

SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS

Findings from Quick Response Research on Four 'Hot-Spots' – Piet Retief, Balfour, Thokoza, Diepsloot



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Introduction

In July 2009, several researchers from the Centre for Sociological Research (CSR) at the University of Johannesburg were dispatched to conduct quick response research probing into four of service delivery 'hotspots, including Piet Retief, Balfour, Thokoza, and Diepsloot. While protests around service delivery and other issues are not new, the protests which took place during July and August attracted more attention, internationally as well as locally. One reason for this is that many were particularly militant and some were associated with violence. Moreover, coming soon after the accession of a new government led by Jacob Zuma, there has been interest in the relationship between these protests and the change of the administration.

The primary research methods employed were interviews and observation, particularly of community meetings. In some cases newspaper reports have been used to supplement and triangulate the data provided by our research participants. This report is intended to provide insight which advances beyond sensationalist headlines in the media and provides a starting point from which researchers may undertake more in-depth and theoretical studies on these issues. Given the 'rapid response' research design, the conclusions drawn about service delivery protests in these communities are tentative and preliminary, not authoritative. Emphasis was placed on providing a history or chronology of the protests (i.e. events leading up to the protest, the protest itself, and events that followed), as opposed to an attempt to explain the politics of each community as a whole. One of the key focus areas in the CSR is 'Social Unrest' and the research attached to this theme tackles issues related to popular resistance in a much more in-depth and rigorous way. Several critical themes emerged from which comparisons or conclusion could be drawn:

1. The communities involved in this recent cluster of service delivery protests share many of the same problems and frustrations. Poverty and unemployment levels are high compounded by a lack of basic services including water, sewage systems, street lighting, paved roads as well as adequate and appropriate housing.
2. It is clear that the four protests only occurred after unsuccessful attempts by community members to engage with local authorities over issues of failed service delivery.
3. The cases in Balfour and Thokoza suggest that the brutal response by the police contributed to the violence, rather than the protestors themselves being solely responsible.
4. We didn't find any evidence that xenophobia was the prime motivator behind the service delivery protests. While xenophobic attitudes are widespread, these protests have been primarily directed at issues pertaining to local government service delivery.
5. Political divisions clearly play an important role in producing frustrations among the masses, particularly in Thokoza where there is an IFP stronghold. In Diepsloot, protests have at least partially emanated from concerns that particular areas of the community are being prioritised over others. We found no evidence that people's demands were rooted in a campaign against the Zuma administration or the national policies of the ANC, but rather the failure of the ANC to implement policy at a local level. In fact, the case of Piet Retief revealed that the protestors were in support of the ANC. However, all of the communities sampled in this research expressed discontent over what they felt was a lack of communication and accountability at various levels of local government.
6. The findings presented confirm that the frustrations with government service delivery and the protests which result from this will remain part of the South African political landscape as long as people do not have access to basic services and are unable to find effective channels through which to express their demands.

Thandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Mpumalanga

Thandakukhanya township, located outside of Piet Retief, Mpumalanga, was one of the first sites to experience a mass service delivery protest since the election of President Jacob Zuma. However, the protests which peaked with a series of violent events on the 28 June 2009 were part of a much longer struggle by the community. The events as they unfolded are documented below along with the history behind these events.

In April 2009 Thandakukhanya residents calling themselves the Concerned Group formed to give voice to the community's problems. The group was established in response to a Mayoral Championship, in which money was allocated for prizes, but the prizes were never awarded. To many, this episode symbolised the lack of accountability by the municipality and provided the impetus for greater community mobilisation. Through

a popular election the 30-member Concerned Group – which includes a number of teachers and civil servants – was formed. Several of the community members who mobilised to form this group had previously met as a Committee of 13. The main objective of the Committee of 13 had been to challenge the allocation of RDP housing through the 'pay as you earn' initiative. The formation of the Concerned Group represented a deepening of community mobilisation as well as a broadening of community participation to make demands on the municipality in the face of its perceived indifference.



Burnt-out community hall in Thandakukhanya

One of the Concerned Group's first actions was to draw up a memorandum with a list of grievances against the municipality (please refer to the appendix 1). The memoranda drawn up by the Concerned Group lists a number of detailed and specific demands. These include: investigation into all municipal procurement above R10,000 from 2006 to date, a list of municipal bid committee members and meeting minutes from 2006 to date, a list of contractors for road construction and maintenance projects in the township, an audit on all holders of municipality credit cards, and an explanation of municipal supply chain policy. Further demands include investigations into Integrated Development Projects (IDPs), the allocation of RDP houses, and the handling of funds for township sport facilities. It is also important to note that the Concerned Group's memorandum states, 'We also want the ANC to win the local elections convincingly.' The group's members stress that they are loyal to the ANC and believe that the root of their problems is located within local government structures and not within the ANC itself.

Many of the items on the memorandum had previously been communicated to both local and provincial officials during the previous three years and were raised more recently at a number of meetings between councillors and community leaders in early June 2009. On 15 June, community members staged a peaceful protest and marched to the Town Hall to deliver a memorandum, accusing the municipality of poor service delivery, rate hikes, financial mismanagement and corruption, alleging that ANC councillors had sold RDP houses and sites. A copy was also sent to Mpumalanga Premier, David Mabuza, who was given seven days in which to respond.

On the 22 June the Concerned Group met with David Mabuza. In this meeting, the group recommended suspending all councillors and the town manager, Roy Ledwaba, as well as the closure of the Department of Human Settlements, due to the alleged levels of corruption within the Department. The Premier undertook to respond to the community's concerns and agreed to update the community in an open forum the following Sunday. Later, the Premier said he could not take action against the councillors until investigations were conducted, in accordance with constitutional provisions. He also failed to attend the open forum as promised, instead sending the MEC for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Norman Mokoena and MEC for Sports and Recreation, Vusi Shongwe, in his place.



Burnt public library in Thandakukhanya

Following Premier Mabuza's failure to arrive for the mass meeting, the community staged a second march. However, on this occasion, the community leaders told our researchers that it was more difficult for the Concerned Group to maintain order and to channel popular demands into peaceful protest. In the scene followed, tyres were burned and roads, including the N2, were barricaded or blocked. A nearby railway line was damaged and protestors allegedly set fire to the health clinic, public library and a community hall as well as cars belonging to the municipality. The burning of 'structures of the municipality', as one respondent called it, was intended to focus attention on the target of the community's frustrations. During this violent upsurge two people lost their lives. Phuphu Mthwethwa, aged 29 and Christopher Jele, 21, were allegedly shot and killed by a traffic police officer and a security guard.

Although none of the demands made by the Concerned Group were xenophobic in content, xenophobic violence did occur on the night of 28 June. Pakistani owned shops were looted and people believed to be Swazi nationals were denounced. A report in *The Times*¹ alleged that Swazis were told by some members of the community to resign or be killed.

Interviews with a number Pakistani shop owners revealed that none of the respondents felt that the protests or the attacks on their property had been intentionally xenophobic. The general feeling was that the protests were a result of bad governance and a lack of accountability rather than xenophobia. Foreign migrants, with whom our researchers spoke, believed they had good relations with the community before the protests and said they had never been specifically targeted, save for occasional verbal assaults from local drunkards. The shopkeepers interpreted the looting as criminal acts by opportunistic individuals, rather than as an orchestrated attack against them.



ANC councillor's house set on fire during protest, Thandakukhanya

However, in spite of the assertions of both the shopkeepers and community leaders that there was no xenophobia, anti-foreigner sentiments surfaced in a number of interviews. Some community members felt that the businesses that the Pakistani immigrants had opened, which carry a wide range of products are detrimental to the success of local black owned businesses, which can only offer a limited choice of products. One interviewee said, 'In the business sense, Pakistanis must go'.

Undercurrents of xenophobia emerged in several interviews. 'Swatis are a problem', said one young man. 'They leave Swaziland for Mpumalanga and take up jobs in key positions of governance.' One community leader explained to our researchers that in certain sections of the community there is resentment against those employed by the municipality who are considered to be outsiders. Interestingly, those defined as outsiders by the community are those from the provincial capital Nelspruit, Ermelo as well as Swaziland. However, it was also explained to our researchers that many South Africans in the Piet Retief area are ethnically Swazi and have kinship ties with Swazis. It was suggested that poorly educated South Africans may mistake a Swazi speaker from Nelspruit to be a Swazi national.

Despite some remaining fear and unease within the Pakistani community, most of the shop owners wish to return to the area and re-open their shops. However, several noted with dismay that neither the Mayor nor the Premier had made inquiries into the living conditions of the shop owners after this recent wave of protests. They have requested financial assistance from the government to reopen their shops but it is unclear at present whether this will be forthcoming. Furthermore, the Pakistani community had not met with the Concerned Group although one community leader stated that such a meeting was being planned for the future.

Finally, it is important to note that although the Concerned Group did have the backing of the community, it was not supported unanimously by the community. Amid some political infighting several members of the Concerned Group broke ties with the organisation and accused some members of accepting bribes from local officials. Three such Thandakukhanya residents told our researchers that they were dissatisfied with the organisation and leadership of the recent protests. These residents were former members of the PAC who switched to COPE prior to the April 2009 presidential elections. They believe that COPE is a viable political alternative within the community and hope that they will be able to gain seats in the 2011 local elections. However, some of the residents of Thandakukhanya blame a measure of the recent violence upon a desire by COPE members to destabilise rural townships ahead of these elections.

Balfour, Mpumalanga

Balfour and the township of Siyathemba are located approximately 80km south of Johannesburg. Located within Dipaleseng Municipality, Siyathemba consists of both formal and informal settlements and is estimated to be home to approximately 40,000 people. Within its population are a number of immigrants who mostly come from Ethiopia although there are also many Pakistani, Chinese, Malawian and Zimbabwean immigrants.

¹ Zwelihle Sukati, (06/07/09) 'Resign or Die, Swazis Told', *The Times*.



The Dipaliseng Youth Executive Committee, Balfour

Our researchers found that the current protest movement within Siyathemba appears to be mainly driven by the youth. The Youth Forum consists primarily of people between the ages of 15 and 35 many of whom have completed Grade 12 (one member had graduated from the University of Witwatersrand). The members have various political affiliations. Some are members of the Young Communist League (YCL), the Pan African Youth Congress (PAYCO) and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), whereas others do not belong to a political party. The leaders of the Forum emphasised that although members may belong to political parties the Forum itself focuses on the local community and refuses to align to a particular political association.

The Dipaliseng Youth Forum has played an active role within the community for some time, including intervening in a community meeting held in March 2008 where the Forum spoke out against the xenophobic concerns voiced by the township business community. The Forum members interviewed by our researchers appeared to be highly capable organisers who displayed high levels of political education and maturity. A meeting of the Youth Forum, which the research team was able to observe, demonstrated a strong and vibrant civic culture. The Forum executive committee, consisting of both male and female leaders, moderated the assembly from the front and much input was given from the floor. Even though strong anger was discernable among the local youth, the committee ensured that members of the audience were able to voice their opinions.

Lefu Nhlapo, a member of the youth executive committee, explained to our researchers that many young people felt that some of the older community leaders were compromised due to their own business interests in connection with tenders and their ANC memberships, and this prevented them from speaking out openly against the municipality. Filling this gap, the youth had apparently stepped forward to lead the community and challenge the municipality. However, it must also



Fifteen-year old injured by rubber bullets, Balfour

be noted that it is the young who are most severely affected by the lack of houses and jobs. Many of those we spoke to expressed a desire to start their own families but are being forced to squat in their parent's backyards. However, these problems are not unique to Siyathemba and this does not explain why the youth have mobilised as they have.



Rifle butt injury to the back of the head, Balfour

On 8 July 2009 a march to the municipal offices was held and a memorandum from the community submitted to the Dipaleseng Municipality (appendix 2). The memorandum contained a variety of demands including a request for a police station in the township, a mini-hospital, a youth centre, houses, the installation of 'high mass lights', paved roads, the renovation of the stadium and internet access for the computers in the library. However, some of the demands submitted to the municipality also concerned more political issues. The community demanded the introduction of 'visible and active' youth officers, the formulation of policies governing recruitment of local youth in the public and private sector and the publishing of a quarterly report on the expenditure of councillors. The community also demanded that the municipality reclaim land around Balfour from its private owners and the incorporation of the municipality into the Gauteng province.

The community gave the municipality seven days in which to respond to the memorandum. When the municipality failed to answer the memorandum a community meeting was held on 19 July to decide upon a response. The community voted for a stay away which lasted for four days and both workers and school students participated in the stay away. During this time no taxis were allowed to enter the township.

Clashes between the police and the community were first reported after police fired rubber bullets and teargas to disperse the crowd that had assembled for the meeting on 19 July. Following this first clash between the police and the community, Ethiopian, Pakistani and Chinese shop owners were moved from Siyathemba by the police to the local police station.

Armoured police vehicles began to patrol the township from the early hours of 20 July, after a ward office had been set on fire. Furthermore, a youth leader told researchers that from 6am onwards on that same day, rubber bullets were fired at random on groups of four or more people, regardless of whether or not they were involved in the protests. In response, the community erected simple barricades at all the entrances to the townships. During this time, 22 foreign owned shops were also broken into and looted. Protest action and violent confrontation with the police continued throughout 20 July. On the following day, the township remained fairly quiet, but the protests flared up again on 22 July when a school storage room was set alight.



Young mother shot in the stomach at close range by police, Balfour. Fist shows distance of rifle when fired.



Foreign shop owners in front of Balfour police station.

According to the youth leaders, more than 100 arrests were made during the week of protest, including the arrests of minors. Our researchers were also shown a 15 year-old boy who had been shot 10 times by rubber bullets at close range. The boy had also suffered a severe head injury allegedly from being struck on the back of his head with the butt of a gun. The research team also met a woman who had recently given birth and who had been shot in the stomach at close range by a rubber bullet while, according to her, hiding under her bed when a police officer demanded to know who had blocked the road with stones.

After the protests a meeting was held on 27 July to address some of the issues that the community had raised. The meeting was attended by Deputy Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, Andries Nel, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba, representatives of the Dipaliseng Municipality, representatives of local mining and businesses interests, representatives of the ANC, the Pan African Congress, the South African Communist Party, the ANCYL, the PAYCO, the YCL, the South African National Civic Organisation and the Dipaliseng Youth Forum.

At this meeting it was agreed that a task team should be set up to investigate which level of governance needs to be involved in facilitating some of the demands made by the residents of Siyathemba. However, no deadline was set for the task team to present its findings. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the task team will attempt to engage with the whole community by meeting residents at a public event as desired by the Dipaliseng Youth Forum.

These events were followed by the high profile and unexpected visit of President Jacob Zuma to Balfour on 4 August. Youth leader, Lefu Nhlapo, told our researchers that:

For him to come here shows us that he cares about his communities. However, the community wanted to speak to him in a public meeting, now he only visited two houses at the entrance of the township. We wanted him to drive around and see the entire township.



Foreign owned-shop looted during protest, Balfour

President Zuma also spoke to some of the looted shop owners and made assurances that their problems would be addressed. However, as of 6 August all the shops remained closed and none of the displaced traders had returned.

On Monday 24 August a court hearing took place in the Balfour Magistrate's Court. A total of 86 members of the Siyathemba community, including several minors, were accused on charges of public violence for their actions during the height of protest between 25 June and 2 July. The Youth Forum decided in a meeting held on 23 August to march from the township to the Magistrate's Court. In the evening of 23 August, Siyathemba residents blocked all entrances to the township once again with rocks and other objects.

On the morning of 24 August, about 300 youths from Siyathemba marched peacefully to the court building. The march was not registered with the city council. Balfour SAPS did not attempt to dissolve the march but escorted the protestors to the court building where they picketed during the hearing. 'The gathering is actually illegal, but we cannot always use aggression', a member of the local police force stated. The crowd in front of the Magistrate's Court consisted of many school students in uniforms, and youth leaders stated that students did not attend school on that day. Due to barricades on the township's entrances, no taxis were servicing the area.

Youth leaders announced after the hearing that the court had decided to acquit 72 protestors (including all minors), but to maintain charges against the 14 accused against whom the state had evidence.. When the crowd was told of the outcome of the hearing, many left angrily for the location, further fortifying barricades on the roads. Upon their arrival in Siyathemba, tyres were set on fire and preparations for further confrontations with the police were undertaken. When three unarmored police cars neared the location, they were chased away by a rain of stones. Police did not return to the township again on that day.

Thokoza, Gauteng

Mpilisweni informal settlement and KwaMadala hostel in Thokoza, East Rand, largely consists of people who were displaced by the political violence within the area during the 1990s. The legacy of this turbulent time persists into the present day as the area is generally perceived to be an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) stronghold, which many of the residents feel is a contributing factor to the poor conditions and neglect of the area. Outside KwaMadala hostel piles of rubbish are dumped beside the entrance, parts of the hostel are without electricity and only a proportion of the hostel has been converted into family units. Behind the hostel there is an informal settlement which spreads towards the railway line. This settlement has no toilets other than the pit toilets dug by residents themselves and electricity cables cover the street as residents illegally connect themselves to the grid. The area also contains some RDP housing. However, this housing appears to fall below the standards of other RDP housing developments. The houses seem to be smaller than other RDP housing developments and are beset with cracks and structural problems.



Informal settlement, Thokoza

There is a variety of community organisations in Thokoza engaged in an ongoing struggle with the local authorities over service delivery. One community leader attributed the recent protests to the failure of the local councillor, Londi Nkosi, to address the people about their grievances at a meeting organised on 20 July. When the councillor failed to attend the meeting the decision was taken to march immediately to the local municipal offices to submit a memorandum of grievances which included a demand that Ekurhuleni mayor, Ntombi Mekwegwe, resign due to her incompetence and failure to heed to the concerns of the community.

One of our respondents was keen to stress that the mobilisation of the community had been independent of any formal political party activity. He said:

the community was involved in starting the protests and in this community nobody told anybody to start with protests...even the local branch of the IFP has distanced itself from the protests. This is the move by community members and there is no political party that is involved in these protests. We are doing this on our own as a community because we are angry and frustrated.

However, before the march could reach the municipal offices the protestors were intercepted by the police. One respondent told our researchers that when the protestors met with the police, they 'started shooting at us without any provocation and arrested some of our comrades'

Police Captain, Mega Ndobe, is quoted as saying that the police had 'no option' but to fire rubber bullets 'because the people were aggressive and it was difficult to disperse the crowd'.² Furthermore, an online report³ posted on the previous day put forward the assertion that the protest action was illegal as it did not have the necessary permissions to be conducted.



Illegal electricity connections in Thokoza

In response to this protest Ekurhuleni municipality formed a task team led by the Speaker of Council, Patricia Kumalo who met with members of the community on 25 July. In this meeting issues regarding the basic services within the hostel were discussed. The Council and task team undertook to investigate the provision of water and electricity to the hostel and the Department of Housing pledged to appoint a contractor to clean the hostel. From the information provided by Ekurhuleni municipality it would appear that none of the concerns of the nearby informal settlement dwellers were addressed in this meeting. To date it is unknown whether Ekurhuleni municipality has implemented any of its recommendations.



Living conditions in Thokoza

On 28 July, the community once again took to the streets to march to the municipal offices. However, due to a municipal strike the protestors found the offices closed. Once again some of the protestors claimed that the police opened fire upon protestors standing outside the closed offices and made further arrests.

When our researchers asked to speak to some foreign nationals about their experiences of the protestors they were introduced to a number of people who were actually South African, some of who were from the Eastern Cape. This again highlights the complex ways in which 'outsider' status is created and defined. Our researchers were also able to speak with more than five

foreign nationals. A number of these respondents were actually involved in the protests themselves as they viewed themselves as part of the community and the ongoing struggles. One newly arrived immigrant did express that he had some concerns for his safety when the protest turned violent, in view of last year's events, but did not see or experience any xenophobia.

² Hamet Mcllea & Werner Swat (22/07/2009), 'Thokoza Violence Boils Over' *The Times*.

³ 'Thokoza Tense as Residents Protest' *The Times*, (www.times.co.za)

Diepsloot, Gauteng

Diepsloot, situated to the north of Johannesburg, close to some of the city's most affluent suburbs, was first established in 1994 for those resettled from Zevenfontein. Further resettlement occurred in 2001 when approximately 4,500 households were moved from the banks of the Juskei River in Alexandra as part of the Alexandra Renewal Project. What initially began as a transit camp has become a permanent home for many of the residents of Diepsloot. Since 1994, the area has expanded rapidly and become home to many people from other areas. Diepsloot contains both bond housing, RDP housing as well as areas of informal settlement which are located in Diepsloot West. Little infrastructural improvement has been made to accommodate Diepsloot's rapid expansion, particularly within the congested informal settlement area of Extension 1, the site of the recent protests.

The recent point of contestation in Diepsloot has been the planned upgrading of the sewage works. In order to undertake this work a number of shacks will have to be moved. In an area that was created by the processes of resettlement the threat of further resettlement is understandably a sensitive issue. However, the way in which this process has been handled by a number of stakeholders including the councillor, SANCO and the City of Johannesburg has arguably created and exposed a number of political fissures within this community.

Protests first erupted in Diepsloot on 5 July 2009 and continued until the 12 July when the protest reached a peak. During this time angry residents from Extension 1 threw sacks and burning tyres onto the nearby R511 motorway and allegedly threatened to attack the councillor's house. Cars were stoned by the protestors including a car belonging to SABC journalists. Protestors and police also clashed leading to the arrest of 14 people and some newspapers alleged that shops belonging to foreign nationals were attacked and looted.

When our researchers inquired into what community structures were in place for people to voice their grievances some replied that there were no community structures and that they 'only knew the councillor'. Others said the Block Committee may often assist in dealing with issues that may affect the community. When our researchers inquired into what had caused the protests a number of people said that they were protesting because the councillor ignored the needs of the people living in Extension 1:

The problem with the councillor is that he only looks after the people from [Extension] 2 who are next to him and not those from [Extension] 1. And so those people are crying and saying that their father is not looking after them and that's why they are protesting. They are protesting because the councillor is ignoring them.

Other people blamed the escalation of the protest upon SANCO. One respondent, who holds a position within the ANC, claimed that the recent protests were to be blamed on SANCO. It is alleged that SANCO leaders called a meeting which pre-empted the planned meeting to be held on 12 July between the community and the councillor. The plans for the upgrading of Diepsloot were scheduled to be unveiled in this meeting. In the SANCO-led meeting, SANCO leaders are alleged to have said that some of the people were being moved to Brits in North West Province. Some within the community attributed the escalation of the protest to the dissemination of this rumour.

While SANCO leaders may have started this rumour, the situation was exacerbated by both Jan Mahlangu and the City of Johannesburg who failed to promptly provide clarification on the details on exactly which shacks would have to be moved and to where. Clarification on this matter was only finally received in the week following the protests.

On 2 August a meeting was held between community leaders, the councillor and Johannesburg water to discuss the planned upgrading work. One community leader told our researchers of the difficulties encountered at this meeting. The community leaders present were unhappy with a report by Johannesburg Water in which they claimed to have undertaken consultation with the community regarding the forthcoming upgrading. The community leaders vehemently denied that any consultation between Johannesburg Water and the community had taken place. Furthermore, many of those present at the meeting used the forum to demand the resignation of the councillor.

In Diepsloot it was difficult to clarify whether any of the protests had turned upon foreign nationals or those deemed to be foreign nationals. Our researchers found that many people were reticent to discuss xenophobia in public spaces where they could be overheard. However, it was clear that xenophobic tendencies existed within some sections of the community. One respondent claimed to be able to identify foreigners by the lead foot they use when walking and also claimed 'whenever we go to work, they break into our shacks and steal things'.

Concluding Remarks

The findings from the case studies suggests that, despite overwhelming support for the ANC as the ruling party, there is a great deal of frustration with ward councillors and other representatives of local government, who are perceived by local township residents as incompetent and unresponsive to their needs. The protests that swept across the country in the middle of 2009 are not a novel occurrence on the social and political landscape. Impoverished residents of neglected townships have been voicing their dissatisfaction with ineffective and inadequate service delivery since the ANC's rise to power in 1994. However, their frustrations cannot be interpreted merely as a sign of displeasure with service delivery. Deeper discontent with the available channels for participatory democracy underlies the protestors' anger. The means by which frustrated citizens can express democratic voice and claim rights have failed to bring any relief, despite the accession to power of a new administration that residents expected would ensure a higher level of responsiveness. Moreover, the increased levels of violence and police brutality witnessed in this most recent spate of protests paint a picture of repressive state rather than an accommodating and approachable state that is willing to listen to the pleas of its citizens. In the lead up to the local government elections in 2011, it is unlikely that popular protest and social unrest will cease. Perceived failure at the level of local government is a significant motivating factor behind the protests that are being carried out under the rubric of service delivery, and disgruntled residents are likely to continue to take to the streets until their demands for a 'better life for all' are met.

Appendix 1: Piet Retief

Copy to the office of the premier

MEMORANDUM

1. Purpose

1.1 The purpose of the memorandum is to request the office of the premier to facilitate an urgent investigation to our local Mkhondo municipality in connection with the following high rate of alleged corruption happening within the municipality.

2. Background

2.1 Every financial year our local municipality receives an adequate budget from the national and provincial government, which is always aimed at service delivery. Unfortunately year in and year out inadequate service delivery has always been dished out to the majority of poor of the poorest of this Mkhondo community by the municipality.

2.2 Our municipality excels in its tariff increases, because they do not miss the dates for the increases, but the residents do not see where the money goes to or what it is used for. We, the rate payers of this Mkhondo municipality feel unconsidered and our needs unrecognized, because the community has made countless requests on a number of issues to be addressed, but to this date there has not been a positive response.

3. The rate payers of Mkhondo municipality raised their concerns among others are the following:

3.1 Alleged misappropriation of funds and its measures:

- The community request an investigation of all procurement above R10 000-00 from 2006 to-date.
- We also want to know who sits on the bid committee (tender) and bid specification, bid evaluation, we also want minutes of those sittings from 2006 till to date.
- We also want to know who appointed contractors and specifically all the road projects (Mark road and eThandukukhanya) specifically.
- We also want to know the supply chain policy of the municipality.
- We also want to know whether there was any money that was paid to the brewery from the municipal accounts.
- We also demand to know who have been issued with municipality credit cards and what were they used for and we demand an auditing of all those credit cards and the policy if there is any.
- We also demand to know where the mobile offices were purchased and the amounts there off.
- We demand an investigation on the traffic department on booking of licenses, test driving and license issuing.
- An investigation is conducted on road maintenance in the location and in town.
- We also want to know the procedure of procurement of cars and if there was any tender issued, and how much was used for this procurement since 2006 and all the cars bought since then.
- We also demand to know:

Administration:

- the total number of all personnel employed since 2006 till to date their total cost remuneration
- qualifications
- This includes all permanent staff and temporal staff.

HOD:

- How many employed since 2006.
 - Amount paid per each employee.
 - S&T per each HOD (including municipal manager).
 - Who authorized payment each month since 2006?
 - Who hired the municipal manager and his qualifications?
- We also demand to know how much has been paid for councilors hotel bookings traveling (S&T) and who authorized the payments.
 - We also demand to know how many computers were purchased and their amounts and who authorized the payment.
 - We also demand to know if there is any security company contracted with the municipality. Was any tender advertised for it?
 - We also demand an investigation to the MIG (Municipal Infrastructure Grant) where are they allocated to and whether the procedure for the tenders was followed and their funding.
 - We also demand to know how much was invested in 2006 and how much is still available and proof for it.
 - We demand to know about all catering tenders handed out by the municipality.
 - We also want to know about the fleet management (transport policy) for municipality and what happens when a car is involved in an accident and been written off.

4. Lack of service delivery within the municipality.

4.1 The community demands an investigation on the following:

- RDP house, the procedure on their allocation, requirements for allocation, specification and quality.
- How are the rates increased?
- Alleged selling of these RDP houses by councilors.
- On all projects that are conducted by our local housing unit, specifically on site selling.
- Sports operation, handling of funds and renovations of township sport facilities, specifically the stadiums.
- On the development of Mangosuthu.

5. Poor implementation of IDP

5.1 The community demands an investigation on the following:

- All the IDP projects
- All the tender allocation and constructors appointments.
- All their funding.
- The policy that is used.

6. Non attendance of allegations of nepotism.

6.1 The community demands investigations on the following appointments:

- Maswazi Shabalala (traffic department).
- Sande Mndebele (working on water and lights)
- Zama fire fighter.
- Roy Ledwaba Municipal manager.

6.2 The community also demands the advertisement of the post of the Municipal Manager, the short listed candidates, list of the interviewed candidates and the members of the interviewing team.

7. Lack of proper consultation in terms of resource distribution and infrastructure.

8. Recommendations:

- All councilors be immediately suspended pending the investigations.
- The municipal manager be suspended pending all the investigation befalling activities managed by him.
- The housing department is put on hold until investigations are concluded.

NB. We also would like to state it clear that the Mkhondo citizen's concerned group are he members of the ANC. We are in no position to be elected as councilors and we are mostly working, but cannot sit and fold our arms while the municipality is misusing the rate payers' money. We also want the ANC to win the local elections convincingly. We pledge that councilors involved in misconduct be recalled to the structure with immediate effect.

Appendix 2: Balfour

MEMORANDUM

We as the youth of Dipaleseng we demand the following:

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

7 days we demand our respond (in Siyathemba Hall)

Youth Representative

Municipality Representative

