fight against injustice in the democratic era to vent their anger and demonstrate their frustration (Hough, 2008). Likewise, Twala (2014) emphasises that during this time in history, several protests are reported, whereby most black people who reside in townships challenged the unfulfilled promises of the democratic government. So, this is violently conducted because of such acts; essential infrastructures such as roads, clinics, and halls, among others, are damaged (SALGA, 2015). Similarly, Madumo (2015) argues that the collective protests in current South Africa must be understood as symptoms of a society that is not only suffering from the collective and unresolved trauma of the legacy of apartheid, nonetheless, they must also serve as a symbol of the collective trauma in the new democratic system.

Recently there has been an increase in violent protests related to extrajudicial land occupations in the urban areas (Runciman, 2016). Therefore, Johansson (2019) questions the government's ability to address illegal urban land occupation despite land reform activities organised into land redistribution, restitution, and tenure reform. Subsequently, Mgushelo (2018, p. 17) argues that "providing access to land and adequate housing are indeed still some of the most significant challenges facing the historically dispossessed and urban poor". Mpofu (2017, p. 96) aptly put it "the failure by the ruling ANC to institute and implement effective urban land redistribution policies since 1994 has led to the rise of new land activism in urban areas". Gibson (2017), Beyers (2017), and Brown (2015) contend that Abahlali BaseMjondolo continues to reflect revolt against the unresolved land questions. Hence, the residents of informal settlements, who resist dispossession, repression, and evictions through independent structures, have staged violent protests demanding recognition in the city and services such as electricity and clean water (Levenson, 2017). Consequently, Paret (2015a) predicate that "it was thrust to the fore during the apartheid period when the ANC turned towards armed struggle and residents in disadvantaged black-dominated communities seeking to make their township ungovernable" (p. 108).

Scholarly writers such as Ballard, Habib, and Valodia (2006) state that social movements are significant, especially where the political system has failed to counteract the ruling party's failure to address structural inequalities. SALGA (2015) highlights that "communities are therefore speaking to government officials through protest, and yelling through disruptive and violent protest" (p. 14). These violent protests challenge the existing status quo and dismantle unequal distribution of resources in the community while creating a rare public space for the voice of the community to be heard. Notwithstanding, the consequences of violent protests on communities and community development have been dire. SALGA (2015) reports that municipalities bear the brunt of costs associated with violent protests. Despite their reasons, the National Development Plan - NDP (2011) highlights that the most devastating part of such violent protests is the desolate, harmful, and negative impact associated with them on community development. Then, the essence of the discussion in this section was to examine the nature of protests in post-apartheid South Africa. The available literature

seems to suggest that people in under-resourced communities that are characterised by high levels of inequality will eventually resort to violent protests.

2.4 Violent and disruptive protests and the poor

As indicated in Chapter 1, violent and disruptive protests assume different forms. The former are those protests that bring harm or injuries to persons or damage to property, while the latter involves blocking the road without causing damage to property and injuries to persons (Alexander et al., 2018; Bohler-Muller et al., 2017; Runciman et al., 2016). Within the South African context, protests at the local government for service delivery usually adopt the violent and disruptive approach. Netswera (2014) stipulates that despite the local government and local people dichotomy regarding service provision, local people seem to be impatient with the democratic local government. Such a view emanates from the fact that the democratically elected government has improved the standard of living in South Africa since 1994 (Cronje, 2017). This has been achieved through various programmes, such as Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP), and Growth and Employment Redistribution (GEAR), among others (Manala, 2013). For instance, Cronje (2017) argues that housing is one of South Africa's successes since 1994 because the proportion of formal housing has increased from 64% to 78% - in 1994 and 2015, respectively. At the same time, the percentage of informal housing decreased from 16% in 1996 to 14.1% in 2015.

Nevertheless, Mamokhere (2020) claims that these successes of the post-apartheid South African government have been overshadowed by the country's serious challenges of high unemployment, poverty, inequality, and political instability, which have increased protests. Hence, Cronje (2017) maintains that the democratic government still has a lot to do to satisfy the needs of the people. This includes addressing the increasing number of people and communities who are without essential and basic services such as housing, electricity, water, and sanitation (Breakfast, Bradshaw & Nomarwayi, 2019). Despite being used to challenge the government's inability to provide services, the ongoing violent and disruptive protests have influenced various issues (Breakfast et al. 2019; Hough, 2008). On the surface, the violent service delivery protests are said to

be instigated by various issues, which include but are not limited to the poor service delivery, which is seen to be yielded by the lack of essential services (Mamokhere, 2020; Manala, 2013). Alexander (2010) further maintains that corrupt leaders and officials in local municipalities precipitate dysfunctionality at the local level, which thus, leads to violent protests. Bond and Mottiar (2013) note that the poor black majority has driven the upward spiral in violent protest action over the past decade.

Alexander and Pfaffe (2014) also stipulate that South Africa has experienced thousands of violent protests since 2004, many of which were popular uprisings of the poor. Such a view emanates from the violent service delivery protests directed at local municipalities by communities where service provision remains distant from them (Molopyane, 2013; Alexander, 2010). The municipal non-responsiveness and lack of consultation, among other principles, is the source of community dissatisfaction, which then spills onto the streets, in the form of violent and disruptive protests, which are usually termed “service delivery protests” (von Holdt, 2014a). Likewise, von Holdt (2013) argues that the recurring protests in post-apartheid South Africa by poor and angry people are turning South Africa into a violent democracy. Manala (2013) also says that poor South Africans have engaged themselves in intense mass solidarity in pursuit of service delivery in recent years. Despite some success in the promise of a better life, the poor in the protesting communities experienced discrimination and were subjected to the poorest level of services (Langa & Hartford, 2018; Alexander, 2010).

In comparison, von Holdt (2014a) argues that they are driven by the poor to dismantle patronage politics and struggle for access to opportunities. Without overlooking Cronje’s (2014) argument about “a good story to tell about a better life for all” (p. 39), LenkaBula (2005) maintains that in the democratic South African municipalities, violent protests against the provision of services demonstrate that the lives of the severely deprived and impoverished by the apartheid have not entirely been transformed for the better. Thus, from this background, Manala (2013) emphasises that as a result of the period, black people in townships must wait for better service delivery to embark on violent and disruptive service delivery protests. Bornman (2013) states that the poor, mostly the recipients of poor service delivery, continue to feel deprived of their right to citizenship. Consequently, Alexander (2010) affirms that while some people have

benefited, the bulk of people remains poor. Alexander's argument suggests that South Africa is still highly unequal, and basic services are also distributed unevenly. The inability of the local municipalities to provide services equally continues to pose a devastating effect on the living condition of the poor (Serino, 2014).

The South African Municipal Workers' Union - SAMWU (2009) states that it corresponds to the ideals of an unequal democratic society for the underprivileged to unapologetically direct their demands in the form of protests against those in power. Furthermore, the lack of service delivery, lack of public engagement, and other social challenges such as youth unemployment due to nepotism and corruption have been recognised and identified as the main causes of the violent and disruptive protests (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Molopyane, 2013). Accordingly, this has been the case because protesting communities have been seen holding burners demanding the removal of corrupt officials and placards with the word "jobs" at the center (Chikulo, 2016). On the same note, Alexander and Pfaffe (2014) contend that the resort to violence and disruption has been realised by local people as an essential tool and an instrument through media to get the government to respond swiftly to their needs. Correspondingly, Cronje (2014) supports this argument and emphasises that the government pays attention to protesters whenever there are such violent and disruptive protests. While on the other hand, for Booysen (2007) the ongoing violent protests are "people-driven revolts against both the quality of services and public representation of grassroots service delivery needs" (p. 21). Subsequently, Booysen's argument cement Mottiar's (2014) point of view, which highlights and emphasises that because service delivery protests manifest more visibly at a grassroots level, therefore, it is reasonable to describe such phenomenon as a form of participatory citizenship.

Alexander (2010) predicate that it is without any doubt that in recent years the increase in violent protests related to service delivery across South Africa proves the willingness of the poor to take control of service delivery issues. Subsequently, Mchunu (2012) maintains that community development principles, including empowerment, accountability, consultation, transparency, and participation, proved to be the missing ingredient within the service delivery recipe. Hence, local people collectively organise themselves to challenge service delivery deficits in the form of citizen participation

(Mottiar, 2013). Accordingly, citizen participation is indispensable because it aims to ensure that local people actively participate in the entire cycle of service delivery (von Holdt, 2014a). Furthermore, Managa (2012) argues that the citizen initiates these mechanisms to recuperate people-centered services as an essential dimension of integrated service delivery. Consequently, Mchunu (2012) contends that violent service delivery protests demonstrate and portray the elevated frustration towards the inability of the local government in creating an environment that helps to realise and implement the principles of community development.

Scholarly writers such as Gray and Maharaj (2017), and Tshishonga and Dipholi (2013) emphasise that poor service delivery, which is accompanied by violent protests, can be associated with the failure and inability of the government to accept that people must always take center stage in the development that is meant to affect them. The South African National Treasury (2011) highlights that violent service delivery protests should be used as an essential overview of local municipal governance given the framework of this government's intended developmental function. This is partly because local people have frequently attempted to engage with the local government first, then protested when their calls were ignored (Sinwell et al., 2009). Therefore, the growing frustration which is proved through violent protests is because people are affected directly by the lack of services (von Holdt, 2014a). Local people's violent protest is the manifestation of unhappiness with, among others, local government service delivery's lack of efficiencies and effectiveness (Alexander, 2010). Cebekhulu (2013) suggests that despite the government's success in service delivery, the daily realities of social exclusion and service delivery paralysis at the local level have sparked unrest, particularly from those on the margin of South African society. If the growth of discontent about services is not addressed in the years ahead, South Africa is heading for a whirlwind, which would drastically alter the political space (Parsons, 2009).

Sinwell et al.'s (2009) research findings illustrate and confirm that the growing frustrations and dissatisfaction with local government's ability to deliver essential services are the major causes of violent and disruptive protests. An example is the intense service delivery protests that transpired in a satellite township in the rural town of Balfour in 2009 and 2010. According to Manala (2013), the service delivery protests

were characterised by violent acts that left the township in a state of despair and desolation. Part of what transpired in the townships was the looting of local shops, burning of community facilities, and severe injuries to various people, including the rubber bullets which were fired at close range at a 15-year-old boy. While at the same time, a 13-year-old boy was shot in the face and a 14-year-old in the abdomen (Manala, 2013). Such an act has occurred in several places. Thus, to stabilise and calm the situation as well as restore order, the police officers had to employ force, which included arrests of those who were looting shops, provoking public violence, and other illegal conduct (Sinwell et al., 2009). Despite severe injuries, detainees were deprived of access to necessary medical treatment. Meanwhile, in Wesselton, one of the protesters passed on during the occurrence of violent service delivery protests (Jili, 2012). Bradshaw, Breakfast, and Nomarwayi (2016) and Berntzen and Johannessen (2016) contend that protest as citizen participation is a powerful tool to influence power relations between protestors and the government; by forcing policy change; and provoking broader and sustainable systemic changes. Similarly, Ballard et al. (2006) emphasise that “social movements are therefore an avenue for marginalised people and those concerned about their interests to impact on material distribution, and social exclusion, and to claim a certain degree of influence and power over the state itself” (p.464). Nevertheless, the violent and disruptive elements that crept in during service delivery protest negatively affect community development and social progress (SALGA, 2015).

2.5 Perception of violent and disruptive service delivery protests

2.5.1 Racialisation and spatialisation of violent service delivery protests

Scholarly writers such as von Holdt, 2013, von Holdt (2012) and Alexander (2010) state that post-apartheid South Africa is an exceptionally racially unjust and violent society. This view takes into account the countless incidents associated with violent and disruptive service delivery protests and issues such as xenophobia and police violence that the country has faced in the past decades (Hough, 2008). Furthermore, black people, especially those who occupy the lower status in the economic system, have been subjected to the apartheid's legacy of socioeconomic disparities, cultures of violence,

and the effort to end it (Alexander, 2010). More psychological suffering has emerged from historical trauma originating from the same history -apartheid (von Holdt, 2013). Additionally, the racialisation of violent and disruptive service delivery protests in the democratic government originates from the notion that black people in historically deprived areas such as Cato Manor refuse to continue to be the victims of the violent system that subject them to brutal and endless poverty (Atkinson, 2007).

Subsequently, it is not surprising that South Africa's post-apartheid societies and communities continue earnestly to manifest through elevated levels of publicly conspicuous "violence among the subaltern classes, some of it directed towards the state and its symbols" (von Holdt, 2012: p. 114). The violent tactics during protests are staged by those who are excluded within the social, political, and economic hierarchy of power to destabilise the social order that continues to subject them to unbearable poverty and inequality (Alexander, 2010; Atkinson, 2007). The democratic era has been viewed as violent, with over 20 years having outshined apartheid, most black people continue to live in severe deprivation and undignified conditions (Kell, Mrengqwa and Geffen, 2019; Singh, 2018). Such living conditions contradict the constitutional and legal mandate of the local sphere of government, which dictates it to provide accessible, affordable, and sustainable services to the people (RSA - White Paper on Local Government, 1998). Thus, the unceasing inequality amongst South Africans continues to cripple the principles of a democratic government (van Ryzin, Muzzio & Immerwahr, 2004). The struggle continues, and it is one of the crucial drivers of violent uprisings in South Africa (Kell et al., 2019). Both the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and Society, Work, and Development Institute (SWOP) (2011) highlights that the democratically elected government appears to have forgotten its pledge and promises to its constituencies.

The democratic government appears to be losing the battle to address socioeconomic inequalities and achieve social justice (Alexander et al., 2014). The current statistics demonstrate that more than 45% of the South African population lives in severe poverty and deprivation, with most black people being affected, especially those who reside in townships, rural areas, and informal settlements such as - Cato Manor - which intensify because of lack of housing (Mottiar, 2013). Furthermore, they do not have access to

basic services. It is indisputable that the first democratically elected government inherited a situation where millions of people had no access to essential services (SALGA, 2015). Throughout the last few decades, access to essential services for previously disadvantaged black people has improved – but not as much as could be expected, given the timeframe (NDP, 2011). Additionally, Aphiri (2016) sustains that in the context of “socio-economic exclusion, poor black people are confined to the townships by poverty” (p. 32). Contemporary protesters live in a spatial terrain very similar to that of the apartheid era, whereby the individual and the community at large suffer from everyday violence. Such places have limited access, if nothing at all, to basic human services, including decent and adequate housing, clean water, proper sanitation, food, and healthcare (Mottiar, 2013).

Many poor and disadvantaged blacks and communities remain on the political, social, and economic margins. Besides, violent service delivery protests continue to transpire and occur along the same racial lines during pre-democratic society (van Ryzin, et al., 2004). The previously disadvantaged population, especially black people in the township, continue to face dynamics around poverty, unemployment, relative deprivation, and social injustice (Tapela, 2013). Still, such problems have been (and continue to be) “a part of a range of conflated grievances that masquerade under the general rubric of ‘service delivery’ issues and underpin many rallying calls for violent social protest action” (Ntsala and Mahlatji, 2016: p. 221). Likewise, Pointer (2015) posits that this is predominant in modern society because the contemporary protesters are equally limited to areas that are geographically remote from other citizens and basic access services. Adler and Steinberg (2000) state that violent service delivery protests are an indication that suppression among township dwellers has not been entirely successful. Stewart (2014) further argues that the rebellion of black people in townships emanates from the state itself, which has adopted global and internal measures whereby a segment of the population is treated differently, leading to injury and vulnerability.

Veriava (2014) claims that the meaning and essence of citizenship is rhetoric for the poor because of their deteriorating socioeconomic condition. As a result, despite all that has been put in place to prevent or suppress violent protests, they will cease to exist. The reason for such a strong view is derived from the mere fact that township and

informal settlement communities are densely populated by black people who “have not forfeited the cornerstones of their insurrectionary past” (Pointer, 2015: p. 20). Stewart (2014) suggests that the democratic government has been unresponsive to the everyday violence of poverty. The democratic system produced structures harmful to individual persons, especially the poor in the township. Chikulo (2016) posits that the democratic government must ensure the delivery of essential services to the previously disadvantaged sector of the population. The brutal South African past left the black majority living in poor conditions, while on the other hand battling with a vast service delivery discrepancy (van Ryzin, et al., 2004). Thus, service delivery discrepancy continues to subject blacks to race-based and spatial-orientated poverty. Black people experience inequality and exclusion from mainstream activities, as shown by persistent violent service delivery protests in non-urban areas (Edigheji, 2006b).

The constant racialisation and spatialisation of violent service delivery protests in South African local municipalities, is a critical reflection of “heaven and hell” for different races in various areas of demarcation in the same country (Singh, 2018). This is because most of the black population, especially in non-urban areas, live in severe deprivation. So, this can be said to have laid a definite and firm foundation for most black people's current poor living conditions, who still find themselves unable to break the vicious cycle of poverty and escape the deprivation trap (Chikulo, 2016; van Ryzin et al., 2004). Therefore, black people find themselves at the forefront of the growing urbanisation, which further increases the urban poor along racial lines (Kell et al., 2019; Bradshaw et al., 2016). The increase in urbanisation has led to a rise in violent land invasion and informal settlements, without essential services such as running water, electricity, and proper sanitation (Mottiar, 2014). Similarly, Allan, and Heese (2011) enunciate that the rapid growth of informal settlements, and the reluctance of the metros’ to accept shack dwellers as a permanent reality and new normal among them, means that the response to the service delivery needs of the community in these areas remains a distant reality. Consequently, this has further increased protests related to service delivery among informal settlement residents, which exacerbate violent service delivery protests along spatial and racial lines. Such protests emerge as a result of people’s struggle for citizenship in invented participatory spaces as they transform their situation (Miraftab & Wills 2005). These forms of protests emerge as a symbolic order to indicate that

injustices and the footprint of the apartheid are not entirely addressed in the democratic dispensation (Alexander, 2010). Despite the impact on community development, both the non-orderly tactics during service delivery protests are used to give people's voices a meaning as they believe that the formal invited participatory spaces are a form of tokenism – where their voices are not considered (Matebesi, 2018).

2.5.2 Deployment of party loyalists and politicisation of community development

Renwick (2018, p. 26) encapsulates that “party loyalists have appointed and deployed to all posts at all levels and in all government services - central, regional and local” within the ANC ranks”. With this blueprint, the ANC government has influenced such appointments. Furthermore, the deployment of party loyalists and party cadres has been substantially advantageous for them, fostering the idea of a party as a career path, as Desmond Tutu puts it, “a gravity train (they stopped a gravity train long enough to get on it themselves)” (Renwick, 2018, p. 26). The politicisation of development and appointments of unqualified people and party loyalists to senior positions has been the case in the ANC and its government since 1994 (Kondlo, 2010). Likewise, Renwick (2018) argues that the appointment of inexperienced and unqualified people has been lethal concerning state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Consequently, Madumo (2016) and Mbazira (2013) contend that the primary intention of politicisation of crucial positions is to increase political interference in the municipality's administration. The effect has been dramatically worse under Zuma's administration, however, the deployment doctrine was fully developed under Mbeki's administration (Asogwa, 2017).

It is thus a substantial truth that the “party come first” approach in government positions has severely crippled and incapacitated the functioning of various government institutions and other spheres of government, including local government (The Municipal Demarcation Board - MDB, 2007). Moreover, Renwick (2018) maintains that “it's also, self-evidently, is incompatible with the efficient delivery of public services” (p. 26). Renwick's point of view can also be traced to Hemson, Carter, and Karuri-Sebina (2009), who argue that most senior officials have minimal skills for the positions they occupy. Still, they are given top posts because of their political affiliation. A piece of statistical evidence is presented by the MDB (2007), which highlights that a

high proportion of municipal administrators are card caring members of the ANC. Roughly 30–60 percent do not have any qualifications beyond secondary education and do not meet the standards for their offices (Madumo, 2016). The MDB (2007) argues further that in municipalities, where senior officials who are card caring members of the organisation are at the helm of the municipality and politicisation of development, violent and disruptive service delivery protests are likely to prevail. Therefore, the unceasing appointment of card caring members in local municipalities impedes development (Asogwa, 2017; Hemson, et al. 2009).

The party politics continue unceasingly to be an obstacle to the provision of adequate, affordable, and access essential services to local municipal constituencies. This is emulated in poor responsiveness to growing public outrage over service delivery directed at local government. In cognisance of Aristotle's rationale and perspective, a man by nature is a political animal, suggesting that human activities for self-empowerment always remain political and influenced by political ideology (Madumo, 2016). So, issues of politicisation, especially in the local government, have always had a devastating impact on the willingness of the local people to volunteer and actively participate in local government affairs (Asogwa, 2017; Madumo, 2016; Meth, 2013). Also, Cameron (2010) postulates that the politicisation of community development initiatives manifests when the local government charged with ensuring equal service delivery within their area of jurisdiction begins to institutionalise and bring their political character into the processes and procedures of service delivery. Such an act makes those who do not support their political party feel alienated and excluded in the processes of development in their locality (Cameron, 2010; Rogers, 1969).

Community participation in local government affairs may legitimately be considered an end (Asogwa, 2017; Jones, Lyytikäinen, Mukherjee & Reddy, 2007). Nonetheless, the politicisation of community development is a stumbling block to active and genuine citizen participation, especially for those who are not politically affiliated (Cameron, 2010). This is because politicisation is advantageous to the politicians and party members as a means of control, but it tends to lead to a loss of identity among the people at the grassroots level (Asogwa, 2017). Moreover, the politicisation of public services has had devastating consequences and led to poor service delivery as politically

unaffiliated people get discouraged from devoting themselves to participation. For instance, Madumo (2016) reveals that the politicisation of local government affairs not only hinders active and genuine community participation, but also increases political patronage, neopatrimonialism, and prebendalism. Furthermore, the politicisation of local government affairs employment and employment opportunities in Cato Manor develops because of the interference by political leaders. Therefore, local resources are utilised to advance themselves and the banner of their political movement as opposed to community development (Asogwa, 2017; Meth, 2013).

Williams (2006) further contends that contemporary local people are just the “endorsees of pre-designed planning programmes this is partly because community participation exercises in South Africa are not genuine but primarily a playground for advancing political power and influence” (p. 197). Furthermore, the findings of the study by Jones et al. (2007) illustrate elevated levels of politicisation of public services as another barrier to inclusive and genuine participation. This is because politicisation remains primarily a partisan control of the benefits: “that is when a civil servant’s activity depends more on political than professional norms defined by administrations and ruled by law” (Cameron, 2010: p. 677). Similarly, Meth (2013) encapsulates that party politicisation of participatory spaces and community structures such as ward committees by the ANC comrades in Cato Manor hamper genuine participation of those who are non-partisan and politically unaffiliated. Hence, the outcome of ineffective participation processes is further witnessed in outbreaks of violent service delivery protests from movements such as Abahlali BaseMjondolo (Beyers, 2017).

2.5.3 Protests as a form of communication

The lack of communication between government and communities is perceived as one reason why local people embark on violent service delivery protests (Akinboade, Mokwena, & Kinck 2013). This is for the reason that it leads to people being unaware of municipal activities (van der Merwe, 2013). Hence, communication is one of the important aspects that is used to facilitate transferring and conveying intended information from the government to the public and from the constituencies to the government (van Der Merwe, 2013). Furthermore, according to Mcloughlin (2015),

communication should be regarded and prioritised as one of the state's core values and principles in the service of the people, including accountability, equity, empowerment, and transparency. Mcloughlin (2015) and Theron (2008) claim that service delivery will be more than a question of the state's physical function and output but also assume a sociological perception of the formative elements of the idea of good governance. Official government documents such as Chapter 4 of the Local Government MSA No 2000 encourages municipalities to communicate to the community members information regarding their locality.

Communication between local people and government is important because it keeps the community members updated and informed concerning the level of development within their locality. In terms of service delivery, “protests are a gauge of the effectiveness of a municipality’s communication mechanisms and their success in delivering services” (Akinboade, Mokwena & Kinfack, 2014: p. 3). Drawing from Akindode and Co, communication between local government and local people is indispensable because it allows public participation in local government matters to be more visible and realised by the local people. Hence, this is critical in a democratic-led government because public participation distinguishes the contemporary democratic government from the apartheid government (RSA - White Paper on Local Government, 1998). Ongoing communication between local government and local people is essential to deliver services relevant to addressing and responding to community needs (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Communication is regarded as a necessary form of public participation because it involves a process of mutual understanding, rapport, and the reciprocity of information between two or more people (Mcloughlin, 2015). Thus, communications establish community development ethics such as transparency and empowerment, among others. This means that communication as a process dismantles the top-down approaches, “prescriptive and often arrogant one-way knowledge transportation, and communication styles imposed on communities” (Theron, 2008: p. 7-8).

Notwithstanding, the lack of unceasing and continuous communication promotes a lack of accountability, openness, and corruption, among other issues contributing to failures and inefficiencies in terms of service provision. Protests are a means of achieving empowerment and agency and creating their own spaces of communication and

interactive participation, but violent protests affect community development (Paret, 2015a). Similarly, van Hoof (2011) reports that violent protests are not an overnight decision that local people engage in whenever they want to. However, findings from their studies demonstrate that protests are the last resort to participate in interactive communication avenues with local government. Likewise, von Holdt (2014a) argues that violent protests are used when permissible communication avenues such as memorandum and meetings are exhausted to a futile end with local government officials. Protests emerge as the last hope to have the government respond to their grievances. Bryant (2008) captured one participant asserting that “now that we’re protesting, our voice is heard. Our struggle is the voice of silent victims. We hadn’t been able to talk before” (p. 50). Furthermore, von Holdt et al. (2011) posits that when communication channels between local communities and the local government are perceived as locked and worthless, violent and disruptive protest actions become the best possible avenue of engagement with the local government. Therefore, based on the premise from the reviewed literature, it can be argued that communication breakdown limits interactive participation, which has proven to frustrate local people, who feel that they have a message that needs to be heard and attended to urgently.

The government refuses to listen to them (Paret, 2015a) after a long struggle to get the local government to be responsive and accountable to their needs. Similarly, Nembambula (2014) argues that “due to power shift community somehow think they have lost their power as a result of government officials who deliberately put deaf ears to the ground after being elected into office” (p. 130). Likewise, Sinwell et al. (2009) posit that after considerable attempts by the local people to communicate with the municipality, community concerns fell on deaf ears. Consequently, local people felt that the democratic local government is failing to listen to their needs, which thus angered local people and therefore the eruption of violent protests, which led to severe injuries, looting of small businesses, and burning of private and public properties (Chiwarawara, 2014; and Sinwell et al., 2009). Such protests originated because the marginalised in the community felt they were being left out in the democratic system. In their research, Runciman, Maruping, and Moloto (2017) captured one angry resident saying, democracy is for rich people. Thus, the perception of local people with violent protests is that it contests the power dynamics in the community.

One of the research participants from Von Holdt et al. (2011) study was captured arguing that “violence is the only language that our government understands. We submitted a memorandum, but nothing was done. We became violent immediately problems were resolved. It is the smoke that calls” (p. 49). This means that the formal ways of engaging the government often falls on deaf ears. Thus, it is through violent means such as the burning of infrastructure that the government listens and responds to community grievances. Despite that violence during service delivery protests is dire to people’s livelihood strategies, it has been used as an active mode of communication (von Holdt, 2013). It is for this reason that Von Holdt et al. (2011) sustain that the government must take the blame for violent protests, primarily associated with service delivery. Subsequently, the inability of local government to communicate with local people when people exhaust all available channels to engage with the government has created a sense whereby people believe that violent act is the only way the government will respond to the plea of the people (Paret, 2015a). Furthermore, when the government responds better to violence, local people are made to believe that violence during service delivery protests is a reasonable means through which local people must engage to re-establish themselves under predicament and hostile living conditions.

2.6 Impact of service delivery protests on development

2.6.1 Economic development

Generally, at the heart of local government service delivery mandate, is community development, which is linked with a continuous struggle and an attempt to advance the living conditions of its constituency in society through various community-centered initiatives. The RSA - White Paper on Local Government (1998) highlights that local government, through the provision of services to the people, needs to utilise its powers and functions to maximise local people’s impact on social development and economic growth. Similarly, Koma (2012) argues that service delivery encompasses the rendering of basic needs to the community, including improvement in infrastructural and socio-economic activities. Thus, service delivery within the context of development can be a crucial and fundamental component in community development initiatives (Thobejane,

2011). This is partly because it offers local communities the chance to identify long-term solutions to their problems and improve their quality of life (McLoughlin, 2015). In the case of infrastructure, for instance, Pradhan and Bagchi (2012) argue that the provision of the necessary infrastructure, such as roads, has a considerable impact on the livelihood of the local people. This is for the reason that local people find innovative ways to use infrastructure at their disposal to improve their living conditions through activities such as Small, Medium, and Macro Enterprises (SMMEs).

Thobejane (2011) debates that infrastructural capital plays a crucial role in fast-tracking development prospects and redressing development issues. Kodongo and Ojah (2016) contend that access to proper infrastructure promotes social development while simultaneously improving the quality of life through enhanced productivity and sustainable economic growth. Pradhan and Bagchi (2012) present a critical and valuable example, as they argue that when the government improves transport infrastructure, such a setup can contribute to economic development by altering increasing demand. For example, the construction of transport-related infrastructure generates and intensifies the demand for intermediate inputs from various sectors and stimulates the local economy's multiplier effect. The idea by Pradhan and Bagchi is like that of John Maynard Keynes, who encapsulates that the central aspect of economic growth was a tangible investment, infrastructure projects, i.e., investment in new (rather than a replacement) (Willis, 2011). Furthermore, investment in new infrastructure, as Keynes appropriately put it, has the potential to create jobs and further regeneration, which has the potential to address socioeconomic ills (Willis, 2011).

The NDP (2011) highlights that infrastructure is required not only to accelerate economic growth and increase employment possibilities but is also fundamental to promote and advance inclusive growth and to offer citizens the necessary tools they need to improve their lives and increase their income. Kodongo and Ojah (2016) and Dash and Sahoo (2010) note that infrastructure indirectly affects socioeconomic growth, while Thobejane (2011) further argues that infrastructure in community development acts as a catalyst for local economic development and livelihood strategies. Therefore, infrastructure within a community development perspective offers local people various livelihood strategies such as local trade and informal economy

(Ngcamu, 2019). Such strategies enhance and aid essential services, build capacity, and advance gender equity (Thobejane, 2011). Furthermore, this creates employment opportunities and develops SMMEs, alleviating poverty and improving the status of local people and the vulnerable groups in society, such as women. Consequently, women can participate fully in the mainstream economy, which is predominantly imperative in the case of rural unemployed women, who are perceived to be among the most underprivileged groups in society (Ngcamu, 2019; Cebekhulu, 2013; Dash & Sahoo, 2010).

Empirical evidence of the positive impact of infrastructure on economic growth is apparent in the study by Dash & Sahoo (2010). Also, their research shows the impacts of social and physical infrastructure on the development of the economy between 1970 and 2006. The study highlights that both infrastructure sectors have a positive influence on the economy. Despite, enhancing local economic development, Kumari and Sharma (2017) emphasise that improved infrastructure has positive implications on economic growth, even at the national and the regional level. Also, it has the potential to contribute “to sectors such as rural development, poverty reduction, agriculture development, and regional development” (Kumari & Sharma, 2017: p. 30). Therefore, if improved infrastructure plays such a critical role in the livelihood of the local people, it means that physical capital deficit, which occurs because of violent service delivery protests, negatively affects local people and constituency’s ability to assume an active role in socio-economic development (SALGA, 2015). Subsequently, Ngcamu (2019) maintain their critical view that infrastructural deficit represents an essential binding constraint on some traditional antecedents of socio-economic development.

Infrastructure development is one of the major factors contributing to overall economic development and growth in many ways, such as (i) injecting direct investment into infrastructure creates production to stimulate economic activities; (ii) it reduces transaction costs and trade costs, improving competitiveness; and (iii) it provides employment opportunities and physical and social infrastructure to the poor (Dash & Sahoo, 2010: p. 373).

Infrastructural development is a backbone and the cornerstone of socio-economic development and livelihood strategies (Dash & Sahoo, 2010). Subsequently, when infrastructural destruction, such as the burning of privately and publicly owned facilities,

manifests during violent protests related to service delivery in the local sphere of government, such restrain and confine local government financial capabilities (Thobejane, 2011). This is the reason that local municipalities are required to reinvest in the damaged facilities and amenities, which delays the community's much-needed socio-economic development (SALGA, 2015). Likewise, writers such as Mourão, Kilgo, and Sylvie (2021), Kgatele (2018), and Chiwarawara (2014) among others maintain that the destructive nature of the protests, and service delivery has, by no doubt, resulted in the diversion of resources such as financial and human resources. This is partly because the destruction of the available facilities creates bottlenecks for sustainable growth and negatively affects poverty reduction strategies (Dash & Sahoo, 2010). Chiwarawara (2014) and Le Roux (2005) argue that damage and the looting of local shops, facilitate socio-economic development and LED in the community, resulting in investors opting to withdraw their services. SALGA (2015), Ndlovu (2014), Chiwarawara (2014), and Dassah (2012) highlight that the ability of the local municipality to attract private investors into its jurisdiction is evident in it being one of the fastest-growing municipalities, with the potential to bring developmental welfare to the people.

However, when protestors disrupt socio-economic activities in the municipality during service delivery protests, they act as a stumbling block to potential investors. Not only do potential investors withdraw their interest in communities where protestors disrupt economic activities but tourism for much-needed economic and social reforms for community economic development suffers (Mbazira, 2013; Dash & Sahoo, 2010). Correspondingly, Ndlovu (2014) contends that significant developments and SMMEs with major economic activity in communities have had a 'trickle-down' impact, resulting in the creation of job opportunities for the residents and the success of small enterprises. Nonetheless, when local people are known to be violent, disruptive, and looters of local businesses, potential investors choose to refrain from investing in that municipality in fear that people will undermine their profits (Dassah, 2012). Furthermore, Twala (2014) states that the lack of service hinders people's abilities to enhance their livelihood strategies through various socio-economic approaches. Local businesses are also at the receiving end of violent and disruptive service delivery concerns (Khambule, Nomdo, & Siswana, 2019; Kebede, 2018; Dash & Sahoo, 2010).

Petterson (2016) highlights that roughly 61% of South African businesses have been negatively affected by violent and disruptive service delivery protests. Accordingly, of the 61%, 56% of businesses identified disruption of supply utility as a cause for unsatisfactory business progress. In comparison, 46% attributed violent protests, including service delivery, workers' strike, and boycott, as critical concerns that negatively affect business operations. Not only has this trend been evident in South Africa but in other countries as well. For example, Kebede (2018) reveals that the aftermath of the political instability and protests in Ethiopia led to the massive decline of several home-based tour operators' and businesses in various communities dropped by half. Hence, this section demonstrated that local economic activities, business operations, and other business ventures cannot be driven with success in a violent-prone environment (Petterson, 2016). Consequently, from this background, it is evident that protests affect business operations (Mourão et al, 2021; Khambule et al., 2019; Kebede, 2018; Petterson, 2016; Chiwarawara, 2014; Thobejane, 2011; Dash & Sahoo, 2010).

2.6.2 Social and cultural development

Scholarly writers such as Sanderatne (2017), Ndlovu (2014), and Jili (2012) among others highlight that protests negatively affect socioeconomic development and human-made capital (infrastructure) among other critical community development initiatives. Other scholars, such as Teo and Loosemore (2017), presented a contrary perspective to that of the anti-protests' writers. Their view is grounded on the Marxist radical and militant approach to sustainable and inclusive community development initiatives. Revolutionaries emphasise that protests are an essential mechanism, particularly for communities that are negatively affected by the construction or the development of community projects (Teo & Loosemore, 2017). Such a view by pro-protest writers is essential to consider even in the context of service delivery. This is partly because some protests associated with service delivery are motivated by a lack of genuine community participation and the lamination of the local constituents in community development initiatives (Shaidi, 2013). Hence, services that are provided by municipalities are not in line with the needs of the people (Borain, 2010). Therefore, under such circumstances, protests become a crucial mechanism that assists in circumventing the increasingly

negative impact of community development initiatives, which are treating people as clients instead of active stakeholders and partners with service providers (Teo & Loosemore, 2017). Established writers in community development, such as Mathie and Cunningham (2003) have advocated for the treatment of local people as citizen-active stakeholders in the development agenda instead of as clients.

Consequently, Teo and Loosemore (2017) articulate that there is empirical evidence that local communities, who have been ill-treated and viewed as clients in the development agenda, are increasingly becoming conscientious and self-empowered. Furthermore, they are becoming well-organised and willing to engage in protests to advance social change from below. Other evidence by Mathie and Cunningham (2003) in the United States of America (USA) demonstrates that excluded local communities in Savannah, Georgia, mobilised and acted against the deteriorating economic and social development because of their exclusion in the development plan. They were treated as clients as opposed to citizens. In democratic societies such as South Africa, “protests are a legitimate and necessary way for communities to redress issues ignored by decision-makers and any other development stakeholders” (Hanna et al., 2014: p. 217). Hanna et al highlight the impact of protests on project implementation and the improvement of service delivery. Hanna et al. (2014) argue that the extent to which protests, even for service delivery, can influence the redistribution of resources for the improvement of the socio-economic condition of local communities cannot be overemphasised.

Similarly, Vanclay, Esteves, Aucamp, and Franks (2015) argued that protests usually happen when the local people assume or believe that environmental catastrophes and socio-economic implications are not adequately addressed (or are viewed as not being adequately dealt with). Protests become a critical and essential element in integrating local people who feel that their future is compromised and that they are not being respected by their leaders (Mottiar, 2013). Rucht, Koopmans, and Neidhardt (1999) further argued that there are various instances, where local people feel disentangled with services in their communities. Local people have, through protests, collectively opposed a community “project from conception and did not provide consent for its implementation or operation” (Hanna et al., 2014: p. 237). An example is presented by Anguelovski (2011) who highlights a protest in 2005 of a local community in Espinar,

Peru, where local people, through protests, stopped the establishment of a mining project despite the vented potential of the mine to enhance community development capacity in the village. The local people who were vigorous and assertive in their approach “were mainly concerned about the absence of a holistic vision and plan for the relocating families, sustainable environmental plan, community development, and demands negotiated individually by people” (Anguelovski, 2011: p. 390).

Writers such as Vanclay et al. (2015) and Hanna et al. (2014), among others, in their respective studies, provided a positive connotation of protests on community development initiatives. Thus, drawing from their wide-ranging research studies, it can be aptly stated that even in the case of protests, such robust confrontation with local municipalities raises questions of accountability (Tsheola, 2012). In the context of violent service delivery protests, local people engage in radical confrontation with the municipality as they feel that the services the municipality is rendering are not a reflection of their needs (Mottiar, 2015). Furthermore, Anguelovski (2011) highlights that the protests that transpired in the village of Espinar were a tool to confront the ineffectiveness of the prevailing dialogue by reducing the “distance” and power disparity between local people and government officials. It is therefore evident that it is from missing municipal-community dialogue that the pro-protests writers argue that protests are part of the wide unfolding of social dramas and are a tool to seek redressive action in contentious depriving situations (Hanna et al., 2014).

Interesting debates have also emerged associated with youth and masculinity during violent service delivery protests (Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority - LGSETA, 2015). For example, writers on violent protests such as Langa and Kiguwa (2013) and Langa and Von Holdt (2012) encapsulate that violence during service delivery protests is used by disempowered and socially deprived young men to reassert their lost power due to the inability to achieve a socially constructed status of men. Furthermore, Langa and Kiguwa (2013) enunciate that this is more prevalent, especially if the target of their protest action are men who appear to emasculate and undermine them by centralising the limited resources and opportunities in the community. The reviewed literature on the ongoing violent service delivery protests in local municipalities establishes that there is an increasing role played by young people,

particularly young men, without downplaying the role of young women during violent service delivery protests. For instance, writers such as Langa and Kugiwa (2013) Von Holdt et al. (2011), Hunter (2006) and Whitehead (2005) among others, illustrate that deficiency of any sort against men and their ability to demonstrate manhood is likely to ignite violence in the society. Therefore, it can be said that during service delivery protests, these young men go beyond just to challenge the status quo and social injustice in their respective communities (Ndinga-Kanga, van der Merwe, & Hartford, 2020).

However, young men also challenge a government system that they maintain is depriving them of the ability to become men (von Holdt et al., 2011). Similarly, Langa and Kugiwa (2013) contend that a presumed gap between a person's perception of the values, goods, and status he is entitled to, and his opinion of his actual condition is likely to make them feel deprived and then become hostile, angry, and aggressive. Also, von Holdt et al. (2011) maintains that young unemployed men in the service-deprived township and informal settlements compare themselves to elite men. The greater the deprivation perceived by young men, the more the act of violence is likely to manifest whenever an opportunity prevails (LGSETA, 2015). Likewise, von Holdt et al. (2011) argue that young men exploit violent service delivery protests to express their frustration because unemployment deprives them of an ideal notion of masculinity, such as establishing their households.

The insurgent and dissatisfied young men then constitute, among other things - an assertion of masculinity in response to their inability to fulfill the societal facet of manhood (Langa & von Holdt, 2012). Moreover, Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p. 20) sustain that violence during service delivery protests for these young men is fuelled by "the hegemonic masculinity, which stresses the dominant cultural stereotypes in which men are expected to aspire to power and wealth". Additionally, through violence, these expectations are implicated in service delivery protests and other demonstrations that usually occur in local municipalities (LGSETA, 2015). Likewise, Langa and Kiguwa (2013, p. 23) argue that one of the research participants specified that the reason behind his participation in violent service delivery protests is the mere fact that "I want to get married. But I cannot afford lobola because I'm not working". Thus, as expressed by

Hunter (2006), the above evidence shows “how exertions of male power, such as violence, emerge partially out of male disempowerment in society” (p. 99).

Langa and Kiguwa (2013) argue that the feeling of being disempowered can turn into hatred and anger and burst into violence during peaceful service delivery protests. The underprivileged young men acknowledge this as sabotaging their masculinity as they are unable to start their families (Hunter, 2006). Hence, service delivery protests provide them with a chance to exercise their manhood through violence and an opportunity to represent the community (von Holdt et al., 2011). Moreover, Langa and von Holdt (2012) concur with this idea as they argue that considering how current forms of differential citizenship undermine masculinity, it is not surprising that young men form part of the violent service delivery protest concerned group. Therefore, the increasing violence during service delivery protests, whereby young people are at the forefront, can also be defined concerning the prominence of unemployed youth in the struggle for their survival, which is exploited in the form of service delivery protests.

2.6.3 Political development

Several writers such as Alexander and Pfaffe (2014) and Mottiar and Bond (2012) illustrate that violent protests in South Africa are not a new phenomenon. From apartheid into the democratic era, protests have played a significant role in the political landscape of the country. Ballard et al. (2006) claim that “...very few observers of the South African scene would deny that social movements contributed to the emergence of a political climate that encouraged state elites to become more responsive to the country’s most marginalised citizenry” (p. 466). Several scholars concur that protests are essential in challenging the status quo and social injustice apartheid colonialism, and even neo-colonialism (von Holdt et al., 2011; Hough, 2008). Brown (2017, p. iii) further suggests that there is almost no “country or continent that can claim that they have not experienced some form of unrest, peaceful or violent”. This is because unrest is part of political participation. Thus, in the case of South African local municipalities, violent protests are usually led by citizens who are dissatisfied with the exploitative social arrangements or unfulfilled promises by their leaders. Thus, Brown’s argument emphasises that protests worldwide have been used by various social movements,

CSOs, political parties, non-state actors, and local people to enhance and inform decisions in the wake of community development initiatives and development at large. For Ballard et al. (2006), social movements have been significant, especially in South Africa

where the formal political system has failed to produce a political party to the left of the ANC to more directly champion the cause of the poor, protests contribute to the restoration of political plurality in the political system.

Noteworthy is that Brown (2017) and Ballard et al (2006)'s argument resonates with Mchunu's (2012) perspective that protests executed to obstruct and challenge policy decisions and policy implementation at the municipal level are likely to have a more significant impact than those executed to evoke constructive policy innovations. As one of the universal rights, protests, even in the early centuries, have often stimulated desired social change and led to the advancement of human rights and social justice (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). In addition, even in modern society, protests continue to help define and protect civic space worldwide. Usually, the protests emanate from the desire of the local people in a society to challenge and struggle against what protestors deemed irrational and undiplomatic actions (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). For instance, in service delivery, protests emanate because of unresponsive local government, among other issues (Manala, 2013). The frequent resort to protest activity by relatively powerless groups directed towards local municipalities based on municipal services, suggests that service delivery protest represents an essential aspect of a minority group who feel disgruntled and disconnected from the municipal services. Due to the nature of protests, United Nations Human Rights Committee (2011) states that protests in society "encourage the development of an engaged and informed citizenry" (p. 3). Hence, protests can be said to have an ability to enhance informed decisions, as protests strengthen representative democracy by enabling the direct participation of local people in public affairs.

Protests in general offer people an opportunity to voice their concerns, and express their dissent, and grievances to the authorities and service providers (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). The report by the Right2Know (2015, p. i) stipulates that "the right to protest is a crucial way for people to speak out about issues that matter to them and make sure that people in power listen to their and respond to people's concerns".

The above view by Right2know highlights protests as a critical decision-making mechanism, which offers local people an opportunity to challenge authorities to listen and react to their demands. Zinn (1997) concurs with this and argues that protesting beyond the law is not anti-democratic; instead, essential to upholding democratic principles. Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) argue that during protests, disruption, facilitation, and persuasion influence political agenda, decision-making, and implementation processes. Rucht (2007) stipulates that protests must be understood as community-led activities that represent recurrent elements of current democracies. Rucht (2007) and Zinn (1997) adopt the Marxist view of protests, which emphasise social action in society as an essential tool to maintain social order.

The UN Human Rights Committee (2011) is of the view, that generally, protest actions are a cornerstone and key to democratic principles and “complement the holding of free and fair elections” (p. 7). Perspectives of writers on protests such as Mottiar and Bond (2012) and Zinn (1997) and movements such as the UN Human Rights Committee (2011) are grounded on how protests created change in the past have often been deeply affected by historical context. Van Stekelenburg (2015) stresses that disruptive protests are likely to exert strong pressure on the government to consider and respond to the matters raised by the protestors. Studies on protests by writers such as De Vos (2015) and Piven and Cloward (2015), among others, provide substantial evidence to support the perception that violent and disruptive protests have the potential to significantly challenge political agendas. Van Stekelenburg (2015) argued that protests are “moments of communication, and messages are simultaneously communicated to the government and the public” (p. 3). Due to the nature of protests, such demonstrations press the authorities to get demands met. Quaranta (2014) coincides with Van Stekelenburg (2015) and claims that protest action as noninstitutionalised direct political action occurs outside of institutional politics to influence decisions that affect the populace or normal practices. Therefore, drawing from the above argument on the impact of protests on decision-making processes, it can be argued at this preliminary stage that protest action is executed mainly with the idea to challenge and oppose the status quo or decisions that the people see as irrational and undiplomatic (Van Stekelenburg, 2015; Quaranta, 2014).

As van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) argued, protest actions are a tool that permits individuals or groups to challenge and disturb the degrading political, economic, or social systems. Protests characterised by social capital and collective responsibility challenge the top-down blueprint and the power arrangement in government. Cebekhulu (2013, p. 119) argues that the top-down approach and power arrangements “lead to politicians to control many aspects of an individual’s life from birth to the moment of death, through regulations”. Cebekhulu is of the idea that such power arrangements are just the means used to centralise power in the heads of the few, which leads to an uninformed decision. This system of power arrangement undermines the voice of the people (Tesoriero, 2010). Furthermore, the lack of informed political decisions is one of the phenomena within which the issues of protests can be traced. In a similar line of thought, Cebekhulu (2013) contends that “politicians build bridges even where there are no rivers” (p. 119). The rationale behind such a robust view is the mere fact that there has been an outcry that local government processes of service delivery fail to recognise and acknowledge local knowledge unless the elections are nearby, it is only then, that politicians will promise people to offer services even those which are not needed.

In countless service delivery protests, such as the one that transpired in Gugulethu Side B Cape Town in 2011, the frustrated urban township residents were aptly captured in placards stating, “Welcome to hell: SA township” (Meyer, 2011). Local people continue to complain about the decision taken on their behalf because of the power arrangement in their communities (Tesoriero, 2010). According to Brackertz and Meredyth (2009), protests manifest partly because conceptual tensions around decision-making processes in local government remain unaddressed. This is because uninformed decision-making leads to the provision of services that fail to address the socio-economic ills of the people (Mottiar and Bond, 2012). When the local government fails to consult with local people over their social ills, they feel that their dignity is compromised, and they are likely to oppose development through protests (Tesoriero, 2010).

Tesoriero (2010) contends that valuing local knowledge through consultation is a critical component of service delivery processes. Therefore, protests as organised social movements that emanate from the corners of society usually have modest and local ambitions that serve to conscientise powerholders on development issues (Brackertz &

Meredyth, 2009). Likewise, Ploštajner and Mendeš (2005) posit that through mass protests, local people represent and show direct democracy as inefficient and ineffective: the ill-treated and the disgruntled organise themselves to force social change. This resonates with the claim by Sanches (2022); Peschard and Randeria (2020); Breakfast et al. (2019); Ngwan (2019); Piper (2019); Selmeczi (2019); Kang and Tripp (2018) and Pithouse (2016) that the noticeable impact of community protests in the country's political space today, is that they represent the common interest of the marginalised and empower the poor to put apply pressure on the government to pay significant attention to their plight. Nevertheless, the violent and disruptive element and tactics during protest action that sometimes leads to looting and property damage subsequently divert intention from what people are protesting for to what is vandalised (SALGA, 2015). It can be stated that violent protests are embedded in the history of South Africa.

2.7 The betrayal of social change

2.7.1 Is “A better life for all” a dream deferred?

The ANC went into the electorate with the campaign slogan “a better life for all” immediately after the last apartheid government announced the first democratic election in 1994. This slogan was highly influenced by the country's history, where the black majority was side-lined in government matters and could not enjoy the same benefits as the white minority (Cronje, 2017). This is because the apartheid policies ensured that most of the black population in the country lived in a severe and unpleasant environment (Magidimisha & Chipungu, 2019). Furthermore, the black majority was perverse to poverty, poor housing, poor health care, inadequate educational amenities, lack of access to clean running water and proper sanitation, and unaffordable electricity, among other issues (Manala, 2013). In short, the overall intention of the apartheid government was to ensure unequal access to social and essential services, especially amongst the black population (Mashamaite, 2014; Cebekhulu, 2013). Therefore, it was against this background that the slogan was established. Hence, a promise for “a better life for all” came at the right time, when the majority of the black people were miserable and disadvantaged in their native land (Manala, 2013).

The ANC's "better life for all" slogan as a progressive initiative provided the previously disadvantaged sector of the population with a new glimpse of hope (Mashamaite, 2014). Furthermore, Cebekhulu (2013) and Barolsky (2012) sustain that the ANC's slogan brought confidence and hope that better socio-economic conditions such as eradicating immense poverty, improving basic amenities, and general improvement in the quality of their lives, which they were deprived of by the apartheid government for more than four decades. Magidimisha and Chipungu (2019, p. 155) state that it meant that "post-apartheid South Africa is no longer a polarised state where access to public services is only enjoyed by the privileged few in the community". Hence, the slogan was embraced mainly by most black people as a new vision of the country, which raised their expectations of the improved well-being of the black masses (Mashamaite, 2014). Despite that, the democratic government has done a tremendous job of improving the standard of living, infrastructure, and housing for the poor, among other achievements (Magidimisha & Chipungu, 2019; Manala, 2013). There has been an outburst of emotions leading to violent protest, which appears to be an unfulfilled promise for "a better life for all", especially in local townships (Chikulo, 2016).

One of the challenges associated with such protests is the fact that they have increasingly resulted in xenophobic attacks on foreign African nationals and foreigners (Chikulo, 2016). The notion of "a better life for all" is perceived as an unrealistic promise in South Africa (Kroth, Larcinese & Wehner, 2016). This is because "despite the achievement of significant service delivery milestones, little progress has been made on the central objective of reducing poverty, inequality and unemployment" (Chikulo, 2016, p. 54). More than two decades after the anticipated promise of "a better life for all" and the system of democracy, communities are still faced with poor service delivery (Stein, 2018). Hence, South Africans are losing hope in the promise of "a better life for all" (Eye Witness, 2016). This has been prevalent in the 2016 LGE, where the ANC lost most of its Metropolitan municipalities, including Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane, Johannesburg, and Ekurhuleni (Eye Witness, 2016). The literature indicates that part of the reason for the massive and conspicuous decline in the ANC support, especially in the voting polls, can be associated with the growing level of unfulfilled election campaign promises (Chikulo, 2016; Gouws, Moeketsi, Motlounge, Tempelhoff, Van Greuning, & Van Zyl, 2010). Hence, the delays in the fulfillment of the promises made,

do not only affect the dominance of the ANC but also affect the constitutional mandate of the government to achieve human rights and social justice (Eye Witness, 2016). Figure 2.7 indicates a massive decline in ANC support in Metropolitan Municipalities.

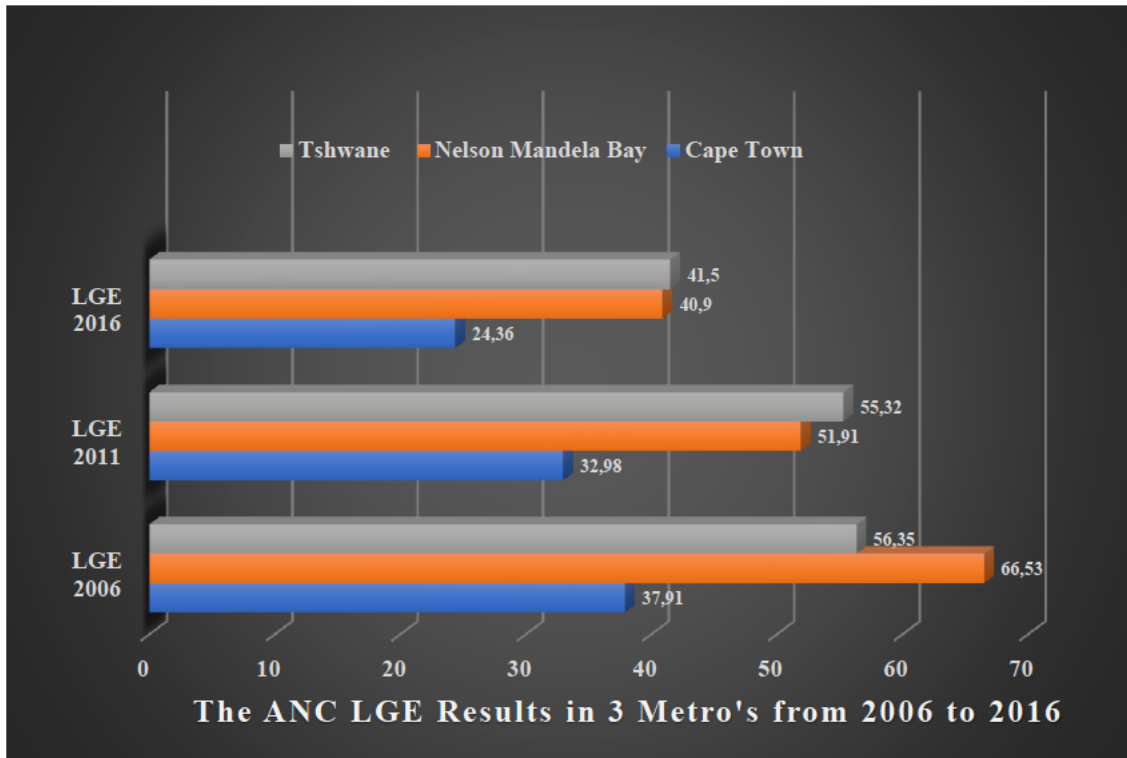


Figure 2.3: The ANC LGE Results in 3 Metro's from 2006 to 2016

Source: (Stats SA, 2017)

Daily Maverick News Paper (2016) reports that Nelson Mandela Bay has experienced several violent service delivery protests in the past decade. This also includes failure to address issues of housing shortages. Furthermore, before the 2016 LGE, Tshwane experienced massive violent and disruptive demonstrations related to poor service delivery that led to the clash between police and the community, xenophobic attack, and the destruction of property (Eye Witness, 2016). Despite a promise for “a better life for all,” the ongoing violent service delivery protests in South African local municipalities are exacerbated by the growing inequality and poverty and demonstrate that the lives of those who were previously alienated by apartheid have not been wholly altered (Magidimisha, & Chipungu, 2019; Selmeczi, 2012). This is difficult to accept, especially for the previously disadvantaged sector of the population who fought tirelessly against unjust laws of apartheid for their freedom and the improvement of

their lives and living conditions (Chikulo, 2016). Hence, they continue to experience unfulfilled promises by the democratic government (Manala, 2013).

The unfulfilled promises hinder the patterns of social progress, which thus increases anger and frustration against the government, which promised them improved living conditions, quality, and affordable services (Magidimisha, & Chipungu, 2019; Cebekhulu, 2013). Correspondingly, the literature review demonstrates that most violent protests associated with poor service delivery are rooted in among other things the high unemployment rate, especially among young people (Ukwandu, 2017). These people feel neglected and rejected by the people's government, for the people, and by the people that assumed power with a promise of “a better life for all” of the constituencies (Cronje, 2017). Additionally, the black majority continues to be the victims of poor service delivery, which exacerbates extreme poverty, unceasing inequality, human rights degradation, and social justice (Cebekhulu, 2013). This inexorably leads to the eruption of violence and disruption of service delivery protests, which affect community development (Buffel, 2017). The Saturday Star (2014, p. 1) reported that “the hope for a better life for all has not happened quickly enough or reached as many people as the 1994 leaders had set out to do”.

In the State of the Nation Address (SONA) (2014), then-president Jacob Zuma argues that people protest because they have waited too long for services and are losing hope in the government’s ability to deliver its promises. Selmeczi (2012) states that the grassroots shack dwellers movement - Abahlali baseMjondolo - is the visible image of the unfulfilled promise of “a better life for all” and decent housing from the government. Also, Bryant (2008) posits that the struggle for Abahlali BaseMjondolo has always been for the delivery of houses, land, and basic services among shack dwellers. Bryant’s (2008, p. 51) research captured a participant stating:

The ANC promised ‘a better life for all, but I don’t know, it’s not a better life for all, especially if you live in the shacks. We have waited for promises since 1994. To date - 2007, that’s more than ten years, we are still waiting to fulfill government promises. If we just sit and wait, we’ll be waiting forever. So, we started toyi toying to upholding them accountable over unfulfilled promises.

The above quote demonstrates that the movement to facilitate the provision of “a better life for all” poses adverse difficulties in the community development process, which is now seen as an instigator of violence and disruption during service delivery protests in various South African local municipalities. Mottiar (2013) postulates, that, despite the promise of a ‘better life for all’, recently, South Africans have experienced and engaged in a series of violent protests against government entities, particularly local municipalities, over poor service delivery. Manala (2013, p. 523) highlights that “in the current South African context, service delivery that is supposed to open avenues for “a better life for all” promised in 1994 and subsequent election campaigns is deficient, however, the contrary is true”. Consequently, living conditions, socioeconomic status, and access to essential amenities are yet to be positively transformed, “which leads to violent protests by residents of various townships” (Manala, 2013: p. 523). Furthermore, Bryant's viewpoint can be interpreted in a way that people's long-awaited promise for “a better life for all” is re-emerging with counter-productive outcomes in the people's eyes, especially the previously disadvantaged population (Chikulo, 2016).

Ukwandu (2017) encapsulates that whatever the causes may be, inadequate service delivery in South African townships and communities hinders the government's progressive realisation and fulfilment of the 1994 promise of a "better life for all". Furthermore, Manala (2013) enunciates that such a delay in fulfilling the long-awaited promise of “a better life for all” perpetuates the sustained social injustice and severe poverty that the black community had to undergo since the arrival of white settlers on the shores of the Cape led by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. White settlers annexed every aspect of the native's land and lives for their benefit, leaving them in abject poverty and landless (Chikulo, 2016). The central point of the democratic government since 1994 has been to achieve a better life for all (Bryant, 2008). However, Buffel (2017) sustains that “a better life for all” is a dream deferred. Subsequently, a few individuals particularly the powerful elite, those of the political class, and entrepreneurs, have managed to make a fortune, while for the poor the dream had failed to materialise (Chikulo, 2016). Therefore, long after political liberation, poverty, structural racism, inequality, and unemployment are still rife, as socio-economic emancipation remains an illusion to millions of the poor (Langa & Hartford, 2018; Ukwandu, 2017; Bryant, 2008). Thus, the hope for a better life for all is still unrealistic.

2.7.2 Implementation of government policies

South African development policies are identified as one of the most promising and well-structured. The implementation of such policies is a challenge (Cebekhulu, 2013). This has also been acknowledged by the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal Willie Mchunu, arguing that “implementation is one of the areas of our weaknesses” (speaking to *The Citizen*, 2017, newspaper). The local government policy on service delivery, such as the constitution of RSA (108 of 1996), RSA - White Paper on Local Government (1998), Municipal System Act (2000), among others, establish the guidelines and the toolkit for service provision, realising equity, attaining equal access to the redistribution of resources (Muthathi and Rispel, 2020). Hence, one of the identified reasons behind the recent wave of violent service delivery protests includes dissatisfaction with how such policies are implemented (Ngcobo and Whittles, 2016). Likewise, Twala (2014) and the RSA - White Paper on Local Government (1998) demonstrate that the democratic Constitution of South Africa, which was adopted in 1996, guaranteed human rights, social justice, and democratic governance as well as promised accessible, affordable, and efficient delivery of services to the people.

Managa (2012) contends that to effectively resolve service delivery discrepancies, local governments should begin executing promises and provisions as stated in Chapter 7 of the constitution. The poor implementation of promises by the government creates frustration among local people leading to the outburst of anger, which results in violent and disruptive service delivery protests (Muthathi and Rispel, 2020). Furthermore, it criticises that implementation is just another phase in the development process, but the sustainability of the development process depends on hows such policies are put into practice (Cebekhulu, 2013). Without any doubt, it can be argued that the growing violent service delivery protest in South African local municipalities is associated with inadequate services rendered to people. During the election campaign, government officials promised to improve service delivery, human rights, and social justice (Kitchin, 2017). Poor implementation of policies has become a trend such that each time a government is elected, promises are made but not delivered (Manala, 2013). Hence, local people continue to experience severe deprivation and inadequate sanitation, among other issues, which undermine the constitutional mandate of the local

government to provide ultimate human rights (Muthathi & Rispel, 2020). Many people have resorted to violent protests in the hope that their voices will be heard (Kitchin, 2017). Therefore, it can be contended that a decisive and structured implementation does not follow government policies on service delivery.

2.7.3 The lack of people's voice

Politicisation is identified as one issue that affects genuine and active community participation. Other issues, such as the lack of awareness and limited capacity, have been identified as a threat to meaningful, active community participation on the side of the local people. Kim et al. (2014) encapsulate that local people, at times, are willing to engage and participate in development initiatives within their locality. However, local people opt to abstain from community development initiatives such as izimbizo due to the lack of time, expertise, and financial resources. Botes and van Rensburg (2000, p. 51) stress that one of the significant impediments of commitment to community participation is the allegation that public members are not interested in becoming involved. Hence, according to Kim et al. (2014, p. 3), it “is triggered by the mere fact that local people lack awareness on how their engagement and active participation in community development initiatives will directly benefit them”. This is true especially in deprived communities and among those people who live in poor conditions and occupy a lower level of socioeconomic status (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). So, instead of engaging in community development initiatives, izimbizo, and community meetings to discuss local affairs, local people choose to invest and occupy all their limited time and energy to participate in activities that will earn them direct benefits.

The level of poverty and desperation among local communities is argued to contribute to people's limited capacity to participate in community development initiatives genuinely and actively (Kim et al., 2014). Consistently, Tosun (2000) encapsulates that people at the grassroots have limited capacity to handle the things which directly affect their dignity. For instance, unemployed people who do not have a regular income will not participate in such initiatives unless their active and genuine participation can earn them tangible and direct benefits (Aref, & Ma'rof, 2008; Boudos & Mukherjee, 2008). Furthermore, the people in the developing world have continued to experience

difficulties in meeting their basic but essential and felt needs. Thus, this limits them from genuinely participating in issues related to community development that are meant to improve their living conditions (Seltzer & Mahmoudi, 2013). Therefore, this negatively affects the scope and the long-term outcome of community development initiatives. Such community development is constituted and characterised by people who lack commitment and do not have a vision for an improved and better community (Kim et al., 2014). Thus, this can lead to failure in community development initiatives, which affect the provision of basic but essential services.

2.8 Chapter summary

The literature reveals that violent service delivery protests at the local government are more complex than currently viewed. This chapter provided an overview of the history of protests in South Africa. It emerges from the literature that there are patterns of protests, resistance, and confrontation in South Africa from the historical colonial period. Furthermore, the element of violence during protests is rife in South Africa. Despite that, protests are a necessary form of participation in government affairs for effective social change. The prevailing argument in this chapter is that violent protests related to service delivery, or any other protests have a devastating impact on community development, especially when protestors damage infrastructure and loot private property. The following chapter discusses the two theories, namely, frustration-aggression theory and citizen participation, within which this research is grounded.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the available literature systematically from the origin of local municipalities in the 16th century during colonialism, the 19th century during the apartheid era, and the 20th century during the democratic period. Furthermore, it analysed local government and violent service delivery protests in South Africa. Moreover, the preceding chapter traced the history of violent service delivery protests in South African local municipalities from the pre-democratic era to the democratic dispensation. Thus, this chapter discusses two theoretical frameworks, Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression theory and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation which are used as a lens to interpret the research findings. The chapter outline begins with a description of the frustration-aggression theory and citizen participation. This chapter unpacks the significance of these two theories as a framework for the interpretation of the data. In the process of justification, this chapter discusses how these theories will be used to interrogate the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Lastly, this chapter synthesises the two theories to identify commonalities and connections. The closing section provides a summary of the chapter.

3.2 Frustration aggression theory

This study explores the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. The community of Cato Manor in the eThekweni Municipality was selected as the case study. This research employed frustration-aggression theory as one of the lenses for interpretation of the research findings. The origin of the frustration-aggression theory also referred to as the frustration-aggression hypothesis, is associated with the first 1939 research project at Yale University, Institute of Human Relations (Berkowitz, 1989). In its origin, frustration-aggression theory was purposed to explain the cause of frustration, which was believed to lead to aggressive behaviour. Since it was formulated more than three decades ago, the hypothesis has provided the dominant paradigm for studying aggression (Robarchek, 1977). In addition, Wilson (2018) and Fox and Spector (1999) argue that the theory is one of the most influential explanations

of aggressive behaviour in social science. Breuer and Elson (2017) endorse this theory stressing that it ranks among the most seminal work and prolific theories in research on aggression. Nevertheless, the original proposition of the approach has been subject to several criticisms and modifications (Cohen, 1971; Robarchek, 1977). The next section looks at three crucial developments of the frustration-aggression theory from its origin to the Berkowitz reformulation hypothesis as adopted in this study.

3.2.1 Frustration-aggression theory: Dollard and Colleagues initial proposition

In 1939, Yale psychologists Dollard and colleagues coined the frustration-aggression theory to provide the psychological explanation of aggressive behaviour as emerging from the frustration of goals or desired outcomes. Furthermore, Barker et al. (1943) argue that Dollard and colleagues describe frustration-aggression as a psychological influence fundamental to the occurrence of violence; this is the result of the aggression caused by frustration from unfulfilled and impeded expectations. Dollard et al.'s work indicates that both frustration and aggression are not understood in the daily and normal usage of the concept as an emotional experience (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Thus, frustration in this context is understood as an event that transpires when conditions prevail such as a goal-oriented act (or predicted behavioural sequence) (Wilson, 2018; Dollard et al., 1939). In comparison, aggression is defined as an intentional defilement of an organism or an organism substitute (Dollard et al., 1939).

The original idea that Dollard and others had when they proposed frustration-aggression was an attempt to account for the manifestation of human aggression with a few simple philosophies. Hence, their proposition of the frustration-aggression theory was founded on two bold claims: “(1) aggression is always preceded by frustration, and (2) frustration always leads to aggression” (Conner, & Ackerley, 1994: p. 146). The initial proposition held by Dollard and colleagues is that frustration alone was thought to be both an essential and adequate state or force for aggression to transpire among living organisms (Robarchek, 1977). Similarly, Crossman (2014) postulates that this theory illustrates groups' expansion as a collective movement to convey aggression and violent actions due to frustration. The foundation of Dollard et al.'s illustration of frustration-aggression theory is that frustration always manifests into aggression when something

triggers it and leads to violence. Wilson and Magam (2018) and DeWall et al. (2011) state that frustration gives birth to aggression when people's expectations are cut short. Despite that, Dollard and colleagues' work on frustration-aggression theory has been acknowledged as one of the most persuasive elucidations of aggressive behaviour in history. The hypothesis has received substantial criticism on various grounds. For example, writers such as Breuer and Elson (2017) and Conner and Ackerley (1994) predicate that Dollard and colleagues' foundational claim that aggression is always preceded by frustration, proposes that aggression does not occur without any form of prior frustration. Furthermore, the view that frustration always leads to some form of aggression, suggests that aggression is an inevitable outcome of any frustration (Conner, & Ackerley, 1994). Hence, because of criticism around its foundational pillars, the theory has undergone two significant revisions by Neal Miller and Leonard Berkowitz in 1941 and 1989, respectively (Gilbert & Bushman, 2017).

3.2.2 Neal Miller's frustration-aggression theory

In Dollard and colleagues' original proposition of frustration-aggression theory, two years later, one group member, N. E. Miller (1941) revised the earlier proposition. In the reformed account of frustration-aggression theory, Miller (1941) contends that the second proposition "that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression", is ambiguous (p. 337). Furthermore, Miller encapsulates that this proposition suggests that frustration has no other consequences other than that of aggression – and this proposition is misleading. Against this backdrop, Miller (1941, p. 337) stipulates that "frustration produces instigations to several different types of responses, and thus, one of the responses is an instigation to some form of aggression". Aggression is not the sole response to frustration, but one of the excessive potential responses to frustration (Breuer & Elson, 2017; Green, n.d). Therefore, Grossarth-Maticek, Eysenck, and Vetter (1989) argue that apart from aggression, frustration can also lead to the development or increase of prejudice. On the other hand, Seligman (1975) identifies depression, among other things, that can emanate from frustration.

For Pastore (1950) and Miller (1941), frustration can have both nonaggressive and aggressive consequences. Hence, Green (n.d.) concludes by emphasising that other

responses may occur and block the occurrence of acts of aggression. For instance, a reprimand of the cause of frustration can transpire to inhibit an act of aggression (Pastore, 1950; Green, n.d.). Miller withstands the idea that Dollard and colleagues above perspective on the occurrence of aggression fails to differentiate between the instigation of aggression and the actual occurrence of aggression (Breuer and Elson, 2017; Green, n.d.). Therefore, writers such as Gustafson (1989) and Pastore (1950), among others, stress that Miller's proposition suggests that in the case where aggression occurs as a response to violence, then that means a greater extent of the subject's understanding of the situation. Likewise, Green (n.d.) states that in the several and hierarchy possible responses that may occur because of frustration, when aggression occurs, it means in the hierarchy, potential responses, aggression was the strongest.

Breuer and Elson (2017) and Conner and Ackerley (1994) highlight that when frustration is perceived as arbitrary, such will indicate the degree to which the aggression behaviour or reaction will occur. Breuer and Elson (2017) contend that Miller's reformed proposition of frustration-aggression theory contributes significantly to the body of literature as it "indicated a shift in the theoretical focus" (p. 3). Gustafson (1989) critiques Miller's revised proposition and encapsulates that the revised hypothesis does not reform much on the initial hypothesis but changed only the specific aggressive drive into a general motivating force.

3.2.3 Berkowitz's reformulation of the hypothesis

Berkowitz's reformulated work on the frustration-aggression hypothesis continues to describe frustration "as interference with an instigated goal response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence" (Robarchek, 1977: p. 763). Furthermore, Berkowitz (1989) still associates frustrations with aversive occurrences which are events that people ordinarily seek to circumvent. Contrary to the previous one-dimensional model of the causes of aggressive behaviour, noteworthy from Berkowitz's formulation is the multidimensional stages of the causes of aggressive behaviour as evident in Figure 3.1 (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Nevertheless, one unique proposition that distinguishes Berkowitz's formulation from the Yale researchers and Miller's modified frustration-

aggression hypothesis is introducing the term *negative affect*. Berkowitz (1989) presupposes that negative affect elucidates “any feeling that people typically seek to lessen, eradicate or eliminate” (p. 68). Berkowitz’s modified frustration-aggression hypothesis considers the negative affect inversely to frustration as the primary cause of aggressive behaviour (Gustafson, 1989; Robarchek, 1977).

Therefore, Berkowitz’s reformulated theory suggests that frustration is neither a necessary nor a sufficient criterion for aggressive behaviour (Robarchek, 1977). Hence, Gustafson (1989) argues that Berkowitz's proposition suggests that frustrations are just one of many potential sources of negative affect but not the only cause of aggression. For example, Breuer and Elson (2017) maintain that Berkowitz's version of the frustration-aggression hypothesis suggests that frustrations because of stimulus cues, including arbitrariness and expectation of frustration, among other factors, yield negative affect, which leads to aggression inclination, which then produces aggressive behaviour. Similarly, DeWall, Finkel, Lambert, Slotter, Bodenhausen, Pond, Renzetti, and Fincham (2013) argue that several factors facilitate aggressive behaviour, including the development of reliable and valid measures of aggressive inclinations.

Scholarly writers such as DeWall et al. (2011) and Hokanson (1961), in the application of frustration-aggression theory, identify several factors including but not limited to insecurities, verbal or physical abuse, dreadful uncertainties, distress, catastrophic environmental circumstances, and other aversive events as potential sources of aggressive inclinations. Furthermore, Breuer and Elson (2017) contend that “these inclinations are not behaviours but comprise both an affective and a cognitive component” (p. 6). For instance, when certain events hinder social goals to the degree that people cannot advance social progress, such an event is likely to have negative consequences (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Figure 3.1 provides a brief illustration of the reformulated frustration-aggression hypothesis by Breuer and Elson (2017), drawing from Berkowitz (1989) and the literature.

Reformulated theory

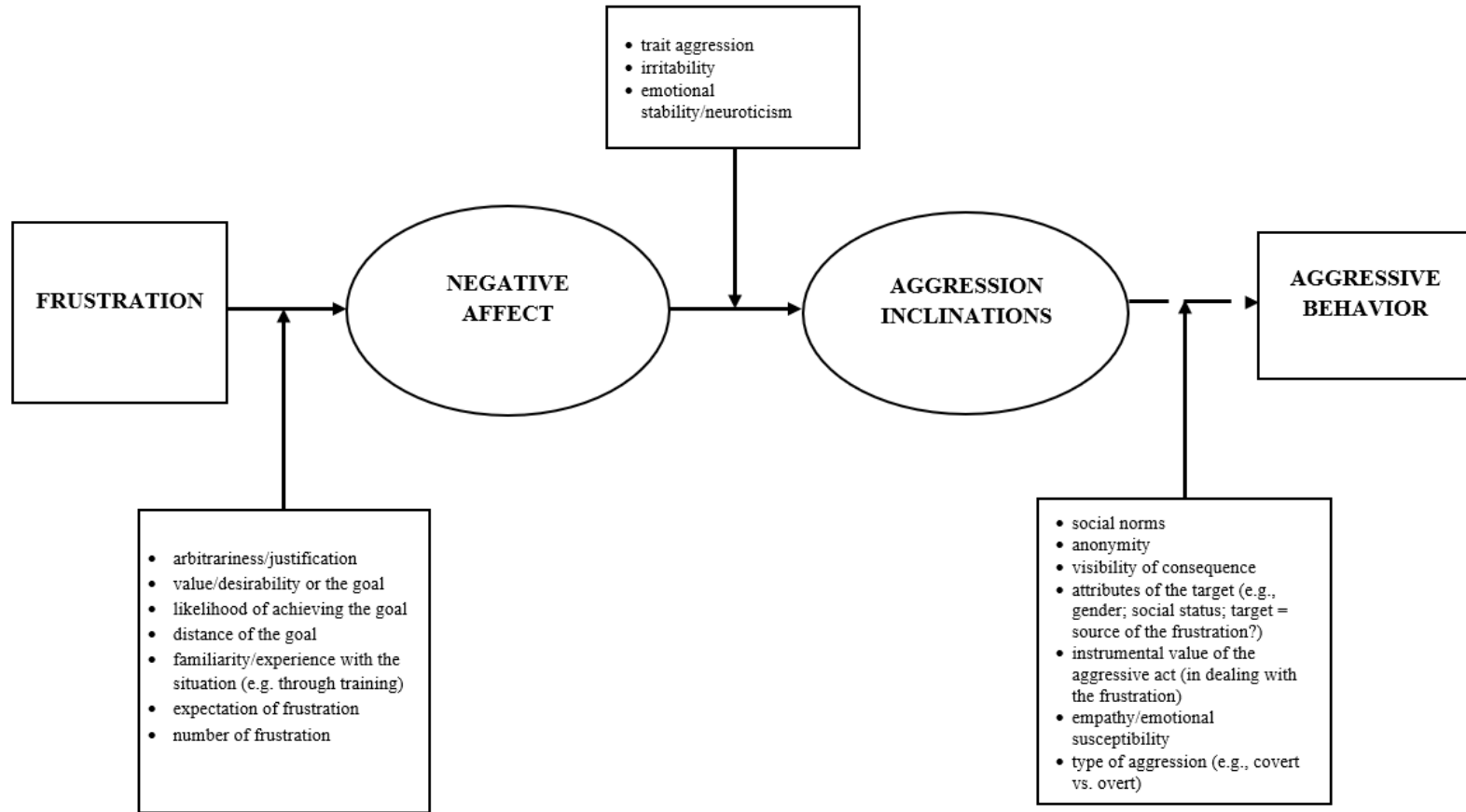


Figure 3.1: Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression hypothesis

Source: (Breuer & Elson, 2017: 7)

Contrary to the initial hypothesis, “a one-to-one relationship existed between frustration and aggression” (Dollard et al., 1939: p. 11). Consequently, in Figure 3.1 (Breuer and Elson, 2017), Berkowitz's reformulation hypothesis depicts the frustration-aggression as a multistep moderated mediation model that depends on and is qualified by many factors that can operate on various levels in the various temporal order. Breuer and Elson (2017, p. 6) explain that “aggressive inclinations instead of aggression or aggressive behaviour is an outcome of frustration”. Unlike Dollard et al. (1939), who stipulate that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour will reduce accumulated instigations resulting from previous frustration. Scholarly writers including DeWall et al. (2013), Grey, Triggs, and Haworth (1989), and Berkowitz (1981), among others, contend that the manifestation of aggressive behaviour has the potential to lessen only the aggressive instigation that had triggered the behaviour. Grey et al. (1989) argue that Berkowitz identifies hostile and instrumental aggression as a possible type of aggressive goal. Thus, Arain and Arain (2016: p. 82) claims that:

in hostile aggression, the goal is to injure the object of the attack, whereas, in instrumental aggression, the primary goal of aggressive behaviour is to reach a goal beyond causing injury to the victim of the attack, such as domination, access to, and resources among others.

Still, Berkowitz (1989) concludes by arguing that it is not the exact nature of the aversive incident that is vital, but how intense the resulting effects are. Likewise, Breuer and Elson (2017) encapsulate that such intense aggressive reactions are primarily those directed at the cause of frustration-aggression toward the source of the frustration is one type of reactive behaviour. Nonetheless, this is not always the case as aggressive responses or behaviour to frustration can sometimes be redirected toward any other individual or substances that are not the primary cause of frustration (Gurr, 1970). Consequently, writers such as Miller, Pedersen, Earleywine, and Pollock (2003) and Dollard et al. (1939), among others, sustain that when a person behaves aggressively toward an innocent other, that behaviour is a displaced frustration. Then, this component of this hypothesis will be crucial to explaining why protesters sometimes attack bystanders and the destruction of private property during service delivery protests.

3.3 The significance of the frustration-aggression theory

As illustrated in the above section, aggression is a negative response which emanates from aggressive inclinations, not directly from frustration alone (Wilson and Magam, 2018). The theory is crucial in this research to interrogate the causes and effects of aggression during service delivery protests, particularly regarding its role in aggression's etiology. It is worth mentioning that the literature suggests that Berkowitz's revised work on the frustration-aggression hypothesis has been extensively acknowledged and is frequently used as a framework for modern research on violence and aggression, especially in the field of social science (Gilbert & Bushman, 2017; Fox & Spector, 1999). This is because the reformulated Berkowitz work provides "a relatively clear, concise, and comprehensive statement of this approach to the problem of the genesis of human aggression" (Robarchek, 1977, p. 763). Despite its origins in psychology, the literature on the reformulated frustration-aggression hypothesis illustrates that this hypothesis does not only apply to individual persons but can also be applicable to small groups (Gilbert & Bushman, 2017; Fox & Spector, 1999; Berkowitz, 1989; Gustafson, 1989). The frustration-aggression hypothesis has been widely used as a lens to interrogate and study aggressive behaviour within society and between societies (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Thus, the research uses Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression theory to account for violence during service delivery protests in Cato Manor.

This study draws considerably on the frustration-aggression hypothesis to comprehend the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Thus, the elements on the causes of aggressive behaviour towards the cause of frustration and towards innocent people or things will be of greater importance in the analysis and interpretation of the findings of this research. Additionally, the strength of this theory in explaining the nature of aggressive inclination, which leads to aggressive behaviour, will be of immense value in understanding how local people resort to violence during service delivery protests. The frustration-aggression hypothesis is essential in exploring the impact of such violence and disruption in community development initiatives. This hypothesis proposes that frustration creates anger, which acts as a catalyst for violent behavior, which is vital in unpacking how violence satisfies their desire. This theory will be able to zoom into the case of service delivery violent deeds in society to explain

the study's objective to understand why people engage in service delivery protests the way they do. Despite the strength of this hypothesis in explaining the drive to aggressive behaviour, the frustration-aggression theory falls short in explaining the significant role of the citizen in the development of their community. Additionally, this theory cannot explain the importance of nonviolent collective action or protests as a crucial tool for change from below, whereby local people assume total control of their development. Consequently, for this very same reason, the study adopts Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation to back up, complement this theory, and close this gap. The following section discusses Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation in detail.

3.4 Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation

In a seminal work, Arnstein (1969) coined citizen participation "to explain the way people can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society" (p. 216). Furthermore, Cornwall (2009) views citizen participation, especially in local government affairs, as a crucial instrument that enhances people's voice, including in policymaking. In contrast, Marzouki, Mellouli, and Daniel (2018) enunciate that citizen participation is a tool to reinforce the citizens' engagement in decision-making processes and initiatives. Therefore, based on these conceptions, citizen participation is not new on the political agenda. However, it has become an essential ingredient with the emergence of governance and democracy (Hue, 2019). Similarly, Cornwall (2009) argues that citizen participation has gained reception across the spectrum of development actors to advance development practice. Hence, the major proponents in the field of development, political science, public policy, and administration, including Nelson and Wright (1995); Chambers (1994) among others, assert that citizen participation is advocated to promote community development principles such as accountability, transparency, and empowerment. Tesoriero (2010) argues that generally, local people's participation in the affair of the government is undoubtedly a fundamental foundation of democratic values and principles.

Hence, Hue (2019) sustains that citizen participation can be considered a "core element of good governance and a significant concern of sound management, and it simultaneously advances democratic governance" (p. 225). Nonetheless, citizen

participation as a philosophy assumes forms in various fashions, which are a crucial foundation of healthy and sustainable democracy (Berntzen & Johannessen, 2016). Hence, Ploštajner and Mendeš (2005) identify voting, referendums, public dialogue, and presentations as various forms of citizen participation. These forms of citizen participation emanate when the government involves the citizen in local affairs, such that local people are provided with an opportunity to speak freely about issues in their locality (Mees, Uittenbroek, Hegger, & Driessen, 2019). Ploštajner and Mendeš (2005) termed these forms of citizen participation “traditional methods” because they are not always effective as they offer limited possibilities for citizens to effect necessary change. Nleya (2011) asserts that the institutionalised forms of participatory channels such as izimbizo, ward committees, and public dialogue, among others, are inefficient. This is because institutionalised forms of participation do not empower local people other than manipulate them with rhetorical ideas, see Figure 3.2 (Arnstein, 1969). Hence, Sinwell (2010, 2009) concludes by arguing that the government-centered, technocentric, and managerial approach to participation restricts citizens' ability to influence development in a way that addresses their needs. Arnstein (1969) argues that citizen participation can also range from manipulation by power holders to citizens having total control over decisions that affect their lives. In the ladder of participation, as shown below, Arnstein identifies eight ways for citizens to participate in policy processes that directly touch their daily lives. At the top of the ladder of citizen participation is an extreme situation whereby local people are completely in charge (citizen control). While at the bottom of the ladder, public officials merely manipulate citizens.

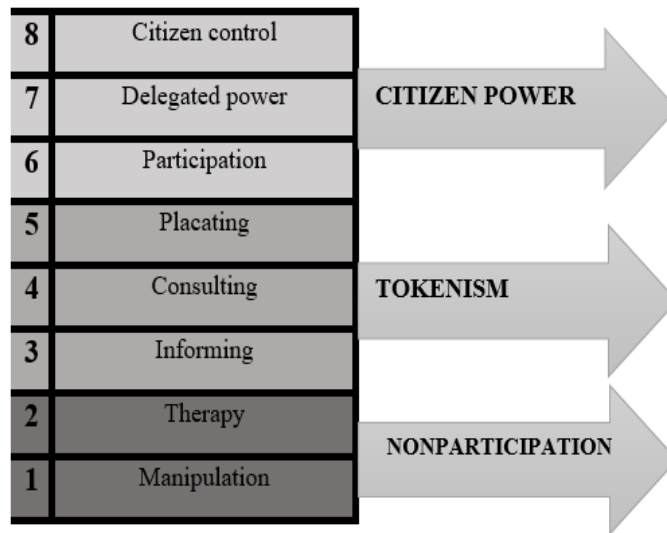


Figure 3.2: Ladder of citizen participation

Source: Arnstein (1969: 217)

3.4.1 Non-participation

Nonparticipation in the context of citizen participation is the condition whereby local people are alienated such that they are not empowered to take part in development that is meant to affect them. Hence, within nonparticipation typology, there are two steps at the bottom rung of the ladder of citizen participation: (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy*. These two steps in the ladder overlap with each other; hence, they describe levels of “non-participation” that the public officials have manufactured to be a substitute for genuine and authentic participation. Citizens are perceived as statues in a committee leadership position as genuinely involved, while in practice, citizens are manipulated and exploited by the public officials for their benefit. Arnstein (1969) maintains that such interaction is intended to allow powerholders to “teach” or “cure” local people rather than to allow them to participate in planning fully and genuinely.

3.4.2 Tokenism

According to Tesoriero (2010), tokenism is an act whereby citizens within the community are encouraged to participate, so their voice is heard. However, citizens' involvement is too limited. Arnstein (1969) states that in this typology of participation, citizens do not have the power to influence and affect decision-making processes.

Leung, Yuen, Cheng, and Guo (2016) maintain that tokenism is a representative participatory tool that cannot yield eloquent action to bring about substantial changes and transformation in local government matters. Therefore, tokenism is asking for citizen participation, nonetheless, not taking their voice and ideas seriously or enabling their active participation to be effective in social change (Ocloo & Matthews, 2016). In this typology of participation, there are three steps (3) *informing*, (4) *consultation*, and (5) *placation*, which indicate the levels of tokenism as they provided opportunities and possibilities for the people at the grassroots level to be heard, but without any guarantees that their voice will stimulate changes (Seim and Slettebø, 2011).

Therefore, this form of participation has negative implications on citizenship development and cultivates citizens to be passive spectators who are unable to question, participate and be cynical (Leung et al., 2016; Zenker, & Seigis, 2012).

3.4.3 Citizen power

In this typology of participation, there is a decentralisation of government power. Hence, citizens enjoy an elevated power where they control and influence the decision-making process from below (Bosch, Espasa, & Mora, 2012). Similarly, Rostas (2012) encapsulates that citizen control transpires when people attain total control of decision-making over a policy or institution such as a school, community center, or neighborhood services and can renegotiate the conditions for considering the institution or policy. Consequently, in this phase, citizens have “power to,” which is what is described as the ability of local people to see possibilities for change (Willis, 2011, p. 102). Such power allows people to make choices about the type of development they are willing to experience within their locality (Zenker, & Seigis, 2012; Tesoriero, 2010). The three rungs in this stage include citizen power (6) *partnership*, (7) *delegated power*, and (8) *citizen control*: power redistribution between the people and powerholders through dialogue and formal participatory arrangements (Rostas, 2012; Zenker, & Seigis, 2012). In this instance, citizens partner with public officials to assume the power to contribute meaningfully to community development. At this point, “citizens have control over development processes” (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217).

Citizen participation becomes more meaningful to the people when the people themselves have power beyond the electoral ballot box to influence development at the grassroots level through various means, including collective action. These elements of citizen participation are essential to unpack service delivery protests in Cato Manor.

3.5 Citizen participation: people-driven spaces of participation

Ploštajner and Mendeš (2005) assert that the traditional forms of citizen participation must be enhanced by the new forms, whereby people take the initiative to challenge policies through riots, picketing, marches, petitions, and lawsuits. Hawkins and Wang (2012) sustain that it is normal that when the institutionalised participatory methods are void, people assume the power to influence change. Copus (2000) stipulates that councillors are reluctant to acknowledge that protest action such as restricting access to buildings has any influence across the party spectrum. However, such forms of participation increase citizens' voices in community development, public affairs, decision-making processes, and public policy (Berntzen & Johannessen, 2016). The spaces in which activist organisations and marginalised constituencies engage with the local state illustrate an intense social capital-driven need for social change from below (Parnini, Othman, & Saifude, 2014). Also, von Lieres (2007) encapsulates that citizen-driven forms of citizen participation in post-apartheid South Africa are not meant to initiate democracy but to deepen and sustain democracy and its institutions.

Arnstein (1969) maintains that citizen participation embraces the redistribution of power such that it empowers the have-nots, the previously and presently alienated from the socio-economic and political spectrum, to be purposely incorporated. Citizen participation is thus a tool through which those who lack means of production establish how information is shared and resources distributed (Arnstein, 1969). Hence, Hatley (2013) maintains that citizen participation has the potential to improve communities and neighborhoods, strengthen societal relationships, and increase local empowerment. Writers such as Hatley (2013, p. 18) argue that “citizen participation has wide benefits that can strengthen the social fabric of communities and lead to feelings of personal and collective efficacy.” Citizen participation enhances the efficiency of government policies (Kim, 2010). This is because the core function of citizen participation is to

contest political complacency by bringing into the public's attention matters that may have never been eloquently considered in the first place (Blakeley, 2010). For Cornwall (2009), citizen participation is a means of stimulating and provoking new ideas, challenging the status quo while simultaneously coercing the government to be more responsive in ways that are corrective to people's needs.

In the context of the study, protests as a form of citizen participation will help interrogate the political space whereby people and groups struggle for power to control and influence decision-making processes and resources (Zenker, & Seigis, 2012). Zakus and Lysack (1998, p. 2) advise that citizen participation must be viewed as a:

the process by which members of the community, either individually or collectively and with varying levels of commitments (a) develop the capability to assume greater responsibility for assessing their health needs and problems; (b) plan and then act to implement their solution; (c) create and maintain organisations in support of the identified solutions; and (d) evaluate the effects and bring about necessary adjustment in goals and programmes on an ongoing basis.

Even though Zakus and Lysack wrote within the context of public health, the way citizen participation is illustrated in their research provides comprehensive and greater responsibilities to be assumed by local people in the progressive development of their locality. The extensive descriptions of citizen participation presented above offer an enlightening way to understand its importance in this research (Zenker, & Seigis, 2012). Therefore, in this sense, citizen participation is adapted as a purpose and action-driven phenomenon executed by people who share a common goal, and who are ethically driven to object to unfair law and policy (Blakeley, 2010). Similarly, the UNDP Human Development Report (2006) highlights that citizen participation matters in service delivery. The increase in protest action at the grassroots level, initiated by local people who assume collective power, illustrates that citizens remain committed to pursuing democratic values and principles (Sirsikar, Mukarji, Rao, Chandrashekar, Alvares, Vyasulu, Vyasulu, Jayal, Aiyar, Powis, & Behar, 2013).

Sirsikar et al.'s (2013) argument resonate with Article 2(1) of the United Nations Declaration of the right to development that “the human person is the central subject of

development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development.” Subsequently, development is for the people, and therefore, people must play a substantial role in decision-making processes about meaningful choices affecting their lives (Marzouki et al., 2018). Likewise, Swanepoel and De Beer (2010) sustain that any development that does not recognise citizens as one of the essential resources in the development will permanently cease to provide desirable outcomes. This goes beyond the mere fact that local people are just the beneficiaries of development outcomes. Still, they are the specialist of their community, who have first-hand information about their locality. So, citizen participation is central to government effectiveness (Sinwell, 2010). While for Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, and Allegretti (2012, p. 20), “citizen participation is a left-wing flag and is conceived as an alternative to neo-liberalism and as part of a broader social and political reform process.” This indicates that citizen participation is a crucial approach to decentralisation and empowerment.

Richardson (1983, p. 1) is of the view that,

Citizen participation offers the excluded an opportunity to local people to take part in the political system is such a fundamental tenet of the democratic system of government that its very existence is rarely questioned. People must have their say – to vote, engage in political debate, and let those in power know their views on issues that concern them. This is what democracy is about.

Richardson’s view of citizen participation encompasses both the government-sponsored or initiated spaces of participation and the citizen-driven or initiated spaces. This is crucial in this research to unpack the position of the community-driven protests in Cato Manor. As illustrated earlier, the latter informs citizen participation as a form of a social movement usually initiated by the people affected by social issues (Copus, 2000). Hence, such movements emerge as a response to the government's failure and inability to provide services or fulfill commitments and embrace citizens’ voices in decision-making (von Lieres, 2007). These community-led initiatives create new linkages between marginalised and the institutions that shape their lives, particularly government institutions. Hence, this means that in a case where the government-initiated spaces for citizen participation are limited, local people initiate citizen-driven initiatives with the

capacity to generate new spaces for citizen participation from below (von Lieres, 2007). Consequently, such forms of participation are indispensable because they are aimed at influencing the government and its structures, to make collectively binding decisions and reallocate public resources to benefit the poor (Bernhagen & Marsh, 2007).

Citizen participation paved the way to shift from centralised policy development towards decentralised policy development processes (Akinboade et al., 2014). Hence, Hatley (2013) sustains that citizen participation is valuable to society in all spheres of government, such as national, provincial, and local, including at a personal level. Then, protest in South Africa, especially in municipalities, receives widespread support as a valid form of authentic citizen participation. Furthermore, Akinboade et al. (2014, p. 459) stipulate that within the South African context, especially in the local sphere of government, “understanding citizen participation in service delivery protests is essential.” The above statement is vital because the literature on local government illustrates that service delivery in South Africa has been composed of petitions, mass peaceful marches, and protests (Sebugwawo, 2011). Hence, Akinboade et al. (2014) assert that in South Africa, these community responses of collective voice pressure politics have become an important aspect of citizens’ reactions when local municipalities are unable to effectively address prevailing challenges.

3.6 Citizen participation in the context of service delivery protests

In the context where local people feel alienated and that the government and its executive do not respond to their needs, citizen participation emerges as a firm mass mobilisation mechanism, where the decentralisation and progressive democratisation of the decision-making process is achieved. Murumba and Kemboi (2017) encapsulate that in most developing countries where government participatory approaches are futile, social movements are usually deployed as significant tactics to substantially engage in governance issues and solidification of governance at local and central levels (Richardson, 1983). Citizen participation, thus, empowers disadvantaged groups to influence government policies directly through their involvement. Hence, such activity may be directed at changes in administrative and political structures of the city to create systems more responsive to people’s needs - as has been the case in the struggle of

civics in South Africa in the 1980s (Copus, 2000). Consequently, as composed of mass solidarity, citizen participation has the power to fuel and precipitate protest movements that give a voice to the oppressed people who have been denied a right to basic needs. Citizen participation empowers the voice of the voiceless to advocate for change at a grassroots level. Characterised by mass solidarity, citizen participation is not an alternative solution to any social crisis (Murumba & Kemboi, 2017).

However, it is the leading solution to the frustration, dissatisfaction, and alienation that the people at the grassroots level experience (Zakus & Lysack, 1998). Through collective action, people at the grassroots level overcome institutional pessimism (Utting, van Dijk, & Matheï, 2014). Hence, the strength of the theory in explaining people's voices is crucial to unpacking protests over service delivery in Cato Manor (Copus, 2000). Citizen participation in protests emanates when people have a strong sense of attachment to their community such that local people are willing to build their community from below (Anderson, 2010). Similarly, Nyseth, Ringholm, and Agger (2019) maintain that this form of citizen participation usually transpires when local people feel alienated, and their voice is neglected. Hence, they assume a more significant opportunity to effect change from below in a conventional way (Tesoriero, 2010). For instance, in democratic countries such as South Africa, where the constitution grants everyone the right "peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, demonstrate, picket and present petitions," such form of citizen participation is highly valued (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Also, citizen participation in South African municipalities is central to the functioning of the local government (Municipal System Act 32, 2000). Hence, local people believe that the mass protest movement is an important mechanism of their entitlements in a democratic society (Nleya, 2011). As a form of citizen participation, the mass protests served to channel essential issues into the institutional process. Therefore, to a greater extent, the essence of citizen participation in service delivery protests emphasises the people's voice in government policies and community development, which then promotes citizen ownership of and commitment to the actions that have been planned (Phillips & Pittman, 2009).

Choguill (1996) stresses that citizen participation should not only be understood as a tool that emancipates local people's ability to influence activities and policies in a way

that would enhance their wellbeing. Nevertheless, citizen participation should be understood as a mechanism collectively used by local people to influence decisions in the political arena concerning issues that affect them in their locality (Cornwall, 2009). Therefore, citizen participation is crucial in unlocking legitimate ways to alleviate poverty and other community issues through the power given and assumed by local people to influence the governance of their locality (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000; Callahan & Banaszak, 1990). Furthermore, citizen participation offers local people an equal opportunity to participate through working in solidarity to move together towards collective action to bring about change (Kim, 2010; Nye & Glickman, 2000). For writers such as Tesoriero (2010) and Cornwall (2009), the philosophy of citizen participation will always be counterproductive if its idealism is mistranslated in practice. Therefore, citizen participation in this study will be crucial in explaining the essence of service delivery protests in Cato Manor. Furthermore, it is crucial in unpacking whether the traditional form of participation, as outlined by Ploštajner and Mendeš (2005), allows citizens to develop their communities.

Numerous places in local municipalities in South Africa, such as Cato Manor within eThekweni municipality, have witnessed some forms of citizen participation in protests to influence the delivery of basic services from below (Tshishonga, 2011). Such protests emanate as a result of poor service delivery, which is believed to be caused by among other issues inadequate community participation in local government affairs (Gray and Mahajar 2017). Therefore, the violent and disruptive nature of most of these protests questions the responsibility and citizenship of the protesters (Ataç, Rygiel, & Stierl, 2016; Zenker, & Seigis, 2012). As citizens are encouraged to practice citizen participation, citizens are also encouraged to be responsible in their practice (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Furthermore, Callahan and Banaszak (1990) encapsulate that citizen action as a grassroots effort of citizen groups to influence public policy and performance or reform government has a responsibility to adhere to societal values such as reasonableness, fairness, tolerance, responsibility, and respect. Hence, they conclude that any practice of citizen participation that does not consider these among other core values of a democratic society is destructive, and any practice that does not advance them is flawed and unjust itself (Callahan & Banaszak, 1990). Consequently, citizen participation as a philosophy of development promotes citizenship and power to the

constituencies while at the same time taking into account the responsibilities that are associated with citizenship (Zenker, & Seigis, 2012).

Among other writers, von Lieres (2007) encapsulates that citizens experience a high level of alienation from mainstream socio-economic and political processes in disregarded and manipulated contexts. Their engagements with the government depend on how pre-existing and contextual relations of power shape their expectations and reality (Nye & Glickman, 2000). As emphasised through citizen power in Arnstein's ladder, citizen participation advocates for the have-nots and the marginalised to challenge power dynamics in society (Ploštajner & Mendeš, 2005; Arnstein, 1969). Consequently, while challenging the power dynamics in society, citizen participation stresses the need for local people to assume ownership of community assets (Arnstein, 1969). Therefore, from the Arnstein ladder, as people believe in total control in the decision-making process in their locality, citizen participation becomes innovative antagonism techniques and an approach that takes on and defeats repressive regimes, frequently influencing social change to build durable democracy (Chenowet and Stephan, 2011). Then, as this theory advocates for people-driven development, it will be crucial to unpack service delivery protests as a tool for citizen power.

3.7 Synthesis of Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression theory and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation

Both Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression theory and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation are essential in interpreting the research findings. Accordingly, the essence of Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression hypothesis is that frustration is among many other factors that lead to negative affect, which can cause aggressive and violent behaviour (Breuer & Elson, 2017; DeWall et al., 2013; Berkowitz, 1989; Green n.d). Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation presumes that citizen power is the ideal phase wherein the social change from below emanates and manifests (Arnstein, 1969). This is because citizen power in a form of collective movement gives local people an ability to pioneer their development when they take control while safeguarding and valuing community assets (Murumba & Kemboi, 2017;

Choguill, 1996). In contrast, Berkowitz's framework acknowledges that local people do not wake up and decide to be aggressive (Wilson & Magam, 2018). Violence is explained as an outcome of negative contexts emanating from prolonged frustration triggered by certain factors including manipulation and tokenism (Berkowitz, 1989). The intensity of the negative emotion determines the extent of the violent behaviour.

Arnstein's ladder highlights that at the level of citizen power, where people assume total control of their lives (protests) and influence the decision-making process from below, it is not an overnight activity but a progressive process from one phase to another (Bosch et al., 2012; Hawkins & Wang, 2012). Therefore, these theories are similar in the approach as they both point to a multiphase process in their practice. Citizen participation is advantageous in this study because it can explain how people who lack power come together through social capital to assume total control of their situation (Babu, 2015; Seim & Slettebø, 2011). Nonetheless, Arnstein's framework cannot explain how collective action turns violent in the process of taking power (protest) (Babu, 2015; Kevin & Raymond, 2006). This is because the Arnstein ladders have been critiqued for assuming and suggesting that citizen power is neatly distributed (Connor, 1988; Arnstein, 1969). Therefore, in this weakness of Arnstein's ladder, Berkowitz's reformulated theory is necessary to illuminate how aggression and violent behaviour in collective action (protests) emanates and manifests (DeWall et al., 2013; Robarchek, 1977; Hokanson, 1961). Furthermore, despite its ability to elucidate the occurrence of violent behaviour, Berkowitz's theory cannot enlighten how frustrated people remain intact and united in their pursuit of total control and citizen power. In contrast, Arnstein's theory can unpack this. The ladder of citizen participation has always looked at issues from a communal perspective, which makes it difficult to analyse individual behaviour against the social whole (Babu, 2015; Tesoriero, 2010). On the other hand, frustration-aggression theory can look at issues from an individual perspective against the social whole. Therefore, these two theories are necessary for this research as they complement each other to unpack the issue of violent protests.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the two theoretical frameworks or approaches adopted in this research project, namely Berkowitz's reformulated frustration-aggression theory and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. The chapter began by describing the theories from their inception to their application in different situations. It provided a sustained justification as to why these theories have been adopted as the framework and the lens of interpretation. In the process of reason, this chapter discussed how these theories would be used to interrogate and explain the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development, while frustration-aggression theory focuses on individual behavioural patterns that lead to aggression. At the same time, Arnstein's ladder of participation concentrates on factors that either facilitate or hinder citizen participation and what it takes to achieve this level of participation. The chapter concluded by synthesising the two theories and further arguing that the ladder of citizen participation complements the frustration-aggression theory by demonstrating genuine participation that is community-driven and bottom-up in its approach to development. The following chapter discusses the research design and the methodology that was adopted in this research. Furthermore, it unpacks how the research and the fieldwork were executed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed two theories, frustration-aggression theory and citizen participation, which are used as a framework in this research. This chapter provides an in-depth narrative of the research design and research methodology adopted during both the empirical component of the study and the secondary research. To respond to the research objectives and questions, instead of using a mono-research method, the study adopted two-study designs in the form of sequential exploratory, where qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed separately - respectively. This chapter begins by providing an in-depth definition of mixed-method research as used in the study. The chapter justifies the research methods used and the quality and significance of the procedures applied. In addition, it discusses approaches such as trustworthiness, reliability, and validity, which were adopted to ensure the quality of data. Lastly, the chapter discusses ethical considerations and the rights of the participants.

4.2 Mixed methods research: Sequential exploratory design

This research adopted a mixed-methods approach to responding to the research questions and objectives. The mixed-methods research approach is located within the constructivist and positivist paradigms. According to Chen (2006), a mixed-method approach systematically integrates qualitative and quantitative research methods in a single study to obtain an in-depth picture and a profound understanding of a phenomenon under investigation. Kumar (2007) and Chen (2006) reiterated that the mixed-method exploratory design is a systematic combination of diverse research methods - qualitative and quantitative. Similarly, Castro, Kellison, Boyd, and Kopak (2010) emphasised that mixed-method research allows a researcher to exploit the “strength of confirmatory results drawn from quantitative multivariate analyses, along with “deep structure” explanatory descriptions of a phenomenon as drawn from qualitative analyses” (p. 342). For instance, Arora and Stoner (2009) predicate that one

of the qualitative research methods' main goals is to understand the subjective realities from participants' perspectives. As such, researchers attempt to select “information-rich” respondents. The quantitative research method has confidence in a single quantifiable reality, which is based on a large number of people's responses, which then offers a researcher an opportunity to generalise the findings to the population.

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) emphasised that the main purpose of mixed methods research design is to combine the benefits of qualitative and quantitative research methods while at the same time reducing the weaknesses in single research studies and across studies. Notwithstanding, in cognizance of Andrew and Halcomb's (2009) argument, as they put it, mixed-methods research is more than just merely the ad hoc mixing and combination of quantitative and qualitative data in a single study. As argued by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) the mixed-methods design “rejects dogmatism”. Therefore, the mixed-methods research adopted the usage of several approaches in responding to the research questions, rather than confining researchers' choices, which aided the richness of the research results (Creswell, 2013). It has been evident that both the qualitative and quantitative research designs have diverse assumptions and objectives when it comes to inquiry (Creswell, 2017; Kumar, 2007).

For instance, the research paper by Banjo and Jili (2013), which looks at youth and service delivery violence, quantitatively examines the issue at hand using various theoretical frameworks to interpret the findings. Although Banjo and Jili's research provides a concrete argument, the subject has not been qualitatively explored. Hence, the research participants' experiences, perceptions, and feelings were not incorporated into their research findings. While, Mleya (2016), has engaged and researched the issue of service delivery, the research does not supplement and support the qualitative findings with quantitative research to statistically examine the issue of service delivery. Then, the quantitative component in Mleya's study is missing. Shaidi (2013) uses mixed-method research to critically understand human behaviours concerning service delivery protests while at the same time examining and concentrating on measuring the phenomena of service delivery. Hence, the findings of the research were better examined. The mixed-method research approach is used in this research project because

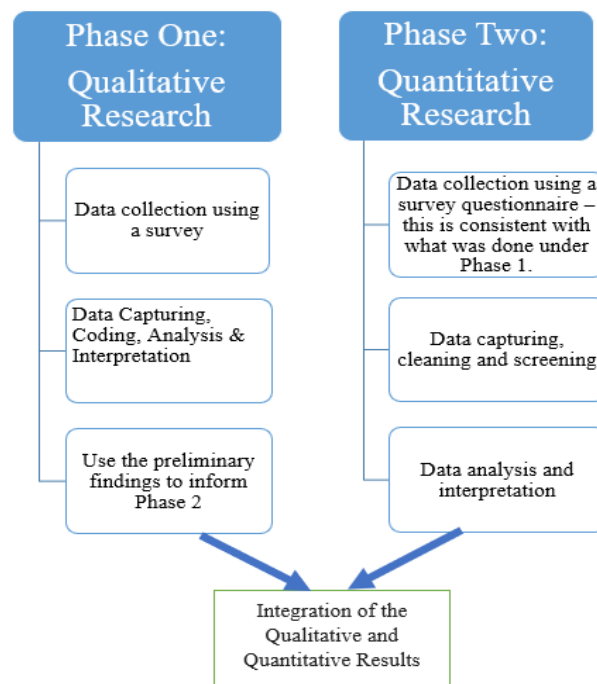
it provides substantial data by potentially revealing data that may have otherwise remained unnoticed if only one design had been employed (Duffy, 1987).

Qualitative methods including interviews, observation, and focus groups among others) can be criticized for smaller sample sizes, [which can prompt a] possible researcher biases, and lack of generalizability, [quantitative research method circumvents these weaknesses associated with qualitative research method]. On the other hand quantitative studies, surveys and experiments can be denounced for not considering contexts, not giving participants a voice, and lack of depth qualitative research method circumvents these criticisms associated with the quantitative research method (Abeza et al., 2015, p. 42).

Therefore, concerning the above quote extracted from Abeza et al. (2015), a mixed-method in this research was adopted to explore and debate the issue of violent service delivery protests, going beyond the limitations of either method mainly when executed and implemented separately. Furthermore, as contended and encapsulated by Arora and Stoner (2009) “to some degree, the use of mixed methodologies helps mitigate and lessen purists’ concerns and provides the needed in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study” (p. 274). The research project adopted a mixed method to exhaust the richness, extensiveness, and ability employed to study a phenomenon. According to Graff (2014), mixed-method research provides a practical approach and applicability potential for addressing research problems and questions, as the problems and questions are investigated separately. The use of either research method separately can increase the potential of this research project to reach understudied findings. This research further used mixed-methods research to circumvent a case where the study cannot sufficiently examine the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Mixed methods encompass a carefully planned process, which includes a predetermined stage whereby the qualitative and quantitative research methods are combined, be it in the data collection, data analysis, or data interpretation, among other phases (Andrew & Halcomb, 2009).

The predetermined phase for combining the methods is the interpretation phase. The reason is that both the qualitative and quantitative designs in this phase offer a more elaborated comprehension of the phenomenon under study, considering the findings of both approaches (Creswell, 2017). Additionally, it provides “greater confidence in the conclusions generated by the evaluation study and because it is convenient to describe,

implement, and report” (Abeza, O’Reilly, Dottori, Séguin & Nzindukiyimana, 2015, p. 44). Creswell (2013) explains that there are three most common designs associated with mixed-methods research. The first is concurrent triangulation, a design where both qualitative and quantitative research approaches are used in a single study and the data collection occurs simultaneously. The second is a sequential explanatory design that involves two separate phases where the quantitative research as a first phase is followed by a qualitative data collection, which then emanates substantially on the results from the initial phase (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013). The third design is sequential exploratory where qualitative research is used as a primary research method, and quantitative is used to back up the research findings from the qualitative research. Therefore, the research adopted the sequential exploratory design to explain relationships found in the qualitative data. The sequential design was carried out as follows:



Picture 4.1: Sequential exploratory design procedure

Source: Researcher

As demonstrated earlier, both qualitative and quantitative methods have their strengths and weaknesses, of which the most desirable results are usually achieved by tapping from both worlds (Patton, 2002). The order in which they are applied may also prove to be crucial, as in the case of sequential exploratory design (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013).

This is where the qualitative study is used as an exploratory approach to pave the way for the quantitative design. Yin (2006) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) also provided detailed descriptions of the essential considerations in designing any study. Furthermore, Yin (2006), Patton (2002), Morgan (1998), Thyer (1993), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend that any components of the research design should encompass the following: research method, sampling design, the methods of data collection and data analysis. Therefore, the use of the qualitative and quantitative as complementary studies is coined a mixed study (Arora & Stoner, 2009) and is detailed in the following section as adopted in this research.

4.3 Qualitative research methods

The research was purposed at exploring and understanding the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Hence, this was aimed to be achieved by exploring, examining, and understanding whether violent service delivery protests impact community development in Cato Manor. Therefore, to understand the residents' experiences, feelings, and perceptions and gain in-depth insight regarding violent service delivery protests in community development, it was imperative and significant to engage a research design, which offers data and information that looks at the human side of the phenomenon. Thus, this included the behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, perceptions, and the individual persons' experience (Bless et al., 2013; Creswell, 2013). Therefore, the qualitative research component in the mixed-methods approach was adopted to provide an in-depth discussion of the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) define qualitative

“research method as a research [which is] conducted using a range of methods, [such as the] use of qualifying words and descriptions to record and investigate aspects of social reality” (p. 394).

Furthermore, Bless et al. (2013) maintain that the qualitative research approach provides insight and the people's subjective views. Therefore, as a part of understanding whether there is any impact of violent service delivery protests on community development, the qualitative research phase in the mixed-methods approach was purposed to guide this research to detail the matter being studied. Consequently, the qualitative research

method in this research was anticipated to stimulate the people's and individual experiences, which provide a detailed picture as to why local people act in specific ways and their feelings about their actions. The qualitative research method is flexible and descriptive in nature, and it gave a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study (Bless et al., 2006). It cannot be denied that service delivery protests are complex and need a thorough investigation. Accordingly, with its ability to promote openness and transparency, the qualitative research method in this research played a critical role in encouraging local people to expand on their responses. Thus, this approach opened new topic areas not initially considered, enriching the research findings. Furthermore, Sofaer (1999, p. 1105) accounts "for a detailed description of why the use of qualitative research methods is critical".

In the brief discussion that Sofaer presents, qualitative research methods allow people or participants to speak in their voice as [opposed to] conforming to categories and terms imposed on them by other [research methods such as quantitative research method] (Sofaer, 1999). During the qualitative collection phase, the research participants were given a free role to voice their perceptions regarding violent protests and community development. The qualitative research method could unlock the emotions, feelings, and, most importantly, the behaviour of the people, as they often engage in service delivery protests. As this research explored and understood the beliefs, motivations, and "forces" behind local people's actions towards violence during service delivery protests, the qualitative research method was ideal (Lakshman, Sinha, Biswas, Charles & Arora, 2000). Furthermore, the qualitative research method was critical in studying a phenomenon that moves beyond the statistical description of a specific event first (Sofaer, 1999).

4.3.1 Qualitative research Design

The research project adopted a case study supported by phenomenology. This is because the research project seeks to provide a descriptive analysis of a phenomenon from a particular context. According to Merriam (2002), a case study is a preferred method when studying phenomena. One of the advantages of using a case study approach is its flexibility, detailed examination, and the possibility to observe various aspects of a

social situation and conditions. Thus, the goal of qualitative research is to describe the phenomenon and principles in greater detail (Merriam, 2002). Furthermore, phenomenology is adopted for its ability to produce an objective statement of the event itself (Smith, Flowers, & Osborn, 1997, p. 218). As argued by Simon and Goes (2011), the phenomenological approach allows a researcher to study “human behaviour through the eyes of the participants’ understudy” (p. 1). A case study enhances the quality of this research in terms of broadly understanding how the complexity of life influences a situation, phenomenology enhances and describes participants’ experiences in a specific context, and critically understands a phenomenon under study. Then, tapping into the worlds of these two designs is supported to enrich the research while addressing the weaknesses of each design. The combination of a case study with a phenomenological approach aided the quality and credibility of this research. Again, both these designs are deemed an accurate approach in this research because the researcher intended an intensive study about violent service delivery protests. The findings are to be generalised over several units. Furthermore, it was necessary for the research intended to answer “how,” “[what],” and “why questions and cover the contextual condition of service delivery protests (Heale & Twycross, 2017; Baxter & Jack, 2008).

4.3.2 Sampling method in the qualitative research phase

Research cannot engage with entire populations (any group of people who are the subject of research interest), which is under study to gather information regarding the impact of service delivery protests on community development (Oppong, 2013). Therefore, a subset of the entire population was selected as a population sample (Johanson & Brooks, 2010). Qualitative research focuses on non-probability sampling, in which the likelihood that a subject is selected is unknown (Bless et al., 2013). Therefore, based on the qualitative research phase, this research was intending to gather information on the specific target population including the municipal officials, local people, and the ward committee members. Based on this, a purposive or judgemental sampling procedure was espoused because of its capacity to “rest on the assumption that the researcher knows what type of the participant is needed” (Bless et al., 2013, p. 177). Also, purposive sampling was adopted because it was best in selecting participants with characteristics of a population of interest, which will best qualify the research to

respond to the research questions (Bless et al., 2013; Abrams, 2010; Ivankova et al., 2006). The research identified all Wards within the demarcation of Cato Manor as they have been affected by violent service delivery protests.

The councillors of such wards were purposefully chosen to be part of the research because they have relevant information in answering the research question, particularly question number three (3), which explores why people engage in service delivery protests in the way that they do? Hence, the purposive sampling method was employed to identify the informants, such as municipal administrators, who are directly involved in local municipal policy development and essential services. Municipal administrators and ward councillors were expected to provide information based on promoting community development principles such as accountability, community participation, and openness. The ward councillors were recruited to share information on the policy, projects, and programmes they intend to or have already implemented to assist in the improvement of the living conditions of the local people within the municipality.

Chapter 7 of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 highlights that service provision is an integral part of the local government's responsibility. It is identified throughout the literature review as one of the significant aspects of ongoing violent protest, as it is facilitated by a constant "lack" of communication and accountability to the local people. Municipal administrators and ward councillors are anticipated to provide comprehensive information in their role in promoting the culture of communication and accountability. From the point mentioned above, as political office-bearers, municipal administrators must be deeply involved in the provision of public goods and services in a municipality. Purposive sampling assisted the research team in engaging critically with the local people who have rich information about violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor. This will be explained later.

Local people from eThekweni Municipality and Cato Manor ABM are the custodians of services. They have been the victims and perpetrators of violence during service delivery protests. Members of the community from such wards were engaged in an in-depth interview. The intention was to ask them to explain and elaborate on the reasons that protesters resort to violent action during protests related to service delivery or land

invasion. The ward councillors and municipal administrators, members of the ward committee, and local people were purposefully identified to provide sound knowledge about violent service delivery protests or land invasion in Cato Manor.

Initially, the non-probability purposive sampling method was purposed to be used as the only procedure to recruit potential study participants. However, the snowballing sampling method was infused when participants referred the research team to other people, particularly those who are usually involved in protests. Thus, this was necessary as qualitative research is an iterative and flexible method (Mack, 2005). Therefore, changing or adding the recruitment strategy is permissible if the initial recruitment strategy does not bring the desired outcomes or the new proposed strategy can enrich the research (Bless et al., 2013; Ivankova et al., 2006). Some of the potential participants recruited refused to be part of the study and mentioned that they were afraid because they might be a target of physical abuse. Others thought we were working with intelligence and were suspicious that we use research to find out whether they participate in protests or not. Hence, snowballing had to be adopted in such extreme cases. This did not only affect the recruitment strategy but the number of participants as well. Table 4.1 provides a brief description of the initial projected number of participants who were intended and the changes that were experienced in the field.

Table 4.1: Qualitative sampling procedure

<i>CATO MANOR, ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY, KWAZULU-NATAL (KZN)</i>	
<i>Participants</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
<i>Municipal Officials</i>	6
<i>Ward committee members</i>	4
<i>Local people (Including activists)</i>	10
	Total: 20

Source: Researcher

Initially, twenty (20) participants were anticipated to be recruited as part of the research. However, thirty-three (33) were recruited. Cato Manor has four wards (24; 29; 30, and 101) with five ward councillors, including a single Proportional Representation Councillor (PR). This is because Ward 30, which the ANC previously dominated, was lost to the DA in the 2016 LGEs, and the PR councillor was elected according to the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) rules. The ward and the PR Councillors

were anticipated to be part of the study, including the other three (3) and the municipal administrators. However, only three ward councillors, and one municipal official, managed to make time for engagement. Hence, the final number of participants recruited under municipal officials was four (4).

Furthermore, four (4) members of the ward committee were anticipated to participate in the research, and those who were approached participated without any problem – purposive sampling was used to identify them. While initially, ten (10) local people were anticipated to participate in the research, the number skyrocketed to twenty-five (25). Cato Manor is very dynamic, with various political parties, organisations, and movements like Abahlali BaseMjondolo. Therefore, to increase the richness of the data, the research team identified activists who then referred the research team to other activists, members of the movement “Abahlali BasMjondolo,” who are usually active in protests. Thus, data saturation was reached from the 23rd participant. According to Fusch and Ness (2015), this phase in a study indicates completing the data collection process “as there is enough data to replicate the study and the ability to obtain new information has been attained” (p. 1408). Therefore, the data collection process was stopped at this stage. Approaching people who are usually involved in protests enriched the data because they had information about service delivery protests in Cato Manor. The next section provides a comprehensive explanation of how the in-depth interviews were collected (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012).

4.3.3 Data collection: in-depth interviews (IDI)

Usually, qualitative research embraces various methods of data collection. However, the study employed in-depth interviews because it provides a “structured talk that is part of the broader collection of general interview approaches” (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013, p. 114). Moreover, this method provides “intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on an idea or situation” (Boyce & Neale, 2006, p. 3). The in-depth interviews allowed a deep interaction with the respondents regarding the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. The in-depth interviews were most relevant in achieving the research objectives because they are a “conversational, informal and open-ended style of a well-

conducted interview process and familiar to everyone” (Bless et al., 2013, p. 116). Moreover, Cohen and Crabtree (2006) argued that in-depth interviews provide a comfortable platform for the data collection process to take place. Due to the rich and extensive detail of information that in-depth interviews provide, two methods were employed to capture the richness of the data provided by the participants (Guest et al., 2013).

Firstly, this phase used a digital tape recorder to adequately and systematically capture people’s responses, subject to consent from the participants (Bless et al., 2013). A journal note was kept to capture important data, such as facial expressions, which cannot be recorded using a voice recorder (Sutton & Austin, 2015). However, both these methods were only used with the consent of the participants - this is covered in the ethical consideration section (Bless et al., 2013). Despite that, participants would respond to an extent where information is not relevant to the research objectives. Guest et al. (2013) encapsulates that during structured interviews and semi-structured interviews, among others, researchers must exert the necessary amount of control to ensure that participants respond to the questions asked. In line with this argument, such control had to be exercised because this research contained specific objectives and questions, which had to be achieved.

Therefore, the interview guide was organised before to ensure that the same primary lines of inquiry are persuaded with each interviewee participant (Patton, 2015). Furthermore, the interview protocol or guide (as attached in Appendix D) ensured the best use of the limited resources, particularly the time afforded by the research participants to answer the questions adequately (Anderson-Nathe, 2008). Hence, this was important because it provided a travel itinerary to negotiate and guide the entire interview process towards answering the research question. However, before the actual data collection was executed, the research team engaged in contact-making and a pilot study. The purpose was to get to know the community (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2010) and test the interview guide (Bless et al., 2013). The following steps were followed:

i. Contact making – community entry through consultative meeting

Cato Manor is a dynamic township composed of different housing settings ranging from formal to informal houses (Mottiar, 2014). It comprises four Wards - Wards 24, 29, 30, and 101 (Tshishonga, 2011). Thus, it is not easy to navigate, especially when one is not familiar with it. Thus, adopting Swanepoel and De Beer's (2010) viewpoint that “a community development work cannot just wade into a community and from then on, act on the spur of the moment” (p. 155). Consequently, before the data collection process could be executed, a contact-making process had to be prioritised and executed carefully (Vermeulen, Bell, Amod, Cloete, Johannes & Williams, 2015). This phase was critical to establishing a sound rapport with the gatekeepers, the community itself, community structures, and other relevant stakeholders (Ullah & Abu 1997). Hence, a consultative meeting with the gatekeepers was executed (Cato Manor ABM manager’s office, Municipal Institute of Learning - MILE and ward councillors) as part of contact-making, which lasted for approximately three weeks.

The contact-making phase was of utmost necessity. This is because from the consultative meetings with the community gatekeepers it would not have been easy to navigate and conduct sound academic research covering all the wards without Cato Manor residents. Furthermore, safety issues were also raised as a concern, mainly when one is not accustomed to the place – Cato Manor. Therefore, it was necessary to get three research assistants (two from the community and 1 UKZN student) who could assist in navigating the wards so that all the wards in Cato Manor were completed during the data collection process. However, before the data collection process, the individuals were thoroughly trained in conducting sound academic research (Cohn, 2008; Louise-Barriball & White, 1994). With their interest in community work, the research assistants broadened the scope of research and enhanced the ability to collect scientific data in Cato Manor. The research assistants’ knowledge about the community was critical in the study of all the Wards as it made it convenient to penetrate the community.

ii. Interview guide and pilot testing

The researchers used an in-depth interview guide as a data collection instrument. This instrument was selected primarily because of the two reasons identified by Louise-Barriball & White (1994). Firstly, it can explore the perceptions and opinions of the

participants regarding complex issues while simultaneously offering a space for clarification. Furthermore, while participants give a detailed and brief account of the research question, this instrument allows the researcher to pose follow-up questions on the responses given by the participants. Subsequently, this method can increase the richness, credibility, and extensiveness of the responses and the findings. Secondly, it was adopted to standardise the interview schedule such that the information contained in the document is similar for all the potential participants (Bless et al., 2013). At this stage, the first draft of the interview schedule had already been developed, informed by the literature review, research objectives, and research questions. Furthermore, it had already been exposed to internal review – “a valuable preliminary assessment by colleagues in which ambiguities, leading questions, and general criticisms are discussed and corrected” (Louise-Barriball and White, 1994: p. 333).

After the interview guide had been subject to thoroughness, intense, rigorous, and vigorous scrutiny from the expert in the field, a final draft of the interview guide for piloting was prepared. Turner III (2010) argues that it is another essential element before implementing the interview process. The pilot study was scheduled to last for two days to cover the four Wards in Cato Manor. Turner III (2010) argues that a pilot study should be conducted with participants with similar traits with those whom the actual research, hence it was conducted in the four Wards of Cato Manor. Sixteen (16) participants (third-three 33 in the actual study) were interviewed based on the argument that the sample size of the pilot must also depend on the purpose of the pilot (Johanson & Brooks, 2010). Thus, one of the purposes of the pilot study was to train and capacitate the research assistant or the fieldworkers on data collection. Creswell (2013) suggested that pilot testing should not be done haphazardly but should adopt various sampling strategies. A simple random sampling was adopted because it was convenient to execute, considering the time and financial resources (Cohn, 2008).

The pilot study did more than assist in identifying ambiguity, limitations, flaws, and vagueness in the interview guide (Turner III, 2010). This “phase enabled the research team to make informed adjustments to the interview guide” before the primary data collection could be executed (Louise-Barriball & White, 1994: p. 333). The interview guide had been translated into a dominant local language - IsiZulu to overcome the

issues of a language barrier, which have been widely discussed in the literature (Ivankova et al., 2006; Johanson & Brooks, 2010). The pilot study further enabled the research team to comprehensively understand the importance of using local languages (both English and IsiZulu) during the actual data collection phase. During the reflection and debriefing session after the pilot had been conducted and completed among eight (8) participants, it became clear that the research participants or potential participants were more fluent and comfortable in their respective languages.

For instance, the Zulu natives, who are in the majority in Cato Manor, could explain, clarify, give examples, and express themselves vibrantly when they communicate or respond in English. The usage of the language that participants comprehend and are more comfortable and familiar with was then noted as an indispensable instrument that could enrich data. A debriefing session followed the intense pilot testing, which was conducted among the sixteen (16) participants in Cato Manor. The pilot testing proved to be a necessary learning curve for the research team. This is because, during the session, the research team shared experiences, challenges, and respondents' perceptions on how to improve the research question to avoid ambiguity. Then, a meeting with the supervisor was necessary to discuss the interview guide. As argued by Turner III (2010), the exercise of developing essential research questions for the interview process is one of the most crucial components of research. Then, a final interview guide was prepared; it was sent out for language (English) editing - see Appendix D. The interview guide was sent out to be translated into a local language (IsiZulu). After that, the research team was ready, to begin with, data collection.

iii. Actual data collection

On the first day, the team was reminded to follow specific steps prior to the interview. Figure 4.2 presents a roadmap that the research team employed during the data collection process. As this study is exploratory, it was purposed to follow a standardised interview guide. However, several questions as a part of probing for more information were asked as a follow-up to responses given by the participants. During the interviews, engagement with the research participants' ensured that respondents focused on the research objectives (Bless et al., 2013; Mack, 2005). Despite having objectives to

achieve, potential participants were encouraged to speak openly about experiences regarding the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. The interview procedure was executed as follows:

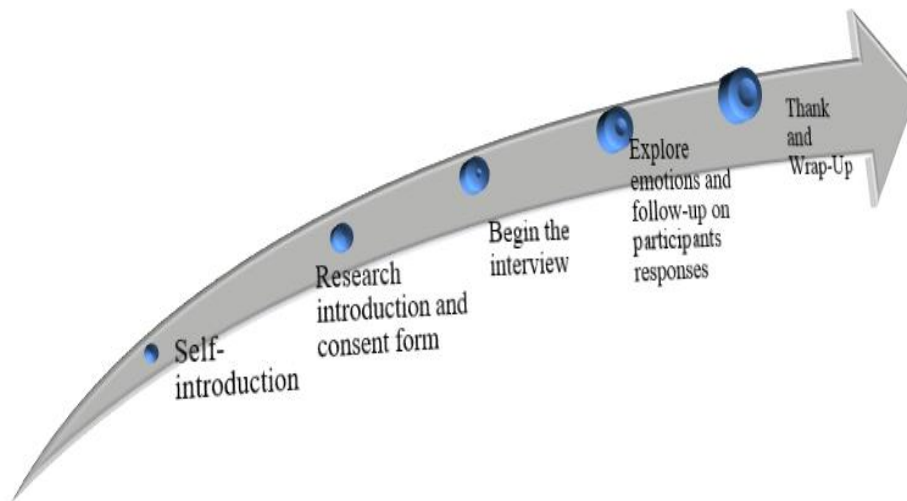


Figure 4.1: Interview process

Source: Jacob & Furgerson (2012)

The data collection covered all four (4) wards in Cato Manor to avoid bias during the data presentation phase. Therefore, ward 101 was the first to be approached. In this ward, six (6) local people were recruited to participate. Out of the six (6) participants, four (4) were purposefully recruited to participate in this research. At the same time, two (2) of the participants were recruited through snowballing. The two (2) participants recruited through snowballing were approached because they are activists in Cato Manor and have participated in various service delivery protests. Ward 30 was not easy to penetrate because a violent and disruptive protest transpired on the night before the interviews and people were reluctant to participate in the research, as some thought we were police, despite producing students' cards. Hence, the interviews had to be conducted under extreme caution with those participants who were recruited purposefully (Jangu, 2012). There were seven (7) in total who participated in the research. Before proceeding to Ward 29 and 24, respectively, a preliminary analysis was conducted to check whether the information or data was collected to respond to the

research objectives. After realising that the introductory information responds to the research objectives, wards 29 and 24 were approached. There were twelve (12) (in total) participants who were purposefully recruited to participate. There were not many struggles or challenges encountered in these wards because, according to the participants, violent service delivery protests are not something familiar.

Despite the mere fact that the level of service delivery is “poor.” After interviewing twenty-five (25) residents, the research reached data saturation in all the wards. This was used as a criterion for discontinuing the data collection process among the local people (Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs, & Jinks, 2018). Members of the ward committee from each ward (4 in total) were recruited using purposive sampling. Two members of ward committees (who cannot be revealed due to ethical considerations) could not be part of the research but referred the research team to their colleagues, who were willing to participate. Thereafter, ward councillors were purposefully recruited. As explained in the sampling section, there are five ward councillors, including one PR councillor. A total of three ward councillors participated in the research (wards to which they belong cannot be disclosed to maintain confidentiality as explained in the ethical consideration section). The last participant to be interviewed was the municipal official. Hence, under ward councillors and municipal administrators, 4 participants were recruited purposefully. After the data collection phase, data analysis was an imminent phase (Saunders et al., 2018).

4.3.4 Data analysis: thematic analysis

After completing the data collection phase, data analysis which is a challenging phase began (Bailey, 2008). Drawing from Marshall and Rossman (1999), “the data analysis process was a messy, ambiguous, and time-consuming activity” (p. 150) Despite this, it should be noted that it was always a challenging task to reduce the data and make it understandable (Welman & Mitchell, 2005). This is because, when engaging in data analysis, it became clear that it is one of the most critical and sensitive phases in the research. After all, it includes an attempt to make sense of the data that has been collected without losing and changing the voice of the people (Saunders et al., 2018). Therefore, as Marshall and Rossman (1999) argue that without careful capturing of the

people's responses, data analysis can prove to be an arduous process to accomplish. Bailey (2008, p. 127) contends that "transcription is the first step in qualitative data analysis". Transcription was prioritised as the first step during the data analysis phase. This is the phase where systematic and careful listening and writing down the responses in a specific fashion was undertaken. The transcription phase proved to be an "extremely time-consuming process but an essential task in research" (Bless et al., 2013, p. 341). It involved various judgments about what level of detail to choose, for instance, "omitting non-verbal dimensions of interaction" (Bailey, 2008, p. 127).

The transcription had to be "detailed and thoroughly done to capture talk features such as emphasis, speed, tone of voice, timing, and pauses because these elements are crucial for interpreting data" (Bailey, 2008, p. 127). For Woodrow (2006), this procedure is essential to maintain meaning and sense in the participant's responses. Data cleaning which involves removing any information that can be used to identify the research respondents and repetitive information was also prioritised during this phase. Where actual names of the people were mentioned; fictitious names were then used to maintain confidentiality (Thorne, 2000). Data cleaning ensured that the confidentiality of participants was maintained. It is essential to mention that transcription was engaged repeatedly to gain an insight into the body and context of the gathered data. After the transcription phase was completed, the data was well-organised for the next stage, data analysis (Sgier, 2012; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), data analysis is a "process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data" (p. 150). Data analysis is making sense of the data that is collected, and different methods can be adopted for this process (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). In this study, thematic analysis was adopted. This analysis procedure focuses on systematically identifying relevant and common themes and patterns of meaning across a dataset concerning research questions and objectives (Braun and Clarke, 2008).

The thematic analysis was a preferred method because of its flexibility, which permits for an extensive range of analytic options (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 1990). This procedure allows the "social and the psychological interpretations of data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 97). It was chosen because of its capacity to examine the meanings that people attach to the events around them from a constructionist methodological position.

Also, it helps examine ways that people make meaning of their lived experiences. Firstly, to make sense of the data, preliminary and provisional themes were developed. Thereafter, an engagement with the data was necessary to confirm and verify the themes, which were developed (Sgier, 2012; Braun & Clarke, 2008). After the final themes were created, a thematic analysis, which proceeds through a series of organised phases (as shown in Table 4.2) was engaged. The thematic analysis was done through a qualitative data analysis computer software package for the data analysis process, NVivo, which facilitated the data analysis process. The researcher engaged the six phases involved in the thematic analysis as identified by Braun & Clarke (2008).

Table 4.2: Thematic analysis for qualitative data

<i>PHASES</i>	<i>PHASE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESS OR ACTIVITY</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>Getting familiar with the data</i>	During this phase, the researcher engaged widely with the raw data that was collected. This process was intended to explore patterns and meaning to identify data that can be separated into themes before coding.
<i>2</i>	<i>Generating initial codes</i>	The data was organised into relevant, interesting groups in a systematic fashion. This exercise comprised the production of initial codes from the data and codes to identify the data's features that appear appealing.
<i>3</i>	<i>Searching for themes</i>	During this phase, the researcher started thinking about the relationship between codes, themes, and various levels of themes (Braun & Clarke 2006).
<i>4</i>	<i>Reviewing themes</i>	The themes which were coded in this step were then reviewed with the sole purpose of identifying themes that can be merged and separated.
<i>5</i>	<i>Defining and naming the themes</i>	In this phase, definitions, themes, and the meaning it attempts to portray, was prioritised.
<i>6</i>	<i>Producing report</i>	A report on how the themes address the research objectives were produced through analysing and interpreting the participants' responses. See Chapter 5

Source: Braun and Clarke (2008)

4.4 Quantitative research methods

The sequential exploratory design endorsed qualitative research to be employed as a primary method in research (Terrell, 2012; Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005). Quantitative research was used to compliment, back up, and validate the findings generated through the qualitative research phase (Kelle, 2006). It is essential at this stage to highlight that the research used a quantitative approach as a secondary or backup method not to advance or validate the myth that the quantitative method is inferior to the qualitative method (Hoepfl, 1997). However, the quantitative research method was adopted as a secondary method because the nature of the research topic or study is exploratory. Hence, the exploratory design enabled the researcher to firstly explore the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development qualitatively (Carr, 1994). Quantitative research added value by validating the data obtained through the qualitative method (Bowen, Rose, & Pilkington, 2017). The quantitative data was collected and analysed second in the sequence to statistically explain the qualitative findings obtained in the first phase (Polit & Beck, 2010).

When a quantitative research method in a mixed-method study is used in this fashion, it promotes a deep understanding of the phenomenon which is under investigation (Kelle, 2006). Furthermore, it produces data that unveil people's perceptions, experiences, and knowledge of the subject under study (Blanche, Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Thus, in line with Kelle's argument, a quantitative research method was used in this research to discover [through various means such as interrogating, debating, investing] the truth of [in] the discipline (Carr, 1994). Additionally, the quantitative research method was used as a research approach that subscribes "to an objective, formal and systematic process in which numerical data are used to quantify or measure phenomena and produce findings" (Chang, Hayter & Wu, 2010: p. 457). As demonstrated in the literature review by various authors such as De Juan and Wegner (2017), Municipal IQ (2012), Powell (2009), there is a growing dissatisfaction and a lack of trust in local government to deliver adequate service to the people, which then results in violent service delivery protest. So, this approach was good to measure the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development.

The research adopted a quantitative research method, which is a research method that relies on measurement to compare and analyse different variables (Bless et al., 2013; Kelle, 2006). Therefore, the quantitative research method validates and tests the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. With the quantitative research method, this research quantifies service delivery protests to further understand how prevalent it is by looking for finding that can be projected and generalised to a bigger population. Additionally, quantitative research is conclusive in its purpose. Furthermore, McCusker and Gunaydin (2015) contend that quantitative research plays a supporting role when utilised in combination with qualitative research, especially in sequential exploratory design. Based on this, quantitative research was used in this research (Jick, 1979). Quantitative research is unlike the qualitative research method, which is not always generalisable due to the smaller sample size and the subjective nature of the design (Kaplan & Duchon, 1988). Therefore, using a statistical analysis was critical in this research to validate already constructed theories through qualitative research (McLeod, 2019). The quantitative research method was used for the method's ability to engage with larger sample sizes, which makes the findings and conclusions generalisable to the entire population or subpopulation (Rahman, 2016).

The strength of the quantitative research method is its objectivity in aiding the interpretation of the findings of this research project to ensure validity and reliability. Using a quantitative research method this study “gained and obtained an upper hand to interpret change in sequence critically, scores amongst others gain through magnitude, in the actual word they represent” (Bless et al., 2013, p. 58). In this study, the quantitative research method was used because numbers have the advantage of meaning the same thing to various people. Based on this argument, the quantitative research method is regarded as a convenient way to get to the truth from the larger population (Rahman, 2016; Jick, 1979). Therefore, employing a quantitative research method allowed this research to extensively understand the impact of the violent service delivery protests on development well enough so that it might be able to predict and control it through identifying cause and effect relationships (Kaplan & Duchon, 1988). Despite that, it was extremely challenging and time-consuming to execute this method. The findings obtained from this method enriched the research (Bless et al., 2013).

Moreover, the findings from the quantitative research method aided in the process of validating the hypothesis formulated in the first chapter regarding the impact of the violent service delivery protests on community development (Bless et al., 2013).

4.4.1 Quantitative research: systematic sampling method -SSM

Studying the entire population in any research would bring credible and reliable data (Bless et al., 2013; Oppong, 2013). However, due to limited resources such as time and money, a sample of the target population was used as a key component in this study. Quantitative research is composed of probability sampling, which is a procedure where the likelihood of including every element of the population can be determined (Etikan & Bala, 2017; Bless et al., 2013). Systematic sampling was adopted in this study. This is a method that selects potential participants based on a specific equal interval starting with a random selection of the population (Etikan, & Bala, 2017). This sampling procedure was chosen for the quantitative research phase as it is a “convenient method to conduct than simple random sampling and tends to select more evenly across the population” (Berndt, 2020, p. 225). Since the findings are generalised in the entire population of Cato Manor, how the sample units were selected had to be prioritised and given the necessary amount of attention. For the sample to be representative or a reflection of the entire population, it had to be sufficient to allow the researcher to do sound statistical analysis (Berndt, 2020). Hence, to reach a statistically acceptable and desired sample with at least a 95% level of confidence that the findings of the quantitative research are accurate, this research engaged in the following steps:

Slovin’s formula $[n = N/(1 + \frac{N \cdot e^2}{k^2})]$ n = no. of samples; N = total population; e = error margin/margin of error] to determine the appropriate sample size based on the study population was adopted. Slovin’s formula was adopted because it provides researchers with an opportunity to sample the population with a desired degree of accuracy. This formula determines how large the sample size should be for a study based on the study population to ensure reasonable accuracy of results or research findings. The research used the available statistics (93000) to determine the sample size as required by Slovin’s formula (Stats SA, 2011). Despite that, the study population includes participants above 18 years old, the entire population of Cato Manor was used

to determine the sample size because there are no available statistics on the different age categories of the population. Therefore, the researcher used the available statistics of 93000 at least as a guide to be as close as possible to the estimation and provide a starting point (Stats SA, 2011). The sample size for quantitative research will be:

$$\begin{aligned}
 n &= \frac{N}{1+Ne^2} \\
 \text{Therefore } n &= \frac{93000}{1+93000 \cdot 0.05^2} \\
 &= 399.53 \\
 &= 400 + 50 \text{ (to allow the spoilt questionnaire)} \\
 n &= 450
 \end{aligned}$$

The sample had to be distributed equally in the four (4) wards because Cato Manor does not have specific statistics for each ward as it has informal settlements that are often illegally built in vacant spaces. The researcher interviewed: 450/4 in each ward. To increase the chances of everyone being selected to participate, a systematic random sampling method was adopted, where participants above the age of 18 were recruited to be part of the study. The sampling interval was determined using households, thereby interviewing one adult participant per household. The households were used to calculate the frequency interval because it was the only feasible approach in the context of Cato Manor to obtain a representative sample. Furthermore, considering that the study area is mainly composed of informal settlements, thus, approaching people would have not been feasible. Subsequently, determining the interval using the households was the best available solution in Cato Manor. Of the 450 households that were approached, 450 potential participants were recruited as the representative of the study population. This method was performed according to Taherdoost (2016) in the following fashion:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \mathbf{F \text{ (frequency interval)}} &= \mathbf{N \text{ (total number of households)}} \\
 &\quad \underline{\hspace{10em}} \\
 &\quad \mathbf{n \text{ (required sample)}} \\
 F &= 18600/450 = 41^{\text{st}}
 \end{aligned}$$

From 18600 households in Cato Manor, the research team approached every 41st household to request one participant until the desired sample size was obtained. The selection of the households involved a random start and proceeded with the selection of every 41st residence onwards (Taherdoost, 2016; Bless et al., 2013). In cases where the household was locked and there no was one, adjustments were made, and the next household was approached (Rahi, 2017). In a case where a household contains more

than one eligible sample unit, it was explained to them that only one respondent is needed. This is important because of the structured number of potential participants anticipated to participate based on the total number of households in Cato Manor. Thereafter, a kish technique was used as a first choice to identify a participant eligible in terms of age (Koch, 2018; Nemeth, 2002). Firstly, the research team collected the age of the potential participants who are eligible to participate in the survey. Secondly, those in the household were placed in a selection grid. Then, based on their grid position a respondent was selected, using random selection to ensure that the person chosen did not have any commonalities that might produce bias in the results (Nemeth, 2002). The quantitative phase interviewed 450 participants in Cato Manor, and the findings were generalised to the entire population. Engaging with local people who have been affected by violent service delivery protests was essential to understand the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development and development at large.

4.4.2 Data collection: questionnaire

There are several methods by which quantitative data are collected. For instance, an experiment is a procedure where a researcher manipulates and controls the variables to observe their behaviour and response (Hox and Boeije, 2005). This technique is useful in many instances but holds intrinsic weaknesses when dealing with complex social issues (Bless et al., 2013, p. 190). Within this technique, there are three different experiments, namely, field, laboratory experiment, and computer numerical model (Ghani, 2014). In contrast, the recording method or unobstructive measures is a procedure that gathers data without direct interaction with the participants but uses public documents such as archival records, published statistics, and demographic information (Bless et al., 2013). A common data collection method is a questionnaire and this method often entails posing a series of oral or written questions to a certain subject (Creswell and Creswell, 2017; McLeod, 2019; Payne, 2014). The statistical responses provided by engaging with the questionnaire can be repeated to verify reliability (Bless et al., 2013). Thus, in this research, the quantitative data was collected using questionnaires. Apart from being inexpensive and rigid, it enabled the research team to gather information from a large audience within a brief period.

Close-ended questionnaires in this research were used because of their ability, strength, and effectiveness in measuring the behaviour and opinions of a large number of people at a low cost and faster than other methods (Oke, Aigbavboa, & Semanya, 2017 and McLeod, 2018). In addition, for Bless et al. (2013), whether completed directly by respondents or an interviewer, a questionnaire remains a complex data collection instrument. Mathers, Fox, and Hunn (2007) present a contrasting view arguing that questionnaires are a fast and easy technique to gather meaningful, comparable data from a larger population. Mathers et al. (2007) contents that questionnaires are suitable to administer as they can be distributed in several ways including but not limited to face-to-face by an interviewer, by telephone, or completed independently. The views that were expressed by both Bless et al. (2013) and Mathers et al. (2007) were valid and authentic during the quantitative component of the mixed methods or phase two. For instance, in terms of Bless et al.'s (2007) argument, the research found questionnaires complex and a creative tool for quantitative research. While simultaneously, the research team found this method less difficult to conduct compared to qualitative research, which was the first phase of this research. Thus, as a questionnaire provide statistical or numerical data or information, such information was used as a fundamental backbone and a cornerstone to complement in-depth interviews.

The questionnaires were critical in this research because the information was collected in a standardised, structured, and systematic way, which promoted objectivity (McLeod, 2018). It also included a collection of printed questions with multiple choices for use in a survey or statistical study (Fink, 2015). To effectively measure the behaviour, attitude, feeling, and level of satisfaction regarding service delivery within the municipality, the data is categorised as nominal data. Thus, the category is restricted to a few options. See Appendix E. The lack of quantitative data regarding people's attitudes towards the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development, which qualitative research could not address, was undertaken using a survey (Koutiva, Gerakopoulou, Makropoulos, & Vernardakis, 2017). In addition, the research supervisor always emphasised, "this process does not need to be rushed but carefully conducted". So, without forgetting that once the research has begun, the data collection instrument, procedures, and sampling strategies typically do not change. Blanche et al. (2006) contend that quantitative research must be conducted carefully. The quantitative

data collection process was executed with thorough, careful, and systematic attention to avoid errors in this research. The data collection phase was intensively planned before the implementation exercise (Koutiva al., 2017). The planning phase was significant to ensure that errors or mistakes are limited, minimised, and addressed. However, the quantitative research instrument was tested in a pilot study before the actual data collection was performed. This was executed in the following fashion.

i. Pilot study and instrument testing

The first phase of the data collection process (qualitative research component) had already comprehensively gone through the various contact-making steps. Accordingly, the second phase (quantitative research), which lasted for roughly eight (8) weeks, benefited from the first phase. Subsequently, in the second phase of the data collection, there was no need for vigorous contact-making and establishing rapport because it was thoroughly engaged during the first phase. Instead of contact-making, a necessary amount of time was spent on pilot testing. According to van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001, p. 35), a pilot study is “a mini version of a full-scale study (also called ‘feasibility studies’) and the specific pre-testing of a particular instrument such as a questionnaire or interview schedule”. The collection instruments, recruitment methods, and other research techniques were prepared for extensive study before the pilot project to test research procedures, including the data collection instruments, sample recruitment strategies, and other research techniques. Consequently, in line with Hassan, Schattner, and Mazza (2006), the following steps were performed.

Firstly, after the first set of questionnaires were developed from the literature review, qualitative findings, and the research objectives (see Appendix E), two colleagues who specialise in research methods and the supervisor engaged with them comprehensively. The constructive feedback and comments were infused to improve the instrument. Thereafter, the preliminary draft of the questionnaires was developed and sent to a statistician for further scrutiny. These steps were necessary to construct a questionnaire that captures the essence of the research objectives and questions. After the feedback and comments were infused, the questionnaires were, thus, translated into IsiZulu. The questionnaires had to be translated into a dominant language used in Cato Manor

because of the level of illiteracy. There were two primary objectives in mind in the preparation of the pilot study. The first objective was to discover problems before the main study. This was necessary to ensure that any ambiguities in the questionnaire can be addressed before the actual research is conducted. The second objective of the pilot testing was to train the research team to be familiar with the protocols involved in the self-administered questionnaire. Accordingly, writers such as Simon (2011); Persaud (2010), claim that for a pilot study, the sample population should at the very least closely resemble the desired target group. Consequently, in this research, because the intention was to get a sense of what to anticipate during the main and actual research, the pilot study was executed in the same area where the study was to be conducted.

The research adopted the novel approach of using the anticipated main study sample size ($n=450$) to inform the pilot testing sample size using a confident level interval approach (Cocks and Torgerson, 2013). Furthermore, to have a confidence level of 80%, according to Cocks and Torgerson (2013); Lancaster, Dodd, and Williamson (2004), at least 9% of the total number of the main research had to be adopted. Therefore, in this research, 45 (10% of 450) were randomly selected. Three participants were induced and added to the initial forty-five (45) number of participants to a total of forty-eight (48). The additional three (3) participants were because Cato Manor has four (4) wards. Hence, forty-eight (48) participants to balance the number of twelve (12) participants in each ward. The pilot study was executed in two phases in four (4) days using a face-to-face approach because of its ability to produce a high response rate (Bowling, 2005). The first phase covered wards 101 and 30, while the second phase covered wards 24 and 29. After the first phase of the pilot study was conducted, a debriefing session was conducted. From this session, some questions were unclear to the participants and had to be addressed before proceeding with the pilot study. The questionnaire items needed to appropriately address the research topics in the second part of the pilot study. The pilot examined whether the questionnaire was clear and appropriate across all Wards, as well as whether the questions were well defined, easy to comprehend, and presented consistently (Hassan et al., 2006). After the pilot study, the concerns that arose were effectively addressed and sent to the statistician before the final questionnaire for the actual data collection was finalised.

ii. Actual data collection

Throughout the data collection process, the quantitative research method proved to be an extremely demanding and challenging exercise (Kelle, 2006). This is because of the large number of participants (n=450) who were required in this research – as explained in section 4.4.1. Hence, the quantitative data collection process was separated into two phases considering financial constraints, limited timeframe, and the workforce. The first phase lasted for approximately four (4) weeks, and the second phase lasted for about four (4) weeks as well. The first quantitative data collection research phase was implemented in two (2) wards - 101 and 30, respectively. At the same time, the second phase was implemented in ward 24 and 29, respectively. The research team (four - 4 people, including the principal investigator) was anticipated to administer at least four (4) questionnaires a day. This amounted to +-16 administered questionnaires per day, which allowed the research team to critically reflect on the administered questionnaire prior to the next day. The target was at least four (4) questionnaires per individual because the research team had to observe and follow the systematic sampling method carefully, where every 41st household was selected to interview one (1) participant.

The research achieved a high response rate. This is because face-to-face interview surveys were deployed during the actual data collection process (Krysan, Schuman, Scott, & Beatty, 1994). The high face-to-face response rate produced during the pilot study prompted the research team to maintain it in the main research. The high response achieved through this approach is in accord with Bowling's (2005) perception that “face-to-face interview surveys have long been assumed to achieve a higher response rate” (p. 285). Therefore, the first phase recorded a total of 230 administered questionnaires and 230 people participated. The 100% participation record was obtained because the questionnaires were administered face-to-face. A similar approach was adopted in phase 2 because it worked well in the first phase until the entire data collection was completed. Following the completion of the data collection process, the next stage (data analysis) was carried out.

4.4.3 Data analysis: descriptive and inferential statistics

De Vos, Fouché, and Venter (2002) state that quantitative data analysis is critical in any research. Consequently, for this research to reach a sound conclusion, a comprehensive data analysis was executed as an essential phase that would disseminate the quantitative research findings. According to Blanche et al. (2006), data analysis is the process through which this research presents and interprets numerical data using a specific statistical technique based on the kind of data collected. Furthermore, it entails a systematic breakdown of the data collected through questionnaires into constituent parts to answer research questions and test the hypothesis. Fink (2015) contends “data analysis as means using a statistical method to describe and interpret respondents’ answers and their perception” (p. 115). The process of analysis was necessary in order for this research to attain its objectives. Hence, this process was executed with rigor and thoroughness. Building on this, Speziale, Streubert, and Carpenter (2011) claim that data analysis is a method of minimising and organising data to provide results that need to be interpreted. One of the advantages of data analysis, as identified by Patton (1990), “is that the processed data permits informed judgments to be made about the extent to which the programme, organisation, or nation” (p. 95). The data analysis procedure was completed “to reveal the underlying patterns, trends, and relationships of a study’s contextual situation” (Albers, 2017, p. 215). Hence, the research engaged various phases for extensive quantitative data analysis in line with Connolly (2007) and Schoenbach (2014), who identified data cleaning, coding, and presentation as important analysis phases. The stages are briefly explained in Figure 4.3.

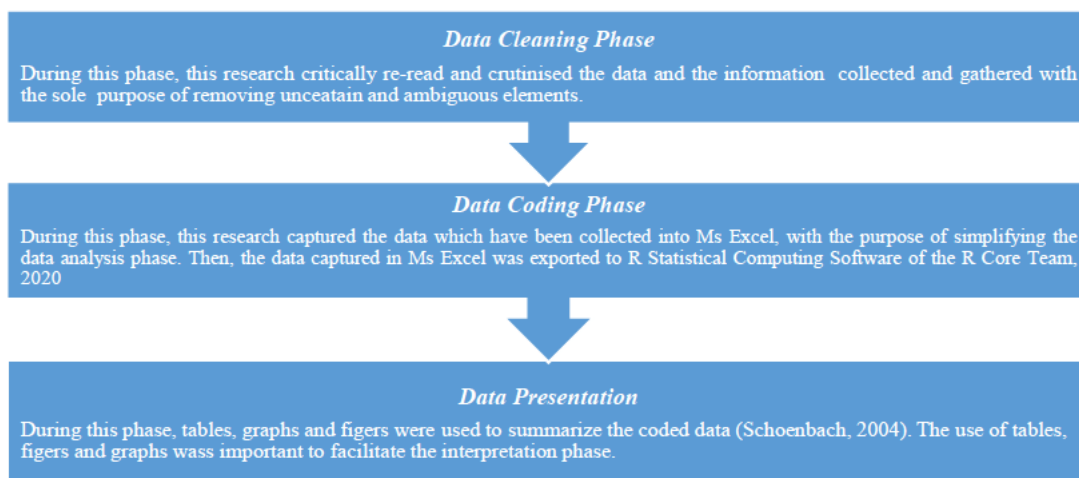


Figure 4.2: Quantitative data analysis procedure

Source: (Schoenbach, 2014)

Legard, Keegan, and Ward (2003) encapsulate that quantitative data analysis is used to inspect, clean, transform, and revise certain information. Additionally, this procedure is essential to reaching a particular conclusion for a given situation or problem. During the quantitative data analysis, “the process of inspecting, cleansing, transforming, and modeling data to underline essential data or information, suggesting a conclusion, was critically and thoroughly engaged” (Adèr & Mellenbergh, 2008: p. 365). The quantitative research analysis was executed to numerically explore the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development in Cato Manor and to understand the impact of violent service delivery protests on community development. Thus, the quantitative analysis enabled this research to interpret the data statistically concerning the findings obtained during the study’s qualitative research phase. The analysis process encompassed descriptive and inferential statistics and is presented in Chapter 6.

The R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020 backed by Microsoft Excel (MS Excel) was adopted to facilitate the data analysis process. MS Excel is a Microsoft Office spreadsheet programme that is also utilised to organise data (Zhang, Huo, Zhou & Xie, 2010; Thomas & Krebs, 1997). Before the data analysis was performed, the researcher engaged in four procedures (preparation, storage, analysis, and presentation) (Hawtin & Percy-Smith, 2007). In the preparation phase, the questionnaires completed by the respondents had already been assigned numbers to facilitate the data coding process, which is assigning numbers to non-numerical values (Dixon & Woolner, 2012; Connolly, 2007) - see Appendix E. This made it convenient for the data to be entered into MS Excel. However, Dixon and Woolner (2012) suggest that it must be checked before the data is entered in MS Excel. Every completed questionnaire was critically evaluated and thoroughly checked to confirm if all questions have been answered and ensure that responses to questions are appropriately recorded. Bless et al. (2013) claim that this process is critical for one to check for the “completeness of the questionnaire, accuracy of the answers and uniformity in the interpretation of the questions and of the multiple-choice options” (p. 213).

After that, open-ended questions, which included options such as “specify” – see Appendix E -, were then assigned numbers to ensure that all the information in the text is converted to numerical form (Hawtin & Percy-Smith, 2007). This exercise is critical

for smooth statistical analysis. When this method was completed, the storage phase was executed. In this phase, the data was entered into Excel. The purpose was first to arrange the data in the spreadsheet to appear in different rows, while the participants' responses to the different questions appear in different columns (Magee, Lee, Giuliano, & Munro, 2006). The data on the spreadsheet was confirmed and cross-checked to ensure that participants' responses are captured just as they appeared on the response sheet. After the researcher was satisfied that the spreadsheet accurately reflects people's responses, the data was imported into R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020, version 3.6.3 to begin the analysis process. The results were presented in the form of descriptive and inferential statistics. The data was mostly categorical such that the descriptive statistics were provided as counts and percentages. These were visualised in the form of pie charts, simple and multiple bars, and Likert plots.

The inferential statistics comprised of associations between two categorical variables which were tested with the use of either the Chi-Square or Fisher's exact test. Further, a group of items for a particular theme was assessed for internal consistency using reliability analysis based on the Cronbach Alpha coefficient. All the tests were conducted at a 5% level of significance. The descriptive statistical component was significant to provide basic information about variables in the dataset and illustrate correlations between the variables (Loeb, Dynarski, McFarland, Morris, Reardon, & Reber, 2017). This research engaged in inferential analysis. This was significant to make statements based on numerical data relating to the population under study (Bless et al., 2013). In that way, the inferential analysis was used to reach a conclusion that extended beyond the immediate data (Pyrzrak, 2016). Moreover, the statistical analysis was performed to infer and generalise the sample results to the entire population (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). The quantitative data analysis is presented in Chapter 6.

4.5 Ensuring the quality of data

4.5.1 Trustworthiness

This study incorporated trustworthiness to ensure the validity of the research findings (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen, & Kyngäs, 2014). According to Lincoln

and Guba (1985), trustworthiness is established when the research findings are as close as possible in reflecting the true meaning of the phenomenon under study as described by the participants. Bless et al. (2013) describe trustworthiness “as the amount of trust that can be given to the research findings” (p. 236). Trustworthiness is essential to ensure the quality of data. Thus, considering their definition, Elo et al. (2014) and Bless et al. (2013) outline four main imperative components of trustworthiness, including *credibility*, which seeks to ensure that the findings depict the truth of the reality. *Dependability* requires the researcher to thoroughly describe and precisely follow a clear and thoughtful research strategy. *Transferability*, explains the extent to which results apply to other similar situations. Lastly, *conformability* is whereby the researcher can obtain similar findings by following a similar research process in a similar context (Bless et al., 2013). Based on the above definition, it is apparent that trustworthiness is a crucial tool that increases the accuracy of the research findings (Padgett, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Bless et al. (2013), trustworthiness is neither naturalistic nor given, but it is gradually established for the quality of research findings.

Prolonged engagement is one of the approaches that was employed in Cato Manor. According to Shenton (2004), this approach is essential to manage any threats that might discredit the trustworthiness of the research findings. Emerging from the anthropological fieldwork, prolonged engagement, permits researchers to spend the necessary amount of time in the study area to develop required relationships with the community under study (Heigham and Croker, 2009; Lietz, Langer, & Furman, 2006). Considering this, this approach enabled the researcher to spend the actual amount of time in Cato Manor to get familiar with the setting, people, and the environment. Furthermore, spending the necessary amount of time required in Cato Manor was crucial to enhancing rapport and social capital. Additionally, openness is intensified and improved during research engagement through social capital, trust, and communication between the researcher and the potential participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This form of visibility was achieved by attending and participating in various programmes, projects, and dialogue such as Men’s Forum and War-room – a dialogue in Cato Manor that is held to discuss community issues. The primary purpose of this relationship-building and the contact-making process was to establish rapport and social capital, which enhanced the quality of responses and honesty (Bless et al., 2013).

To cement the rapport, freedom of participation was used as a key technique to supplement the prolonged engagement (Fouka & Mantzourou, 2011). Freedom of participation as a strategic tool to increase the values of honesty and quality of this research was perceived as the heartbeat of the data collection process (Heigham and Croker, 2009). This was important because it allowed participants to refuse to participate in this research. The strength of “freedom of participation” is the assurance that “the data collection sessions involve only those participants who are genuinely willing to contribute to the success of this research and prepared to offer their time and intuitive knowledge freely” (Shenton, 2004, p. 66). Participants were encouraged to be honest in their responses. With the participants’ permission, a digital recorder was used to capture their responses accurately. A daily interview journal and reflection were used to back up the digital recording and capture essential data during fieldwork, which could not be recorded. Such a detailed data approach to ensuring trustworthiness is “a hallmark of qualitative research” (Spencer et al., 2003, p. 74).

4.5.2 Reliability

Reliability is used to measure the degree to which an assessment tool produces consistent results. Joppe (2000, p. 1) contends that reliability is “the extent to which results are consistent over time and accurately represent the total population under study”. The researcher adopted three methods namely, split-halves, pre-testing, and Cronbach alpha to ensure reliability. For reliability, the researcher uses split-halves, which, according to Bless et al. (2013, p. 227), involves “splitting the test into two halves and finding the extent of correspondence or reliability between the halves”. Split-halves reliability is the subset of internal consistency reliability, which is perceived as the measure of the homogeneity of the items; when the scores for the distinct items are inter-correlated, the internal consistency will be high. The split-halves reliability method was selected because it became more convenient to execute. For split-halves validity, this research engaged two participants, who were then requested to fill up the questionnaire. After that, the same questionnaire was randomly divided into two sets of questionnaires. This was performed in line with the discussion by Bless et al. The results of the two sets were compared to the full set of questionnaires to measure the overall consistency of the responses. Consequently, from the participant's responses, the

questionnaire demonstrated a high level of reliability. Therefore, in line with Bless et al (2013); Joppe (2000), the questionnaires were deemed reliable.

The second method to ensure reliability was the pre-test. This method was performed in the form of a pilot study. This was significant to assess whether the questions had the same meaning to different people. Bless et al. (2013) argued that it is essential to pre-test data collection instruments to see whether they measure what they are supposed to measure. This process has been explained in depth under the contact-making and pilot testing section. The last method that was performed is the Cronbach alpha. This method was performed in section C (because it contained multiple Likert-type scales) of the questionnaires to determine and measure their internal consistency. Among other writers, Bless et al (2013) claim that a Cronbach's Alpha with a value higher than 0,7 is considered reliable compared to values lower than 0,7. The 9 items had a coefficient of reliability of 0,62, however, when two items were dropped, the internal consistency reached an acceptable level since the alpha coefficient rose to 0.70.

4.5.3 Validity

Writers such as Zamanzadeh, Ghahramanian, Rassouli, Abbaszadeh, Alavi-Majd, and Nikanfar (2015) and Bless et al. (2013) look at validity as a tool used in quantitative research to look at the degree to which the study is measuring what it purposes to study and is a vital factor in selecting and applying an instrument. Therefore, the researcher also adopted criterion-related validity. This method was used to assess whether the instrument measures the concept in question and further determines if it is measured accurately. Therefore, this was performed following Oppenheim's (2000) argument that the data from the respondents should be compared to the available literature to test and determine the validity of participants' responses. Given that the questionnaires measure levels of satisfaction with government service delivery, the outcomes from this data collection tool were linked to service delivery protests in the municipality to ensure validity. Content validity was adopted. As a result, this method is commonly used to determine if a test is a representative sample of the content of whatever objectives the test was supposed to measure in the first place (Brown, 2001). According to Zamanzadeh et al. (2015) and Brown (2001), to test whether the tool or research

instrument measures what it purposes to measure, the researcher engages with colleagues to judge the degree to which the test items matched the test objectives. Therefore, to ensure validity, the researcher engaged with the supervisors and experts to request their input on the questionnaire. The constructive feedback from the supervisor and the experts in the field were taken into cognisant, and the questionnaire was refined considering the comments and the available literature (Bless et al., 2013; Brown, 2001). This was an essential part of this research because it was purposed to ensure that the tool used measures what it is intended to measure.

4.6 Ethical issues concerning research

Ethics is defined by Bless et al. (2013) as “principles of conduct that are considered correct, especially those of a given profession or group” (p. 25). Ethical considerations such as but not limited to human rights, social justice, and epistemic justice are critical and significant components of any research project (Pera & Van Tonder, 2005). Ethical considerations are crucial because, in the past, the unit of analysis, such as people and animals, were subjected to unbearable exploitation, manipulation, and severe agony in the name of research and epistemology. During the interviews, the researcher made sure that the participants understood what information was being sought, why it was being sought, how they were expected to engage in the study, and how it would affect them (Maphazi, 2012). For Fouka and Mantzorou (2011), research ethics require individuals to make choices regarding their participation in any research. Ethical issues were the cornerstone of the quality of this research. Research with “human participants raises a wide range of ethical issues, which must be addressed to avoid harming the participants” (Bless et al., 2013: p. 26). Ethical concerns had to be advanced for a realisation of human dignity, social rights, and human and social justice.

For Bless et al. (2013), Ethics in research entails ensuring that knowledge and skills are used to improve people's socioeconomic situation and contribute constructively to societal development, in addition to not violating the human rights of those who participate in research. Furthermore, Maphazi (2012) states that ethics in research helps researchers understand their responsibilities as ethical scholars and prevents research abuse. From the international to national community, issues of ethical consideration are

important (Bless et al., 2013). For instance, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights unceasingly advocates for respect for human rights and human dignity. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 (No.108 of 1996) advances the gist of social justice as it requires that human dignity and the improvement of human rights and freedom are upheld. Furthermore, Maphazi (2012) and Pera and Van Tonder (2005) predicate that ethical issues are the substance of the commitment to humankind and must not be regarded as a deterrent. The participants are critical resources for the success of any research. Regardless of their socioeconomic status, human beings are entitled to the same level of respect, protection, and sovereignty.

The research was grounded in the philosophy of human rights and social justice. Hence, it was undertaken with the full awareness that it can act as a voice of the people by bringing people's concerns regarding protests to the municipality. Various steps were observed as part of ethical codes. Firstly, the Municipal Institute of Learning (MILE) was consulted regarding the possibility of researching within the municipality. Thereafter, the research proposal was sent to MILE to request permission and a gatekeeper's letter to conduct this study within the municipality. Afterward, an application for ethical clearance to conduct this research was submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) ethics department. The permission to conduct this research was granted and ethically approved by the UKZN Human Research Ethics Committee. Thereafter, engagement with the Cato Manor was facilitated. During the data collection for both phases of the research before the engagement with the participants, consent from the participants was requested. The participants were not only given a copy of the consent form but it was read aloud and explained.

To further ensure that participants understood the consent form, they were given a choice of language between IsiZulu and English. Participants could select a preferred language for the interview engagement. A letter of consent was issued to each prospective participant. Only those who agreed to sign the consent form as a procedure of acknowledging that they are willing to participate were interviewed. Generally, research is expected to comply with the three fundamental principles of respect, beneficence, and justice (Annas, 2018; Weindling, 2001). Research ethics emphasises the humane and sensitive treatment of the participants (Bless et al., 2013). Even after

the participants had agreed to be part of the research, they were reminded of the purpose of the research, voluntary participation, withdrawal of participation if ever they felt uncomfortable. As Bless et al. (2013) outlined, the following ethical guidelines were briefly made clear to the participants before committing to the research. “These principles and their attendant consideration form the foundation of ethical research” (Guest et al., 2013, p. 319). Moreover, the ethical principles were read aloud to the potential participants in a preferred language. This was done to ensure that they clearly understand that their participation or involvement is aligned with ethical guidelines as discussed below. Additionally, a hard copy of the research details was given to the participants before commencing the engagement (See Appendix A).

4.6.1 Voluntary participation

From the onset, the potential participants were told that their participation or involvement in the study was purely voluntary. They were also informed that there are no consequences to declining to participate in this research study. They could stop participating at any time without any consequences. The potential participants were told that if they choose to stop participating in the study before it is complete, the researcher would like to use any previously collected information if they agree.

4.6.2 Non-maleficence or risk

The research team stressed to the potential participants that there were no foreseen risk/s involved in their participation in the research. The participants were informed that their contributions would be kept confidential by using codes to ensure anonymity.

4.6.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is central to establishing rapport between the researcher and the participant. The researcher protected participants including information in their records and what they said was not at any point linked to the participant’s identity. The respondents' were told that all information they shared will be confidential. All the interviews were done in a place that promoted privacy. The participants were informed that the shared information would be kept from being seen by people who are not part

of the research team. Notes were held in a locked cabinet in a locked office. In a case where participants agreed to have the interview audio recorded, these were stored on a secure computer. Participants were informed that after each interview, audio recordings will be transcribed, and remove any names of people or places from the written record to ensure confidentiality. Furthermore, the finding was presented without the names of the participants to ensure that confidentiality was maintained throughout the study even after the study completion. All the information which was in the audio recording was destroyed after the data was studied. This was done to ensure that no one outside the research has access to the information.

4.6.4 Anonymity

Participants were informed that this research strictly adhered to the principle of anonymity. Therefore, the actual names of the participants were replaced with numbers (for instance, Participant 2 – see in chapter 5) to ensure that the data remained anonymous and no information can be associated with any of the research participants.

4.6.5 Benefits

The respondents were informed that their voluntary participation would not bring any material or direct benefit but that their involvement was highly valued. Furthermore, potential participants were informed that the study was purposed to assist in voicing their concern to the municipality about their perception regarding service delivery in their locality, while at the same time conscientising the community about the impact of service delivery related to violent protests or land invasion on community development and municipal development initiatives.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the research method, particularly the mixed method, and how it was executed in the study. Furthermore, it revealed that both qualitative and quantitative research methods were collected and analysed separately - juxtaposed during the data discussion of the research findings. This chapter also discussed the sampling methods.

Purposive and snowball sampling methods were adopted for the qualitative research method, while the quantitative approach adopted a systematic sampling method. Considering the qualitative research component, interviews were adopted as a data collection tool, and thematic analysis through NVivo was adopted for data analysis purposes. In comparison, for the quantitative research component of this study, surveys in the form of questionnaires were adopted as a tool that enhances this research to measure the impact of service delivery protests on community development. Descriptive, and inferential statistics were adopted to make sense of the data collected through a quantitative approach. Moreover, MS Excel and the R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020, version 3.6.3 were all adopted to facilitate and precipitate the entire quantitative analysis process. In addition, this chapter discussed ethical principles, including but not limited to human rights, epistemic justice, and social justice, the broad role of the participants throughout this research. The following chapter deals with the findings of the qualitative component of this research.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the mixed-methods design and methodology that was adopted to guide this study. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of the qualitative research. As indicated in Chapter Four, a thematic analysis was applied to analyse and interpret qualitative data using NVivo 12 software. This chapter addresses objectives 1 and 3. Objective 1 sought to understand people's perceptions of service delivery protests within Cato Manor. Objective 3 explored the reasons that people engage in service delivery protests in the way they do. This chapter begins with the demographic profile of the participants. It discusses the emerging themes, i.e., a relationship between unemployment and service delivery protests, the conception of protests in Cato Manor, violent protests related to land invasion, election campaign promises, citizen's voice through Abahlali, the socio-spatial context of service delivery protests, violent and disruptive protests as the language of the unheard, temporal transit camps: justice lost in translation, communication breakdown, the enmity between people and the municipality. Other themes which are discussed in this chapter include the marginalisation of the residents of informal settlement, protests as a public good or personal gain, politicisation of things in Cato Manor, from political will to personal will, and ambiguities. Lastly, a chapter summary is provided.

5.2 Presentation of the research findings

5.2.1 Demographic profile of the study participants

5.2.1.1 Age

The study participants indicated their age as per the following categories: 18-24; 25-39; 40-59 and 60+ years.

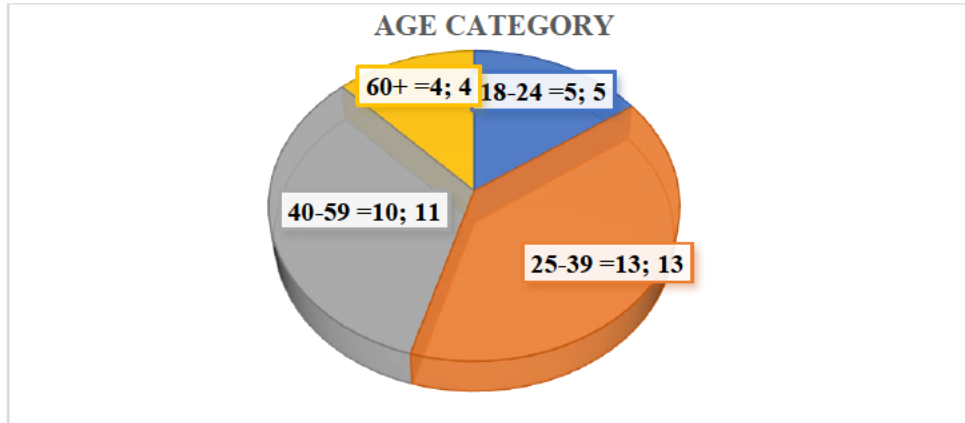


Figure 5.1: Age categories

Figure 5.1 demonstrates that most of the study participants in qualitative research were young adults between the ages of 25-39 (13 participants), followed by adults between the ages of 40-59 (11 participants). In comparison, participants between the ages of 18-24 (5 participants) and the least participants in the study were elders of the ages 60+ years (4 participants).

5.2.1.2 Gender of the research participants

Study participants indicated their gender as shown in Figure 5.2.

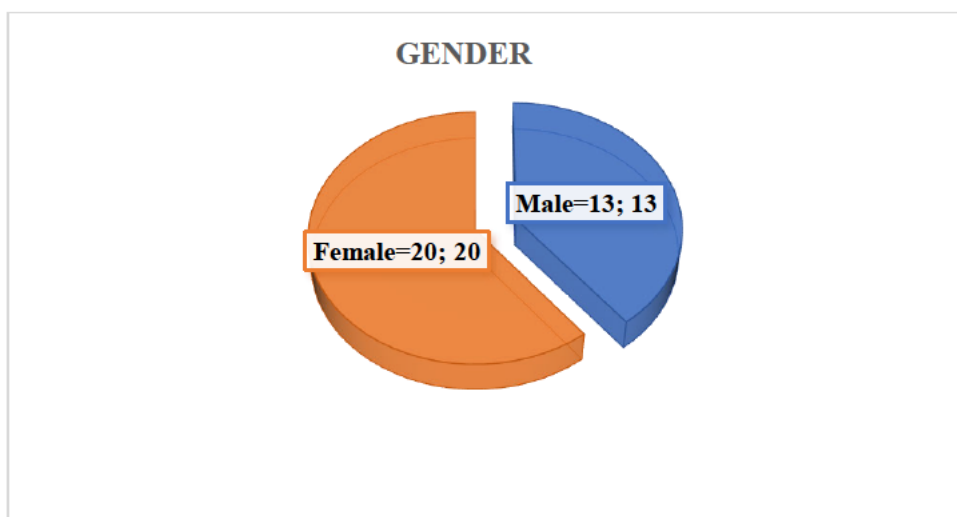


Figure 5.2: Gender of the participants

Figure 5.2 illustrates that the number of females who participated in the study is higher than that of males. Subsequently, 13 participants in the study were male, while 20 participants in the research were female.

5.2.1.3 Level of education

The table below presents the level of education of the study participants.

Table 5.1: Level of education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	
OPTIONS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Primary	8
Secondary	14
Tertiary	12
Total	33

The table above contains information on the level of education of the study participants. It demonstrates that most of the participants (14) indicated that they possess secondary education, followed by those participants (12), who indicated that they have tertiary education. Eight (8) participants indicated that they have primary education.

5.2.1.4 Employment status

Table 5.2 indicates the employment status of the study participants.

Table 5.2: Study participants' employment status

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	
OPTIONS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Employed	9
Unemployed	14
Self-employed	7
Other (not specified)	3
Total	33

Table 5.2 demonstrates that 14 of the research participants indicated that they are unemployed. At the same time, 9 of the study participants indicated that they are employed, with only 7 pointing out that they are self-employed. Three (3) of the research participants did not disclose their employment status.

5.2.2 Relationship between unemployment and service delivery protest

The findings established that there is a relationship between unemployment and the ongoing violent protests in Cato Manor. It emerged from the findings that poverty due to the high unemployment rate is a severe problem in Cato Manor, especially among residents of informal settlements who struggle to meet daily basic needs. For example, Participant 30 pointed out that “due to the decrease in job opportunities in Cato Manor, unemployment and poverty are high among low or less skilled people, even worse among young people and the shack dwellers”. Similarly, Participant 14 indicated “most of us [young people] are unemployed. People who are employed in the municipality are not from Cato Manor”. Likewise, Participant 4 indicated that “employment is done secretly to benefit those who are politically connected”. Participant 11 said:

The municipality is aware that we [the informal settlement dwellers] rely heavily on illegal electricity and water connections to meet our daily needs, such as cooking, laundry, and cleaning. This is because of two reasons: 1) lack of access to services. 2) high unemployment rates. So, when the municipality decides to cut off these illegal connections, for instance, illegal electricity connections, most of us [shack dwellers] would be affected. This gives us [shack dwellers] an excellent reason to protest for services because our things [food] get rotten, and refrigerators get damaged. If the municipality can provide at least basic but essential services and address unemployment, Cato Manor would not experience these violent service delivery protests as they do today.

Thus, 19 out of the 33 research participants attributed violent protests to increasing frustration with limited job opportunities. Participant 15 declared, “Cato Manor is not only faced with minimal job opportunities but also that such opportunities are given to strangers”. As shown in their responses, 14 research participants indicated that the municipality continues to employ people who are not residing in Cato Manor. This happens even in menial work, requiring special and scarce skills such as repairing potholes, sweeping the road, and other various general work. Such an act is said by the research participants to contribute significantly to the burning issue of the high unemployment rate, which intensifies poverty, especially among the most vulnerable people in the informal settlements in Cato Manor. Such assertions resonate with Gray and Maharaj’s (2017) view that unemployment relates to violent service delivery in Cato Manor because most unemployed people are unable to meet their basic needs, live in informal settlements and rely on stolen electricity and water connections. Likewise,

Tshishonga (2010) argues that residents of the informal settlements of Cato Manor are still one of the most vulnerable people in the area. Their condition is further aggravated by the prevalence of mounting poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, Mottiar (2014) shares a similar sentiment, arguing that unemployed people are likely to protest in Cato Manor. Such perception resonates with Akinboade et al. (2014), as they encapsulate that unemployed young people highly dominate most violent protests, including those associated with service delivery, as they feel alienated from socio-economic activities in the communities. In addition, Langa and Kiguwa (2013) insist that frustration among young people due to unemployment increases protests related to service delivery as young people struggle to meet basic needs.

Based on this premise, the findings reveal that violent service delivery protests often emanate from informal settlements in Cato Manor, where people lack necessities. Due to the increasing influx and illegal occupation of land, informal settlement is where the dynamics around poverty, unemployment, and histories of struggle activism by mainly black residents coalesce with unfulfilled promises of essential services such as housing, water, and other services. It can be deduced that as the residents of Cato Manor relate unemployment to service delivery, continuous disintegration from the main economic mainstream will continue to define violent service delivery protests. In the context of citizen participation, it is the right of the citizen who feels disempowered by structural violence to take initiatives to challenge the power struggle in their locality. Despite that protests are a sign of a healthy democracy with an active citizenry, the violent nature of such protests is a threat to democracy. This is because they sabotage infrastructure and undermine the right to life, peace, and dignity.

5.2.3 The conception of violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor

The emerging insights from the research findings suggest a contestation and different perception on what constitutes violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor. In most cases, violent and disruptive protests were often used in the same sentence to suggest that they do not mean the same thing. For instance, participant 16 stated “service delivery protests usually occur violently and disrupt the movement of cars in Cato Manor”. Similarly, participant 29 was captured expressing the view that, “protests in

Cato Manor are disruptive and such protests cause injuries to people”. Participant 15 concurred that the “occurrence of violent and disruptive protests cause damage to property and roads are usually barricaded with burning tyres”. This view is consistent with participant 30’s observations that “when violent protests occur, Vusi Mzimela road especially next to eNkanini is frequently blocked, disrupting normal business day”. Furthermore, participant 31 contended that “protestors want municipal land by force. As a result, this makes their confrontation violent and disruptive, which always intensifies when they clash with the police force, leading to severe injuries.”

The perception of 18 of the 33 participants suggests that violent protests are not the same as disruptive protests. Based on their views, protests in Cato Manor adopt violent and disruptive tactics since protestors barricade the roads with stones and cause damage to infrastructure by burning tyres. This resonates with different scholarly writers’ such as Alexander et al. (2018); Runciman et al. (2016); Paret (2015), and Harris (1990), who claim that violent protests can be identified as those acts that bring harm, debase or brutalise human beings, property, or the natural world. Also, violent behaviour can transpire in the form of physical assault, with or without weapons, behaviour that a reasonable person would interpret as being potentially violent (throwing things and destroying property) (Paret’s view, 2015a). On the other hand, Alexander et al. (2018); Runciman et al. (2017) Runciman et al. (2016) argue that disruptive protests occur when community members opt to go and sit on the road or sometimes use stones to barricade the road to block the movement of any mode of transport and pedestrians. Disruptive behaviour is different from violent behaviour, although, from the latter, the former is likely to emerge (Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016).

Subsequently, disruptive protests are associated with disturbing and interfering acts, preventing normal work activities. Despite being regarded as the best way of boycotting, mass social movements can be classified as disruptive protests because they usually interrupt usual daily activities. Consequently, it can be argued that disruptive protests are identified using tactics such as blocking a road with rocks and burning tires but not injuring persons and property. Therefore, it can be deduced from the findings that violent and disruptive protests are not viewed similarly. This is because the former is classified as those mass social movements where the protestors engage in actions that

create a clear and imminent peril and chaos that result in harm or injuries to persons or damage to property and looting of shops, among other acts. Meanwhile, the latter are those confrontations that negatively affect a typical day without causing conspicuous and deliberate physical harm to the people or property.

5.2.4 Violent protests related to land invasion: from Landlords to Shacklords

It emerged that Cato Manor experienced violent protests related to both service delivery and land invasion. Furthermore, the contestation of the causes of land invasion in Cato Manor was noted. For instance, Participant 16 indicated that “the recurring violent protests in Cato Manor can be related to poor service delivery.” Contrariwise, Participant 30 stated that “Cato Manor experiences violent protests related to a land invasion, not service delivery”. For, Participant 2 “Cato Manor experiences violent protest related to service delivery and land invasion because of poor services from the municipality”. Interestingly, Participant 32 was captured saying, “Cato Manor has violent protests related to land invasion because owning multiple shacks have become a business strategy”. Similarly, Participant 15 pointed out that “sometimes protests in Cato Manor are related to land invasion because it is perceived as an ideal residential place. After all, it is closer to Durban, workplace, clinics, and other facilities”. Participant 29 said, “violent protests related to land invasion are sometimes executed by people who are genuinely in need of land to build a place to call home because of the lack of houses”. Participant 31 sustained that,

“Cato Manor experiences violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion. Protestors on land invasion have different agendas contrary to people who need a place to stay. Some people who reside in shacks are renting. Thus, this means people exploit land invasion for business purposes. Therefore, violent protests related to land invasion have increased because such people in Cato Manor have exploited the demand for a place to stay as a business opportunity. Such that there are people who have become “shack lords⁵” – as they instigate and fuel violent protests related to land invasion to build shacks for rentals and illegally sell plots of land to those who can afford to buy.”

⁵ Shacklords in this research is used to describe those people who build up informal settlements (shacks) with a sole purpose of renting them.

Most participants (24) associated violent protests with service delivery. The divergence of perceptions on violent protests was also noted in the literature. On the one hand, Lodge and Mottiar (2016) associate violent protests with land invasion, while on the other hand Gray and Maharaj (2017) relate them to service delivery. Violent protests associated with land invasion began with the large-scale removals in the 1950s that destroyed a multi-racial community of Indians and Africans (Borain, 2010). Ultimately, the violent protests in Cato Manor are complex phenomena that need to be understood in various facets. At least nine (9) research participants associated violent protests in Cato Manor to land invasion. Such a view resonates with Mottiar's (2014) perception that the violent protests related to land invasion emanate from the influx into Cato Manor intending to re-establish themselves because of industrialisation. From the late 1930s and early 1940s, when economic expansion in Durban transpired, it drew thousands of African male workers into Cato Manor - they came individually, with families, or in large groups (Edwards, 1994; CMDA, 2002). Some of the people who moved into Cato Manor came into agreement with the Indian landowners at the time, who rented out plots of land to Africans to build their shacks (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016). While in other instances, the Indians' landowners were renting out shacks to make profits (Borain, 2010). Hence, the current land invasion is said to resemble and replicates the invasions that transpired in the middle of the 20th century (Mottiar, 2014).

The ongoing land invasion in Cato Manor fuels the debate on land expropriation without compensation in South Africa (Allan & Heese, 2011). This is because landlessness continues to be one of the historical injustices faced by the black majority in South Africa. Therefore, even in the context of Cato Manor, for instance, Gray and Maharaj (2017) state that the current land invasion is due to the historical context that saw Africans moving back in the 1990s when the apartheid government dissolved the racially discriminatory laws on movement. Furthermore, Robinson (1997) encapsulates that the enduring contestation of land and other resources in the post-apartheid dispensation in Cato Manor illustrates that the social division produced in the brutal eviction of the black community was not entirely addressed. Gray and Maharaj (2017, p. 2) appropriately affirmed that "the restoration and redevelopment of Cato Manor, however, is not without contestation as previous landowners fought over land rights". This is despite the view that the perpetual land invasions into vacant property are in

response to Cato Manor's proximity to economic opportunities. The unresolved issue of land, among the black communities, which were dispossessed during the 1950s, is crucial to understand the ongoing land invasion in Cato Manor (Edwards, 1994).

Fuelling the issue of land invasion in Cato Manor is the shortage of housing and the large undeveloped piece of land. The evidence from the research findings illustrates that if there is unused municipal land and the increase in demand for a dwelling place, protests related to land invasion will continue to exist. Cato Manor has become "a lump of meat on the dinner plate"⁶ because of its geographical location. Therefore, an uncontrollable influx of people as it was in the 1930s from various places such as the Eastern Cape and other surrounding rural areas into the area to re-establish themselves closer to basic amenities will not cease to exist. As illustrated by citizen participation, protests related to the land invasion in Cato Manor do not only attempt to address the lack of housing from below but also to sustain livelihood strategies in the context of the high unemployment rate. This can be attributed to the high illiteracy level and the lack of necessary skills to participate in the multifaceted socio-economic system. Not only have shacklords become one of the dominant livelihood strategies in Cato Manor, but the whole concept of shacks has also been subject to illegal commercial activities.

In Cato Manor, some individuals in the shacks accumulate profits when shacks expand because they connect electricity illegally like in the past. So drawing on that background, it can be contended that Cato Manor would continue to be subject to the influx and movement of people searching for economic opportunities. As stated earlier, the community's proximity to economic activities in the city makes Cato Manor desirable as a living area. Furthermore, in the plight of South Africa's high unemployment rate coupled with an increase in the demand for space near the city centre, the issue of land invasion for a rental will not cease to exist. This is for the reason that it has become a significant form of livelihood and income generation strategy that people employ to meet their daily needs. Thus, these protests can be viewed as an indirect approach to championing the cause of the poor in Cato Manor as they attempt to contribute towards addressing the issue of landlessness engulfing the black majority

⁶ A figure of speech which means that something is more desirable

from the historical injustices, which remain unaddressed. Therefore, violent protests related to land invasion and clashes between the police and the protestors who push the agenda of commercialisation and financialisation of shacks are likely to continue, as individuals feel their status quo and livelihood strategy are threatened.

5.2.5 Citizen's voice through Abahlali BaseMjondolo (Abahlali)

It was established from the findings that the movement Abahlali baseMjondolo (Abahlali or ABM), has brought about radical social change to the shack dwellers and increased the voice of the people through force-land invasion in Cato Manor. The revolutionary approach from the participants was not only witnessed from the facial expression and body language, but they responded to questions with anger, frustration, force, and intensity. For instance, Participant 3 expressed “we leave like animals...” Participant 4 stated, “we are not fighting for a luxurious lifestyle but to survive”. Participant 8 affirmed, “we are on our own, no political affiliation”. Participant 23 maintained “...we will continue with our struggle until we are treated equally”. The frustration and the struggle of the participants are evident in how they have named the places they have successfully invaded in Wards, (29 and 30) - eNkanini and eMarikana, respectively. The politics associated with naming the said place by Abahlali demonstrate the rigor of their struggle for social change from below. For instance, eNkanini – is a Zulu word “nkani” which translates to “stubborn.” Then, in the context of Cato Manor, it describes the act of the residents. The word becomes “eNkanini,” “act of defiance.” The name eNkanini, from the residents' perspective, means that the use of force empowered them to obtain the piece of land they are currently inhabiting.

Participant 23 stated that “the protestors were brutally abused and killed by the police during the eviction ordered by the democratic government in Ward 30”. Participant 25 was captured, saying, “police brutality over our struggle to obtain this piece of land is not different from the police brutality that occurred in Marikana”. The incident compares to the police brutality that transpired in 2012 when 34 mineworkers employed by Lonmin platinum mines were gunned down while protesting for better working conditions and decent wages. Hence, “eMarikana” as the place is known in Cato Manor, does not use the meaning of the word “red hills,” but the incident that transpired in the

town, in Rustenburg, Northwest. Naming this place after this incident provides an understanding and insight into what they went through to obtain that land. Consequently, these two places - eNkanini and eMarikana in Cato Manor illustrate, among other things, the attitude, the intensity of the citizen-led struggle, and the pain the residents of these areas went through to be recognised in the land they are occupying. Participant 12 expressed,

“Currently, there are shacks for instance, next to the Bonela, which have been built by members of the movement called Abahlali baseMjondolo. I am not surprised by the rise of this movement in Cato Manor. This is because it has been established by frustrated and angry people who have realised the need to build an empire, that is not an organisation but a certain empire, which can kill even police. As long as they get what they want – land to build houses because people have waited too long for houses, they don’t care who gets affected in the process. Now, they are mobilising shack dwellers to fight to defend our right to the cities, at all cost, in this, they are more united than any other people in Cato Manor.”

Furthermore, all (33) research participants highlighted that Abahlali had increased violent protests related to land invasion in Cato Manor because the movement encourages and supports the invasion of a large and undeveloped piece of land. Such views reverberate with Kell and Nizza (2011), who argue that Abahlali has intensified protests related to land invasion in Cato Manor because of their capacity to challenge eviction legally. For example, Mottiar (2014) states that Abahlali BaseMjondolo emerge victorious in the ruling against the KwaZulu-Natal Slums Act, which prohibited the municipality from evicting and removing unlawful inhabitants from the land owned by the state and dilapidated building structures. Similarly, Mottiar and Bond (2012) argue that Abahlali BaseMjondolo, nationwide, including in Cato Manor, presents a Marxist approach to what they consider unjust eviction of illegal land occupants. The intensity, frustration, and anger were witnessed throughout the process of data collection from some respondents who identified themselves as members of Abahlali.

Most of the research participants’ views (28) resonate with Mottiar and Bond’s (2012) observations, which point out that the agenda of Abahlali baseMjondolo is the struggle against what they perceived as “repression” against the poor and the disadvantaged sector of the society by the state municipalities. Furthermore, von Holdt et al. (2011)

and Lodge and Mottiar (2016), among other writers, argue that Abahlali BaseMjondolo presents an aggressive participatory approach to mobilise and galvanise poor people in shacks to defend their rights to access essential amenities such as stable electricity, shelter, and clean water. Following one of their successful marches to the Durban City Hall, Abahlali baseMjondolo was described by Mottiar and Bond (2012) as a grassroots movement where at its core lies the benevolent struggle for human rights and social justice. While on the other hand, Patel (2013a) describes the movement as a “new wave of mass political mobilisation at the fringes of formal democratic South African society.” Similarly, Mottiar (2014) maintained that Abahlali BaseMjondolo in Cato Manor is a people-led, vocal, active, and progressive movement for social change.

Describing the critical element of Abahlali baseMjondolo, Selmeczi (2012) appropriately puts it, and the movement can be "understood as (re-)staging their political appearance as political subjects" (p. 503). Therefore, it can be argued that the movement Abahlali baseMjondolo is a radical leftist social movement, which describes itself as the politically neutral and non-affiliated movement that remains at the heart of the poor shack dwellers (Pithouse, 2016). Furthermore, this movement presents a radical and revolutionary approach to exposing the unresolved issue of land, previous spatial orders, and the unfulfilled service delivery promises in Cato Manor and other places such as Khayelitsha in Cape Town. This is despite the movement being described as a “third force,” which is supported, funded, and founded to destabilise the ruling party. Similarly, Selmeczi (2012) encapsulates that the existence and the effectiveness of Abahlali baseMjondolo offer its members and shack dwellers at large an alternative to individuals who argue that their situation as forgotten and abandoned citizens is arbitrary. Furthermore, the movement exposes the poor and unjustified living conditions and the unfounded breach of the promise of ‘a better life’ among the new urban poor.

The perceptions of the participants especially in eNkanini and Marikana, seem to suggest that violent tactics are used during protests as a tool to challenge what is perceived as unjust treatment. The people of eNkanini have established themselves through radical means such as violent protests as they defend their right to live within a space that is highly contested by different stakeholders including the municipality. The premise of the findings illustrates that as members of Abahlai baseMjondolo the

movement sometimes calls itself the “University of Abahlali,” shack dwellers in Cato Manor challenge the power dynamics and threatens the status quo of the ruling elite in the democratic government. Within the context of citizen participation, through Abahlali, people are empowered to participate in their struggle for social change from below. Local people are enabled to collectively challenge the dynamics of the unresolved issue of land in Cato Manor. Thus, with the lack of radical change from formalised and institutionalised participatory spaces from the government, Abahlali BaseMjondolo, as an action-led movement, generates active new spaces for citizen participation from below. Also, the movement provides shack-dwellers with an opportunity to participate in the struggle for equality and thus emerge as political subjects, which is the facet that appears to be missing in mainstream politics.

5.2.6 Understanding the socio-spatial context of service delivery protests

The findings revealed that Cato Manor residents perceive and interpret the violent service delivery protests from a distinct perspective. This view originates from one of the key findings of this research concerning residents' perception of violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion because Cato Manor comprises diverse people with different economic statuses from various areas. For instance, people from the upper class are found in places such as Bonela, the middle class is located in areas such as Wiggins, and the lower level is composed mainly of shack dwellers. Hence, their perceptions of violent service delivery protests or protests, in general, are shaped by their location and economic status. For example, Participant 26 from Bonela, because they have services such as stable electricity, clean running water as well as proper sanitation, stated “We don’t engage in service delivery protests in this area”. Participant 24 declared that “during violent protests, we are affected because we can't even go to work”. Also, Participant 30 expressed “people from formal residents don’t participant in violent protests”. Most of the residents from Wiggins shared a similar view.

Residents from informal settlements presented contrary perspectives and perceptions. For instance, Participant 9, a resident from eMathinini, maintained that “some of the issues we are protesting for include access to electricity, access to water and proper sanitation and the municipal failure to provide us with houses”. Furthermore, Participant

1 declared that “most violent service delivery protests emanate in Cato Manor especially here in informal settlements because we need electricity”. Similarly, Participant 2 stated that “service delivery protests turn violent because we are usually promised, and those promises are never fulfilled. For instance, we were promised houses over 8 years ago”. On a similar note, Participant 7 lamented that “violent protests happen because promises are not fulfilled, service delivery is slack, and there is no development in this place”. Participant 3 argued that “violent protests are a tool to get what we want. For instance, we got this place (Enkanini), through engagement in violent protests with the municipality”. In accord with the view presented above, Participant 3 declared that,

“Most of the time is because of people’s anger and frustration due to the lack of provision of services such as electricity, water, and sanitation, which people are entitled to and are their basic human rights to possess. You know, here in Cato Manor, some of us have accepted that we will never get decent houses because we have been waiting for too long - more than 10 years. So, when we protest, we do not protest for houses anymore, but we protest for liveable conditions in the shacks. We just want services such as electricity, water, and sanitation in the shacks”.

One of the ward councillors downplayed the existence of violent protests related to issues such as electricity, water, housing, and sanitation in Cato Manor. Nonetheless, such a view contradicts the perception of 23 local people in Cato Manor who participated in the research. This is because local people attributed their violent protests engagement over the struggle for service delivery issues such as lack of access to water and electricity, lack of proper sanitation, and housing, which the government has promised. The perception presented by local people confirms and supports the literature. Meth (2012) pinpoints that issues raised relating to electricity, water, and sanitation, especially among the residents of informal settlements, lead to violent protests in Cato Manor. Furthermore, Gray and Maharaj (2017, p. 37) elucidate that “violence relating to service delivery protests is an increasing problem in Cato Manor. Many of the protests which occur are centered on the poor service delivery (water and electricity) and shortage of housing”. Similarly, Mottiar’s (2014) research identified issues of lack of housing, electricity, water, and land as the causes of widespread protests in Cato Manor.

There is an ongoing nationwide misinterpretation of what constitutes “service delivery protests.” For instance, Mottiar (2014) argues that some protesters in Cato Manor argue that they are protesting for the delivery of services as well as because they feel neglected and mistreated. On the other hand, Pithouse (2011) confirms that service delivery protests may be an inaccurate approach to perceive the wave of protests nationwide. Empirical evidence demonstrates that Cato Manor is continuously affected by both protests related to service delivery and land invasion even though the latter has been dominant in the past few years. This is despite the popular belief from the ward councillors who maintain that there are no service delivery protests in Cato Manor. It suffices to mention that, due to the research topic's political sensitivity, politicking, contestation of power, and ideas were always anticipated to feature. As expected, the clashes of perspectives on violent service delivery protests between local people and their ward councillors were at the center of our engagement. Hence, regarding the issues of violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor, the research discovered contrary perspectives not only from the residents as per their location in Cato Manor but also between the residents and the ward councillors who participated in the research.

The varying perception of the occurrence of protests indicates that violent service delivery protests are spatially located and concentrated. This is for the reason that such protests are more likely to emerge and transpire in places with informal settlements as opposed to formal settlements. Given that most people in informal settlements are engulfed by severe poverty, unemployment, and other socioeconomic issues, it can be argued that violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor resonate with Alexander's conception of violent protests as the “rebellion of the poor” (2010, p. 25). People's rebellion in Cato Manor is largely due to poor service delivery as opposed to a land invasion. This is partly because if the invaded land were used for developmental purposes, then, protests related to land invasion would not have transpired to the extent where it has occurred today in Cato Manor. However, violent service delivery protests are found mainly among residents of informal settlements because they have invaded land which is without basic services such as water. It can be concluded that issues of structural inequalities are partly the causes of violent protests in Cato Manor.

5.2.7 Violent and disruptive protests: the language of the unheard

It was established that violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor have always been used and advocated by the leftists or Marxist proponents as a radical and indispensable mechanism to advance the struggle for human rights and social justice. Like in any other South African informal settlement frustrated by poor service delivery, the study found out that in Cato Manor, violent and disruptive protests emanate as the language of the unheard constituencies. Thus, this is because respondents in Cato Manor were very precise about the use of violence and disruption. For instance, Participant 4 argued that “sometimes we start violence because it is more effective than peaceful protests”. Participant 14 expressed that “it is the most effective language in this place”. Similarly, Participant 22 declared that “...violent and disruptive protest is the only way to get the municipal attention”. Furthermore, Participant 3 mentioned that “violent protests have become an important tool to engage with the municipality and act as a reminder to the municipality that, there is something not happening, which should be happening in Cato Manor”. Participant 6 unequivocally stated that,

“The municipality has made people believe that violence and disruption is effective. This is because the municipality waits until there is something broken before they respond to protests. Therefore, such protests now act as a way of getting municipal attention. Again, if you deal with frustrated and angry people, who have lost hope, it’s sporadic that you will find peaceful protests.”

It has become a culture for communities to frequently mobilise and engage in violent protests to raise demand for services to get municipal attention.



Picture 5.1: The picture shows a road barricaded with rocks, timber, and burning tires next to the Cato Manor ABM offices

Source: Researcher, 2019

Fourteen (14) research participants' responses contained the famous phrase (“violence is the only solution”), which is normally used by angry and frustrated people who protest over service delivery issues. In this sense, 18 participants argue that Cato Manor's violent and disruptive protests are understood as an essential tool and a mechanism to engage with the municipality. Such a perception of violent protests as a mechanism by poorly serviced communities is well documented in the literature. For instance, the research conducted in Kungcatsha by von Holdt et al. (2011) highlights that one of the participants enunciated that the use of violence appears to be the best language the government understands. Furthermore, Alexander (2010) enunciates that local people use violence because they attempt to communicate with their leaders through formal channels such as submitting memos but nothing is done. However, when they became violent their problems are immediately resolved. In the study by Sinwell et al. (2009), which was conducted eThandukukhanya, one of the participants was captured saying, violence is the only way to get what we are looking for from the municipality. According to van der Merwe (2013), this is a worrying response from the protesters because it contains some traits of the apartheid government, which effectively responded when townships were rendered ungovernable by the poor black majority. Paret (2015b) argues that the democratic government acquainted its citizens that violent and disruptive protests are effective. Moreover, Molopyane (2013) argued that such

responses from the protesters demonstrate that the democratic government has adopted violent and disruptive protests as a 12th official language.



Picture 5.2: Road barricaded with rocks, timber, and burning tires next to the Cato Manor ABM offices

Source: Researcher, 2019

Protests of this nature have increased substantially nationwide. Hence, according to von Holdt (2013), they constitute broadening the participatory space of democratic principles. Despite the participants' perception, which suggests that there are no effective platforms where local people can vent their frustration and anger. This is subject to interpretation because ward councillors and municipal administrators who participated in the research maintained that they call monthly meetings however, people do not attend. Despite the historical justification, violent and disruptive protests have always been predominant in Cato Manor (Edward, 1994). The ongoing violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor are not different from the poor's famous rebellion. Such protests are usually led by young people who believe in violence and disruption to get the point across (Alexander, 2010). Furthermore, Gray and Maharaj (2017) stipulate that the destruction of physical infrastructure during protests poses severe challenges to socio-economic development and the community's wellbeing.

However, in their struggle for essential services, Cato Manor residents have engaged in violent and disruptive protests. Such protests have become undesirable because the protests have had devastating consequences on socio-economic development in the

community. For instance, during Cato Manor's intense protests, education is one of the community sectors that suffer from protestors' waves of anger and frustration. This is because teachers' teaching and learning are disrupted as protestors make schools inaccessible for both learners and their teachers. Also, the protestors destroy school infrastructure and community libraries which further undermine teaching and learning. Young people in Cato Manor are heavily reliant on the community library to have access to knowledge and employment opportunities through the internet. The intense protests in Cato Manor that lead to the burning of community libraries affect the essence of what helps the community to move out of poverty and transition to social security that protects them from vulnerability, powerlessness, and deprivation trap. Therefore, in the quest for better, improved access to essential services, protestors in Cato Manor destroy what they have to get what they need.

The nature and the intensity of the protest make it seem as if the municipal service delivery is “doing nothing” to improve the living condition of the people. The recurring protests in Cato Manor hinder community development plans of the municipality, which thus translate to affect local people as their needs are delayed. The disruptive nature of the protests in Cato Manor is excessively costly to the municipality because planning cycles and budget expenditure in sector departments have been affected. The perennial damage and disruption of the current infrastructure and property in Cato Manor jeopardises the municipality's capacity to improve access to public services and the socio-economic prospects in the impacted areas. Therefore, this indicates that some of the service delivery delays experienced and faced by people in Cato Manor are self-inflicted because of their actions during intense protests. Furthermore, the impact of such protests appears to affect local people and the municipality in proportion. Again, as the Keynesian perspective and NDP vision 2030 highlight, infrastructure is key to socio-economic development. Therefore, the destruction of physical infrastructure disturbs economic activities and the livelihood of the poor in Cato Manor.

Based on this premise, the research findings illustrate that Cato Manor has participatory spaces, which are meant to address social issues at the grassroots level. However, such spaces, including war-room, and community meetings, among others, appear to be counterproductive. Instead, they raise people's expectations, which fuel people's

frustration and raise false hope, which creates a condition for violence to occur. This view coincides with the frustration-aggression theory, which maintains frustration because the impeded goal produces negative affect, which leads to aggression inclination, which then yields aggressive behaviour. As most of the research participants pinpoint both “frustration and anger” of the people as a force behind the violence during protests in Cato Manor, this demonstrates that violent engagement over poor service delivery will continue to exist. Frustration-aggression theory describes such an act of destructing property as dislocated frustration, which usually emanates when the cause of frustration is beyond their reach. Despite citizen participation backing power to the people, the destruction of community assets undermines citizenship.

Therefore, in this case, the participatory spaces produce “aversive events,” which create a propensity for aggression. Citizen participation, as it advocates for citizen control, encourages local people to reject such invited participatory-limited spaces⁷ in favour of invented participatory-driven spaces⁸. Despite that, the people-driven participatory spaces illustrate that Cato Manor is rich in social capital. This is evident in instances where local people use their collective voice and exercise citizen power outside the invited formal participatory spaces to hold the government accountable. The findings suggest that the democratically elected government has adopted a culture of being responsive to people's needs whenever violence is applied. However, the perception that identifies violent protests as a language of the poor contradicts the main principles of community development. This is partly because such principles emphasise that local people should take ownership of the existing community assets, whereas violent protests cause damage. Furthermore, even during powerful community protests, the principles of community development uphold maintaining the essence of citizenship - such that local people protect their infrastructure. Therefore, at this later stage of the research, it can be sustained that officials in Cato Manor appear to be in a reactive mode instead of being in a proactive mode. Consequently, it can be concluded that until the reactive mode is replaced by a proactive method, invented space in the form of violent protests will continue to be the order of the day in Cato Manor.

⁷ Invited spaces refer to institutionalised form of participation such as referendums, roundtables or forums. Such forms of participation are initiated by officials.

⁸ New forms of protests and participation were developed as a kind of public counterweight to existing structures. Such forms of participation emanate from below.

5.2.8 Temporal transit camps: Justice lost in translation

The research findings established that the struggle over unfulfilled promises in Cato Manor made by politicians during the general elections and LGE campaigns had devastating and severe implications on ordinary people's lives at the grassroots level, especially residents at Temporal Transit Camps. For instance, Participant 13 declared that “we have been staying *eManinini* - Temporal transit camps for more than eight (8) years now. Houses have been built during this period. Nonetheless we still stack here because of unfair allocation”. Similarly, Participant 20 stated that “the provocation of violent protests come from promises made to officials, but no delivery of services especially houses, which people need the most”. On a similar note, Participant 31 (ward councillor) admitted that; “the situation *eMathinini* is unbearable. Some of them are even licking now”. Participant 12 believes that “the municipal officials have not done justice with residents from Temporal transit camps because those structures are not meant to accommodate people for this long”. Participant 15 maintained that “although there have been various housing development projects in the municipality, poor and corrupt administration combined with illegal selling of housing allocation has been a cause of concern in Cato Manor”. Furthermore, Participant 21 explained that “to have access to a house in Cato Manor, you must either be related to the leaders or have money to bribe if you are like me, you will be stack in the shack.”

Similarly, Participant 16 highlighted that “...the allocation of houses in Cato Manor is not only poorly administered but also highly politicised as well”. On a similar note, Participant 2 specified that “one of the biggest challenges we are currently facing in Cato Manor is that the Cornubia flats to which we are supposed to be moved are getting populated while shacks remain congested”. Likewise, Participant 13 acknowledged that “the allocation of people in the new housing schemes should not have been given to councillors and ward committees because of their political affiliations. The municipality must do the entire process”. Commenting on irregular practice in the allocation of RDP houses, Participant 12 stipulated, “If you can check RDP houses which are occupied, you’ll be amazed that out of 10 perhaps only 2 houses are occupied by their real owners, who are registered on the system”. Participant 12 stated that “the Temporal transit camps are an example of a failed government. This is because those structures are not

meant to accommodate people for more than three months. Still, in this case, people have stayed there for more than 8 years”. On a similar note, Participant 33 mentioned that “the painful part with Temporal transit camps residents is that they were moved in their shacks because houses were constructed there. Those houses belonged to them. However, new people were allocated when the houses were completed, not those who were moved to Temporal Transit Camps”. Participant 1 expressed that “housing allocation in Cato Manor is not completed per numbers, because if it was per numbers, lower numbers would not still be here. There are still 25, 26, 27, and 28 here, while numbers 29, 30 have already been allocated housing”.

Moreover, Participant 29, (municipal official) argued that:

“The problem is not only about the mixing of the house numbers, but somebody completely new come in, who is not even part of the list. The issue of mixing of numbers is one case. It’s true the list for housing allocation is changing. The conflict is caused by us administrators, the politicians, the councillors, and the housing officials. Where do we get the audacity to change the list? “.... it’s very complex because it’s political, there is a community leadership conflict, just corruption in totality remains an issue. There is no accountability except when the Hawks intervene.”

Ward councillors who participated in the research blamed the government. For instance, participant 32 argued that “the government bureaucratic system and the change in leadership is the primary reason for the prolonged stay of people in shacks and temporal transit camps”. While Participant 31 cast blame on the shortage of space, arguing that “houses were built but could not match the number of people who were moved to temporal transit camps because one proper RDP house could take up to 4 shack spaces”. Most of the research participants (29), including the municipal officials who participated in the research, agreed that the issue of Temporal transit camps is social injustice. The participants reverberate Pithouse's (2013) and Mottiar's (2014) perception that the occupants of Marikana were moved from their shacks and were promised houses. However, when the housing project was completed, it was not beneficial to them, either because the people (who were supposed to be the main beneficiaries) were unable to bribe nor did they have a relationship with those who are in local party structures. Hence, Meth (2013) robustly lambasted this practice saying

the decentralisation of powers to ward committees and their councillors to allocate people in houses has compromised human rights and social justice.

For example, Managa (2012) argued that local people protest because they are disgruntled with the government's "empty promises." Similarly, Gouws et al., (2010) maintain that when promises are made over other unmet promises, it makes people feel as if they are taken for granted. Drawing from the responses of the participants, it can, therefore, be argued that in Cato Manor, the unmet community needs by the politicians, whom Cebekhulu (2013) and Serino (2014) describe as "modern unpatriotic politicians," continue to affect the relationship between the community and the municipality. Cebekhulu (2013) argues that proud citizens in democratic societies found themselves deprived of virtually all values. Like any other informal settlement in South Africa, Cato Manor has become a political battle for the vote. This is because politicians during elections frequently use service delivery to generate votes from the people.

Thus, drawing from Pretorius and Schurink's (2007) view, if service delivery continues to be a political tool, with councillors promising services beyond their scope, failing to realise people's needs will not cease to exist. Unless there is a radical social change from below, the noble idea of a better life for all will remain a utopian vision for TTC and the shack dwellers in Cato Manor. Furthermore, it can be stated that the administrative powers for allocating houses in Cato Manor by ward committees and councillors need to be reviewed because it appears to have been infiltrated by politics, which has perpetuated irregular practices of corruption. This is because currently, the system deprives people who are desperately in need of housing and those who deserve houses in Cato Manor. Furthermore, the change in leadership, which was identified by some ward councillors as one of the reasons to have compromised human rights and social justice, does not account for poor administration. It is thus from this background that this research argues that the issue of temporal transit camps is justice lost in translation, with the lack of accountability, integrity, and transparency at the core of poor housing administration in the municipality. Consequently, the research findings demonstrate that irregular practice within the municipality and Cato Manor has prolonged the stay of people in the temporal transit camps.

Based on the premise of this research, it can be contended that the act of dishonesty and unfairness in the housing allocation by various stakeholders - municipal administrators, councillors, and their ward committees and the department of human settlement has led to marginalisation of the poor. Subsequently, in the context of citizen participation, local people, in this case, are encouraged to organise themselves and protest as a way out as they assume total control of their well-being. This is because the living conditions in temporal transit camps are extremely inhumane. It is just a single room, and the entire family of 5 is anticipated to stay there together. There is no privacy, and there is no dignity. Hence, in this research, the issue of temporal transit camps is defined as justice being lost in translation. This is for the reason that it violates the right to human dignity, which is acknowledged as the foundation of the other human rights in the Bill of Rights. In such circumstances, it is critical to redistribute power between local people and the local authorities through sustained discussions, formal dialogues, and available institutional frameworks. Therefore, it can be concluded that the residents of *eMathinini* and shack dwellers in Cato Manor, who pride themselves on being part of citizens in a democratic society, find themselves with unfulfilled promises. This deprives them of the right to enjoy the fruits of democracy like those who reside in well-developed areas.

5.2.9 Communication breakdown

The study established that communication breakdown keeps local people in the dark. Furthermore, when the appropriate and vital communication platform is not promoted and encouraged, local people assume that their representatives are hiding things from them. For instance, Participant 6, stated that "...the lack of communication shows that they are hiding something". In addition, Participant 9 declared that "they only recognise us and communicate with those who voted for them". Similarly, Participant 9 maintains that "...that is what they do even when there are employment opportunities, they meet around 20h00 coffee shops and with their Cde". Furthermore, Participant 1 mentioned that "during the campaign of the previous elections [referring to the 2019 National Elections], they [politicians] persuade us to give them power, promising that they will bring change but *Amabele asaze abeka phansi silindile* – nothing happened". Municipal administrators did not deny the famous view from the local people that there is a communication breakdown. For instance, Participant, 29 lamented,

“From the channel of the councillors there is a real complaint generally. I think it’s throughout South Africa. Ward councillors do not consult and communicate with their people and constituencies. Hence, a new proverb says, “wothula njege’khansela uma likhethiwe” (you must be quite like an elected councillor). It’s a saying that shows that councillors last see local people after being elected into a position of power. In Cato Manor, councillors don’t hold community meetings to understand the people's needs and give feedback. They don’t do that.”

Most of the research participants (26) expressed that there is no communication between local people and their elected councillors, which increases the circulation of incorrect information. Subsequently, this argument cements and supports van der Merwe's (2013) perception that communication breakdown and unresponsiveness result in incorrect, incomplete, and misinterpretation of information within the community, which instigate frustration and violent behaviour. Such arguments echoed Akinboade et al.'s (2014) view that communication breakdown between local people and their representatives is one of the significant causes that provoke people to engage in protests. Furthermore, the reviewed literature illustrates that lack of communication with local people on service delivery issues motivates communities to embark on violent protests to demand feedback, accountability, and openness (SALGA, 2015; Von Holdt, 2014a; Van Hoof, 2011 and South African Parliament, 2009).

The research findings illustrate that communication breakdown between local people and ward councillors affects trust and the confidence that local people have in their leaders. This is because local people tend to believe that the lack of transparency and regular communication means that their leaders hide something from them, which fuels anxiety and aggressive behaviour. As argued by frustration-aggression theory, aggression from frustrated people emanates when various circumstances block people’s desired goals. The goal of Cato Manor residents is to “see their needs fulfilled,” then communication breakdown acts as one of the obstacles for their plans to be realised, which then triggers aggressive inclination leading to violent behaviour. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the absence of effective communication platforms, the use of violence is justified as a tool to foster communication regarding service delivery. The frustration is associated with the lack of effectiveness and usefulness of such platforms in keeping people updated regarding service delivery.

5.2.10 The enmity between people and the municipality

This study discovered that the residents of Cato Manor described their relationship with the municipality as poor and sour because they broke promises and trust. Their responses verified this. For instance, Participant 4 expressed that, “the relationship is sour. This is because, during the death of the child who was burnt by the candle, officials said it had to happen. After all, we should not even be staying here; we are stubborn”. Furthermore, Participant 24 declared that “the relationship is poor because they don’t do anything for us”. Participant 26 maintained that “there is nothing like that because they don’t deliver basic and essential service to us”. Participant 3 stated that “if it was good; we would not be living like animals, while our leaders live like kings in a palace”. On the other hand, Participant 31 (ward councillors) confidently maintained that “the relationship is good because when I call a meeting, the hall will be full to its capacity.” Participant 12 enunciated that,

“What creates a good and communal relationship between local people and their ward councillors is honesty, integrity, transparency, and accountability. But when ward councillors failed to deliver their promises, that diminished trust, and developed enmity. Now, people in Cato Manor are angry and perceive them as enemies of progress. A good relationship cannot be maintained when a ward councillor is in the office for five (5) years and fail to influence development.”

Similarly, Participant 29 stated that,

“The relationship is not good, and it is poor. What I can say is people are angry at us. They came into our offices and burnt every municipal car around. They’ve also burnt some municipal buses and burned physical infrastructure. They also came and stole all office computers. These are the same people who want to occupy this land forcefully – this is part of their protests and frustration. Because that’s what they see, the municipality is letting them down; however, they don’t care which department they are dealing with. There are places where we cannot drive with municipal cars because you won’t come back.”

The responses from 17 research participants complemented the literature. For instance, Ngcobo and Whittles (2016) encapsulate that the dissatisfaction within communities about service delivery had deteriorated the relationship and trust between residents and

local Ward councillors. Similarly, the Municipal IQ (2012) study reported an inversely proportional relationship manifesting between service delivery protests and trust in local government. Thus, when people have low levels of trust in their leaders' violent protests related to service delivery remain high. Furthermore, Parsons (2009) complemented the Municipal IQ report and maintains that violent service delivery protests are likely to be dominant in local municipalities where the relationship between local people and their representatives is poor. Managa (2012) further highlights that the failure of the local municipality to maintain a good relationship by continually reporting on service delivery breaks trust, which increases protests. Furthermore, Dawson (2014) argues that the high levels of lack of trust due to unfulfilled promises among citizens lead to loss of confidence and dissatisfaction with democracy.

Local people subsequently believe that when ward councillors fail to deliver services according to their promises, local people's rapport weakens their hostility and increases hostility. As a welfare state, in post-apartheid South Africa, the government ensured that access to basic but imperative services is no longer a privilege but a legitimate and democratic right for its constituencies. Despite being service delivery oriented, South Africa continues to face blockage in delivering services to the people, with informal residents being affected the most. Apart from the fact that it was written within rural areas, Cebekhulu (2013) argues that the lack of services such as housing, affordable electricity, clean running water, and proper sanitation is a betrayal of social change. Beyond feeling betrayed by politicians, the Cato Manor residents have developed enmity towards their respective politicians. This is partly because of the unfulfilled promises related to service provision.

The research observed that there is a split of ideas and disparity between local people and their ward councillors as to what constitutes a good relationship. Responses of the local people revealed that a good relationship includes a ward councillor's ability and capacity to deliver essential services as promised. The disparity in interpreting what constitutes a "good relationship" between the residents in Cato Manor and their representatives creates a dilemma. When local people opt to engage in violent and disruptive protests because of unfulfilled promises, ward councillors, together with their ward committees, believe that the "third force instigates such protests". However, those

protests are genuinely about unfulfilled promises. Evidence from the research findings proves that, like any other citizen, residents of informal settlements in Cato Manor expected sustained relationships from their representatives through the continuous promotion of a high standard of professional ethics in the provision of service, which could not materialise. Kampen et al. (2006, p. 387) argued that “trust comes on foot and goes away on horseback.” Therefore, it can be argued that the delay in the fulfillment of promises related to the provision of services among the residents of the informal settlement in Cato Manor has diminished the trust they have in the ability of the municipality to deliver services to them.

This argument is consistent with citizen participation. In societies where trust in politics is eroded and seen with hostility, new forms of participation are undertaken by citizens. The central impression is that citizen participation is intensifying, essentially changing what people perceive as permissible democratic engagement and active political citizenship. Despite being frustrated, the premise of the findings illustrates that people do not just wake up and decide to engage in violent protest. This argument is complemented by frustration-aggression theory, which states that aggression emanates from aggressive inclination caused by the negative effects of frustration. Thus, shallow levels of trust can lead to aggressive inclination, which translates to violent protests. Therefore, the intensity of Cato Manor's ongoing violent service delivery protests is a cause of concern. This is because Cato Manor residents have developed animosity towards the municipality, as sometimes they burn and distract municipal property such as buses even when they are not protesting. Despite that, the municipality has installed access to clean water through standalone water pipes and provided mobile toilets, among other necessities. However, there is still a lot to be done.

5.2.11 The marginalisation of informal settlements residents

During the research, it emerged that the previously disadvantaged residents and emerging informal settlements in Cato Manor feel alienated and withdrawn from the essence of “a better life for all” because essential services such as electricity are still yet to reach them. This perception was captured when Participant 11 mentioned that “violent service delivery protests emanate from more impoverished shack settlements

because the municipality appears to have forgotten that poor people still exist”. Furthermore, Participant 3 stated that “compared to people from Bonela, we don’t have any basic services here”. Moreover, Participant 6 expressed that “in Cato Manor, we are not treated equally. Sometimes in the informal settlement we go for days without electricity, but that will never happen in places dominated by the rich white people”. Participant 10 declared that “we are undermined as shack dwellers because of our skin colour. Nothing gets done here”. Not only do residents of informal residents in Cato Manor feel alienated by the municipality, but they feel undermined financially. For instance, Participant 12 declared that “we have not refused to pay for basic services such as electricity, water, and other rates. The problem is that those services have not been provided to us and we have not been given a chance to pay”.

Participant 29 revealed that “the delay of tangible material benefits from the municipality in the informal settlement, while places like Ridgeview in the municipality enjoy basic services, fuel anger and frustration towards residents from the formal settlement”. Participant 28 maintained that “as a result, frustration with poor services, the intense violent protests in Cato Manor has been accompanied by intimidation and destruction of the property, such as the water meter of the formal settlement residents”. Furthermore, Participant 33 highlighted that “the angry protestors in Cato Manor have developed an attitude that says if we cannot have services, no one should have them; if we cannot enjoy “a better life for all,” no one must enjoy it”. Hence, Participant 32 argued that “consequently, the resident of informal settlement resorts to violent protests to what they view as structural, racial, and spatial issues”. Participant 29 stated that,

...there is what I call a split of ideas in Cato Manor. There is a tendency associated with the area [eNkanini, eMathinini, and eMarikana]. People from these places are usually undermined and disdained compared to people from places with basic services. It has an impact on ideas [or stigma], and people from these places have a self-inferiority complex. However, people who reside in areas like Bonela and Masxa are regarded as people who are on the middle level of the lifestyle



Picture 5.3: Informal settlement next to Vusi Mzimela Road

Source: Researcher (2019)

With feelings of inferiority, anger, and frustration by their living conditions, which continue to subject them to the vicious cycle of poverty, residents of informal settlements in Cato Manor feel side-lined and alienated from the socio-economic activities in the community. One of the participants stated that “...a black person here in Cato Manor is underestimated and is treated as if they do not have the same value compared with other races” (Participant 16). Such a rigorous view emanates from the structural issues where essential but critical services are not provided equally in Cato Manor. Participant 16’s observation is supported by Participant 15, who argued that “when white people submit a memorandum of request, the municipality attend to it as soon as possible. With black people, they will wait until something there is smoke, but even this is no guarantee that services will be provided”. The majority of research participants (30) argued that residents of informal settlements are alienated from municipal services. Their grievances receive no attention from the municipality until there is something damaged.

The argument from most of the participants (30) cements von Holdt et al. (2011) and Alexander's (2010) findings that people who are severely affected by social issues and have waited for services believe that “it is smoke that calls.” This suggests that governments in poor areas or informal settlements or previously disadvantaged areas wait until infrastructure is set on fire before they respond to the needs of the people.

Aldler and Steinburg (2010) raise a similar argument explaining that the spatialisation of violent and disruptive service delivery protests is an indication that suppression and oppression of township and shack dwellers have not been entirely addressed. Likewise, Stewart (2014) suggested that the government and its stakeholders are to blame for the violent service delivery protests that emanate in the informal settlement because it has adopted measures whereby a segment of the population is treated differently.



Picture 5.4: Road barricaded with rocks and burning timbers

Source: Researcher (2019)

During protests, local people in Cato Manor damage both public and private property when they have limited access to basic services or when they feel alienated from the existing social arrangements (Gray and Maharaj, 2017). On a similar note, Cebekhulu (2013) encapsulates that residents of poor communities and informal settlements feel “betrayed” by the democratic government. This is because when the residents of informal settlements compare their living conditions with those that reside in the formal settlement in terms of essential services such as electricity, water, and sanitation, they realise that they are lagging. There is a huge discrepancy in service provision that would take years to address. Similarly, Edigheji (2006b) argues that service delivery discrepancy does not only subject people to spatial orientated poverty, but it also increases inequality and exclusion from mainstream economic activities.

Within the context of Cato Manor, the research found that the lack of infrastructure has increased the gap in terms of service delivery. This has further perpetuated the “split of

ideas” (participant 29) in terms of how people in Cato Manor define themselves concerning basic services and resources. Subsequently, those who do not have access to basic services such as clean running water, electricity, and proper sanitation perceived themselves as alienated from community life, thereby existing in their world. Therefore, this creates a barrier in the sense of community as it divides Cato Manor along the lines of those with access to basic services and those who lack services. This is further proven by the existence of the shack dweller’s movement, which associates itself with the residents of informal settlements – who are without basic services and whose agenda goes beyond access to land and housing but the demand to be recognised as human beings. On the other hand, the infrastructural disparity continues to subject people to conditions of inability to meet their social and economic needs. Thus, as highlighted by the frustration-aggression theory, deprivation, which is perceived by the affected group of people as injustice in comparison with others, results in aggressive behaviour. Accordingly, such an existing gap in service delivery between formal and informal residents has angered residents of informal settlements to engage in violent and disruptive protests such as destroying by setting ablaze the existing infrastructure. This is done with the hope that the municipality will realise the sense of urgency of people’s needs. Furthermore, disruptions to life in the area have precisely the opposite effect to what the protesters want. It is a self-defeating strategy.

5.2.12 Protests for the public good or personal gain?

The research found that during violent protests related to service delivery or land invasion, elements of criminality and delinquent behaviour usually emerge in Cato Manor. For instance, Participant 18 expressed that “...some genuine service delivery protests in Cato Manor are hijacked by opportunists who want to do their despicable things”. Likewise, Participant 20 encapsulates that “...when there are service delivery protests or just protests in general in Cato Manor, the level of crime escalates as well”. A similar line of thought was revealed by Participant 6 as they stipulate that “...service delivery protests have an element of criminality, hence police intervene to maintain order”. Furthermore, Participant 30 declared that “protests have become tenser, more aggressive, and more criminal in Cato Manor”. Participant 16 also encapsulated that “there is evidence that indeed in Cato Manor, genuine protests related to service

delivery or land invasion end up being hijacked by certain people to pursue their agenda”. Nonetheless, what was more interesting during the research were responses by ward councilors who participated in this research who were quick to judge service delivery protests as criminal activities that need to be condemned at all costs.

For example, Participant 30 stated that “protests are planned as a military force with precision to be as effective as possible, and they succeeded”. Furthermore, Participant 31 maintained that “protests have a criminal element in them”. The same notion of protests being illegitimate was pointed out by Participant 32, declaring that “...protests lead to crime because when people are protesting, they lose control”. As observed, Participant 14 stated that “it is easy for municipal officials to dismiss protests in Cato Manor as the work of criminals or hooligans because of their nature”. Despite the element of criminality, Participant 16 stated that “the way protestors act during protests in Cato Manor, makes it difficult for one to deny that certain people are pushing their agendas through pre-planned protests”. For Participant 30 “...this is because the protesters are usually organised to make it difficult for police to enter Cato Manor to address or protect both public and private property”. Furthermore, Participant 31 stated that “during these protests in Cato Manor, ...protesters will be burning 20/30 tyres in different places, and for that to happen all at the same time, it tells you they must be organised”. Additionally, Participant 10 suggested that,

“Police respond with violence because usually, protests here [Cato manor] are violent and have elements of criminality as some people during protests will see an opportunity to loot informal business and local shops while others will be throwing stones at passing people. So, police must protect and fight the element of criminality during protests, and that can only happen when police use a certain degree of violence.”

There might be an element of truth in that sometimes protests in Cato Manor are pre-planned by certain people to advance their interests. This is because most research participants (17) argued that protests are sometimes used to camouflage criminal acts. However, this does not mean that protesters do not have genuine cases or issues that have not been addressed over a sustained period. The protest organisers are given power and can mobilise because of the unfulfilled local grievances (CSV & SWOP, 2011). Also, Gray and Maharaj (2017) argue that during protests, there are usually people who

see an opportunity to fulfill their desires. While at some point, local politicians see a chance of garnering local power, and there are some powerful criminal elements. For instance, Sinwell et al. (2009) argue that the looting of local shops during protests is an element of criminal acts, which creep in during reasonable protests.

Chiwarawara (2014) and Mbazira (2013) contend that sometimes protests are hijacked by young people, while other protests are hijacked by politicians and bureaucrats, who are part of the emerging predatory local elite. von Holdt et al. (2011) maintain that criminal sub-groups, among other dimensions, infiltrate societal demonstrations for agendas different from what the protest is about. Furthermore, the Municipal IQ (2016) argues that criminal elements easily hijack legitimate service delivery protests. On a similar note, van Stekelenburg (2015) maintained that political opportunists indirectly facilitate protest mobilisation, intending to influence their agenda. According to Gray and Maharaj (2017), Cato Manor, apart from protests, is known for being violent and notorious for crime, which increases when there are protests. Thus, criminal activities increase during protests in Cato Manor because some people exploit people's misery, frustration, and anger to advance their interests.

Therefore, what can be deduced from this premise is that elements of criminality creep in during protests simply because it is easy for criminals to get away with it during protests. After all, the protest would then be accused of being disruptive, whereas an element of criminality infiltrated it. This undermines the protest action and the message it attempts to portray because the focus is diverted and redirected towards the crime during the protest as opposed to the issues that local people are protesting for. Consequently, it can be stated that despite the genuine cases of unfulfilled promises of essential services, protests in Cato Manor are pre-planned by certain people whom the participants referred to as they fear victimisation. Therefore, it can be concluded that in a politically complex setting like Cato Manor, where there is a continuous contestation of political power, protests related to service delivery or land invasion protests are constantly used to either settle political scores or as a tool to de-campaign the ruling party.

5.2.13 The politicisation of “things” in Cato Manor

The findings of the research illustrate that Cato Manor is a ground for political battle. Thus, this means that politics take priority in many aspects of its residents’ social life. Such findings were captured when Participant 26 declared that “Cato Manor is composed of different political parties. However, three (3) out of four (4) wards are highly dominated and governed by the ANC, which influence the appointment and establishment of crucial structures in the community”. Furthermore, Participant 29 agreed and went further to argue that “for instance, ward committees and other structures are just an extension of the ANC”. Hence, for Participant 10 “such structures are mouth taped; they are not saying anything. You will never see them holding a meeting against lack of basic services, and you will never see anything of that nature”. Furthermore, Participant 7 argued that “the politicisation of ward committees among other structures in Cato Manor does not only affect the functioning of Ward structures, but also undermines issues of participation, consultation, and accountability.”

In accordance, Participant 12 stated that “as members of the opposition [Economic Freedom Fighters - EFF], our view even in community meetings are suppressed”. Instead of improving service delivery, the research found that the politicisation of “things” in Cato Manor remains an obstacle to social progress and community development. Participant 1 contended that “employment and crucial position must not be politicised. Capacitated people need to be employed regardless of their political affiliation”. Similarly, Participant 8 stated that “the issue of politicising ward committees compromises the way such structures should function”. While Participant 12 mentions that “...people who are in community structures are playing unnecessary politics, they politicise everything”. In accordance with the dominant party, issues of factions were also identified and perceived as problematic. For instance, Participant 13 argued that “... the allocation of the portfolio to ward committees is not democratic but factional and political because if you’re not in the dominant faction or the ruling party, then you’re doomed, even if you are capable of leading”. Participant 14 stated that,

“Positions of local structures in Cato Manor are occupied by people who are rewarded for their loyalties. These are the same people who are easily manipulated and exploited by the leaders who appointed them. Members

of these structures such as the ward committees are stubborn, and they don't want to be engaged, they know that they cannot be removed or touched because they were appointed on a factional basis as opposed to capacity and ability to serve”.

Therefore, political interference and factional appointment of structures, among other politically inclined issues, have been lambasted and reprimanded by the participant as jeopardising the legislative responsibilities of these structures in Cato Manor. The response from most of the participants (23) resonates with Piper and Deacon's (2008) argument that structures in Cato Manor are just an extension of the local party branch; they are not independent. On similar sentiments, Meth (2013) argues that it is apparent from the research within Cato Crest that the local African National Congress Branch Executive Committee (ANC-BEC) played a dominant role in controlling the ward committees. Subsequently, the control of ward committees by the ANC BEC is made possible by the dominant party syndrome, and ward committees are just the deployees of the ANC (Meth, 2013). Therefore, this undermines and compromises the responsibilities of the ward committees as per the Municipal Structures Act.

The above findings also support Piper and Deacon's (2008) work, which interrogates the extent to which the ward committees' structures are independent of the branches of the political party under the conditions of the dominant party syndrome. Furthermore, they questioned whether community structures including ward committees can still provide an opportunity for the local community to critically engage with their officials and local councillors independent of party agendas, and hold them accountable, or whether they are just an innovation subsequently dominated by, and even advancing and pursuing the interests of, the local party branch? This research established that in Cato Manor, the latter is true. This is because ward committees seem to be just another branch of the BEC as it is viewed by local people to be dominated by the ANC members. Generally, ward committees are legislated to consider the need “for a diversity of interests in the ward to be represented” (Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998). Thus, the party colonisation of ward committees’ compromise and affects their legislative functions to “enhance participatory democracy in local government” (Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998). Like Cato Manor, where ward committees are seen as just an extension of the ANC BEC, the ward committees are compromised

because they cannot hold the ward councilors accountable even in terms of service delivery concerns.

Therefore, when the ward committees cannot fulfill their objectives and mandate as enshrined in the Municipal Structure Act No. 117 of 1998, ward councilors cannot dissolve it. Due to its political party position, ward committees in Cato Manor cannot help build the kind of constructive, inclusive state-society relationship whereby values and principles of a democratic society are realised and persuaded (Piper and Deacon, 2008). In Cato Manor, political infiltration and interference in establishing local structures have also been said to be dominant and evident during portfolio allocation. Not only has the politicisation of “things” been dominant, but it is also preceded by factions such that politicians and ward councillors want to maintain their faction in it and try to extend their domain in every other section of the municipality (Piper & Deacon, 2008). Therefore, the perception by the majority (29) of the research participants cement and supports the argument by the Human Development Report (2006) that it is politics that holds the key to progress, not finance, technology, and economics. Cameron (2010) maintains that the government's attempt to control the operation and functioning of the state institutions through nepotistic recruitment processes, in which family members, tenderpreneurs, and political allies are rewarded for their loyalty and support with jobs and tenders, has crippled state institutions.

Therefore, based on this premise, the findings illustrate that the prioritisation of party politics, as opposed to the will of the people, has undermined the ability of the state to substantially deliver services to its constituencies. In Cato Manor, there is the continuous appointment of party loyalists in critical positions in government without appropriate skills and knowledge. This has had devastating implications on the functioning of service delivery institutions and structures such as ward committees. Also, it has increased the lack of transparency and accountability. From the participants' responses, such political dynamics are because of the dominant party syndrome, where even ward committees and other community structures are given to people because of their loyalty to the dominant faction of the ANC at the time as opposed to skills and capacity. The prioritisation of party politics and factions over consolidating institutional capacity for development has increased the appointment of incompetent people into

strategic and influential positions. This has been visible even in SOEs. Therefore, it can be concluded that the political interference, the politicisation of “things,” and factionalism in Cato Manor remain one of the obstacles that hinder effective and democratic engagements that are meant to add value to community development.

Again, the ability and willingness of people from different philosophical backgrounds to constructively interact and engage with each other's different perspectives around the shared meaning and goal of promoting mutual understanding and development is the foundation of substantial progress. Thus, it is essential to understand engagement as an opportunity among people who have clear and precise interests to develop strategies that are meant to advance socio-economic progress. The struggle for political power in Cato Manor is motivated by a myriad of ideas, whereby political diversity is suppressed in favour of mono-political and factional dominance, which has corrupted and incapacitated ward committees. Hence, there is a generic complaint in Cato Manor about ineffective ward committees. Therefore, it can be argued and maintained that in Cato Manor, there is a high and complex politicisation of “things” and political contestation, including ward committees, which affect the operation as intended.

5.2.14 From a political will to a personal will

The research findings established that political will driven by selflessness and selfless leadership is deemed to have been replaced by personal will or politics of the stomach in Cato Manor. For example, Participant 13 stated that “there is no political will on our councilors. They are pushing their interest”. Furthermore, Participant 16 declared that “the problem is that people are no longer getting into politics based on political will. We don't have leaders of Madiba ' caliber among our councilors”. Similarly, Participant 28 expressed that “people are not here [political position] to serve the public but to be served by the public”. Participant 18 declared that “they sell positions to people whom they will manipulate to remain in power”. Participant 12 enunciated that “nowadays, we can't even present different views in a coccus or a meeting because you might not see the next day. This affects productive and constructive engagements even for development purposes”. In accordance, Participant 13 argued that,

“Here, people venture into politics to learn ways to loot public resources and defend themselves after that. To many, politics has become their bread. People tell you straight that I am not begging you to join my forces or factions, but they will ask you directly what you will eat when your forces are not emerging. Because of the politics of the stomach, people have sold their political consciousness for positions; hence we have leadership that lacks integrity and honesty.”

This robust response from Participant 13, highlights the critical issue of the lack of selfless leadership in Cato Manor. Most of the research participants (27) shared a similar view that the “lack of political will” from leadership in Cato Manor is one of the dominant issues which was identified as delaying development. The reviewed literature illustrates that political will is an essential cornerstone for transparency, sustained accountability, proper functioning of any institution, and service delivery (Hemson et al., 2009). For instance, Taylor, et al. (2007) maintain that, selfless leaders with a strong political will can influence people and resources to achieve service delivery. A similar account is sustained by Bartone (2001), who argued that political will, institutional capacity, and accountability are crucial in the functioning of any institution. Without such, the vulnerable group will suffer from poor performance.

Berry et al. (2004) contend that in an environment where political will is lacking, certain groups will be deliberately excluded from social services based on political affiliation. What can be deduced from this premise is that, despite the paradigm shift to decentralisation and democratisation of decision-making in local government in South Africa, the lack of interest in public affairs from local leaders hinder social progress and place representative democracy at peril. Local political dynamics' impact on the ward functioning of committees is significantly undeniable. Based on the responses from the research participants intertwined with the literature, it can be argued that the lack of political will compromises the functioning of structures in Cato Manor. The complex interplay between the absence of political will and “institutional capacity” is one of the obstacles to local people's participation in deliberative democratic decision-making processes. Lack of political will results in individuals' appointment to portfolios without the willingness to advance social progress and the developmental mandate.

Citizen participation notes that in the context of nonparticipation, individuals are appointed to safeguard the interest of their leaders as opposed to the interest of the people. As a result, the appointed officials begin to take power for granted, becoming irresponsible, unable to subsequently account to their constituencies, arrogant towards civil society organisations, and mismanaging or even abusing their positions. The implications of partisan in local community structures have far-reaching consequences that go beyond just weakening their independence, but also impact directly the non-state actor's dejection of their capacity to work with municipalities on development and service delivery issues in Cato Manor. Thus, this is maintained because of leadership driven by self-enrichment as opposed to political will and the interest of the people at heart. Hence, the batho pele principles that encourage deliberative virtues such as honesty, service standards, and transparency, among others, are disregarded.

The politics of the stomach is selfishly defying moral norms, and the rules of engagement as political will constitute ideas whereby leaders and politicians suspend their organisational interest to promote diversity, productive engagement, human rights, and social justice. The lack of political will among leaders in Cato Manor inspires the reverse of this. Lawfully once someone assumes a leadership position in the community, they become the people's leader, not only their political members. It is not primarily about party politics, vital as it is, but the people who are led. So, everybody must enjoy the benefits of being part of the community. Therefore, it can be concluded that, at the heart of social issues in Cato Manor, political leadership appears to lack political will. The politics of the stomach appear to be the driving force behind political leaders in Cato Manor. Hence, accountability, moral integrity, and innovative ideas to take local people out of the conundrum are rejected and disregarded in favour of factional politics.

5.2.15 Ambiguities in working relationships among the officials' practice

The research revealed that collective responsibility and good working relationships between the existing political parties and other stakeholders are missing in Cato Manor. This was noted in the responses provided by local people, other political parties, municipal officials, and the activists in Cato Manor. For example, Participant 33 declared that “if the working relationship between ward councillors and us [municipal

administrators] is poor, how much more among political parties and other stakeholders”. In accordance, Participant 29 articulated that “from the politicians' side, it has not dawned that collegiality is a key. Our scope begins where their scope ends. We need each other to address social issues. It is rare to be invited to a meeting organised by ward councillors”. Similarly, Participant 28 voiced that “community leaders or ward councillors do not necessarily understand that we [municipal administrators and them] must work together not oppose each other because, in the end, we are all thriving to attain the vision of eThekweni Municipality”. Correspondingly, Participant 30 mentioned that “even among us [ward councillors], the working relationships are not good. I don't know if it is because of the way they lost Ward 29 to us [DA]. Participant 31 said, “it's hard to establish good relationships with political parties because they oppose everything said by the ruling party [ANC].”

The ambiguities in working relationships among the municipal officials were also noted in the local people's responses. For instance, Participant 1 was noted enunciating that “together we can do more is a myth. In Cato Manor, it appears like the *Samaritans do not associate with the Jews*⁹”. In accordance, Participant 12 declared that “it's surprising that ANC leaders do not open doors for better working relationships when their slogan emphasises this”. Furthermore, Participant 16 was captured saying, “the ANC's slogan of ‘working together, we can do more is just a political statement. Unfortunately, this is not practiced in Cato Manor”. Similarly, Participant 4 went further to argue that “the unnecessary politicisation of community projects by ward councillors in Cato Manor is a stumbling block to socioeconomic development and good working relations among different political parties”. Relating to the working relationship in Cato Manor, Participant 25 explained that,

“it's all about the ANC, nothing else. Even the protests in Ward 29, the ANC structures are sabotaging the DA councillor. Then, how do you define that relationship? Political parties are fighting to access power or maintaining power.”

⁹ A biblical text found in the Gospel according to John 4:9, which explain that in the ancient world, the relationships between Jews and Samaritans were indeed strained.

The research found that ANC's dominance in Cato Manor is made visible in all aspects, including in community projects organised by non-state actors. When the community projects are projected under the banner of the ANC, it affects community participation - particularly for non-ANC members and those who are not politically affiliated. Similarly, most research participants saw no solidarity and worked together between political parties and civil society organisations in Cato Manor. For instance, out of the 33 participants, 31 stated that working relationships between various stakeholders in Cato Manor is still an enemy of progress.

Chapter 7 of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa emphasises collaboration as an essential element to facilitate the development process at the local level. Similarly, Moyo (2014) claims that working as a collective to enhance individual, community, and national growth is a key to community development. Also, Nye and Glickman (2000) argue that working together in development is a critical cornerstone in building rapport, transparency, and coherence. In Cato Manor, the struggle to access and maintain power has weakened working relations to the extent that collaboration has become a thing of the past and thus left local people in limbo (Meth, 2013). Furthermore, the essence of the ANC's slogan of "working together we can do more," which was aimed at re-establishing partnership and creating fertile ground to inculcate and sow the seed of the spirit of togetherness in solving societal problems, is not practiced in Cato Manor (Gray & Maharaj, 2017).

The principle of working together to find common ground, where various stakeholders build collective strength characterised by solidarity, a sense of oneness, social capital, mutual support, and harmony, is missing in Cato Manor. Therefore, working together or in partnership within the citizen participation perspective is regarded as one of the most critical development and citizen control principles. However, a poor working relationship between political parties has always frustrated the development project in any given case. This is because, in the absence of collaboration and collegiality between and among political parties and other stakeholders in the community, social capital, which is one of the most important aspects of working together, is diminished. As noted earlier, when one political party dominates almost every sector of the society, the consolidation of democratic citizen participation is always suppressed and

compromised by the dominant party in favour of the party and factional political agenda. Therefore, collegiality at all levels is a key to effective service delivery. There is a joint municipal vision and shared goal that the municipal structures are working to achieve. It can therefore be concluded that the lack of collaboration in Cato Manor is one of the critical issues that hinders service delivery.

5.2.16 Insurgent citizenship or lack of citizenship

The research findings highlight divergent perceptions regarding the nature and the essence of protests in Cato Manor. Thus, this is to say that some local people, particularly those who do not have essential services, support the ongoing violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor. In contrast, others support protests but reject the violent nature of these protests in Cato Manor. For example, Participant 3 enunciated that “peaceful means of communicating with the municipality fall on deaf ears. But barricading the road with burning tyres is effective in Cato Manor”. Participant 4 shared similar sentiments, arguing that “we have waited too long for services, but nothing gets done. So violent protests are the only way out”. Also, Participant 16 stated that “in our municipality, I can submit a proposal to use vacant land to start a garden, I would be rejected. But those who do it illegally and violently manage to get it. How then do you expect us to be peaceful in our approach?” Participant 10 enunciated that “we use violent protests because we are used to it and it brings about sudden change”.

However, the pro-protests but anti-violent protests reject the perception that violent protests are working or are more effective than normal protests. For instance, Participant 33 stated that “violent protests have negatively impacted physical infrastructure, which has been identified as a core to socio-economic development”. Furthermore, Participant 15 went further to argue, “as a result of violent protests in Cato Manor. Service providers are afraid to come. Even philanthropies are reluctant to do charity work”. Participant 32 expressed “...the municipality wants to invest where it is safe. So, sometimes it’s hard in Cato Manor”. Similarly, Participant 14 took another direction rejecting violent protests and argue that “despite the feeling of unhappiness and discounted with the municipality but the destruction of infrastructure illustrates that people don’t have the sense of our assets at heart”. Participant 25 said, “protest turns

violent because these people [protesters] lack patience; they want all things at once. They don't value what they have." On the same issue, Participant 28 expressed that,

"Violent protests sabotage and undermine the future of our kids significantly. When people or protestors burn libraries, sometimes, they focus too much on immediate needs and forget about the future disturbed in the process. The sense of ownership of development is missing in. We still need to instill a sense of collective responsibility towards community assets. People must reach a point where they feel entitled to protect community assets at whatever cost".

Most of the research participants (24) described the violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor as a form of 'insurgent citizenship' for basic but essential services, socioeconomic rights against the deprivations of 'differentiated citizenship.' Such insurgent citizenship can be classified as the one characterised by a dark side. Thus, for Gray and Maharaj (2017), a "darker side" of insurgent citizenship is constituted and characterised by ill-behaviour such as xenophobic attacks, patriarchy, patronage networks, and prevalent violence. Furthermore, von Holdt et al. (2011) maintain that such protests and associated practices are ambiguous and contradictory to the values of citizenship and democracy. Therefore, the widespread protests regarded as "insurgent citizenship," including protests which have transpired in Cato Manor, have been dominated by the "dark side." This is because such protests do not "constitute an unproblematic notion of expanded citizenship" (von Holdt et al., 2011: p. 7). The continuous destruction of basic but essential infrastructure in Cato Manor can be said to be precipitated by a lack of citizenship and the sense of ownership of community assets. Thus, this is because citizenship, according to Matebesi (2018) and Bornman (2013), through invented spaces such as protests and marches, seek to achieve human and social rights, foster accountability, and challenge the status quo. However, this pursuit must be executed in a way that shows and maintains collective responsibility while actively engaging in governance and politics for the greater public good.

Based on the evidence from the research findings, it can be contended that the ongoing violence and the disruption during protests related to service delivery and land invasion in Cato Manor reflect the unresolved structural and historical issues such as land dispossession, among other issues. In the context of citizen participation, protests in

Cato Manor remain a crucial mechanism for citizen power, which advocates for the involvement of the disadvantaged, the alienated people in the pursuit of socio-economic and political change. Notably, the struggles of Cato Manor residents for the essential services of daily life and shelter can be viewed as a mass movement associated with insurgent citizenship founded on the assertion to possess a right to live in the city. Such protests are an essential part of insurgent citizenship in Cato Manor because they emerge from a specific set of social conditions and the need to produce alternative future political and socioeconomic structures that recognise local people as key stakeholders in their development. Accordingly, it is possible to draw a conclusion based on this evidence that protests in Cato Manor can be regarded as insurgent citizenship because they are directed to the municipality to illustrate a need to speed up service delivery processes. Concurrently, it encourages a close and consistent rapport between constituencies and their elected authorities. Notwithstanding, the essence of citizenship remains a controversy in Cato Manor. This is because of the lack of value, regard, and respect local people show towards community assets during protests.

5.3 Chapter Summary

The premise of the research findings illustrates that violent and disruptive service delivery protests in Cato Manor continue to have a devastating and dire impact on community development through the destruction of infrastructural capital and delaying development processes, among other things. Furthermore, the ongoing violent protests witnessed in Cato Manor appear to be the result of pressures and frustration that have been building for decades over service delivery issues. These protests further demonstrate the growing gap in citizen expectations (in the form of community needs) and the ability of government and other institutional structures to meet such needs. The chapter presented findings regarding the violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion in Cato Manor. Participants indicated various dynamics, including political interference, as some of the issues fuelling violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor. Although the act of violence during the protests can be interpreted as a lack of citizenship, the protests also show insurgent citizenship.

Therefore, this chapter illustrates that violent protests in Cato Manor are highly dynamic with several causes and implications on socio-economic development, education, and

community well-being. For instance, the research established that one of the critical objectives of violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor is the lack of housing. The research participants, including municipal officials, indicated that despite countless housing developments being constructed in Cato Manor, the increase in population has increased the demand for more housing. The increase in housing demand has intensified protests related to land invasion - the occupation of the land that was initially meant for development purposes. The spiralling of land invasion has led to the establishment of uncontrollable informal settlements, which has increased the demand for essential services such as clean running water, sustainable electricity, and proper sanitation. Despite the municipality providing services such as standalone water and mobile toilets, the residents of informal settlements are still at the center of violent service delivery protests over essential services such as electricity, which has increased illegal connections. The research findings illustrate that the essence of violent and disruptive protests in Cato Manor demonstrates a level of anger and frustration experienced by local people. It should remain the responsibility of the local people as citizens in the community that they own and protect the community assets during violent service delivery protests.

The following chapter deals with discussing and interpreting the research findings from the quantitative research phase.

CHAPTER SIX: QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter dealt with presenting and interpreting the research findings obtained from the qualitative research phase. The qualitative research findings were the keystone of the quantitative phase because the study adopted a sequential exploratory design. Thus, this chapter aims to present and interpret the quantitative findings derived from the questionnaires administered to 450 respondents across the four wards in Cato Manor. Section A deals with the participant's demographic information, and section B focuses on presenting and interpreting data on service delivery, land invasion, and violent and disruptive protests. Section C looks at data and information associated with community development-related issues in Cato Manor. Drawing from the first part, the second part of this chapter presents a discussion of the research objectives by looking at the impact of violent protests on community resources. Furthermore, this section presents people's participation in violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion in Cato Manor. Finally, a chapter summary will be presented.

6.2 Section A: Demographic characteristics of respondents

This section presents the age, gender, race, level of education, and source of income.

6.2.1 Age

Figure 6.1 shows that 43.3% (n=195) were between 18 to 24, while 42.7% (n=192) were between 25 to 39 years of age bracket. The respondents between the age of 40 to 59 years and 60+ years constituted 12.0% (n=54) and 2.0% (n=9). The proportion of respondents in the 18-24 age group was not significantly different ($p=0.879$) from those aged between 25-39 years old. Notable differences in the proportions of respondents were observed between the 18-24 years and the 25-39 years categories, where the proportions within these age groups were significantly higher ($p<0.001$) than the

proportions of respondents within either the 40-59 years or the 60+ years age groups. Those above the age of 60 years constituted the smallest proportion of respondents and were a significantly smaller proportion ($p < 0.001$) compared to those aged between 40- and 59 years old. The findings reflect the municipal population in terms of age because elders who are in their 60s account for only 6.9% of 595,061 (Municipal IDP, 2017). The statistically high proportion of respondents between the ages of 18-24; and 25-39 (387 - 86.8% combined) confirms the literature by Municipal IDP (2017) that people below the age of 40 vastly populate Cato Manor. Therefore, it can be concluded that the picture painted by the high rate of respondents between the ages 18-24; and 25-39 is a reflection of the high number of young people in Cato Manor.

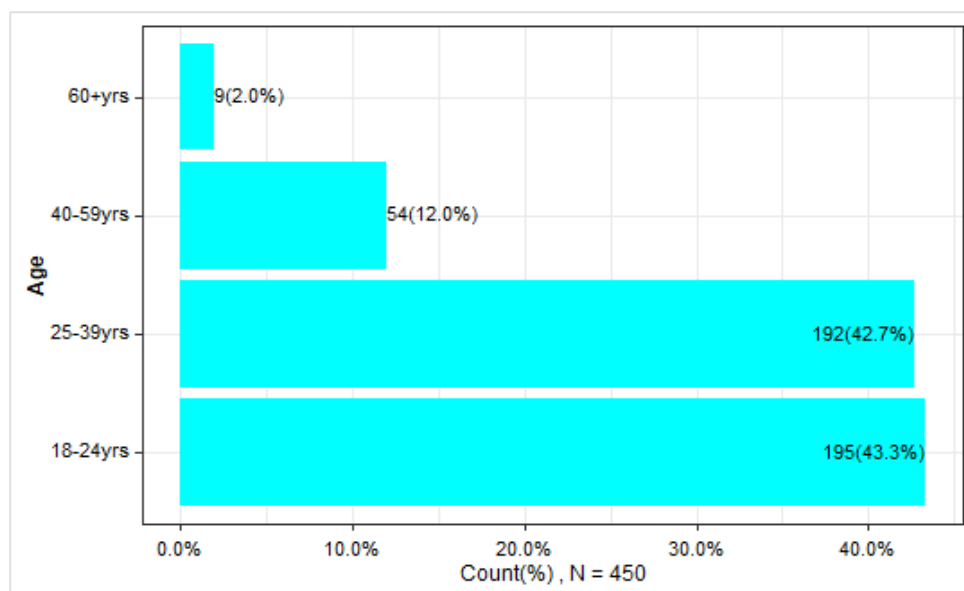


Figure 6.1: Distribution of the Respondents by Age

Table 6.1: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of age

Frequencies	9	54	192
54	<0.001	-	-
192	<0.001	<0.001	-
195	<0.001	<0.001	0.879

6.2.2 Gender

Figure 6.2 shows the gender of the respondents. The results show that of the $n=450$ respondents, 55.9% ($n=252$) were female respondents who constituted a significantly higher proportion ($p=0.011$) when compared to their male 44.1% ($n=198$) counterparts.

The distribution of gender reflects the municipal realities in terms of gender, with 51.6% female and 48.4% male of 595,061 (Stats SA, 2011). This reflects a substantially high number of females (more than 51%) in the province and nationwide (Stats SA, 2016).

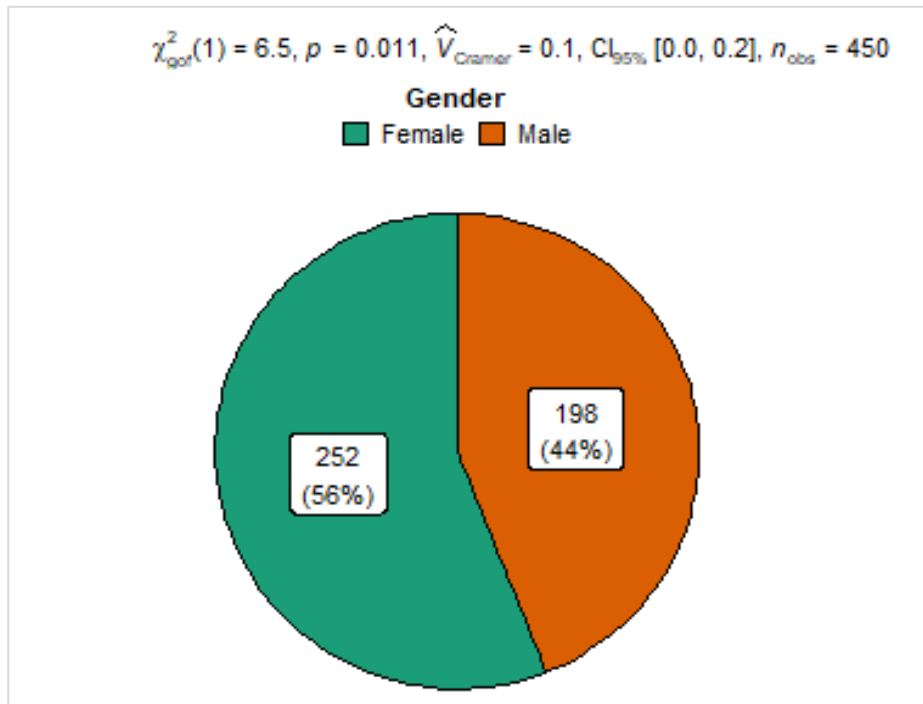


Figure 6.2: Distribution of the Respondents by Gender

6.2.3 Race

Figure 6.3 shows that 99.3%(n=447) of the 450 respondents were African, while respondents who indicated Coloured and “Other” were 0.4%(n=2) and 0.2%(n=1) respectively. The proportions of the respondents who indicated Africans (99.3%) were significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) compared to the proportion of respondents who indicated Coloured (0.4%) and “Other” (0.2%). Notable is that the proportions of coloured 0.4%(n=2) and people from other races 0.2%(n=1) were not significantly different ($p = 0.564$). Subsequently, the highly unequal racial demographic information presented in Figure 6.3 resonates and reflects the literature by Ethekewini Municipal IDP (2017) and Stats SA (2016) that black people or Africans in Cato Manor are predominately the highest of the population with approximately 100% of the 93000. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is adequate statistical evidence to suggest that Africans are the dominant racial category in Cato Manor.

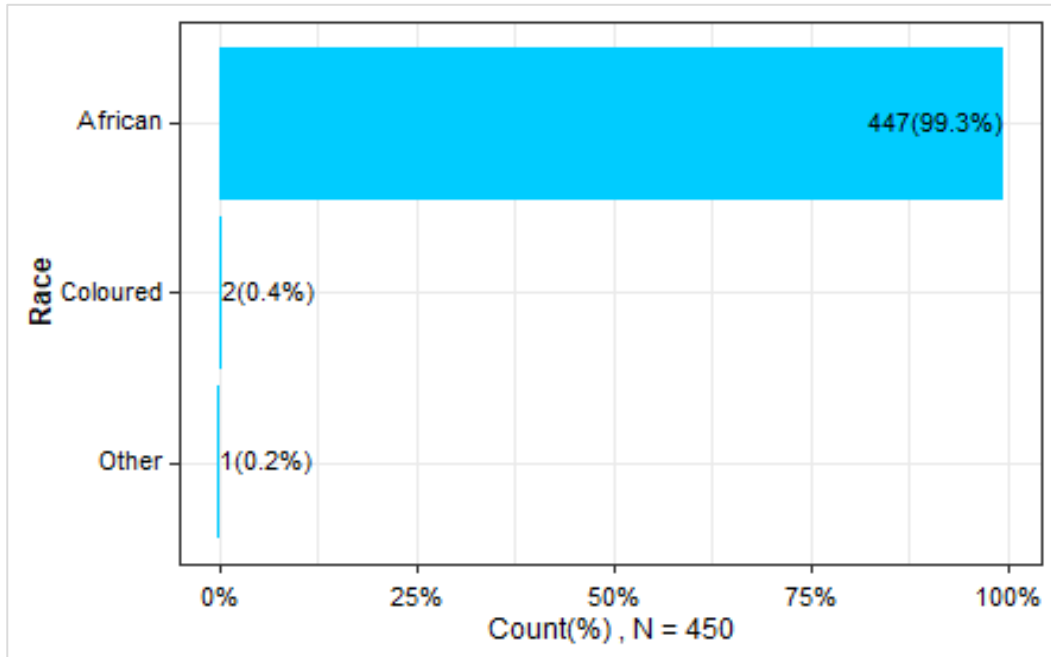


Figure 6.3: Distribution of respondents by race

Table 6.2: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of race

Frequencies	1	2
2	0.564	-
447	<0.001	<0.001

6.2.4 Level of education

Figure 6.4 indicates the respondents' level of education with 2% (n=9) missing responses. Thus, of the 98% (n=441) that responded to this question, the results showed that 62.1% (n=274) of the respondents had secondary education, while 31.6% (n=142) had tertiary and 5.7% (n=25) has primary education. The proportions of secondary (62.1%), tertiary (32.2%), and primary (5.7%) educational levels were significantly different ($p < 0.001$) from each other. These findings resonate with the argument by eThekweni Municipal IDP (2017) that Cato Manor is a low-skilled community with a high population who do not have post-secondary education. However, the overall findings indicate that most of the respondents who were recruited in the study could comprehend the survey, given their level of education and the fact that the survey was also provided in two distinguishable languages – English and IsiZulu, with the latter the predominant language in Cato Manor and the municipality (Stats SA, 2011).

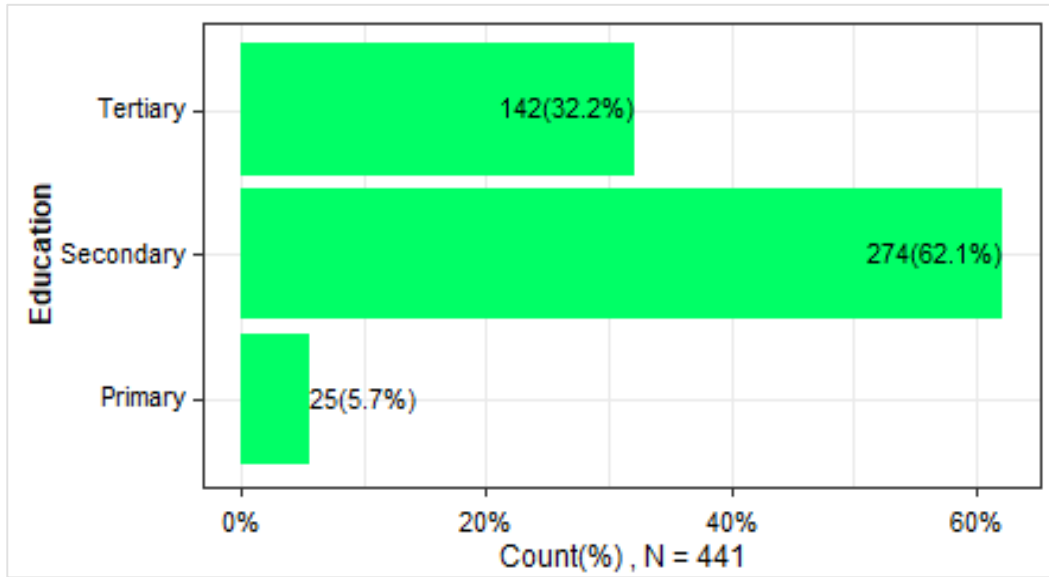


Figure 6.4: Level of education

Table 6.3: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of education

Frequencies	25	142
142	<0.001	-
274	<0.001	<0.001

6.2.5 Source of income

Figure 6.5 indicates that there were 99.8% (n=449) valid responses to this question and 0.2% (n=1) missing. Thus, based on the valid responses, 27.8% (n=125) indicated that they were unemployed, and 26.0% (n=117) respondents stated that they were earning a salary, while 18.2% (n=82) pointed out that their source of income comes from the government social grant, and 15.3% (n=69) indicated that they were entrepreneurs. The respondents who rely on student funding and voluntary work were 0.9% (n=4) and 5.6% (n=25), respectively, while respondents who did not specify their source of income amounted to 6.0% (n=27). The proportion of respondents who indicated that they are salary earners (26.1%) was not significantly different (p=0.637) from the proportion of unemployed (27.8%) but was significantly higher (p=0.015) than that of social grant holders (18.3%). A significant number of respondents reported that they are unemployed and those who relied on government social grants (46.1% combined) reflect the municipal unemployment rate of 30.2% (Stats SA, 2011). Hence, Cebekhulu (2013) argues that communities with informal residents rely heavily on social grants and informal economies such as street vending, among other activities, as livelihood

strategies because of unemployment. Unless wide-scale methods for socioeconomic inclusion address the unemployment crisis, social fragmentation and violence will continue (Von Holdt et al., 2011). Accordingly, it can be concluded that the number of respondents who do not participate in formal employment remains high in Cato Manor.

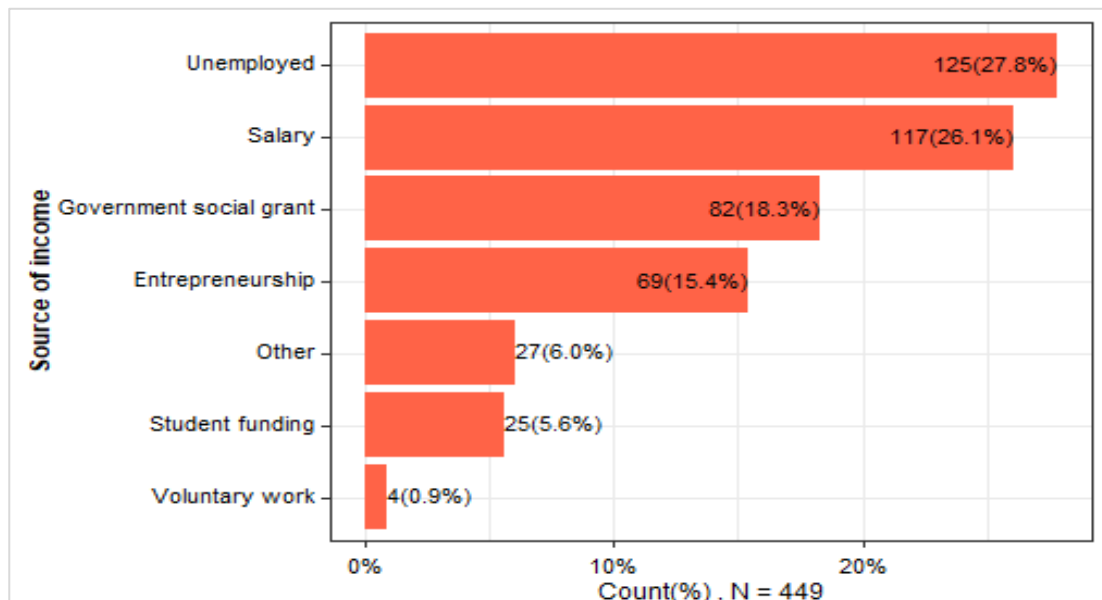


Figure 6.5: Distribution of respondents by a source of income

Table 6.4: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of the source of income

Frequencies	4	25	27	69	82	117
25	<0.001	-	-	-	-	-
27	<0.001	0.782	-	-	-	-
69	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-	-	-
82	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.321	-	-
117	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.015	-
125	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.003	0.637

6.3 Section B: Protests related to service delivery and land invasion

The information discussed in this section will be centered around two major themes, namely, service delivery protests and land invasion protests.

6.3.1 The occurrence of protest in Cato Manor

The respondents were requested to indicate the occurrence of protests in Cato Manor. Therefore, Figure 6.6 shows that of the 448 responses which were obtained, 77.2%(n=346) admitted that protests “sometimes occur” in Cato Manor, and 20.8%(n=92) indicated that protests “always occur”, while 2.0%(n=9) believed that protest action “never occurs” in Cato Manor. Noteworthy is that there was a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.001$) between the proportions of respondents who indicated that protests “sometimes occur” (77.2%) compared to the proportions of 20.8% and 2.0%, respectively. Subsequently, the level of significance indicates that there is an association between the community’s perceptions and the existence of protests. The findings from respondents 98% (439/448) in Cato Manor [as opposed to 2.0%(n=9) who indicated that protests never occur in Cato Manor because they responded to this question looking at certain Wards] reaffirms and resonate with the literature review on the occurrence of protests in Cato Manor (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016; Pithouse, 2016). Scholarly writers such as Gray and Maharaj (2017) and Maharaj (2012) maintain that Cato Manor experiences protest action. Despite the contestation of responses from the respondents, drawing from the literature, and qualitative research findings, it can be concluded that generally, protest action in Cato Manor happens often.

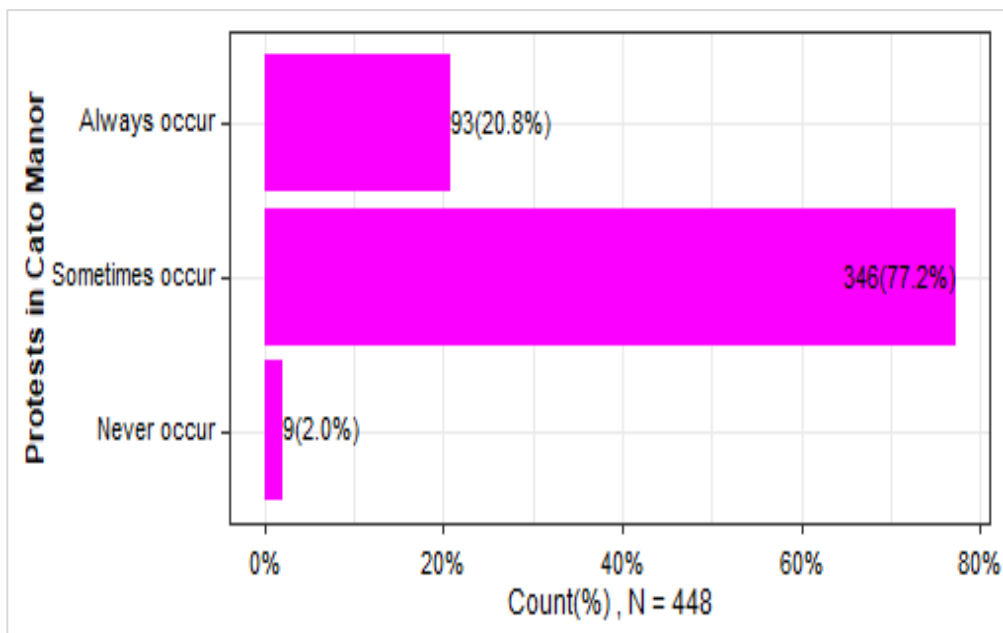


Figure 6.6: Occurrence of protest in Cato Manor

Table 6.5: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of occurrence of protests

Frequencies	9	93
93	<0.001	-
346	<0.001	<0.001

6.3.2 The main reason for protest in Cato Manor

In terms of the contestation on the main reason for protests in Cato Manor, the data from Figure 6.7 shows that 56.8% (254/447) identified lack of service delivery as the main reason for the occurrence of protests, while 39.1% (175/447) believed that land invasion was the primary reason for protests. Thus, the proportion that indicated land invasion (39.1%) was statistically and significantly smaller ($p < 0.001$) than service delivery (56.8%). Other reasons provided by a significantly smaller ($p < 0.001$) proportion of respondents were unfulfilled promises 0.9% (4/447), anger 0.7% (3/447), and unemployment 0.2% (1/447). The findings on unfulfilled promises, unemployment, and anger as key reasons for protests in Cato Manor align with Bond and Meth's (2009) argument that sometimes these factors lead to violent protests.

Despite being significantly smaller in proportion, the unfulfilled promises and anger connect and interlink with the issue of service delivery. This is the reason that anger emanates from the government's ongoing inability to fulfill promises relating to service delivery. When promises are not kept communities resort to violent protests as a way to illustrate their dissatisfaction. This resonates well with classical theories such as Marxism and the radical schools of thought, which highlight dissatisfaction and anger with unequal distribution of resources, poor material conditions, and the aspiration for a better life by the have-nots as one of the significant sources of revolt. This challenges the fundamental principles of liberalism in society. Consequently, violent protests are an outcome of the nexus between service delivery, unfulfilled promises, and anger emanating from the unequal distribution of resources – such that there are places with all the basic services while there are places without essential services in Cato Manor. Without overlooking instances of land invasion as the reason for protests in Cato Manor, lack of service delivery as a popular view for the occurrence of protests in Cato Manor

is not novel (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016). For instance, scholars such as Meth (2012), continuously demonstrate the lack of service delivery as the main reason for protests in Cato Manor. Mottiar (2014) stipulates that protesters in Cato Manor argue that they protest for service delivery, among other issues they face. Therefore, it can be concluded that the main reason for the protest action in Cato Manor is the lack of service delivery.

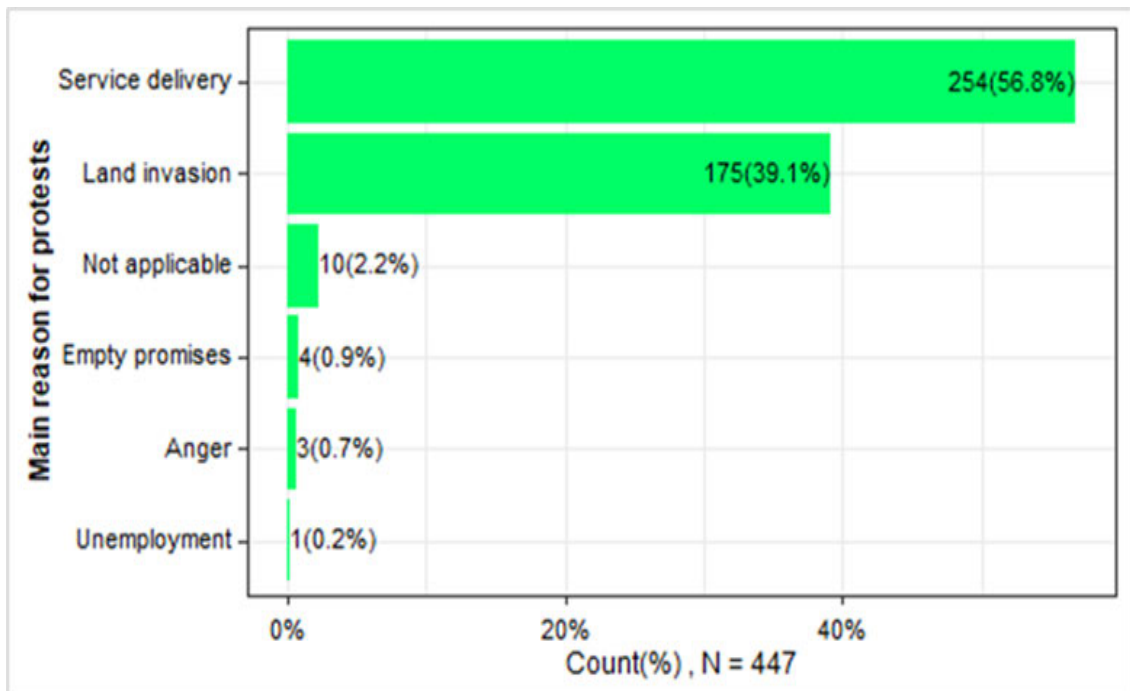


Figure 6.7: Main reasons for protests

Table 6.6: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of the main reason for the protest

Frequencies	1	3	4	10	175
3	0.340	-	-	-	-
4	0.207	0.705	-	-	-
10	0.010	0.071	0.136	-	-
175	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-
254	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

6.3.3 Association between the occurrence of protests and the main reason for protests

Inferential statistics using Fisher's technique was employed to test and assess the association between protests occurrence and the primary reason for the protests in Cato Manor. Therefore, Figure 6.8 below demonstrates this further.

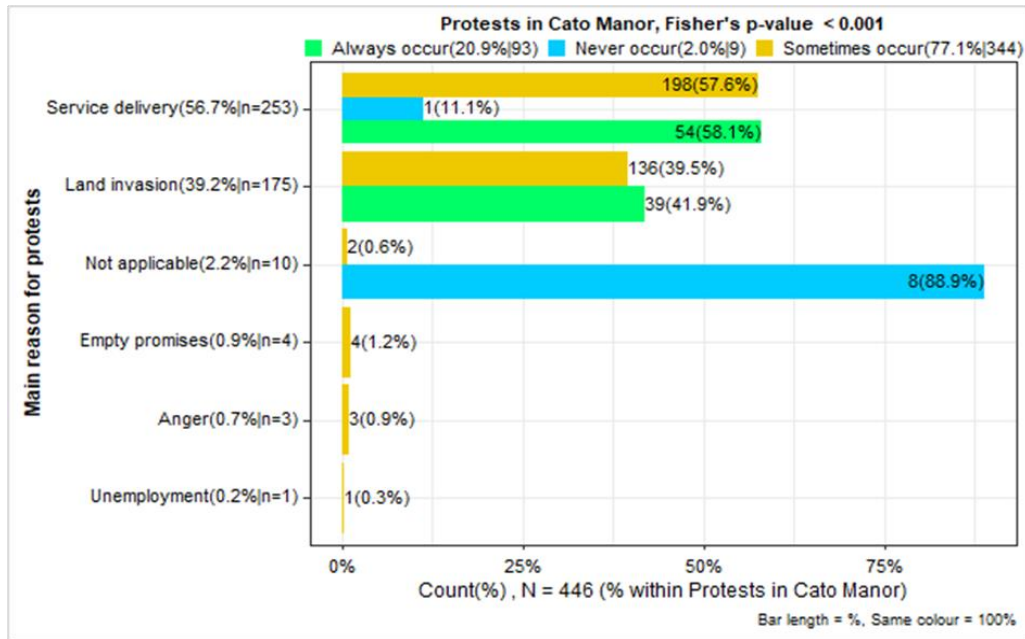


Figure 6.8: Percentage within protests in Cato Manor

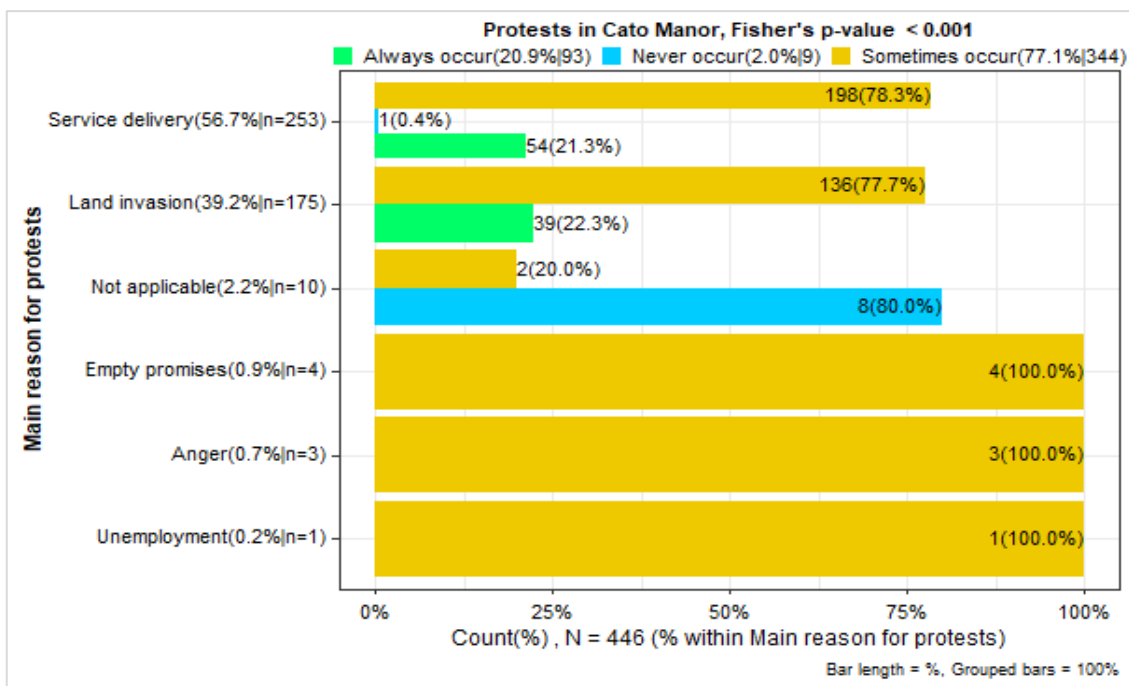


Figure 6.9: Percentage within main reason for protests

Figures 6.8 and 6.9 were used to determine the association between the occurrence of protest action and the main reason for the occurrence of the protests in Cato Manor. Thus, it was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) which indicates that there is an association between the occurrence of protests and the main reason for protests. The research findings revealed that 77.1% (344/446) of the respondents indicated that

protests sometimes occur whilst 20.9% (93/446) and 2.0% (9/446) suggested that the protests “always occur” and “never occur”, respectively. Within the n=344 respondents who indicated that protests sometimes occur in Cato Manor, various reasons were identified. For instance, 57.6% (198/344) among the respondents who indicated that protests “sometimes occur”, identified service delivery as the most common cause of protests in Cato Manor, while 39.5% (136/344) identified land invasion as the cause of protests. Furthermore, 1.2% (4/344) identified empty promises, while anger and unemployment were identified by 0.9% (3/344), and 0.3% (1), respectively, as the cause of protests in Cato Manor. Additionally, among the n=9 respondents who indicated that protests never occurred, 88.9% (8/9) could not provide the reasons for protests in Cato Manor. This can be attributed to the fact that they do not believe that protests occurred in the Cato Manor. About 11.1% (1/9) of respondents had not observed such protests, nevertheless believed that they could be linked to service delivery. In contrast, among the 20.9%(n=93) respondents who indicated that protests always occur in Cato Manor, two main reasons were identified. Furthermore, the land invasion was identified by 41.9% (39/93) of respondents as the most common cause of protests, while service delivery was identified by 58.1% (54/93) of the respondents.

Figure 6.9 shows that among the 56.7% (253/446) respondents who indicated service delivery as the main reason for protests, 78.3% (198/253) highlighted that protests sometimes occur, 0.4% (1/253) indicated that protests never occurred, while 21.3% (54/253) respondents believed that protests always occur because of service delivery in Cato Manor. In addition, of the 39.2%(n=175) respondents who indicated land invasion as the main reason for protests, most of them 77.7% (136/175) indicated that protests sometimes occur, while few respondents 22.3% (39/175), believed that protests always occur in Cato Manor. Among the respondents who identified factors such as empty promises, 0.7% (3/3), anger 0.7% (3/3), and unemployment 0.2% (1/1), all of them indicated that protests sometimes occur. Accordingly, the overall indication from both Figures 6.8 and 6.9 is that service delivery 56.7%(n=253), among all the specified reasons and responses, was the leading cause for the occurrence of protests action in Cato Manor. Consequently, it suffices at this stage to conclude that there is sufficient statistical evidence to suggest and support the argument that service delivery is the most common reason for the occurrence of violent protests in Cato Manor.

6.3.4 Frequency of violent protest

Figure 6.10 shows the frequency of the occurrence of violent protests in Cato Manor. Of the 448 responses obtained, 50.9% (n=228) respondents believed that violent protests occasionally occurred, while 21.4% (n=96) indicated that violent protests always occur in Cato Manor. Furthermore, 14.3% (n=64) indicated that violent protests rarely occur, while 13.4% (n=60) thought that the question was not applicable to them. The proportion of rarely (14.3%) and not applicable (13.4%) were not significantly ($p=0.719$) different, while the proportion of occasionally (50.9%) was statistically and significantly higher ($p<0.001$) than all the other categories. Despite the variation in the frequency of occurrence of violent protests in Cato Manor, it can be confirmed that violent protests do occur in Cato Manor. The findings echo Gray and Maharaj's (2017) view that in their research findings, respondents indicated that they prefer violent protests because it is more effective than peaceful protests. Similarly, Mottiar (2014) maintains that protests related to service delivery in Cato Manor have a high probability of turning violent. The Municipal IDP (2017) reaffirms that protests in Cato Manor are always accompanied by violence and destruction of property, including infrastructure. Meth (2009) further argues that violent confrontation in Cato Manor is not something new, but can be traced from the historical resistance during dispossession. Generally, it can be concluded that protests related to service delivery or protests in Cato Manor are violent based on the statistically and significantly higher proportions of the respondents who indicated the occurrence of violent protests in Cato Manor.

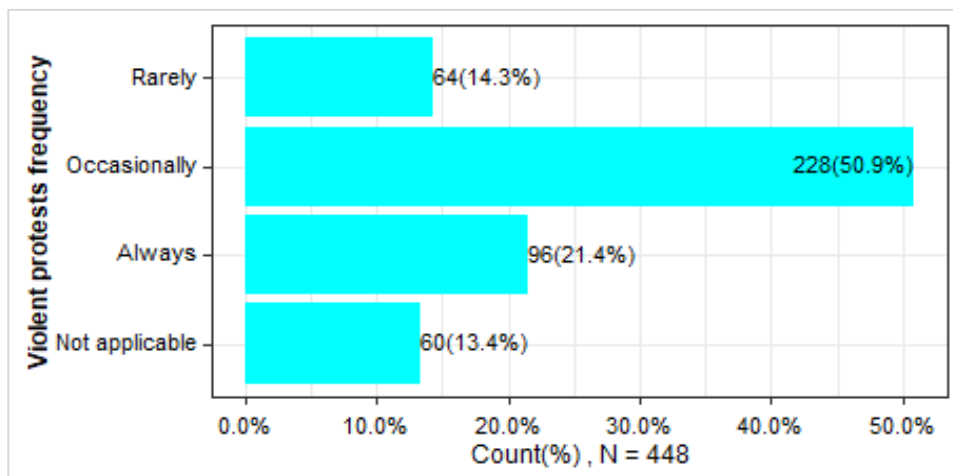


Figure 6.10: Frequency of violent protest

Table 6.7: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of violent protests frequency

Frequencies	60	64	96
64	0.719	-	-
96	0.006	0.014	-
228	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

6.3.5 Reasons contributing to violent protests

The research respondents were requested to indicate the reasons that cause protests to turn violent in Cato Manor as shown in Figure 6.11.

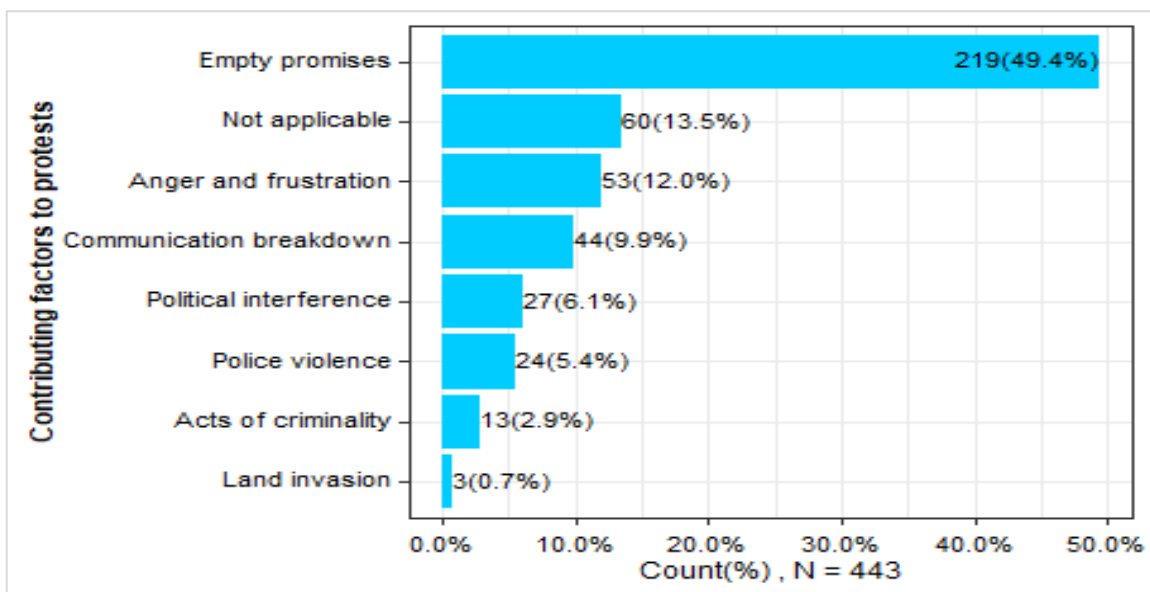


Figure 6.11: Factors contributing to violent protests

Table 6.8: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of contributing factor to violent protests

Frequencies	3	13	24	27	44	53	60
13	0.017	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	<0.001	0.082	-	-	-	-	-
27	<0.001	0.034	0.674	-	-	-	-
44	<0.001	<0.001	0.020	0.053	-	-	-
53	<0.001	<0.001	0.001	0.005	0.389	-	-
60	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.131	0.529	-
219	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Of the n=443 respondents on this question, 49.4%(n=219) identified unfulfilled promises as a reason for protests turning violent in Cato Manor, while 12.0%(n=53) identified frustration and anger. Other reasons contributing to protests turning violent in Cato Manor included communication breakdown, 9.9%(n=44), political interference

6.1%(n=27) respondents, police violence, and the act of criminality were also expressed by 5.4%(n=24) and 2.8%(n=13) respondents respectively. Those who identified land invasion as a contributing factor constituted only 0.7%(n=3) of the respondents. The proportion who indicated police violence (5.4%) was not significantly different ($p=0.674$) from political interference (6.1%). The proportions of respondents who indicated anger and frustration (12.0%), and communication breakdown (9.9%), among other reasons, were significantly lower ($p<0.001$) compared to the proportion that indicated “empty promises” (49.4%). Additionally, the proportion of those that cited empty promises as the contributing factor was statistically and significantly higher than all the reasons indicated by the respondents ($p<0.001$). Therefore, the statistical evidence shows that “unfulfilled promises” followed by “frustration and anger” are among the leading causes of violent protest action. This further validates the point made in section 6.3.2 that unfulfilled promises and anger, as well as frustration, connect to the issue of service delivery in a more systematic way. On the eve of the elections, for example, political parties use service delivery techniques to appeal to the marginalised for votes. In light of this reality, people get frustrated and angry when services are not provided. This subsequently leads to violent service delivery protests.

The argument raised above resonates with the claim by Gray and Maharaj (2017) that unfulfilled promises mainly related to essential services such as houses are one of the causes of violent protests in Cato Manor. Similarly, Meth (2009) identified “empty promises” as the leading cause of violent protests in Cato Manor. Reflecting on the South African situation, Bond (2004) claims that the country is faced with unfulfilled promises and the government raises local people’s expectations and fails to fulfill them. Therefore, unfulfilled promises can be interpreted as the experience of being deprived of something (basic needs and services in the case of Cato Manor) that people argue they are legitimately entitled to, especially after being promised [by the government] (Banjo & Jili, 2013; Seferiades, & Johnston, 2012). Among the leading factors contributing to violent protests in Cato Manor is communication breakdown (9.9%), which intensifies alienation and deprivation. Despite the history of violence in Cato Manor, the results from the respondents on factors contributing to violent protests and drawing from the literature reviewed highlight that the people of Cato Manor protest violently because of the unfulfilled promises made by the government.

6.3.6 Frequency of disruptive protests occurrence in Cato Manor

There were n=448 valid responses to his question; 92%(n=414) of the respondents agreed that in Cato Manor, there were disruptive protests when compared to 7%(n=34) respondents who disagreed. The proportion that agreed to the occurrence of disruptive protest was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) than those in disagreement.

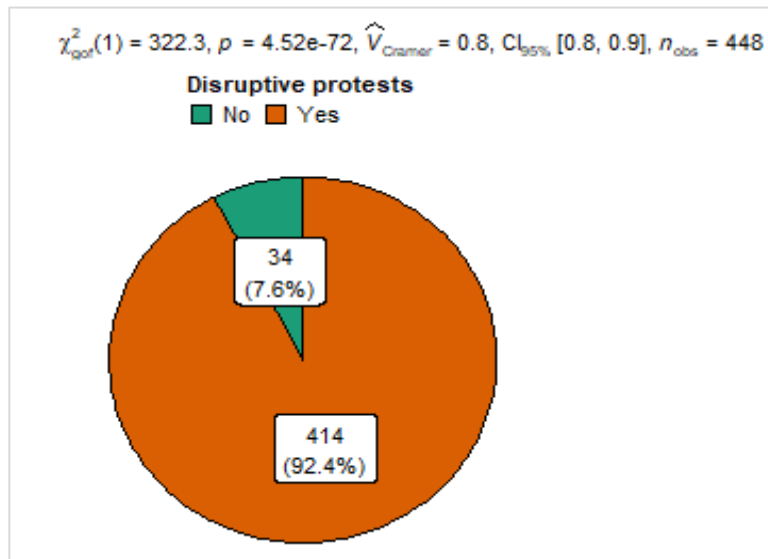


Figure 6.12: whether disruptive protests occur in Cato Manor

Subsequent to the above experience of disruptive protests in Cato Manor is the rate of occurrence of such protests (Figure 6.13).

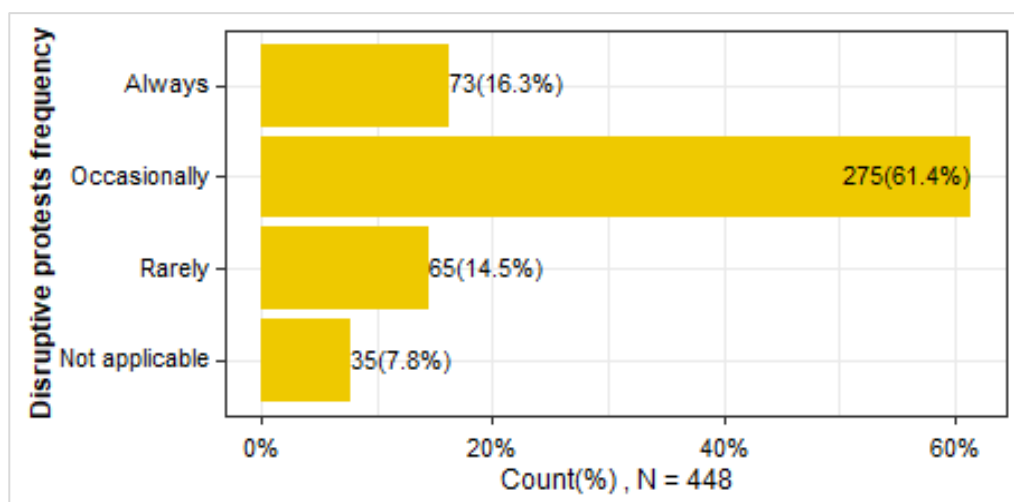


Figure 6.13: Frequency of disruptive protests occurrence in Cato Manor

Table 6.9: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of disruptive protests frequency

Frequencies	35	65	73
65	0.003	-	-
73	<0.001	0.496	-
275	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Figure 6.13 shows that 61.4% (275/448) of the respondents believed that disruptive protests occurred “Occasionally” in Cato Manor, while the respondents who indicated that disruptive protests “Always occur” and “Rarely occur” were 16.3% (73/448) and 14.5% (65/448), respectively. The question was not applicable to 7.8% (35/448) of the participants. The proportion who indicated “Rarely” (14.5%) and “Always” (16.3%) were not statistically and significantly different ($p=0.496$) from each other. However, the proportion who indicated “Occasionally” (61.4%) was significantly higher ($p<0.001$) compared to all the other categories. The literature reviewed and statistical research findings reveal that service delivery protests in Cato Manor disrupt municipal activities (Nyamapfene, 2019; eThekweni Municipal IDP, 2017; Runciman et al., 2017). Furthermore, the literature on service delivery protests reveals that disruptive tactics during such protests transpire alongside the violent protests in Cato Manor. For instance, writers such as Alexander et al (2018); Seferiades and Johnston (2012) argue that disruptive protests are predominant as such protests include blocking the road with tyre, rocks, and litter. Mottiar (2014) argues that barricading the road with burning tyres, timber, and rocks in Cato Manor is a tactic used during protests to disrupt the normal business day. Pithouse (2016, p. 242) argues that “by 2005 road blockades organised from within Cato Manor were starting to take disruption into the streets and to affect middle-class people”. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is sufficient and significant statistical evidence from the research to suggest that disruptive protests in Cato Manor do occur. The manifestation of disruptive tactics in Cato Manor during protests is not new but occurs within South Africa’s history of disruptive protests.

6.3.7 Factors that contribute to disruptive protests

The research respondents were requested to indicate the reasons that cause protests to turn violent in Cato Manor as shown in Figure 6.14.

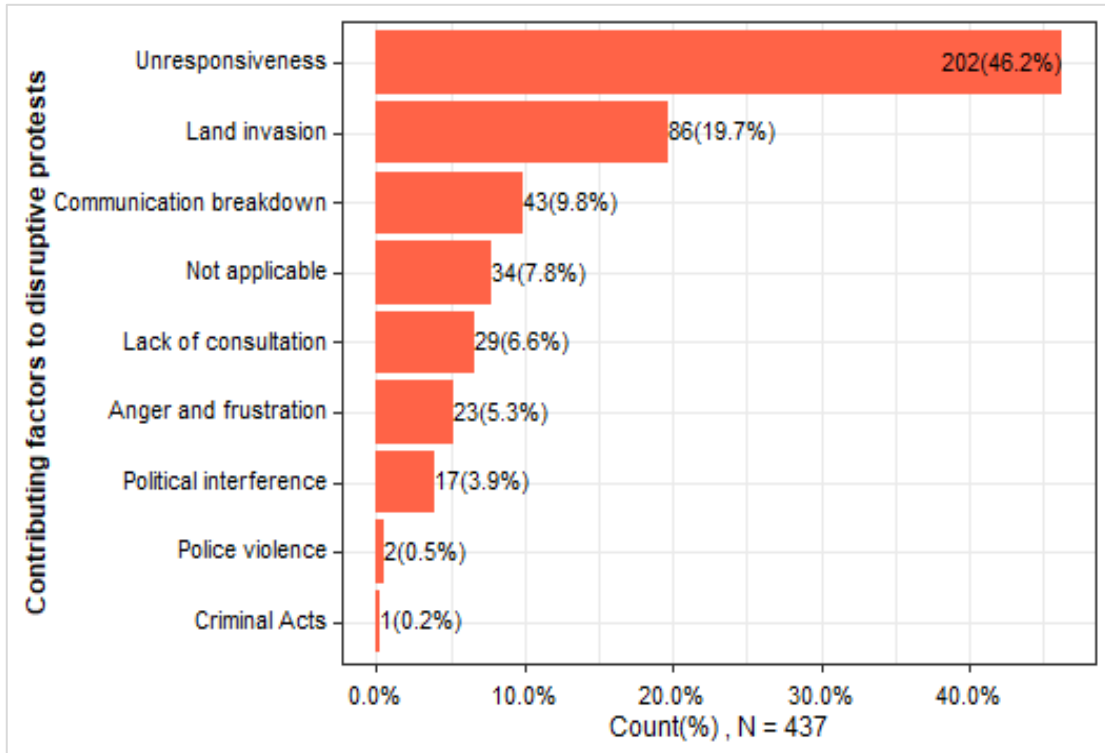


Figure 6.14: Factors contributing to protests becoming disruptive

Table 6.10: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of contributing factors to disruptive protests

Frequencies	1	2	17	23	29	34	43	86
2	0.564	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	<0.001	<0.001	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	<0.001	<0.001	0.374	-	-	-	-	-
29	<0.001	<0.001	0.095	0.429	-	-	-	-
34	<0.001	<0.001	0.022	0.169	0.544	-	-	-
43	<0.001	<0.001	0.001	0.018	0.119	0.343	-	-
86	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-
202	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Of the n=437 participants, 46.2%(n=202) indicated that unresponsiveness contributes to disruptive protests, while 19.7%(n=86) believed that land invasion was another factor leading to disruptive protests in Cato Manor. Respondents who identified communication breakdown were 9.8%(n=43), while 6.6%(n=29) believed that lack of consultation contributed to the disruptive protests. Other factors were frustration and anger 5.3%(n=23), political interference 3.9%(n=17), police violence 0.5%(n=2) and criminal acts 0.2%(n=1), while respondents who indicated that the question was not applicable were 7.8% (34). The proportion who identified unresponsiveness (46.2%)

was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) compared to all other identified factors, including land invasion (19.7%). Except for the unresponsiveness (46.2%), the proportion of respondents that indicated land invasion (19.7%), was statistically and significantly higher than that of the other contributing factors. It can be argued that unresponsiveness is the major factor contributing to protests turning disruptive in Cato Manor. The issue of unresponsiveness relates to the issue of unfulfilled promises, which was identified by the respondents as one of the factors leading to disruptive protests.

6.3.8 Ways protests affect development in Cato Manor

The respondents were asked whether the protests affected development in the area. Figure 6.15 indicates that of the $n=447$ respondents, a significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) proportion 92.2% ($n=412$) believed that the protests affected development in Cato Manor, compared to those with contrary views, 7.8% ($n=35$). Therefore, the level of significance indicates that there is an association between protest and development.

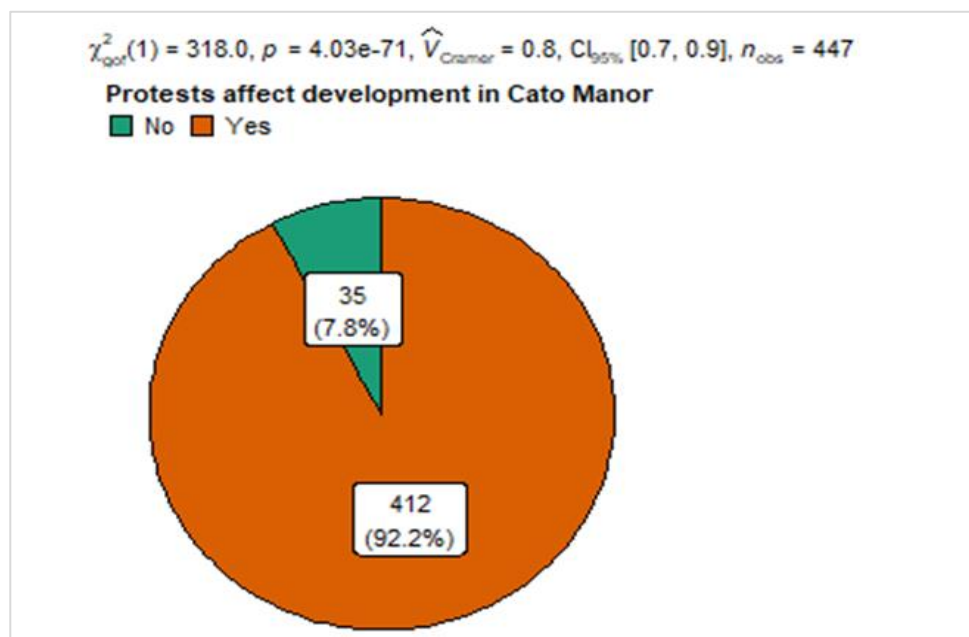


Figure 6.15: Ways protests affect development in Cato Manor

Thereafter, respondents were requested to indicate ways in which protests were affecting development (Figure 6.16).

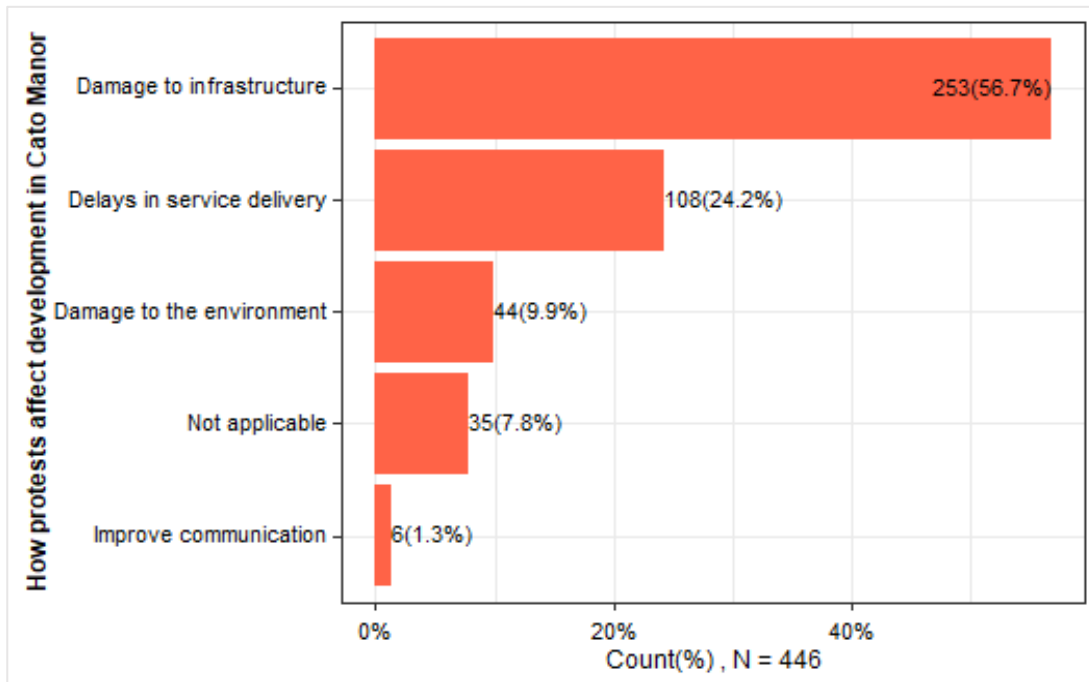


Figure 6.16: How protest affects development in Cato Manor

Table 6.11: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of how protests affect the development

Frequencies	6	35	44	108
35	<0.001	-	-	-
44	<0.001	0.311	-	-
108	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-
253	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

There were n=4 respondents who either skipped or did not respond at all, giving rise to n=446 valid responses, of which 7.8%(n=35) indicated that this question was not relevant. Hence, among the n=446 respondents, 56.7%(n=253) indicated that protests caused damage to infrastructure, while 24.2%(n=108) believed that the protests delayed service delivery in the Cato Manor area. Moreover, respondents who believed that protests caused damage to the environment and improved communication accounted for 9.9%(n=44) and 1.3%(n=6), respectively. Furthermore, the proportion of respondents who identified damage to infrastructure (56.7%) was significantly higher ($p<0.001$) than those who identified delays in service delivery (24.4%) as affecting the development. Noteworthy is that the proportion who indicated damage to the environment (9.9%) was not significantly different ($p=0.311$) compared to the proportion who indicated that the question was not applicable to them. Therefore, based on this statistical evidence, it can be argued that “damage to infrastructure” (56.7%) was

the leading factor in how protests were affecting development in Cato Manor, while “protests improve communication” (1.3%) was the least among the identified factors.

The perception that violent service delivery protests “improve communication” in Cato Manor presents an interesting view that resonates with von Holdt et al’s (2011) notion that “it is the smoke that calls”. This further indicates that a non-orderly approach during protests brings order and that is when the government listens and responds to people’s concerns. As emphasised by citizen participation, such protests emerge as one the most significant tools of political engagement, especially when other forms of engagement fail to generate the desired outcome. Therefore, in a situation where the government is believed to be denying people citizenship status by failing to provide rights and privileges in the form of basic services, people are justified to deploy a non-citizenship approach to communicate with the government. Notwithstanding, radical politics contradicts the key principles of community development as they promote collective action and active citizenship. This seeks to challenge injustices and make their voice heard while taking responsibility to protect the existing community assets.

It is not surprising that more than 50% of the respondents indicated that it is through the damage to infrastructure that protests affect development in Cato Manor. Such evidence resonates with the viewpoint by ka-Manzi, (2013) that protests action in Cato Manor have regularly resulted in the closing of major roads in the area and have resulted in damage to property. Furthermore, Lodge and Mottiar (2016) encapsulate that during protests, basic but critical amenities such as roads, traffic lights, and clinics, among other facilities, are destroyed, which burdens the government with more responsibilities. Moreover, a study by Sinwell et al. (2009) shows that despite improving communication, damage of valuable infrastructure during service delivery protests is predominant in South African local municipalities, which delays service delivery and affects development plans. In similar sentiments, SALGA (2015) also supports this view and highlights that protests associated with service delivery, which usually turn violent, have disrupted and delayed service delivery in South African local municipalities. Therefore, despite the ideological perspective of radicals that protests bring about societal change, based on most of the respondents’ responses, it cannot also

be overlooked that protests undermine development initiatives and sabotage human-made capital in Cato Manor.

6.3.8.1 The impact of violent protests on community resources

The respondents were requested to identify ways in which violent protests impact community resources. Figure 6.23 demonstrates this further.

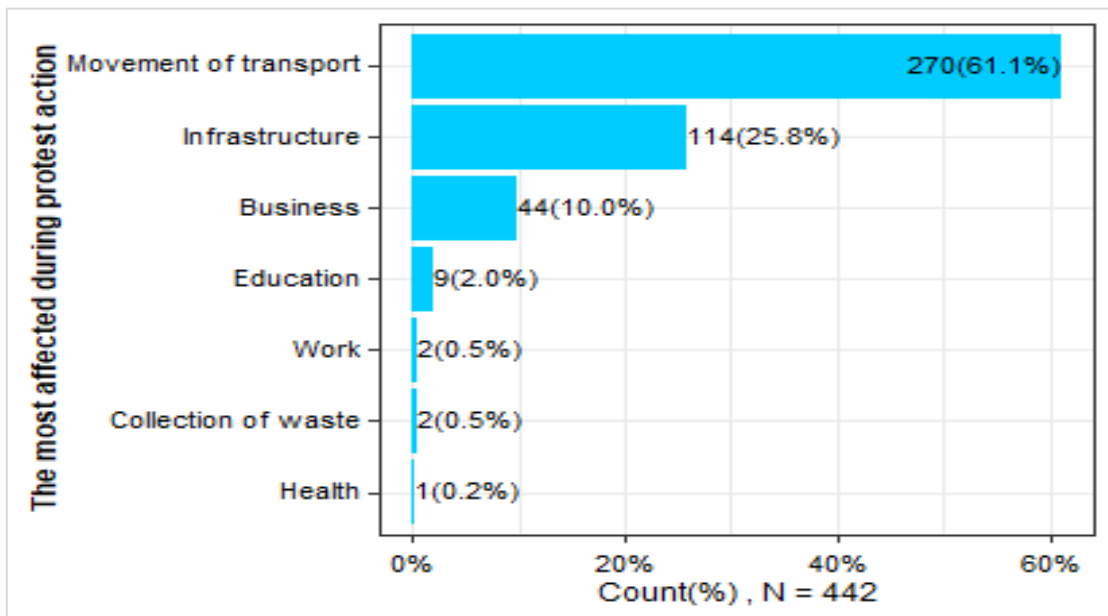


Figure 6.17: Areas mostly affected during protests

Table 6.12: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of the most affected things during protest action

Frequencies	1	2	9	44	114
2	0.592	-	-	-	-
9	0.015	0.041	-	-	-
44	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-	-
114	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-
270	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

On the question about the assets or things that were affected during violent and disruptive service delivery protests in Cato Manor, there were n=442 valid responses. The results demonstrate that 61.1%(n=270) of respondents indicated that transport was one of the affected activities. Furthermore, 25.8%(n=114) respondents identified infrastructure to be among the affected assets, while 10.0%(n=44) believe that violent

protests in Cato Manor have a visible and tangible effect on business operation, and 2.0%(n=9) respondents believed that education is also among the areas which are affected during violent protests in Cato Manor. Other areas and activities which were identified include, work 0.5%(n=2), collection of waste 0.5%(n=2) and health 0.2%(n=1). Therefore, the proportions of 0.2% and 0.5% were not statistically and significantly different ($p=0.592$). The proportions that indicated “Infrastructure” (25.8%) were statistically and significantly smaller ($p<0.001$) than that of those who indicated “movement of transport” (61.1%). Nevertheless, the proportions of “Infrastructure” 25.8% were statistically higher ($p<0.001$) than those who indicated business, education, and collection of waste, 10.0%, 0.5%, and 0.5%, respectively.

Consequently, based on the p-value, it can be encapsulated that there is sufficient statistical evidence to suggest that “movement of transport” is the most affected activity or area during violent protests action in Cato Manor. Furthermore, this view aligns with the findings from the qualitative research phase, which indicated that transport is one of the most affected things during violent protests in Cato Manor. Accordingly, this perception of the respondents reflects and confirms what is documented in the literature. For example, Mottiar (2014) explains that road blockages in Cato Manor have since been used as a critical tactic of protest. Correspondingly, Pithouse (2006) enunciated that violent service delivery protests occurred in Cato Manor, where protesters barricaded the road with burning tyres. Furthermore, scholarly writers such as Gray and Maharaj (2017), Pithouse (2016), and Amisi et al. (2011) attest to the distraction of transport movement, damaging of traffic lights, destroying infrastructure, and destructing small business enterprises as being predominant in Cato Manor during violent protests. Therefore, from this background, it can be concluded that the perception of the respondents is the authentic and factual reflection of the areas and activities that are mostly affected by violent protest action in Cato Manor.

6.3.9 Association between violent protest and ways protests affect the development

Figure 6.17 was used to compare the proportions of ‘Yes’ against ‘No’ for “Protests affect development in Cato Manor.” It, therefore, demonstrates that at least, 92.1%(n=410/445) of respondents specified that violent protests affected development,

against 7.9%(n=35/445) who disagreed. The proportion of “Yes” (92.1%) was significantly higher ($p<0.001$) than the “No” (7.9%).

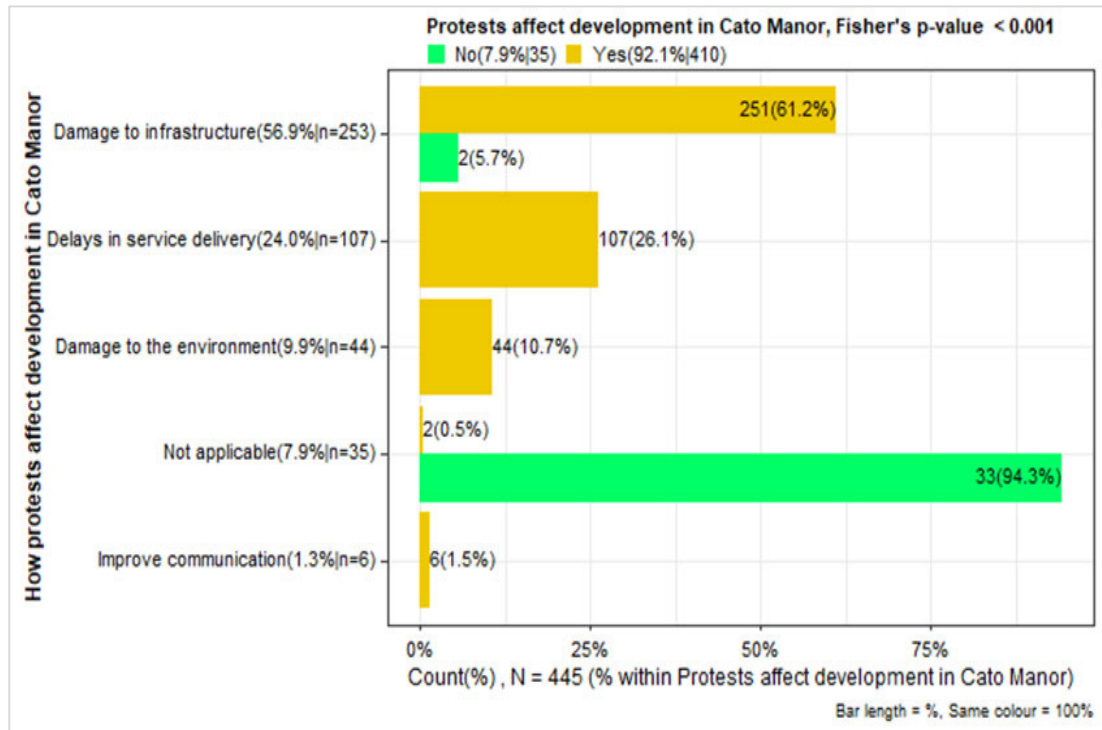


Figure 6.18: Percentage within protests affect development in Cato Manor

Table 6.13: Row-wise comparison of ‘No vs Yes’ proportions for ‘Protests affect development in Cato Manor.’

How protests affect development in Cato Manor	n	p.adj	p.adj.signif
Damage to infrastructure	445	<0.001	****
Not applicable	445	<0.001	****
Damage to the environment	445	0.074	Ns
Delays in service delivery	445	<0.001	***
Improve communication	445	1.000	Ns

In figure 6.18, 61.2% (n=251/410) of the respondents indicated that violent protests affect development. Furthermore, these respondents identified damage to infrastructure as a way violent protests affect development in Cato Manor, while 26.1% (n=107/410) identified “Delays of service delivery” as a way violent protests affect development. Respondents who indicated that violent protests affect development through= the “Damage environment” were 10.7% (n=44/410), while only 1.5% (n=6/410) respondents thought that violent protests improve communication. Despite believing that protests affect development, 0.5% (n=2/410) indicated that the question was not applicable. Even though 35/410 respondents indicated “No” on protests affecting

development in Cato Manor, 5.7% (n=2/35) thought protests cause damage to infrastructure, which can be attributed to general perception about protests, while 94.3% (n=33/35) of respondents indicated that the question was “Not applicable”. The proportion of “Yes and No” in each response category on how the protests affect development showed “Yes (61.2%) and No” (5.7) on “Damage to infrastructure” were significantly different (p<0.001) from each other. Similarly, the proportions of “Yes (0.5%) and No (94.3%) on “Not applicable” were significantly different (p<0.001). Notably, the proportions of “Yes and No” in those respondents who responded, “Damage to the environment” were not significantly different (p=0.074). Consistently, the proportions of “Yes and No” on “Improve communication” were not significantly different (p=1.000).

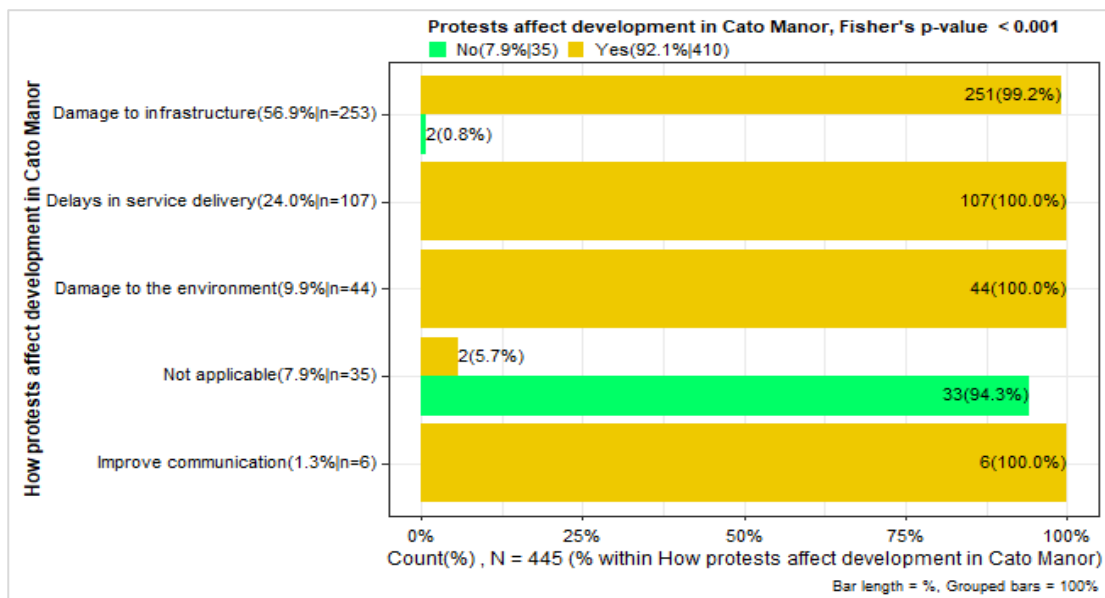


Figure 6.19: Percentage within how protests affect development in Cato Manor

Table 6.14: Comparison of Protests affect development in Cato Manor: ‘No or Yes’ proportions between ‘How protests affect development in Cato Manor’ groups

group1	group2	n	Yes p.adj	No p.adj
Damage to infrastructure	Damage to the environment	297	1.000	1.000
Damage to infrastructure	Delays in service delivery	360	1.000	1.000
Damage to infrastructure	Improve communication	259	1.000	1.000
Damage to infrastructure	Not applicable	288	<0.001	<0.001
Damage to the environment	Delays in service delivery	151	1.000	1.000
Damage to the environment	Improve communication	50	1.000	1.000
Delays in service delivery	Improve communication	113	1.000	1.000
Not applicable	Damage to the environment	79	<0.001	<0.001
Not applicable	Delays in service delivery	142	<0.001	<0.001
Not applicable	Improve communication	41	<0.001	<0.001

Figure 6.19 above illustrate that of the n=253 respondents who believed that protests cause damage to infrastructure, 99.2% (251/523) indicated that “Yes” does affect infrastructure while 0.8% (2/523) presented a contrary view “No”. Among the respondents who indicated factors such as delays in service delivery, 24.0% (107), damage to the environment 9.9% (44) and improves communication 1.3% (6), all of them 100%, respectively, indicated that “Yes” protests affect development as per the identified factors. Figure 6.18 and Table 6.13 show the proportions of “Yes or No” in groups 1 and 2 to determine the p-value. The proportions of “Yes” on all applicable categories, including “Damage to infrastructure,” against the proportions of “Yes” on “Damage to the environment,” were not significantly different ($p=1.000$). Noteworthy are the proportions of “Yes” on all the responses, which include “Not applicable” in comparison to any of the applicable factors, including “Improve communication” and “Delays in service delivery” among others were significantly different ($p<0.001$). The overall statistical evidence presented in Figures 6.15 and 6.16 demonstrates that infrastructure is affected during violent protests in Cato Manor. The research findings resonate with Moitter’s (2014) view that protestors burn and destroy infrastructure when they have limited access to essential services. Gray and Maharaj (2017) stipulate that the violence during protests in Cato Manor has resulted in many injuries and several deaths, and damage to private and public property. eThekweni Municipal IDP (2017/18) reaffirms that protests are always accompanied by violence and destruction of property in Cato Manor. On a similar note, Meth (2013) maintains that the underlying problem of violence and protests in Cato Manor are endangering the community. Consequently, based on the findings, it can be concluded that there is a statistical relationship between violent protests and community development in Cato Manor.

6.3.10 The role of the movement Abahlali BaseMjondolo in Cato Manor

There were n=448 valid responses to this question, and only n=2 responses were missing. From the valid responses, 84.8% (380/448) respondents agreed that indeed Abahlali BaseMjondolo (Abahlali) plays a substantial role in violent protests in Cato Manor, whilst 15.2%(n=68/448) were of the contrary view (Figure 6.19 below). The proportion of respondents who indicated that Abahlali plays a role in Cato Manor’s protests was significantly larger than ($p<0.001$) the proportion that thought otherwise.

It can be concluded that there is adequate statistical evidence to suggest that Abahlali plays a substantially significant role in protest action in Cato Manor.

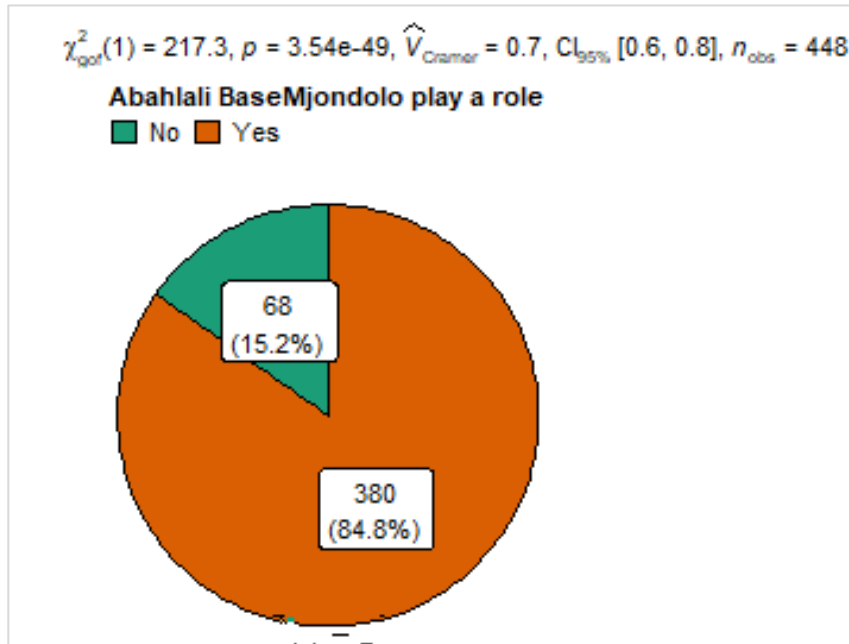


Figure 6.20: Do Abahlali BaseMjondolo play a role in protests action in Cato Manor

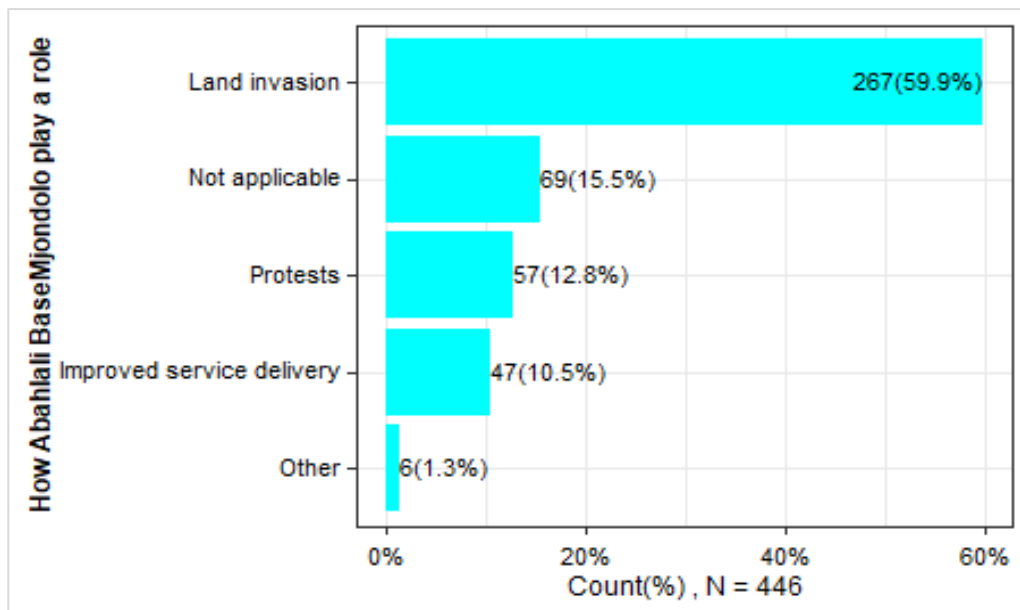


Figure 6.21: Role of the Abahlali BaseMjondolo movement in Cato Manor

Table 6.15: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of how Abahlali BasMjondolo play a role

Frequencies	6	47	57	69
47	<0.001	-	-	-
57	<0.001	0.327	-	-
69	<0.001	0.051	0.317	-
267	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Of the $n=446$ who responded to the question, Abahlali BaseMjondolo in Cato Manor was believed to play a role in the land invasion, 59.9% ($n=267$), whilst 12.8% ($n=57$) indicated that they were responsible for the protests. Moreover, 10.5% ($n=47$) thought Abahlali BaseMjondolo's role improved service delivery, while the respondents who did "Not specify" and those who suggested that the question was "Not applicable" to them were 1.3% ($n=6$) and 15.5% (69), respectively. The proportion of 12.8% (protests) and 10.5% (improved service delivery) were not statistically different ($p=0.327$) from each other. However, the proportion of 59.9% (land invasion) was significantly higher ($p<0.001$) than all the other categories. Thus, there was statistically enough evidence to suggest that the movement Abahlali plays a significant role in the land invasion in Cato Manor. Hence, Pithouse (2006, 2016) argues that at the heartbeat of the existence of Abahlali is housing, land, and dignity. For Beyers (2017) Abahlali argues that land invasion is another "form of land reform in the absence of legal urban land reform" (p. 247). Hence, it is not surprising that most respondents enunciated that Abahlali BaseMjondolo increases land invasion in Cato Manor (Pithouse, 2016). The literature reviewed perennially demonstrates that it is not only in Cato Manor where Abahlali BaseMjondolo has instigated land invasion. However, places such as Umlazi, Lindela, KwaMashu, and Intuzuma have not been immune to incidents of violent land invasion by members of the movement Abahlali BaseMjondolo (Mottiar, 2014).

The position of Abahlali in terms of land is a forceful occupation of what they deem as an "empty land," and instances of forced removals are militantly and legally resisted (Pithouse, 2016, 2011, 2006). The respondents' results that pinpoint protests as the role of Abahlali BaseMjondolo confirm the perception by Mottiar (2014, p. 383) that the movement "is vocal and active in protest action in Cato Manor." Furthermore, Patel (2013a) argues that the movement is at the forefront of the emerging wave of mass political mobilisation at the fringes of formal South African society against what they deem injustice to the shack dwellers. Beyers (2017) also sustains that Abahlali confronts the state directly through protests with street blockades, calls for upgrades of existing informal settlements, and demands genuine community participation in any development interventions. It can be sustained that such a view is the true reflection of the position of the movement (Pithouse, 2016). Therefore, it can be concluded that Abahlali plays a substantially significant role in protest action in Cato Manor.

6.3.11 The role of outsiders in protests at Cato Manor

The respondents were asked about the role of outsiders in protest action. Subsequently, out of n=448 respondents who responded, 51.8%(n=232) indicated that outsiders did not play any role in the protest action in Cato Manor, while 48.2%(n=216) presented a counterargument (Figure 6.21). Thus, the proportions of respondents who indicated “Yes” (51.8%) and “No” (48.2%) were not significantly different (p=0.450). Based on the results presented above, it can be argued that there is no sufficient statistical evidence to suggest whether outsiders play any role in the protest action at Cato Manor.

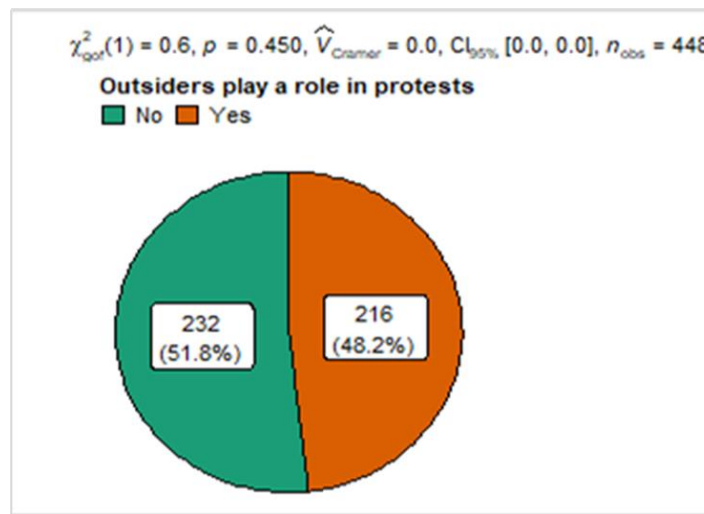


Figure 6.22: The role of outsiders in protests in Cato Manor

Following whether “outsiders play a role in protests”, the research respondents were requested to identify the role of outsiders in protests in Cato Manor (Figure 6.22).

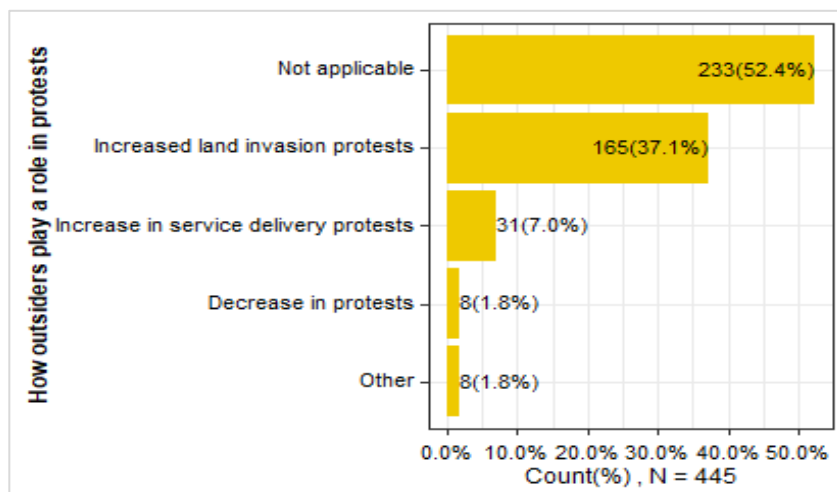


Figure 6.23: Role of outsiders in protest at Cato Manor

Table 6.16: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of how outsiders play a role in protests

Frequencies	8	31	165
31	<0.001	-	-
165	<0.001	<0.001	-
233	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Among the n=445 who responded to this question, the question was “Not applicable” to 52.4% (233/445) of the respondents. Thus, this can be attributed to the point that 51.8%(n=232) (as shown in Figure 6.21) thought there was no role played by outsiders in protest action in Cato Manor. About 37.1% (165/445) identified the increase in the land invasion protests as being influenced by outsiders, while 7% (31/445) of the respondents believed that outsider influence increased the service delivery protests in the Cato Manor. Furthermore, 1.8% (8/445) of the respondents believed that the role of outsiders in Cato Manor caused a decrease in the protests, while 1.8% (8/445) respondents did not specify. The proportions of the response categories, including “Not applicable” (52.4%), “Increase land invasion protests” (37.1%), and “Increase service delivery protests” (7.0%) among others, were significantly different ($p < 0.001$) from each other. Then, it can be argued that the perception of the respondents who indicated that outsiders increase protests related to land invasion resonate with the literature. For instance, Gray and Maharaj (2017) enunciate that Cato Manor’s proximity to Durban's central, amenities, and affordable lifestyle, among other benefits, is vulnerable to excessive population growth due to migration. The increase in population growth has increased the demand for shelter, which has led to the intensification of (protests related to) land invasion (Ramparsad, 2015; Gigaba & Maharaj, 1996).

6.3.13 Dominant groups during protests in Cato Manor

The research respondents were also asked to indicate traits of the people who are usually visible when there are protests in Cato Manor. Figure 6.24 shows individuals that the respondents identified as dominant during protests in Cato Manor.

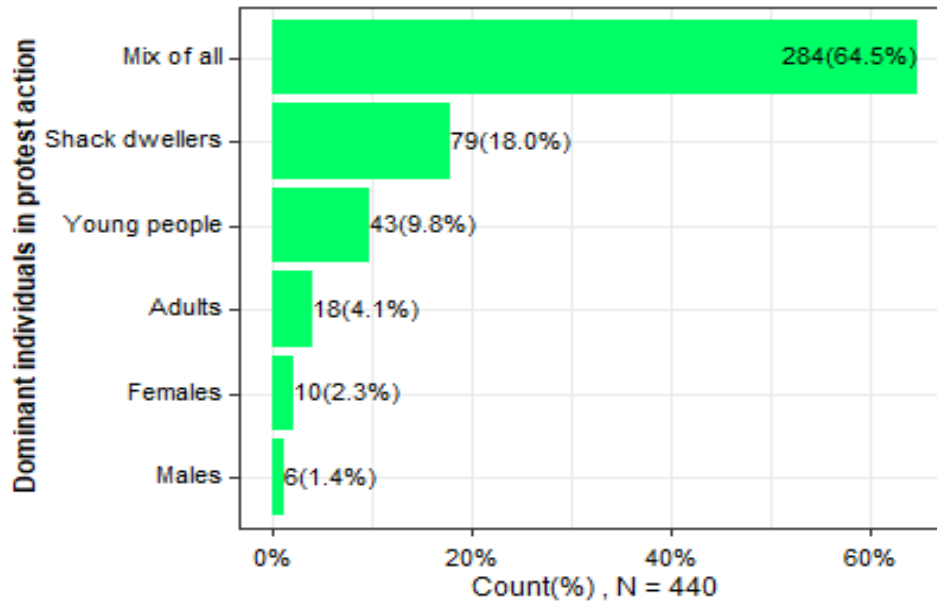


Figure 6.24: Dominant groups during protests in Cato Manor

Table 6.17: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of the dominant group in protest action

Frequencies	6	10	18	43	79
10	0.317	-	-	-	-
18	0.017	0.140	-	-	-
43	<0.001	<0.001	0.002	-	-
79	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.002	-
284	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Of the n=440 respondents, 64.5%(n=284) accepted that Cato Manor’s protests comprised of a “mix of all” categories, while 18.0%(n=79) said that the “shack dwellers” were usually the dominant group in protests action. Respondents who maintained that young people and adults were also visible comprised of 9.8%(n=43) and 4.1%(n=18), respectively. Also, 2.3%(n=10) and 1.4%(n=6) of the respondents have seen females and males respectively among the protesters. The proportion of respondents who indicated a “mix of all” was statistically and significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) compared to all the valid categories. Noteworthy is that the proportion that indicated “male”, and “female” were not significantly different ($p = 0.317$). The high proportion of those who indicated a “mix of all” resonates with the literature as various writers identified different groups to be dominant during protests in Cato Manor. For instance, Beyers (2017) states that shack dwellers are visible during the protests in Cato Manor. Pithouse (2016) identifies young people as predominant in protests in Cato Manor. Mottiar (2014, p. 380) argues that protests in Cato Manor stem from a “community of ‘active people’ made up of men, women, old, young, employed and unemployed.” The observation of most respondents that a “mix of all” (in terms of

status, age, and gender, among other traits) is predominant during protests is an authentic reflection of what manifests in Cato Manor during protests. Therefore, it can be stated at this latter stage of the research that there is sufficient and significant statistical evidence to suggest that violent protests engulfing Cato Manor are composed of people of different ages and sex. This indicates that protesting led by those who are without services in Cato Manor is done in solidarity. This is because respondents identified “shack dwellers” as also predominant during violent service delivery protests.

6.3.14 Possible solutions to violent protest action

The respondents were requested to recommend what needs to be done to limit violent protest action in Cato Manor. Figure 6.25 shows strategies that the respondents identified as essential to curb violent protest action.

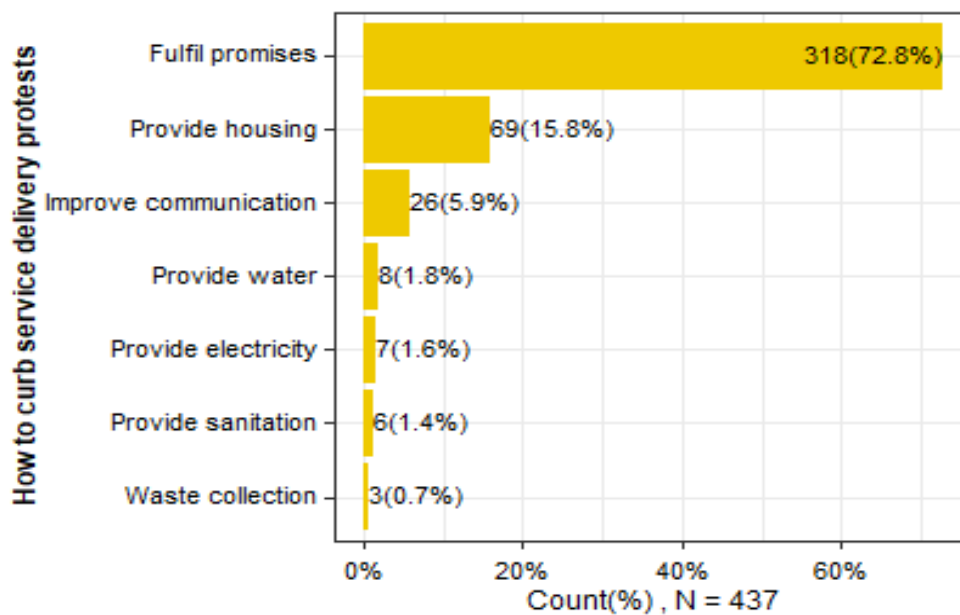


Figure 6.25: Possible solution to violent service delivery protests

Table 6.18: P-values for the comparison of frequencies of the how-to curb protests

Frequencies	3	6	7	8	26	69
6	0.370	-	-	-	-	-
7	0.254	0.796	-	-	-	-
8	0.173	0.655	0.796	-	-	-
26	<0.001	<0.001	0.001	0.003	-	-
69	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	-
318	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

Figure 6.25 shows that there were $n=437$ valid respondents to this question. Of this, 72.8% ($n=318$) believed that fulfilling promises made to the community would curb protests in Cato Manor, while 15.8% ($n=69$) thought that it is through providing housing that protests could be limited. Also, 5.9% ($n=26$) identified “improving communication” between government and community as a strategy to curb protests in Cato Manor, the provision of water, electricity, and sanitation was seen by 1.8% ($n=8$), 1.6% ($n=7$), and 1.4% ($n=6$) participants, respectively, as a possible solution to violent protests in Cato Manor. The waste collection was identified by 0.7% ($n=3$) of respondents. Noteworthy is that $p>0.05$ among four categories, including the provision of water (1.8%), electricity (1.6%), sanitation (1.4%), and waste collection (0.7%). For instance, proportions 1.8% and 1.4% were not statistically and significantly different ($p=0.655$). The proportion between “Fulfill promises” (72.8%), “Provide housing” (15.8%) and “Improve communication” (5.9%) were significantly different ($p<0.001$) compared to each other. Notable is that the proportion of “Fulfill promises” is statistically higher than all the valid factors identified. It can be argued that there is sufficient statistical evidence to suggest that “fulfill promises” is identified as the crucial among the valid factors that have the potential to curb violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor.

The statistical evidence presented above cement the literature that unfulfilled promises remain a key in protests related to service delivery and land invasion in South Africa (Chikulo, 2016; Twala, 2014). Furthermore, Manala (2013) argues that politicians make promises beyond their reach during the election campaign. Also, Cebekhulu (2013, p. 119) contends that “politicians promise even to build bridges where they are no rivers.” Hence, Akinboade et al. (2014) warn the government that they must refrain from making promises beyond their scope because they frustrate local people. Gray and Maharaj (2017, p. 35) argue that residents of Cato Manor have been promised houses and better service delivery “feel that these are empty promises made by political parties”. Mottiar (2014) argues that the municipality makes promises and fails to fulfill them. Mottiar and Bond (2012) also highlighted that families in Cato Manor have long waited to be relocated to the promised housing project, Cornubia, but the promises have not materialised. Then, it is not surprising that the majority of the respondents perceive “fulfill promises” as a significant activity that can curb protests related to service delivery or land invasion in Cato Manor because empty promises have proven to be a

national issue. When the respondents were asked to indicate factors that contribute to violent protest (see Figures 6.11), statistically, the majority [49.4% (219/443)] identified empty promises as a leading cause. It can be concluded that fulfilling promises is one of the critical aspects that can curb violent protests in Cato Manor.

6.4 Section C: Municipal adherence to community development principles

6.4.1 The principles of community development

The Likert scale statements below aim to assess whether the municipality adheres to community development principles (Figure 6.26). The principles are meant to promote good governance, and collective responsibility and facilitate the delivery of services to the community. In this section, respondents were requested to indicate whether they agree or disagree with various statements, as shown below.

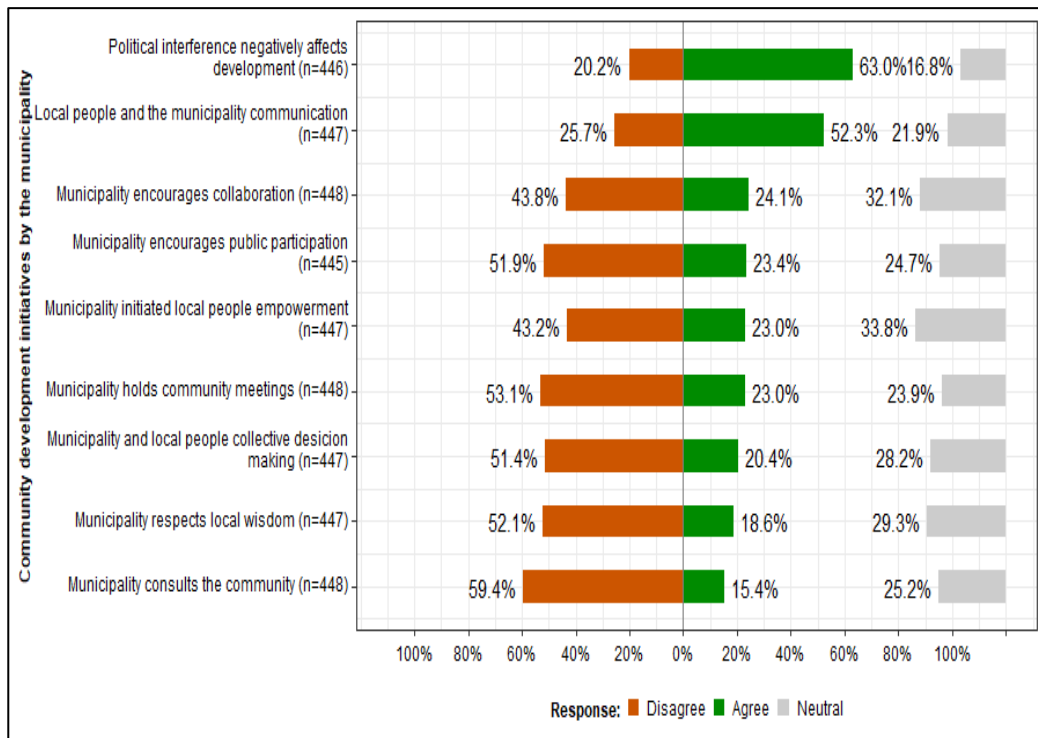


Figure 6.26: Community Development initiatives by the municipality

Figure 6.26 shows that the majority of the respondents, 63.0% believed that political interference indeed negatively affects development in Cato Manor. This is followed by

52.3% of the respondents who indicated that there is communication between people and the municipality. But few respondents, 24.1%, indicated that the municipality encourages collaboration in Cato Manor. Also, a minority of the respondents, 23.4%, believed that the municipality undoubtedly encourages public participation. In contrast, of n=447 respondents, a few of them, 23.0%, were of the view that the municipality initiates programmes to empower people in Cato Manor. A handful of the respondents 23.0% of 448 believed that the municipality holds community meetings. In comparison, 20.4% of respondents believed that there is collective decision-making between the municipality and the local people in Cato Manor. Of the 447, only 18.6% of respondents agreed that the municipality respects local wisdom, while 15.4% indicated that the municipality certainly consults with the community before the projects are initiated in Cato Manor. On the contrary, 32.1% of the 448 respondents, remain neutral when asked whether the municipality encourages collaboration in Cato Manor. Furthermore, 33.8% of the 447 respondents were non-committal when asked whether the municipality initiates programmes to empower local people in Cato Manor. There were 28.2% of the 447 respondents who were neutral when asked if there is collective decision-making between the municipality and the people. Also, 29.3% of respondents remained neutral on whether the municipality respects local wisdom. When asked to indicate whether the municipality consults with the community, 25.2% remained neutral.

Despite the visibly significant role of the municipality in providing service delivery to its constituencies in Cato Manor, the results presented in Figure 6.26 show that there is still a lot to be done. This echoes with the SAIRR (2014) position that the South African local municipalities continue to experience myriad challenges in implementing the decentralised development policy. Accordingly, such challenges have been caused by the failure and the inability of local municipalities to involve local people effectively and efficiently in decision-making processes to achieve and effect democracy from below. The reviewed literature also demonstrates that since democracy in 1994, interventions were made to ensure inclusivity and participation. However, the deviation of the local government from the initial plan through which services had to be rendered has proven to be disastrous and costly. It can be argued that the lack of participation hinders the crucial principles of community development, such as responsiveness, openness, and accountability. Furthermore, deficiency and inadequate adherence to

community development principles in Cato Manor, as shown in Figure 6.26 has resulted in widespread violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion.

An interesting result from Figure 6.26 is that most of the respondents, 60.0%, maintain that political interference affects development in Cato Manor. This view reverberates the claim by Cameron (2010) that within the society at large, political interference has always been identified to have caused dramatic maladministration in the running of state-owned entities. For instance, as highlighted by scholarly writers such as Renwick (2018) and Seloba (2006) among others in most South African Local Municipalities, critical and strategic positions are occupied by under-qualified comrades. Madumo (2016) maintains that political interference in South African local municipalities leads to recruitment based on the party line instead of merit, which significantly affects the provision of services. Hemson et al. (2009) affirm that through political interference, a culture of non-performance is created, to which the poor respond through protests, which are likely to be violent. Furthermore, Dang (2015) highlights that the interference of the political class and the political bureau from the administration and the affairs of the local government has proven to intrude on the needed grassroots development. Therefore, it can be concluded that political interference in Cato Manor is one of the crucial factors that meaningfully and negatively affect development and the provision of basic but essential services to the majority of the population.

6.4.1.1. Cronbach's Alpha

A Cronbach's Alpha test in R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020, version 3.6.3 was used to identify Cronbach's alpha. The test results in Table 6.19 show that the research question items on the principles of community development have a generally acceptable internal consistency since the alpha coefficient of the 7 items is 0,70 after two items were dropped as they were suppressing the Cronbach alpha in reaching the acceptable level. Then, the alpha coefficient rose to 0,70, from 0,62 providing acceptable internal consistency and reliability - see Table 6.19.

Table 6.19: Cronbach’s alpha

ITEMS	MEAN	ITEM-REST CORRELATION	ALPHA-IF- DELETED
Municipality consults the community	1.559	0.440	0.66
Municipality holds community meetings	1.706	0.450	0.65
Municipality encourages public participation	1.715	0.422	0.66
Municipality encourages collaboration	1.805	0.375	0.67
Municipality initiated local people empowerment	1.799	0.297	0.69
Municipality respects local wisdom	1.667	0.469	0.65
Municipality and local people collective decision making	1.688	0.395	0.68
Overall	1.706	-	0.70
ITEMS DROPPED	Improvement	ItemsMaxAlpha	OverallAlpha
Local people and the municipality communication	1	0.65	0.62
Political interference negatively affects development	2	0.70	0.65
ITEMS SCALE REVERSED	-	-	-
#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A

6.5 People’s participation in protest action

How violent protest action transpires in Cato Manor cannot be divorced from the remarkable nationwide escalation in intense protest action related to service delivery since early 2004. Nationwide, protests related to lack of service delivery have adopted a non-orderly approach, such as violence and disruption. Research which is conducted on violent service delivery protests points out that peaceful protests, memorandum submission, and marches usually fall on deaf ears. It is then that von Holdt et al. (2011) argue that it is “the smoke that calls” - through the burning of infrastructure, the government fulfills its promises. Similarly, in Cato Manor, the respondents indicated that at the center of protests, there are empty promises 48.4% (n=219 of n=443) and unresponsiveness 46.2% (n=202 of n=437) of the government, as shown in Figures 6.11 and 6.14, respectively. It is evident that people are frustrated and angered by the

inability of the local government to deliver services and improve their lives. It is then that people resort to violent protests to attract the government's attention. Therefore, the people of Cato Manor engage in service delivery protests the way they do because they feel they have waited too long for the government to fulfill its promises.

6.6 The overall perception of violent protests in Cato Manor

Based on the overall analysis, the generic responses of the people regarding protests in Cato Manor is that lack of service delivery due to the failure to fulfill promises by the municipality, and those of political class remains one of the keys to such contestations. Despite the popular view that denounces protest action in Cato Manor to be related to service delivery in favour of the land invasion, the people's responses challenges and bring the latter notion to its knees. As noted in Figure 6.7, from the n=447 valid responses, the majority of respondents 56.8%(n=254), as opposed to 39.1%(n=175), maintain that the main reason for violent protests in Cato Manor is the lack of essential services such as sanitation, electricity, and water. The notion that the majority of the respondents illustrated in this chapter is not different from the nationwide perception that violent protests are usually related to a lack of essential services (Netswera, 2014). As shown in the literature, this has been the case, especially in communities with informal settlements, historically and economically disadvantaged, such as Alexander, Khayelitsha, and Langrug (Dawson, 2014). The popular responses of the people regarding violent protests in Cato Manor are that such protests are contestations and the "rebellion of the poor" (Alexander, 2010, p. 25) for citizenship, a struggle for a better life, a sense of belonging, and good governance (Bornman, 2013).

Violent protests related to service delivery or land invasion in Cato Manor have proven to be a challenge for development. Data revealed that 92.2%(n=412) respondents of n=447 consent to the notion that violent protests negatively impact development. As shown in Figure 6.16, 56.7%(n=253) of n=446 respondents argue that infrastructure damage is the most common way development is affected during violent protests in Cato Manor. Concurrently, 24.2%(n=108) of the respondents enunciate that such protests delay service delivery. The two ways violent protests affect development as illustrated above are two sides of the same coin, mainly because the damage to

infrastructure delays service delivery. As shown in Figure 6.12, protests related to service delivery or land invasion in Cato Manor turn out to be disruptive 92.4% (n=414) of n=448, which damages basic infrastructure and interrupts Municipal plans to develop the community because resources must be redirected to rebuild that which is destroyed. When infrastructure is damaged, small businesses are also affected because they rely on infrastructure such as shelters and roads for commerce. Therefore, it can be argued that violent protests in Cato Manor affect development and livelihood strategies.

6.7 Chapter Summary

Inferential and descriptive-analytical statistics were executed using both Microsoft Excel, and R Statistical Computing Software of the R Core Team, 2020. This chapter presented the interpretation of findings obtained through the quantitative data collection method derived from the questionnaire research instrument. In this chapter, three fundamental sections were covered. Section A addressed the respondents' demographic information. Section B focused on the questions based on protests related to service delivery and land invasion. While section C looked at community development-related issues. The overall analysis of this chapter indicates that violent protests on service delivery and land invasion in Cato Manor emerge because of the local government's inability to respond and fulfill its promises. It is evident that local people are frustrated and angered by their deteriorating living conditions and what can be described as an infringement of human rights and social justice. In the quest for a better life, local people engage in violent and disruptive protests, which negatively affect the infrastructure and delay services provision as resources are redirected to rebuild what is destroyed.

The following chapter discusses and presents the emerging conceptual framework, for understanding violent protests.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING VIOLENT PROTESTS

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter dealt with the presentation and interpretation of the research findings from the quantitative research phase. The analysis of the quantitative research findings adopted both descriptive and inferential statistics. Furthermore, the chapter tested the correlations between violent protests and community development. The purpose of this chapter is to present a conceptual framework that is deemed suitable to address objective 3 of the study, i.e., to explore why people engage in service delivery protests in the way that they do. The chapter begins with interpreting the research findings to assign meaning to the data towards the proposed conceptual framework that can be applied to theorise the notion of violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor. The construction of the major themes that follow emerge from the qualitative and quantitative data presented in the preceding chapters. The discussion proceeds to consolidate the findings into a conceptual framework. The last section concludes with an overview of the issues raised in this chapter.

7.2 The nexus between violent service delivery protests and structural inequalities

The involvement of local people in their development emerges as one of the crucial aspects of democratic South Africa. As a sphere close to the people, the local government is entrusted with essential responsibilities to realise the democratic principles, provide accessible and affordable, essential services and rebuild local communities in partnership with local people (RSA - White Paper on Local Government, 1998). The eThekweni municipality envisions that by 2030 it "will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and livable city, where all citizens live in harmony" (Municipal IDP, 2017). Despite the municipal commitment to sustainable community development, the research findings illustrate that the pattern of injustice associated with increasing poverty and deprivation, especially among informal

settlement residents within the municipality, remains a cause for concern. Furthermore, the lack of basic needs is by no means one of the socioeconomic and political issues that subject people to health hazards, and exploitation, as they pursue a better life. Marx and Engels (1848) assert that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness" (p.53). This is to say, people's socioeconomic condition or situation is a significant factor that gives rise to consciousness. This is evident in the case of Cato Manor whereby people's consciousness is informed by the daily struggles for basic needs that characterise their lived experiences. Thus, after more than two decades in a democratic era, the socioeconomic injustice faced by the poor can only be transformed by the poor confronting it (Cebekhulu, 2013). Hence, those who lack basic services and are affected by poverty in Cato Manor believe that the struggle for socioeconomic emancipation will be realised when they lead the emancipation initiatives in collective action.

Residents of Cato Manor especially from informal settlements, members and non-members of the movement called Abahlali BaseMjondolo have emerged to counteract housing deficits through land invasion. For example, the proportion of participants who indicated land invasion (59.9%) as the role of Abahlali BaseMjondolo in Cato Manor was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) than all the other categories, including improving service delivery (10.5%). The poor living conditions the black majority experience in Cato Manor have raised consciousness pitted against collectively pursuing the government to transform the plight of the poor. The ongoing violent protests in Cato Manor can be said to be "a rebellion of the poor" that emerged to dismantle the array of structural and political conditions that impede socioeconomic liberation and a better life for all (Alexander, 2010, p. 25). However, the findings illustrate that violent service delivery protest is a challenge in Cato Manor as a significantly higher proportion ($p < 0.001$) of (92.2%) believed that it negatively affects development. The controversial issue which remains a dilemma is the nexus between violent service delivery protests and land invasion, i.e., such protests originate and prevail in the same places where people illegally invaded municipal land. Despite the prevailing contestation of the main reason for the occurrence of violent protests in Cato Manor in these places, the proportion of participants who indicated land invasion (39.1%) was statistically and significantly smaller ($p < 0.001$) than service delivery (56.8%). Thus, this chapter aims

to synthesise and interpret the themes from the research findings that will influence the proposed conceptual framework to understand violent protests in local municipalities.

7.3 Major themes that characterise the violent protests in Cato Manor

7.3.1 Social and spatial stratification in Cato Manor

The research findings indicate the perennial existence of the socio-spatial disparities between residents of the informal and formal settlements. Thus, this has created a social stratification with systemic patterns influenced by the historical identities and privileges associated with segregation, power, class, and apartheid policies on race, among other things. Therefore, during the fieldwork, it was precise how separated people are in Cato Manor - based on socioeconomic status and geographical location. Accordingly, the formal housing settlement includes residents who can be classified in terms of social stratification as the upper and the middle class. The individuals of these classes are perceived to be better off in Cato Manor. This is partly because they significantly do not participate in violent protests related to service delivery or land invasion for the reason that they possess essential and significant services such as clean running water, stable electricity, and proper sanitation, among other services. On the other hand, the emerging data from the research findings show that residents of informal settlements relate to and experience socioeconomic challenges in a way that formal residents do not. For instance, despite being in the same geographic or spatial setting, shack dwellers continue to live in squalid conditions that lack essential services such as proper sanitation, running water, etc., that residents of formal settlements cannot relate to. Despite the popular view that “shack dwellers are not poor because they afford to maintain themselves while living in shacks”, the findings illustrate a contrary view. This is partly for the reason that mostly poor shack dwellers continue to drown in the pool of poverty while the rich are getting richer – some not because of hard work but because they belong to the inner political caucus and are part of the new political elite, leisure class and comprador bourgeoisie who enjoy tenderpreneur benefits.

The above sentiments further illustrate that the living condition among shack dwellers is far worse compared to the standard of living in the formal settlements. The daily

experiences shack dwellers face, including temporal transit camp (TTCs) residents - who have “stayed there for more than 8 years” Participant 12 - invoke a need for development agencies to engage South Africa's welfare policies to address the plight of the poor in Cato Manor. Furthermore, the persistent intensification in the number of shacks in Cato Manor, despite the development of various housing projects in the municipality, remains a testimony that there are more complex spatial and historical structural issues, internal and external factors that underpin the development, and the sustenance of informal settlements. As a result of the historical spatial disparity, the findings demonstrate that violent protests related to service delivery have, for the most part, emanated from shack settlements where there is a lack of provision of essential services in comparison with their well-off neighbour – formal settlements. This is partly for the reason that the violent and disruptive protests related to the demand for improved service delivery and land invasion reflect the lack of dignity that continues to engulf the new urban poor in post-apartheid South Africa (SAIRR, 2014). Subsequently, this observation is crucial in understanding and justifying how the footprint of the famous apartheid Group Areas Act of 1950 evicted and relegated a considerable number of the black population to areas that are away from essential amenities.

Violent service delivery protests have always transpired in historically underprivileged areas and continue to be dominated by the disadvantaged black proportion that was crippled by apartheid and its harsh laws, such as Cato Manor. Therefore, because of their deteriorating living conditions, the informal settlement residents continue to grow frustrated and unhappy as they point to the government's lack of responsiveness to their grievances and needs (NDP, 2012). For example, in the case of Cato Manor, the proportion of participants who identified unresponsiveness (46.2%) as also a challenge in the municipality was significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) compared to all other identified factors, including communication breakdown were (9.8%), lack of consultation (6.6%), etc. Subsequently, the growing alienation of black people in urban and non-urban areas including townships and informal settlements leads to perceptions from the residents of these places to identify the government as undemocratic, illegitimate, and incapable of addressing their issues (Madumo, 2012). Hence, the popular phrase “apartheid was better” has emerged especially among the blacks who are affected by increasing unemployment, poverty, and inequalities. However, this is not to suggest that life under

apartheid was better *per se* but rather to say that the life of deprivation, exclusion, lack of basic and essential services, etc., was anticipated under the oppressive segregation system, not in the democratic government. The post-apartheid government is believed to have failed to fulfill its promises, which has contributed immensely to violent protests in Cato Manor. For instance, the proportion of respondents who identified empty promises (49.4%) as the key factor for protests turning violent is significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) than all the identified reasons including anger and frustration (12.0%), communication breakdown (9.9%), political interference (6.1%), etc. The substantial and existing disparity in Cato Manor is apparent. Furthermore, the prevailing structural poverty, symbolic order, etc, has forced people of informal settlements to be defined as a "unique double being with their mode existence, thoughts, and emotions, and awareness of reality" (Cebekhulu, 2013, p. 25). Therefore, this is to say the poor encounter social reality as a strange phenomenon rather than individuals constructing social reality or social reality making individuals.

The findings further illustrate that violent protests are also related to the issues of race and space. It is a contested fact that violent protests under the banner of service delivery reflect how different racial and ethnic groups geographically view local government institutions in Cato Manor. It is difficult, if not impossible at all, to separate race, geographical setting, and violent service delivery protests. Hence, such protests manifested within the South African context among specific races and areas. Furthermore, the study reveals that violent protests emanate mainly in areas where dynamics associated with population growth, high rate of unemployment, relative deprivation, abject poverty, and "histories of struggle activism by predominantly black residents" combine with unmet expectations for electricity and related services remain the order of the day (Tapela, 2013: p. 207). The black majority who reside in these poorly serviced areas find themselves at the receiving end of the stick, frustrated by structural issues and poor service delivery as they live with the hope that tomorrow will be better. Service delivery issues remain unresolved in most historically disadvantaged municipalities. Therefore, most black people are forced to live and relive in the same condition as in a pre-democratic government (Dikotla et al., 2014). The poor living conditions in the informal settlements of Cato Manor have left the black majority living in paralysis, while battling with a considerable service delivery discrepancy. Hence,

violent service delivery protests among shack dwellers can be said to be representing the "politics of the poor" (Pithouse, 2007, p. 63).

It can be argued that racialisation of violent service delivery protests is rooted in the politics of geography and differences in neighbourhood quality and spatial access to essential services. Issues of race, ethnicity and spatial differences in local people's satisfaction with government services can result from individual and neighborhood-level factors. Despite substantial urban planning measures aiming at desegregating pre-democratic cities, racial differences and socio-spatial disparities continue unceasingly to be reproduced. Equally, because of the historical spatial inequalities and separate development trends, poverty can be said to be a systemic condition that continues to be defined through a comparative racial assessment (Netswera & Kgalene, 2014). It can be concluded that the living conditions and the ethic of life of the poor black majority in Cato Manor do not inspire hope and confidence. Shack dwellers in Cato Manor are not immune to material deprivation and the dynamics associated with vulnerability and insecurity, affecting most shack dwellers in South Africa. Despite that Cato Manor has benefited from human settlement by constructing houses famously known as 'RDP houses,' there is still a lot that needs to be done to improve people's living conditions.

7.3.2 Informal settlements in Cato Manor: A community of assets or needs?

The findings illustrate that the informal settlement in Cato Manor comprise of various sojourn people from diverse geographical locations, including Eastern Cape and other surrounding rural areas in KZN. Despite this, characteristics of a community, such as a sense of oneness, mechanical solidarity, a sense of belonging, and a common perception of collective needs and priorities, are more substantial compared to the residents from formal settlements. This sense of community was more visible from their self-organised protests, originating from the shack community. Moreover, their collective movement aimed to contribute to transformative participation (which is an element of community development that appears to be limited in Cato Manor) by extending citizenship boundaries to marginal groups through social capital. Despite the lack of community, the residents of formal settlements appear to have assumed a strong sense of collective responsibility for protecting community assets, which is missing among the residents

of informal settlements. For instance, Participant 28, stated that instead of bringing about positive change, violent protests have always had negative implications on valuable community assets and infrastructural capital in Cato Manor. Likewise, the number of respondents who identified violent protests as causing damage to infrastructure (56.7%) is significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) than the proportion of those who believed that violent protests improve communication (1.3%).

Therefore, because of their living condition, the residents of informal settlements feel disconnected from the community during violent protests. Furthermore, they fail to recognise community assets as essential resources that need to be protected and valued. In that, an element of citizenship ceases to exist. Likewise, their responses illustrate the lack of assuming a sense of collective responsibility towards protecting community assets. The existing relative deprivation has created a situation whereby the residents of informal settlements destabilise and undermine the formal settlements' structural setting by destroying private property with the notion that *it's better when all of us do not have basic and essential services*. Hence, such an attitude among the informal settlement residents diminishes the crucial aspect of community development, which promotes communities' notion of being the pioneers of their future through the available assets and resources (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). However, because of their life experience and detached psychological well-being from the community, they do not feel entitled to take ownership by protecting their assets during violent protests. Such an attitude is an antithesis of capacity building in a community, which is connected to enhancing community assets for sustainable community development (Phillips & Pittman, 2009).

The lack of a sense of community and citizenship during violent service delivery protests in Cato Manor undermines and compromises the future capabilities of the community as they destroy public infrastructure which is essential to improve community capabilities in addressing their social ills (Khambule et al., 2019). Despite that, the residents of informal settlements in Cato Manor possess rich capabilities in strength, potential, and resources such as social, human, and infrastructural capital, which are crucial to bringing about societal change from below. The research findings demonstrate that local people are yet to exploit the available community assets (except social capital) to bring about social change from below. The research premise illustrates

that local people pay more attention to community needs and deficits. The perception that everyone has abilities, skills, and gifts and that the quality of sustainable community development depends on, among other things, the extent to which these capacities are used, abilities expressed; and gifts that they possess - overlooked (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). The focus on community needs, as opposed to community assets, represents a significant shortfall in how local communities tackle their needs from within (assets) - to addressing community needs with what is available.

Violent protests in Cato Manor have disregarded an assets-based community development approach (ABCD) and heliotropic principle¹⁰ in favour of the basic needs approach (BNA), emphasising that special attention be paid to the deficit in the community. Consequently, violent service delivery protests are associated with what is missing, instead of focusing on the available assets, successes, and small triumphs in Cato Manor. Therefore, it can be concluded that Cato Manor has failed in its grassroots transformational task because it has not harnessed all the community's available assets and energies to address community needs. Moreover, it is yet to boast of its rich history and unique valuable assets on which to build its sustainable future. As a result of the needs-based approach, local people are acclimatised to development that always thrives on addressing their deficits and meeting community needs instead of identifying assets that can be used as an essential instrument to address community needs. Therefore, it can be sustained that the residents of informal settlements in Cato Manor cease to exist as community members during protests because they vandalise their assets. Furthermore, they fail to acknowledge that their right to protest must always be accompanied by assuming responsibility to protect other peoples' rights.

7.3.3 Understanding modern protests from historical patterns

The findings reveal that violent protests in Cato Manor cannot solely be understood from the current issues related to service delivery or land invasion. The violent protests can be traced to two crucial contexts – the brutal historical context of Cato Manor and the violent service delivery protests in the South African context. The brutal historical

¹⁰ A crucial aspect of appreciative inquiry, which describe the ability of people to move towards what gives them energy and successful life.

context is associated with the complex history of settlement, in terms of class and racial composition, and patterns of legal and illegal ownership of land (Edwards, 1994). For Olowolagba (2000, p. 49), "Cato Manor was one of the great tragedies associated with the apartheid". Cato Manor is associated with the apartheid era and colonialism and pre-Apartheid. It was compensated in 1845 by George Cato and turned into farmland, it drew many Africans to work on the farms and in the city. By the late 1920s, Africans began to occupy the land, erecting shacks along the bank of the Umkumbaan river (Robinson, 1997). Africans who constructed shacks in Cato Manor were pushed into the place by various factors, including severe poverty and rural evictions. White settlers were dwellers on their land for farming purposes (Robinson, 1997).

As the economic expansion grew in the city, Africans who lived on the state land were harassed and evicted from their shacks, and many moved into Cato Manor (Edwards, 1994). When Durban launched the clearance of shacks in Cato Manor, it was met with resistance. Despite the success of the mass removals, Umkhumbaan became a symbol of victory for African resistance during the early 1950s. Similarly, the current successful incidents of a land invasion of people from Cato Manor, especially, residents of Marikana, and eNkanini among other places, remain a symbol of victory. As it was during the pre-apartheid era, Cato Manor still experiences many people who are coming from afar running away from poverty, being drawn into the place as it is closer to employment opportunities and affordable to those with low skills who look to re-establish themselves in the urban life. As it is affected by the high unemployment rate, Cato Manor is also an area where poverty and inequality are widespread, and this has a dramatic effect on the levels of contestation of land - as it is a lucrative business and livelihood strategy for shacklords. The footprint of forceful removals, violent resistance, poverty, and structural inequalities which were experienced in Cato Manor by Africans persist to date - affecting development activities. Therefore, from this historical background and context, the current ongoing violent protests related to both land invasion and service delivery can also be drawn and understood.

From this brutal historical context, it can be contended that violence, shacks, and illegal activities, among other things, remain patterns of the historical identity of the place. Historically, Cato Manor is one of the places in South Africa, which has been fiercely

and often violently contested, politically and spatially (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). This is because Cato Manor has been for many years at the forefront of the violent liberation struggle (Olowolagba, 2000). It has been at the center of violent and disruptive protests related to service delivery and land invasion within eThekweni municipality. However, the Cato Manor violence has been inextricably linked with the ongoing violent protests related to land invasion and service delivery directed toward the local government in South Africa (Gray & Maharaj, 2017). This is because such protests bear similarities in nature and approach, which include clashes with police, barricading roads with burning tyres, torching government buildings, attacking the homes of targeted local politicians, and plundering and looting foreign-owned businesses (von Holdt, 2013). Therefore, apart from the violent struggle to counter colonialism and apartheid at the national level, South African local municipalities since the early 2000s have consistently experienced waves of violent protests associated with a lack of basic services (Lancaster, 2016).

The findings establish that the violent protests associated with service delivery and land invasion illustrate an increasing reliance of most of the poor on government because of the complex structural and institutional issues that continue to subject people to poverty, which they cannot eradicate. The collective violence in community protests is closely entwined with the institutions of democracy and processes in the broader polity (von Holdt 2014b). The skyrocketing protests can be said to suggest that the disadvantaged politically active South Africans are likely to be those who use protests as part of a broad repertoire of political expression and public action (Brown, 2015). South Africa has seen widespread political actors, including student movements, trade unions, and political causes complain about service delivery. This suggests that protests are a frequent occurrence, organised by different groups in South Africa. Thus, Brown (2015) concludes by arguing that South Africa is a country of protests, and its citizens are protestors. It can be argued that protests happening in various communities present a snapshot of the country's politics and the relationship between political expression and repression that is not resolved and possibly unresolvable (Brown, 2015).

The violence and disruption do not occur in a vacuum but the current political order has been shaped by the "country's history of colonialism, and apartheid" (Brown, 2015, p. 33). So, it can be argued that violent protests in Cato Manor are systematic and reflect

the context within which such protests take place. South Africa's violent democracy provides a context for violent service delivery protests to occur at the local government. The violent protests in Cato Manor reflect similar problems, which have been experienced in other parts of the country where high levels of poverty and violence are the norm. The ongoing violent protests related to service delivery or land invasion in Cato Manor are likely to continue as long as the context of violent protests remains unaddressed. The lack of consequences for the prevailing violence at the national level creates a fertile ground for the violent protests to replicate. The Centre for Development Support (2007) reports that people resort to violent protests because it has been effective in other troubled and disadvantaged townships. Violence is the only thing that attracted the attention of the government to respond immediately to their needs. Similar utterances were captured during the interviews in Cato Manor. It can be stated that when violent protests occur in one local municipality, and the protestors instantly get what they are looking for, it creates a condition for similar behaviour to occur elsewhere because the consequences of the action are deemed permissible. Brown (2015, p. 13) states that "protests are a common occurrence in our politics".

Based on the two contexts, it can be argued that violent protests will continue to be part of Cato Manor for a considerable time because such protests have a strong foundation as the culmination of the past struggle and the embryo of the future struggles. Despite the development activities in the area, some land remains vacant. This prompts Africans from the surrounding areas to migrate to urban settings to re-establish themselves as shack dwellers - forming part of the new urban poor. As a result of informal settlement intensification, there is a huge need for basic services, including housing. Hence, violent protests appear to be the device of the forgotten citizens that represent the first step towards their right to services. If the vacant municipal land remains unused for a more extended period, then violent protests related to land invasion will emanate. When the shack dwellers become established in the invaded land, violent service delivery protests are likely to follow. Thus, any sustainable planning will become difficult to attain, and opportunities will be lost. Also, there will be a complex relationship between shack dwellers and formal housing residents as spatial stratification intensifies. Given this historical context, the prevalence of violent protests in the current Cato Manor suggests a historical pattern of such protests, which is likely to continue to happen.

7.3.4 Violent protests: A form of empowerment or disempowerment

The findings show that protests are one of the crucial tools used by the proportion of the people who feel the need to assume total control of their lives from below. It is depicted to empower people to influence development plans and decision-making processes outside the institutionalised forms of participation, which local people deem as irrational, manipulative, and exploitative. When a community feels the repercussions of structural inequality, alienation, and service delivery paralysis, a sense of disempowerment emanates. Hence, protests by the disempowered are portrayed to provide them with a sense of empowerment to re-establish themselves as citizens in their locality. This is because they perceive protests as a tool of legitimacy with the potential to trigger changes (Ploštajner & Mendeš, 2005). Protests strengthen their voices, which is a vital principle of change that emanates from below (Tesoriero, 2010). This background shows the ongoing protests in Cato Manor to be more than just a way to influence and conscientise the municipality about their living conditions and quality of service delivery. Thus, such protests are portrayed as a "struggle for citizenship" (Cebekhulu, 2013, p. 139), while for Alexander (2010, p. 25) the protests represent the "rebellion of the poor". Through Abahlali BaseMjondolo, violent protests establish the main challenge to "technocratic conceptions of democracy" (Pithouse, 2007, p. 63).

As a struggle for citizenship, the findings illustrate that protests take an unapologetic social justice and human rights stance by framing engagement as an empowerment process undertaken by the alienated in recognition of power differentials among groups. The authorities believe that protests and crowds are irrational, chaotic, and ignorant of the existing formal procedures to engage the state. None of that is correct in the protesters' eyes. This is because demonstrations are considered meaningful, necessary, and patriotic for those participating. The existence of the legitimate mechanism through which citizens can participate in the state governance "validate the rhetorical and actual exclusion and criminalization of citizen who does not choose to make use of such mechanism" (Brown, 2015, p. 75). Thus, such protests give people the meaning of their existence as it enables them to stimulate self-help in their daily struggle for survival (Arnstein, 1969). For instance, Zenker and Seigis (2012) argue that local people who feel disadvantaged by government policies and are not listened to, use the instrument of

protests, among other mechanisms. Therefore, in this way, authorities sort to pay more attention to people within the community who are usually excluded from sharing available resources and institutions (Seltzer & Mahmoudi, 2013).

The findings further reveal that protests are a potentially transformative tool, which gives local people an upper hand to erase the feeling of hopelessness, and inferiority complex. Also, it enhances people's ability to develop a sense of collective agency, strengthening their position concerning their leaders, who are then forced to treat them as active rather than passive participants. The findings further illustrate that in Cato Manor's newly built informal settlements, there is minimal municipal visibility and a lack of engagement from the institutional community structures established to bridge the existing gap between the residents of informal settlements and the municipal official. Hence, there has been a rise in informal community leadership, outside the landscape of the existing political formations. The independently established informal community leadership can mobilise the unavailable institutionalised platforms for the community to vent their grievances and needs. Hence, the community-driven engagement platforms emanate a shared voice and vision, which supports protest action as another way of communicating their grievances. However, such forms of engagement tend to be “characterised by an accelerated progression from grievance perception to violent protest action without prior peaceful engagement” (Tapela, 2015: p. viii).

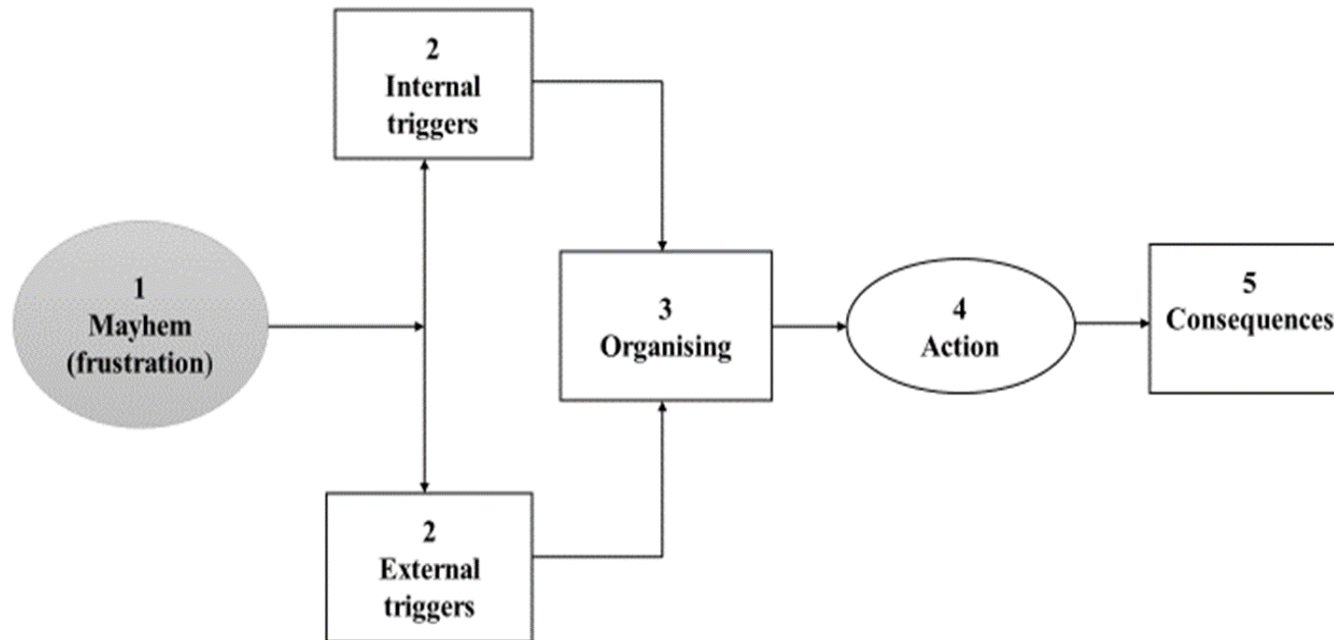
The violent methods of protesting have become the norm of an expression of powerlessness by the people who feel disempowered by structural violence and institutions in South Africa. For instance, von Holdt (2014b, p. 130) maintains that "the exuberant promise of the new democratic post-apartheid order has been tarnished by episodes of extreme violence by citizens". Meanwhile, Brown (2015, p. 15) states that "South Africa is a country of protest and its people are protestors". Thus, for people without basic and essential services in Cato Manor, violent protests often seem like the only way for their voices to be heard and addressed. However, a contrary view is accurate in Cato Manor. Among other residents, violent protests remain problematic because, in the process of self-empowerment, local people are self-disempowered by their violence during protests as valuable assets that contribute to their livelihood are damaged (Khambule et al., 2019). For instance, the proportion of respondents who

indicated that such protests improve communication (1.3%) was statistically and significantly smaller ($p < 0.001$) than those who indicated that it causes damage to the environment and delays service delivery (9.9% and 24.2%), respectively. So, violent protests have unintended impacts for the municipality and the protesters alike. The community-driven forms of engagement are violent with conflicting repertoires enacted in public settings. This is because such engagement constitutes a group of people who assume that local authorities and formal political structures are reluctant to recognise them as residents of the municipality as they are perceived to have established their residence illegally on the public and privately-owned land.

7.4 The emerging conceptual framework

Based on the research findings, a conceptual framework that accounts for the evolution and the unceasing occurrence of violent service delivery protests in the local sphere of government is proposed. The research reveals sophisticated patterns associated with violent protests in all the spheres of government. Despite this, the historical observations show that the patterns of violent protests assume a different and complex dimension in the local sphere of government because they reflect the context within which violence is inherited – South Africa as a “violent democracy” (von Holdt 2013, p. 589). Hence, there is no mystery in executing these protests as they continue to follow a predictable pattern of violence and disruption. As a result, violent protests cannot be divorced and explained outside of the South African historical political settings and the current socio-economic conditions. So, the emerging conceptual framework in the evolution and the recurring of violent protests in the local sphere of government in South Africa demonstrates a systematic linear pattern within which violent protests transpire. The proposed framework illustrates that the absolute path from phase 1 (Mayhem - Frustration) to phase 5 (consequences) is a multidimensional process qualified by various activities and events that operate in multiple phases and different sequential orders. Accordingly, the evolution of violent service delivery protest is conceptualised as a multistep model, as shown in Figure 7.1.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON THE EVOLUTION OF VIOLENT SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS



(Source: Researcher 2021)

Figure 7.1: Evolution of violent protests

Phase 1: Mayhem (Frustration)

This phase is rooted in South Africa's violent democracy. It represents a world of chaos, contradictions, and paradoxes, as people continue to live in a state of despair due to symbolic violence and systemic poverty, in a country full of hope for the previously disadvantaged. South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 brought the hope of a "better life for all". Yet, many people in Cato Manor remain poor, alienated, and unemployed after 27 years of democracy. The promise of a "better life for all", which was meant to bring about job creation, housing, land, and education for all is yet to be realised. It is generally observed that South Africa's democracy and its policies struggle to close the income distribution disparities that exacerbate socioeconomic stratification. Consequently, most South Africans are grappling with the consequences of increasing structural inequalities. This has further created different economies between the rich and the poor, which embodies itself in a hierarchy of status and power.

Issues associated with economic disparity due to the unaddressed footprint of colonialism and apartheid continue to defile the fruits of the hard-fought democracy. As a result, South Africans are struggling to survive even in the new dispensation and they perceive democracy as a myth and something for the rich. Furthermore, the optimism and expectation of the new dispensations have not been fulfilled and only limited progress in economic growth; however, the redistribution has remained stagnant. Thus, as it was during apartheid, in the democratic epoch, poverty and wealth continue to define racial classification – black and white, respectively. Despite that, the lives of few blacks have improved – with the emergence of the middle class – the majority remain in abject poverty without knowing where their next meal will come from especially the new urban poor. The high expectations of the new post-apartheid South Africa prove to be a distant reality for most of those previously disempowered by the apartheid regime. Thus, they have grown impatient with the perennial deterioration of socioeconomic and living conditions. The majority of black people, who are affected by the current symbolic order are without hope that their situation will improve. Hence, they are frustrated with the government's inability to deliver on the promise of "a better life for all". Therefore, South Africa has become an angry and frustrated nation because of the prevailing and persisting structural issues, systemic poverty, and historical disparities.

Phase 2: Internal and External Triggers

The second phase entails internal and external triggers. The internal triggers are influenced by what ensues in the local environment that is characterised by violence, fear, insecurity, and uncertainty about what the future holds. Therefore, drawing on the case of Cato Manor, the deprivation trap of poverty, landlessness, unemployment, etc. acts as an internal trigger for violence. A sense of feeling stuck in a situation that is difficult to escape creates mayhem as tension builds up. The internal triggers do not exist in a vacuum; instead, they influence and are influenced by external triggers. What happens in the external social, economic, and political domains act as external triggers. This is portrayed in the history of Cato Manor in colonial and apartheid times. While the external triggers are associated with socioeconomic issues that often bring about structural inequalities, people on the ground are not aware of how the external world operates. This is demonstrated in utterances that seem to suggest that, “violence is the only language that [our] government understands.”

Both the internal and external factors are interdependent and affect each other. Hence, what transpires in the external world (national and international) influences the internal world (local) and what happens in the internal world influences the external world. Therefore, these triggers can be perceived as two sides of the same coin and are inseparable. As the result of the coexistence of the internal and external triggers, local municipalities are expected by local people to deal with issues beyond their scope of operation. This is observed in cases where protesters demand jobs – an issue that is beyond the scope of the local municipality. Local people perceive such demands along a massive continuum of service delivery that their local municipality must always address. This is partly due to the reason that it is the sphere of government, which is much closer and accessible to the local people who bear the brunt of community anger.

The internal and external triggers are inextricably linked and affect local communities in brutal ways, creating the foundation for prolonged frustration to emanate. For instance, the high rate of unemployment and structural poverty as external factors leads to the migration of low-skilled people into urban areas as it is closer to essential services, factories, and industries to look for employment opportunities to improve their socio-

economic conditions. Consequently, as they migrate to urban areas, they form part of the new urban poor. When people arrive in urban areas without employment and the necessary skills to compete for the limited job opportunities in the city, an informal settlement without basic and essential services becomes their prominent dwelling place. Thus, this cements the vicious cycle of poverty and underdevelopment among residents of informal settlements. The increase of informal settlements is directly proportional to the increasing need for essential services including clean water, electricity, and proper sanitation. This intensifies spatial stratification and socioeconomic inequalities between informal and formal settlement residents, resulting in frustration as they witness the progress and better living conditions of their neighbors, while they are not part of it. If most informal settlement residents were employed and earned enough to afford essential services, their socioeconomic condition and nature of frustration would have been different. However, as local people endure prolonged frustration, both internal and external triggers that continue to affect their lives negatively, then produce anger.

People who are continuously subjected to oppression have to distinguish between both the internal and external triggers to better understand their position in society. The internal triggers should be handled constructively for people to improve their lives and re-imagine a different future – such are elements of citizen participation. Evidence in Cato Manor shows that misunderstood and misapplied citizen participation can destroy communities rather than build strong sustainable communities. For instance, citizen participation in the form of violent protests has not generated any positive outcomes in such contexts, rather it has contributed to injuries, dysfunctionality, death, etc. As such, people must re-imagine and approach the future by appreciating the dynamics around the world. Internal triggers can be carefully managed for the betterment of the community, while external triggers are beyond the control of the community. The latter requires organising with different stakeholders for policy and institutional reforms. Internally, local municipalities are caught between a rock and a hard place due to budgetary constraints, thereby failing to constantly address community concerns for basic needs, especially in cases of illegal occupants. Ultimately, people embroiled in violent protests have to reimagine a different future to escape the deprivation trap. To achieve this, a sense of ownership of community resources will enable them to explore constructive ways to tackle internal triggers in the absence of violence.

Phase 3: Organising

Organising is a collective activity whereby people with common interests and mutual problems collaborate in a way to establish rapport and patterns of working together. Frustration is portrayed to be the leading cause of organising into invented participatory spaces by the impoverished sector of the population in the affected communities. Therefore, this indicates that there is no direct but indirect link between frustration and aggression. Notwithstanding, it is through organising that people venture into violent protests. For instance, people are overwhelmed by internal and external triggers of frustration in their homes and do nothing about it because they are powerless as individuals. However, when their frustration is in a collective mode or a crowd, people lose their sense of individuality and rationality. Once they are in a state of solidarity, they begin to do things they would never consider doing especially if they were in their private space. In essence, when local people are in this phase, they find themselves in the state of anomie - everything executed in solidarity appears to be permissible despite its legality and legitimacy. The state of solidarity gives the people confidence and aspiration to protest against those they believe mistreat them. Hence, collectiveness gives them the momentum to manifest their discontent through protests.

Organising in the position of their strength offers the marginalised an opportunity to create effective spaces of participation. The community-led spaces are different from the formal spaces of participation which have become elite and bureaucratic spaces of manipulation with increasingly high-handed authoritarianism to subordinate and suppress the struggle and the voice of the poor. The community organised spaces of participation produce a variety of strategies for citizenship. One common strategy is an unpopular mode of participation in organised disruptive chaos and mass protest, which often manifests in local municipalities. Such forms of participation emanate because, in the self-proclaimed spaces of engagement, an element of frustration overwhelms the environment as people feel left out in the socioeconomic system. While frustration among individuals exists before they join the masses, their frustration is reinforced during this phase as people share their struggles and living conditions. Hence, local people take advantage of the invented spaces of participation in violent and disruptive protests to advance their justice agenda. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning at this final

stage of the research that the public does not just decide to organise themselves into these spaces but does so because of a culmination of frequent frustration that built up over time. Therefore, from this phase of organising, aggression originates.

Phase 3: Action

An action is an act that emanates from political oppression, infringement of basic human rights, and lack of essential services among other issues. In this case, action originates from and within the invented participatory spaces where power is equally shared among local people who are poor and marginalised. However, within these community-invented spaces, sound, and effective forms of participation are characterised by insurgence to challenge the existing status quo and what is deemed unjust in the local municipality. Also, in these community-invented spaces, the marginalised and the poor share their frustration to the extent that they reach a peak of aggression. At the peak of aggression, their actions manifest in a form of violent protests. So, at this point, local people fuel violent and disruptive battles with their frustration. Hence, it is easy for their course to be disregarded, dismissed and labelled as the anti-democratic protests associated with criminality and the third force to undermine and destabilise the ruling party. This is partly because such protests emanate outside the common political party elite, structures, and the institutionalised engagement spaces as they originate from the bottom up with the marginalised's aspiration to chart and control the course of their destiny. In the course, the poor received severe treatment from the police. This is for the reason that, their justice course manifests in violent and disruptive protests against the municipality because of aggression, which has already reached a boiling point.

Importantly, action in the form of violent protest manifests as a marketing strategy and programme to inform public officials about their frustration caused by both internal and external factors. It allows the disadvantaged sector of the population to shape the public narrative on their struggle and voice their concerns. It is noteworthy to mention that collective aggressive action is not fixed at the peak level. However, it always boils down after robust engagements. Hence, it is the case that after violent and disruptive protests, the aggressive action subsides. The aggression action has the potential to re-emerge whenever frustration leads to mobilisation - unless existing internal and external factors

have been sufficiently attended to. Therefore, it suffices to argue that people do not just wake up and protest or disrespect (in the form of protests) the laws of society but only when they view the nature of societal laws as irrational and illegitimate towards them. It is then that violent protest will be used as a tool to voice out their concerns. However, such protests have serious consequences on people's living conditions.

Final Phase: Consequences

The consequences of citizen participation in a form of collective action entail the outcome associated with such engagement. Despite that it has the potential of inflicting social change from below, the consequences of violent tactics during protests have been severe in the lives of the poor and municipal plans. For example, when people of Cato Manor destroy property during collective action, citizen participation is applied negatively. This indicates a lack of ownership and citizenship which promotes respect for others and uphold human rights, social justice, and democratic principles during collective action. While dominant discourses in community development are always on the side of the oppressed, there is convincing evidence that violent tactics during protests are not serving communities well. This partly is because instead of bringing about sustainable community development, violent protests lower the quality of life as it instills fear among potential investors, which leads to economic hardships and loss of livelihood strategies. Also, the violent tactics during collective action lead to clashes between police and the protesters leading to injuries and loss of lives, even for non-protesters. Moreover, violent protests lead to displaced anger, which is visible when protestors begin to loot and destroy local tuckshops owned by foreign nationals, and throw stones at passing people and vehicles, displaying xenophobia and Afrophobia.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by discussing the primary themes gathered from the synthesised research findings. Thereafter, from the research findings, this chapter discussed the emerging conceptual framework, which attempts to comprehend the evolution and recurring of violent service delivery protests in South African local municipalities. The following chapter provides the recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER EIGHT: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the synthesis and interpretation of the themes that emanated from the research findings. This informed the proposed conceptual framework presented in the previous chapter to understand the ongoing violent protests related to service delivery in South African local municipalities. The conceptual framework demonstrates that violent protests in South African local municipalities are sophisticated structural phenomena. In essence, the findings have revealed that complications associated with violent protests related to service delivery and land invasion in the local sphere of government are systemic and contextual. This is because violent protests are not only problematic in the local government; however, such protests have proved to be a problem in the provincial and national spheres of government. Consequently, violent protests cannot be explained and understood outside of the South African historical and contemporary political settings. Therefore, the presented conceptual framework for understanding violent protests demonstrates that the evolution and the occurrence of such protests do not manifest in a linear process but transpire in a multidimensional process influenced by numerous activities and events such as internal and external factors that operate on multiple phases, as shown in Figure 7.1. Therefore, the main purpose of this chapter is to present a consolidated conclusion of this research. In doing so, this chapter begins by discussing the contextual consideration and contribution of the study in understanding violent protests. Following this, the chapter looks at the theoretical consideration and methodological contribution to understanding violent protests. The chapter then discusses the implications and the conclusion of the research.

8.2 Contextual, theoretical, and methodological consideration

8.2.1 Contextual consideration and contribution

The premise of this research demonstrates violent protests in Cato Manor as a historical and structural phenomenon. Thus, such protests emanate because of the perennial structural challenges such as societal stratification, landlessness, inequality, and unemployment, among other issues that subject people to severe deprivation and absolute poverty. Despite progressive government programmes and policies on socioeconomic development and realisation of improved service delivery for a better life for all, Cato Manor's colonial footprint and apartheid policies continue to be a cause of concern, especially among the previously disadvantaged sector of the population. Hence, violent protests appear to be a racial and a spatial phenomenon more than a political activity. Furthermore, in the case of Cato Manor, violent protests are shown to be a psychological phenomenon that manifests from grabbing with the idea of “fitting in” and the sense of belonging in those spaces, which were historically reserved for specific racial categories. Therefore, because the historical injustices were confronted with a high level of violence, it is from the same ideological perception that the inherited structural violence that continues to subject people to deprivation is violently confronted - the poor respond and react to the world as they perceive and interpret it.

From the study context, the research notes that the pre-democratic local government policies in South Africa were not meant to promote the developmental type of local government, especially in black-dominated areas. However, it promoted an oppressive model of local government to the black majority at the grassroots level, denying them a right to participate in decision-making processes fully and actively. Following the downfall of apartheid, new institutions and the developmental framework were placed at the forefront to ensure that the democratic order manifested, starting in the local sphere of government. Hence, the democratic local government policy had a key role in rebuilding the significant damage caused by the previous regime in spatial, socioeconomic, and environments in which people live, work and seek to fulfil their aspirations (RSA - White Paper on Local Government 1998). Its role also includes promoting local government accountability, transparency, and citizen participation in

local government matters to effectively deliver appropriate essential services. However, the research findings show that a developmental local government that provides crucial basic needs is yet to be achieved in Cato Manor. Hence, in the past decade, violence underpinned by disruptive protests related to service delivery and land invasion has increased compared to peaceful protests. This has placed enormous pressure on the municipality to rethink how services are rendered to fulfil its developmental mandate. The case of Cato Manor enhances our understanding that in social settings where the majority of the population continues to be negatively affected by socioeconomic issues such as abject poverty as a result of structural and historical issues, violent protests are inevitable. Furthermore, this setting demonstrates that violent protests are influenced by endogenous factors (such as structural and spatial inequalities, among others) and exogenous factors (including unemployment and the footprint of the apartheid policies). Thus, this illustrates that violent protests cannot be understood through a single event, but rather, from different events that are interdependent on each other.

8.2.2 Theoretical consideration and contribution

Two theoretical frameworks, Berkowitz' reformulated frustration-aggression theory and the Arnstein ladder of citizen participation, were essential in understanding and interpreting the research findings from a distinctive theoretical position. Irrespective of their different ideological positions and lens of interpretation, these theories complement each other. For instance, the Berkowitz' frustration-aggression theory was fundamental in understanding and explaining the occurrence of violent behaviour in Cato Manor. However, this theory on its own could not explain how local people collectively participate in protests. Subsequently, Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation was embraced to enhance the research findings by unpacking how and why local people engage in protest action. In comparison, the Arnstein framework could not explain how such protests action turns violent. Therefore, it was through the lens of Berkowitz' reformulated frustration-aggression theory, which saw frustration as embedded and inherent in people's emotional state, that drives their specific reaction to circumstances that hinder people's goals. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation presumes that citizen power is ideal because it gives local people the ability to pioneer their destiny in citizen control while protecting and valuing community assets.

Therefore, the two theories combined justified how violent protest emanates in Cato Manor. For example, the two theories highlight that unmet needs in Cato Manor have led to frustration, producing aggressive inclination, preceded by violent behaviour. Hence, when people engage in protest, violence becomes inevitable. It is then, that protests associated with service delivery become violent. The longer the frustration is suppressed, the more intensive violence will be during protests. In addition, from the two theoretical perspectives, people engage in violent protest to express their grievances stemming from a perceived injustice, relative deprivation, and frustration (Gurr, 1970). Thus, local people who experience some moral indignation about their situation adopt Zinn's (1997) perception that protest beyond the law is not a departure from democracy; instead, it is essential to it. However, because of the high level of frustration, such protests are violent. Therefore, the findings demonstrate two crucial points regarding violent protests in Cato Manor from the theoretical perspective.

The first viewpoint is that local people seek to control their development through citizen participation. Violence is at the center of their initiative because of the prolonged frustration. Secondly, the findings illustrate that despite protests being essential to achieving total citizen control, the ongoing violence underpinned by disruptive protests related to service delivery and land invasion affects community development in Cato Manor. The study's main contribution to the body of knowledge is through the multiphase framework, which helps explain the evolution and manifestation of violent protests. Thus, both the adopted theoretical frameworks contributed differently but meaningfully to developing the proposed conceptual framework for explaining violent protests. For example, in this research, Berkowitz reformulated frustration-aggression theory contributed through explaining that negative affect as a results of prolonged frustration leads to aggressive inclination, resulting in violent behaviour.

On the other hand, Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation contributed to the proposed conceptual framework by articulating citizens' ability to collectively assume power in the form of protest in their locality. Subsequently, the blending and reflection on these two theories articulation of violence (frustration-aggression theory) and protest (ladder of citizen participation) assisted in explaining how violent protests originate and continue to occur in Cato Manor. Therefore, the research findings will be presented to

the eThekweni Municipality and Cato Manor ABM to give feedback to the community. The multiphase model for unpacking violent protests will assist the municipality in understanding them from the complex historical and structural factors. Thus, this will help the municipality deal with the catastrophic impact of the current violent protests on community development.

8.2.3 Methodological consideration and contribution

In a politically oriented country such as South Africa, violent protests and service delivery issues are sensitive and highly politicised. This is because the rational thinking and orientation of individuals are aligned to different schools of thought and party politics that shape and influence people's subjective understandings and assessments. Therefore, the contestation of ideas in constructing new knowledge as people experience it has always been philosophical, political, and contextual. Approaches to knowledge production that seeks to discover objective truth and subjective perspectives through scientific methods had to be adopted to explain violent protests service delivery in the world as we live in it. Consequently, this study adopted mixed-methods research in exploratory sequential design, which began with qualitative research and moves sequentially to quantitative research (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018; Bless et al., 2013; Castro et al., 2010). Considering this, this research was executed in two phases. The first phase was the qualitative research component and was positioned in the constructivists' paradigm. On the other hand, the second phase was quantitative research design and was positioned in the positivists' paradigm. The purpose was to support qualitative and quantitative research methods to explain human subjective and objective views in constructing new knowledge. The exploratory sequential design employed semi-structured interviews, surveys, and document analysis.

Research from leading scholars in development, such as Paret (2015, 2014), Pithouse (2016, 2012, 2011, 2007, 2007), and von Holdt (2014, 2013, 2011), among others, who have studied violent service delivery protests in local municipalities, use a mono-research method, mainly qualitative research design. Therefore, the justification for the mixed-method research design was that the qualitative data and their subsequent analysis provided highly contested subjective views of violent service delivery protests

by exploring participants' views in depth. Furthermore, it enabled an exploration of the research problem from a contextual perspective. While on the other hand, the quantitative components and their analysis explained the contested idea related to violent service delivery protests by exploring the respondents' perceptions using the statistical approach. Therefore, the mixed-methods research design adopted in this study was significant in exploring violent service delivery protests from the two methodological perspectives. Additionally, mixing the methods subsequently enhanced the understanding of violent service delivery protests because it provided both the subjective and objective perspectives of research participants. Moreover, as adopted in this research, the rationale for this design lies in qualitatively exploring a topic before deciding what variables need to be measured, validated, and tested in the quantitative research phase.

Accordingly, the methodology demonstrated subjective and objective complexities associated with violent service delivery protests. The mixed-method research design was crucial to clarify the contestations emanating from the first phase of the research – the qualitative research method. From this exploration of the impact of violent protests on community development through qualitative research, an instrument was developed using rigorous scale development procedures, then tested in a pilot study using a small sample. The researcher used this approach to create and test an instrument that quantitatively validates existing measures. The qualitative analysis assisted in identifying a range of quantitative topics and frame people's understanding on violent protests in Cato Manor. For instance, during the first phase of this research, the leading cause of violent protest in Cato Manor was highly contested among the 33 research respondents between service delivery and land invasion. However, the development of appropriate quantitative data collection instruments from the qualitative findings then administered to a sample of 450 respondents, clearly showed that service delivery is primarily the leading cause of violent protests in Cato Manor. This would not have been possible if the research had employed a mono-research method design.

The data collection process is knowledge-producing activity and task. Notwithstanding, the art is to characterise, structure, and select an appropriate method for knowledge production to occur. Therefore, the different data collection methods, including semi-

structured interviews, questionnaires, and accredited scholarly journal articles, were crucial to generate different types of knowledge that meaningfully enriched this research to understand violent service delivery protests. For example, the semi-structured interviews enabled the research respondents to explore the subject from a different context and experience to construct new knowledge. Furthermore, the phenomenological approach in this research proved to be critical and notably an indispensable philosophical position concerning qualitative interviewing because the conversation with the respondents produced an accurate and detailed description of their lives, consciousness, and experiences of the subject. Moreover, knowledge obtained from the “inter-views” was inter-relational and inter-subjective, which enriched the understanding of violent protests from historical patterns.

The philosophical discourse and semi-structured interviews rely on conversation to give access to knowledge. Thus, the respondents produced descriptions and narratives of their daily experiences as well as epistemic knowledge. The survey was essential for providing demographic data that enlightened the study area. Most importantly, the survey provided an overall quantitative comprehension of the main research problem (Ivankova et al., 2006). The information produced through the scholarly journal articles was the foundation of this research because it provided historical, contextual, and conceptual data related to the topic. Additionally, the qualitative component adopted thematic analysis, which was critical to organise the generated data into various themes that respond to the study's objectives. In comparison, the quantitative component employed descriptive and inferential statistics, which provided a “significance level” of the variables and data that can be generalisable to the entire population.

The sample and the study setting did not allow the research to tap into the debate on the nexus between violent protests, racial distribution, and spatial location as 100% of the study respondents were African. Nevertheless, the findings illustrate that socioeconomic status and capital cannot be ignored in this ongoing nexus debate because they proved to be among the pool of crucial factors determining people's participation in violent protests. In essence, despite their spatial location, the better-offs in society are at peace with the status quo, while the impoverished are antagonised by

this social setting. The normalisation of race and violent protest has created a condition where poverty appears to be permissible among the poor black majority.

8.3 Research implications and conclusion

The research findings illuminate and illustrate that with the continuous contestation for land and identity prevailing in previously disadvantaged societies, risks of violence remain high, especially as the processes of semi-urban land reform and redistribution appear to exacerbate instead of addressing spatial inequalities of the past. Likewise, there can never be a state of equilibrium when most poor black people continue to live in squalor with limited access to basic but essential services, such as water, electricity, and proper sanitation. Hence, violent protests related to service delivery or land invasion, among other issues, appear to transpire mainly along the class lines. Therefore, violent protests are perceived not only as a form of citizenship but as an expression of the democratic deficits that appear to have failed to address the historical patterns of socioeconomic difficulties and structural inequalities among the black community. Consequently, this illustrates that attempts to address violent service delivery protests must go beyond people's basic needs at the surface value to address the general historical and structural issues that subject people to abject poverty, inequality, and landlessness. Therefore, this can be achieved by looking at violent protests from different theoretical lenses and methodological perspectives.

In conclusion, the research contends that violent service delivery protests have a disastrous impact on community development and development at large. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that the continuous classification of violent protests as service delivery or land invasion proved that these events (service delivery and land invasion) are not the root of such protests but what triggers them. Accordingly, violent protests associated with service delivery or land invasion are rooted in systemic and structural phenomena such as socioeconomic disparities and political events that must be understood from historical and contextual perspectives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance



11 November 2021

Nsizwazonke Ephraim Yende (210510589)
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear NE Yende,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0034/019D
Project title: The impact of violent service delivery protests on community development between 2004 and 2016: the case of Cato Manor, eThekweni municipality
Amended title: Impact of violent service delivery protests on community development: Impasse or progress

Approval Notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application and request for an amendment received on 10 November 2021 has now been approved as follows:

- Change in title

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form; Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully,

.....
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/ss

Cc Supervisor: Dr Nompumelelo Thabethe
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Oliver Mtapuri
cc School Administrator: Angeline Msomi

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>
Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix B: Informed Consent

1. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

My name is Nsizwazonke E Yende – a registered PhD candidate in the Department of Community Development within the School of Built Environment at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). You are invited to participate in a study titled: *Impact of violent service delivery protests on community development: Impasse or progress*, which aims to: explore the impact of service delivery protests on community development in the area of Cato Manor. The objectives are to:

- Understand people’s perceptions of service delivery protests within Cato Manor.
- Determine the impact of service delivery protests on development.
- Explore why people engage in service delivery protests in the way that they do.

The guidelines below are intended to protect the study participants:

1.1. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

There will be no consequences if you refuse to take part in this study since participation is voluntary. You are free to participate or to stop taking part in the study at any time.

1.2. CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY

All information will be kept confidential. No information will be used against you. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure anonymity.

1.3. CONTACT SHOULD YOU FEEL DISTRESSED

If you feel distressed at the end of the interview, please tell us to know so that we can arrange with a Social Worker from LADUDENI, which is in Durban Central for you to get appropriate support/counselling. If you would prefer to contact your local Social Worker from LADUDENI yourself, please call **031 822 2646. (THE SESSION WILL BE FREE OF CHARGE).**

The study went through the ethics process of the UKZN’s Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (**APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0034/019D**)

RELEVANT CONTACT DETAILS

Ph.D. CANDIDATE - STUDENT

Mr. Nsizwazonke Yende

School of Built Environment and Development Studies, College of Humanities

Contact Details +27 61 751 3842

Email address: 210510589@stu.ukzn.ac.za

SUPERVISOR:

Dr Nompumelelo Thabethe

School of Built Environment and Development Studies, College of Humanities

Contact details: 031 260 7854 (landline); 082 622 9755 (mobile)

Email address: thabethe@ukzn.ac.za

PROJECT LOCATION

The data collected will be stored in a safe place at the supervisor's office for a period of 5 years. The details are as follows: Office C722 Shepstone Building, Department of Community Development, Shepstone Building Level 7
School of Built Environment and Development Studies,
Howard College Campus, UKZN

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS

COMMITTEE

Research Office, Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building,

Private Bag X54000,

Durban, 4000

Contact details: 031 260 45457 (landline), 031 260 4609 (fax)

HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za (email).

Ms Phumelele Ximba: 031 260 3587 (landline)

ximbap@ukzn.ac.za (email)

Yours sincerely

Nsizwazonke Yende

Appendix C: Declaration of Consent

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY

I

(FULL NAMES OF PARTICIPANT)

hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research and I consent to participate in the study.

I also declare that I have been informed about the aim and objectives of in cases where I had questions, I was given an opportunity to ask and the response was satisfactory.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any penalty.

AUDIO RECORDING CONSENT.

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview **YES/NO**

NAME OF PARTICIPANT

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

Appendix D: Interview Guide

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1.1. Age: 18 - 24 25 - 39 40 - 59 60+
- 1.2. Gender: Male Female Other.....
- 1.3. Race: African White Indian Coloured Other.....
- 1.4. Level of Education: Primary Secondary Tertiary Other.....

2. QUESTIONS RELATED TO PROTESTS IN CATO MANOR

- 2.1. What is your perception or opinion regarding protests in the Cato Manor?
- 2.2. What do you think are the causes of service delivery protests? (**Probe**)
- 2.3. Why do you think people engage in service delivery protests the way they do?
- 2.4. What are the implications of service delivery protests on development?
- 2.5. What do you think are the contributing factors that result in service delivery protests turning violent in Cato Manor?
- 2.6. How would you describe the relationship between the community and eThekweni municipality regarding community consultations (**probing: are development plans developed, implemented, and monitored in consultation with the community?**).
- 2.7. To what extent are municipality's development programs informed by community needs in Cato Manor?
- 2.8. What is the municipality doing to facilitate community participation?
- 2.9. How does the municipality react to peaceful service delivery protests?
- 2.10. Please share your experiences of witnessing service delivery protests against:
- 2.10.1. Planning pre-and-post- protest community meetings?
 - 2.10.2. Who initiates such meetings?
 - 2.10.3. Issues discussed?
 - 2.10.4. What provokes the protesters to instigate violent and disruptive protests?
 - 2.10.5. How do police respond to service delivery protests in your community?
- 2.11. Describe the profiles of people who predominantly participate in service delivery protests in terms of gender, age, and class.
- 2.12. How is the relationship between political parties and the community in Cato Manor?
- 2.13. What do you think can be done to curb service delivery protests and promote citizenship?
- 2.14. Do you have any comments?

Thank you for your time

...The end....

Appendix E: Survey Questionnaire

1. SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1.1. Age: 1. 18- 24 2. 25 - 39 3. 40 - 59 4. 60+

1.2. Gender 1. Male 2. Female 3. Other Specify _____

1.3. Race 1. African 2. White 3. Indian 4. Coloured 5. Other
If other specify _____

1.4. Level of Education. 1. Primary 2. Secondary 3. Tertiary

1.5. Source of income

1. Salary 2. Government Social Grant 3. Entrepreneurship 4. Other

If other specify _____

SECTION B: PROTESTS RELATED TO SERVICE DELIVERY AND LAND INVASION

2.4. Protests in Cato Manor (IF NEVER OCCUR SKIP 2.2)

1. Never Occur 2. Occur Sometimes 3. Occur Always

2.5. What is the main reason for protests in Cato Manor? (CHOOSE ONE)

1. Land invasion 2. Service Delivery 3. Other

if other specify _____

2.6. Does Cato Manor face violent protests? 1. Yes 2. No (IF NO SKIP 2.3 & 2.4)

2.7. How often? 1. Occasionally 2. Always

2.8. Which factor contributes the most to protests turning violent? (CHOOSE ONE).

1. Empty Promises 2. Police Violence 3. Frustration & anger 4.
Act of Criminality 5. Communication Breakdown 6. Political Interference
7. Other if other specify _____

2.9. Does Cato Manor face disruptive protests?

1. Yes 2. No (IF NO SKIP 2.7 & 2.8)

2.10. How often does Cato Manor experience disruptive protests?

1. Occasionally 2. Always

2.11. Which factor contributes the most to protests becoming disruptive?

- (CHOOSE ONE).** 1. Unresponsiveness 2. Land invasion
3. Communication Breakdown 4. Frustration 5. Political Interference
6. Lack of consultation 7. Other **if other specify** _____

2.12. Do protests affect development in Cato Manor?

1. Yes 2. No **(IF NO SKIP 2.10)**

2.13. Which of the following best describes how protests affect development plans in Cato Manor? CHOOSE ONE

1. Damage to infrastructure 2. Delays service delivery
3. Damage to the environment 4. Improve communication
Other **if other specify** _____

2.14. Does the movement called *Abahlali BaseMjondolo* play a role in protest action in Cato Manor? 1. Yes 2. No **(IF NO SKIP 2.12)**

2.15. Which of the following best describes the role of the movement *Abahlali* in Cato Manor? (CHOOSE ONE).

1. Land invasion 2. Protests 3. Improved service delivery
4. Other **if other specify** _____

2.16. Do outsiders play a role in protest action in Cato Manor?

1. Yes 2. No **(IF NO SKIP 2.14)**

2.17. Which of the following best describes the role of outsiders in protest at Cato Manor? (CHOOSE ONE).

1. Increase land invasion protests
2. Increase service delivery protests 3. Decrease protests
4. Other **if other specify** _____

2.18. During protests which of the following is most affected? (SELECT ONE):

1. Infrastructure 2. Movement of transport 3. Business 4. Other
if other specify _____

2.19. Who are usually dominant during protests in Cato Manor? 1. Shack dwellers

2. Young people 3. Adults 4. Females 5. Males
6. Mix of all

2.20. What can be done to curb service delivery protests? 1. Provide housing

2. Provide water 3. Provide Sanitation 4. Fulfil promises
5. Improve communication 6. Provide electricity 7. Other

if other specify _____

**SECTION C: MUNICIPAL ADHERENCE TO COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES**

On a three-point scale where **1= Disagree**, **2= Neutral**, **3= Agree**, indicate with an **X** your view on the following statements.

	STATEMENTS	1	2	3
3.1.	The Municipality consults with us before community development plans are designed.			
3.2.	The Municipality holds community meetings to account to us about community development progress.			
3.3.	The Municipality encourages public participation in community development in Cato Manor.			
3.4.	The communication between local people and the Municipality addresses violent protests in the community.			
3.5.	The Municipality encourages collaboration when planning the development of the community.			
3.6.	The Municipality initiates necessary measures to empower local people in Cato Manor.			
3.7.	The Municipality respects local wisdom during community development initiatives.			
3.8.	There are collective decision-making processes between local people and the Municipality.			
3.9.	Political interference negatively affects development in Cato Manor.			

Thank you for your valuable time

The end.