



A SOUTH AFRICAN WATER CRISIS

WHERE CLIMATE CHANGE AND NEOLIBERALISM MEET

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Executive Summary

In the news, we watch events unfold in front of us every day - locally, regionally, nationally and globally. We see multitudes of headlines, telling of remote places around the globe, all adding to our perception of the state of the world as a whole. The South African water crisis, mainly playing out in the Western Cape region, is one such event.

The research project at hand provides an insight into the current local struggles in the most southern city on the continent of Africa and from there goes beyond the headlines by zooming out to the global context, showcasing the linkages, parallels and implications of water scarcity. Doing so is a necessity in a world that is more connected than ever before and increasingly influenced by nationalism and cultural identity. Further, in the context of climate change and severe weather events around the globe, finding answers to the question of how to confront these diverse challenges is crucial for all of us.

At the time of writing, the *day zero* – the day that Cape Town will run out of water – has been further delayed to 2019, mainly as a result of severe water usage restrictions. And yet, tensions remain high at the Western Cape. This raises the obvious question as to why? Our analysis of contention in the context of the water crisis allows for several conclusions to the question posed. South Africa remains one of the most unequal places on earth, even after the departure from the Apartheid regime more than 20 years ago it is characterised by severe internal struggles on a variety of related issues like e.g. corruption, public mismanagement, ethnic conflicts and resource extraction. The contention to these issues has taken many a form, ranging from peaceful demonstrations over emotionally-laden protests to violent uprisings. The contention towards the issue of water scarcity developed slowly over the course of 2017 and took up speed towards the end of 2017, when the Capetonian government introduced further restrictive measures to prevent what was then introduced as *day zero*.

Our research shows that the water crisis in South Africa is not just a local or national issue and should thus not be addressed as such for a number of reasons. Firstly, the scarcity of water is of concern globally and, considering the unknown extent of climate change, will be even more so in the years to come. Further, the contention to the water crisis shows to have quickly moved beyond the direct issue of scarcity on to a system-level, joining a growing global resistance against capitalism and privatisation as part of the process of neoliberalisation. We might not be playing with fire – there is no violent revolution happening in South Africa at the time of writing and there might never be one – yet, we are playing with water which might just prove equally lethal. The privatisation of water and its supply, even more so in times of crisis, becomes an act of commodifying the very basis of life itself. And even the term *Hydrocide* – “water scarcity as a result of the social misuse of a water source” – has been used to describe this tense and emotionally-laden situation. To also address the potential for dramatic

escalation - there is a suggested link in research between protest, uprisings and war as an extreme form of struggle.

On the other hand, a successful solution of the present crisis in South Africa might be channelled globally as a best practise and contribute to both peace and welfare in other locations and nations. We cannot predict the future, and we cannot know how the situation will develop in Cape Town. However, based on our research we can point out what not to do and suggest alternative ways of dealing with such a situation.

The utilisation of shock-terms like *crisis* and *day zero* does not prove helpful in de-escalating as can be seen in the case at hand. Contention arose to both the linguistic framing of the water crisis by the Capetonian government and the predominant uncertainty in the general public. This uncertainty and lack of information provides a space for many actors with diverse interests to move into and gain influence. In times of fake news, rising nationalism and populism, we deem it crucial not to open such a space but to proactively engage with individuals and actively include the general public in the search for solutions.

The use of symbols of the very subject of contention fuels contentious moments even more. In the South African case, the installation of prepaid meters is such a symbol for the privatisation of water that sparked not only discontent but strikes and manifestations in the streets. Instead, we want to encourage to take up the cudgels for the contenders. For example, by actively enforcing constitutional rights to water rather than driving privatisation of what is deemed a global public good – a common good – since it is precisely such actions that spark contention first in the local context which then with tremendous speed moves to transnational contention. In short, one should not address a water crisis as a local-state dimensional issue but as a global-societal issue and look for solutions in local contexts bearing in mind the global linkages and implications.

Introduction

The country of South Africa in its history has encountered many dramatic events - from colonial wars to post-colonial struggles and resistance to the Apartheid Regime, as well as lasting inequality until today. The ongoing political conflict within government, both locally in Cape Town and nationally, since the end of the Apartheid era in 1994 peaks with the resignation of President Jacob Zuma and the subsequent replacement by Cyril Ramaphosa in February 2018 (Patel and Tromp 2018). However, the current issue that had us decide on investigating South Africa as a single case within our research project is the ongoing severe shortage of water in the Western Cape region and other parts of South Africa, with an alleged *day zero* looming over the population since 2017 (Koyana 2017; De Lille 2017b; WWF and Boston Consulting Group 2017). In conjunction, factors like climate change and population growth have exacerbated water related issues in contemporary times around the world (Baer 2008; Brodzinsky 2015; The National 2016; Watts 2018). It is for this reason, we see the South African water crisis as globally relevant – setting precedence of what is yet to come in other regions of the world, soon.

Our aim is to investigate contention in relation to the resource scarcity in the chosen case and we do so with the help of mixed methods – first developing a coherent narrative of contention in that context to then continue with a detailed analysis of key events and factors uncovered in our analysis. Theoretically, this research draws on both structural and cultural theories on revolution and contention, but also brings in more contemporary approaches to global social movements and transnational activism. We conduct an extensive state-of-the-art literature review as a foundation for our analysis of contention in the chosen case. In this paper, we do not aim to identify or rank different reasons for why there is a scarcity of such a vital common good in South Africa in detail but base our analysis on what is observable, is the outcome: Over the past years, reservoirs and dam levels in South Africa have been decreasing and especially in the Western Cape region a severe drought is ongoing (Holder and Kommenda 2018). Despite continuing efforts by both the Capetonian government and the population to reduce water consumption, the situation has been worsening over the course of the last year (De Lille 2017c; Koyana 2017). This development showcases that symptomatic treatment aimed at less consumption and augmentation measures like desalination plants cannot sustainably counter the impact of climate change (ENCA 2018b; Evans 2018).

Building on a state-of-the-art literature review, we distinguish three phases of contention towards the water crisis characterised by different degrees of organisation and severity or escalation and showcase how it transforms from *dispersed and unorganised contention towards the water shortage over forming and organised contention directly to a water crisis to alliance building and development of global linkages and strategy*. From there, we move to address the role of neoliberalism in the context of the water crisis and how activism and

contention eventually targets the capitalist system and argue that this presents a mirror to the global contestation of capitalism in contemporary times. We conclude with a reflection on the global relevance of the observed trajectory of mobilisation, contention and activism unfolding as a response to resource scarcity and privatisation of public goods in an increasingly globalised world.

Research Design

In the following section, we elaborate on our research goals for this paper and introduce our research questions. We continue with a reflection on case and theory selection and close with a brief discussion on our choice of methods.

Research Goal and Approach

Taking the water shortage turned water crisis in South Africa, especially Cape Town, as a precedence-setting example, we set out to analyse the different contentious phases to the issue of resource scarcity in that context. We are pursuing our research supported by different methods; our foundation is the creation of a coherent narrative of contention to the water crisis and in-depth analyse key events that further spark contention and mobilisation.

Our approach is abductive, in the sense that we apply arguments from structural and cultural revolution theory, and literature on contemporary social movements to observations from within South Africa in the form of e.g. news reports, print media and social media. Ontologically, we are settled in the “middle ground” meaning anti-fundamentalist and pluralist (Blatter and Haverland 2012, 13–15). We combine both theoretical findings and observations from our analysis for policy advice on how to solve not the issue of water scarcity but the implications it has for both government and citizens of Cape Town and South Africa. We hope that, on a meta-level, this research can contribute to understanding – and mitigating – global implications and an unfolding ecologic and environmental global crisis of water scarcity. In other words, gaining an understanding of how shortage of a vital common good – that is partially commodified - affects societies at the core.

Research Questions

In this paper, we start off with reviewing theory – the leading question for this part of the work is what authors have put forward as necessary conditions for social mobilization, contention and, ultimately, revolutions. Our literature review is targeted at the following question:

RQ1: What are necessary conditions for contention and mobilisation found within structural and cultural revolution theory?

The second part of our work is geared towards analysing the situation in South Africa. Based on findings yielded by the literature review, take a look at a variety of sources both from and on South Africa and the water crisis, focusing on the question

RQ2: What can be observed in South Africa in general, and the Western Cape in particular, related to the different strands of theory? What forms of contention in relation to the water crisis are present or emerging?

In the last part of our analysis, we combine our own findings on contention in South Africa with insights gained from other contentious movements around resource scarcity and try to make sense of it by asking the question:

RQ3: What are the global implications and linkages of contention to water scarcity in South Africa? What parallels and trajectories can be observed from Social Movements reacting to resource scarcity in the contemporary past?

Case and Theory Selection

Within this paper we are conducting a single-country study on the theme of resource scarcity with South Africa in general, the Western Cape region and Cape Town in particular, as our case (Landman and Carvalho 2017, 35–36). The case selection done consciously and deliberate with respect to our research interest in the specific case and context – we set out to understand the specificities in this particular case (Blatter and Haverland 2012, 25–26). We do not aim for a broad generalisation of our findings but for deep insights into the case; hence the conscious decision to conduct a single- country study (31–32; Landman and Carvalho 2017, 94). We are aware of limitations of qualitative research based on selection on the dependent variable (Tarrow 1996; Gerring 2008; Seawright and Gerring 2008). However, our methodologic approach is not based in process-tracing - not X-Y based – which is why we see the selection of a case that factually has a water shortage not as selection based on a dependent variable in that sense. The selection of respective theory, referring to the selection within both the structuralist and culturalist scholarship, is also deliberate, which we argue for with our specific research interest in contention and (mass) mobilisation.

Methodology

The methodologic framework for this work underwent several iterations and ends in a combination of both quantitative and qualitative method types, we consequently label our approach *mixed-method approach* (Fearon and Laitin 2011; Lieberman 2005).

Our initial set of methods included the collection of a large sample of news articles from February 2017 to April 2018 and subsequent statistical analysis of word frequency within the

sample, supported by NVivo, as well as the dedicated text search for keywords derived from the targeted literature review relating to the specific necessary conditions identified within theory. This approach was omitted for two main reasons – accessibility of data and the question of necessary conditions being able to be reduced to a single keyword.

Accessibility of the desired databases in South Africa was either not possible online or they contained mainly scanned copies of print editions. The programming of a python-based news scraper to extract the sample from news websites directly did not yield the desired data quality; the frameworks in use by the main South African News websites – e.g. news24, IOL, Mail&Guardian and Sunday Times - do not allow for simple extraction or provide an archive and both highly individualising the respective scripts and extracting manually, was omitted as a method since with the smaller sample at hand, the keyword coding method did not contribute to the research goal as such. An initial sample (n>1200) scraped from news24.com, over the given period yielded no useful keywords relatable back to theory and search for key terms from literature did not prove successful either. The script can be found in appendix A, the dataset is available on request.

To address our first research question, we start our analysis by reviewing different theoretical fields, namely structural and cultural revolution theory and expand to contemporary literature on social movements and contention. Our approach in reviewing the body of literature is targeted towards identifying necessary conditions for formation of social movements, (mass) mobilisation and contention within a society. We conduct an extensive review of the respective scholarships but limit ourselves to a brief summary and focus more on the theories deemed most relevant to our research goal in the main body of this work. The findings of the extensive review can be found within the appendix.

From there, we use GoogleTrends to gain statistical data on specific search terms in South Africa and the Western cape. Based on this, we delimit a time period for further evaluation with content analysis of both media and official communication as main method. Content analysis as a research method is used for analysing textual materials in various research designs (Kuckartz 2014). Here, content analysis is applied to establish an overview of key themes and elements of the public discourse connected to the *water crisis* with special interest in the key areas and events identified as important factors of contention in the theoretical part of the project. In order to create an overview of contentious episodes in the period in scope, we draw on the independent online news agency GroundUp, which provides an accessible and comprehensive archive of events in South Africa. Articles are published under a Creative Commons license, and is providing the basis for the overview in appendix G.

One limitation we highlight is the use of search trends as measure or indicator for interest and relevance. This can be debated to great length, yet we utilise it not as our main method but as first step into the narrative and accept that it is not a perfect representation of public interest.

And further, poor rural internet coverage in South Africa potentially affects the validity of the statistical data (Runciman 2017a, 43). A second limitation is the use of content and media analysis as a mirror of discourse. We are aware that the method will not be able to catch a full representation of the discourse in South Africa for several reasons – accessibility being one but also lack direct contact with actors in the local context, meaning that the subjective or heuristic perspective is only present through media.

Literature Review

We review the scholarship with a focus on factors deemed required for social revolution and in doing so omit providing a broad overview of the field – this has been conducted thoroughly and regularly over the past decades (Skocpol 1979; Foran 1997; Wickham-Crowley 1997; Rueschemeyer and Skocpol 1985; Foran, Lane, and Zivkovic 2008; Tarrow 2012).

Structural Theories on Revolution and Contention

In her seminal work on revolution theory, Theda Skocpol (1979) maps out what structurally leads to a (social) revolution – for her, there is three factors that form a basic necessity in enabling, structurally, contention and subsequently (social) revolution (13,22,41): “institutionally determined situations”, “relations of groups within society” and “interrelations of societies within world-historically developing international structures” (18). She defines a (social) revolution as “Societal structural change with class upheaval” and “political with social transformation” (4) with distinction towards rebellion, political revolution and the process industrialisation. Applying Skocpol’s structural theory, together “well organised peasant communities”, “dominance of absentee agricultural rentiers” and a “semibureaucratic state falling behind militarily” lead to social revolution in France, Russia and China characterised by e.g. “a breakdown of the state, a peasant uprising, a transformation of class relations, and, eventually, a massive consolidation of bureaucratic power in a new state” (Sewell 1985, 57). When discussing Skocpol, Sewell (1985) points to different struggles – “between classes [...], between classes and state [...], and between different states in international relations.” (57). The identification of a lack of technological development in agriculture paired with international pressures after invasion and defeat and domination by a “landed-commercial class” in 1911-16 China provide an example of structural theory reading of a social revolution (47–48, 71–72, 150–51, 155–56).

What makes Skocpol relevant for this project is her emphasis on the macro-structural and historical contexts of successful social revolutions which makes (18). In an assessment back in 1978, Skocpol reportedly said that a revolution in South Africa is unlikely to happen without external interference weakening government (The Harvard Crimson 1978).

Lachmann (1997) describes how intense conflicts within the ruling elite(s) create openings in the societal structure, making mass mobilisation more likely, and how in this way, mass actions from non-elites are able to affect changes in the structural powers of society and hence also bring about changes in political and economic domination of the masses (71–72). Normal levels of conflict will not cause structural changes, stable systems of exploitation will persist under these circumstances; for the masses, this implies that contention towards the ruling elites will only be effective when initiated during attacks on or intense conflicts between these elites - the resulting changes of structures will be different depending on the nature of the

external pressure on the elite, and it is always context-specific (90). Both the masses and the elites will seek to enter into new alliances to impact the structure of society (94).

Wickham-Crowley (1997) differentiates structural and cultural theory in their focus: “As one moves up, one encounters theories of revolution that increasingly rely on “structural” variables, while agency-, event-, and choice centered[sic] theories lie in the lower portions.”(42). His proposed framework for analysing revolutions asks for the origins of mass grievances, the triggers for uprising and contention or the restraints, the influence of a type of society on the success of revolutions and lastly explanatory factors for the variegated post-revolution power landscape (44-45). For this work, the specific trigger events on which contention manifests and the question what keeps the lid on or off are seen as especially relevant.

State-centred theories propose causal mechanisms through which a state influences in many ways “economic, associational, cultural and even social-psychological phenomena” (Goodwin 1997, 9). In that sense, Goodwin argues that the one-sidedness of structural state-centred revolution theory is its strength when dealing with revolutions, which he sees as state-centred (Goodwin 1997, 9). The four approaches are labelled state-autonomy, state-capacity, political opportunities and state-constructionist approach:

The differentiation of state officials from the rest of a given society lies at the core of this perspective; politicians, bureaucrats and military officers as state officials according to theory, can develop autonomous interests that then clash with those of a dominant social class, an economic elite or mobilised civil groups in general (Goodwin 1997, 10). The conflict between state officials, an economic elite as well as the general population in Zimbabwe in 2016 and 2017 provide an example of clashing such clashing interests (Human Rights Watch 2017; Amnesty International 2018).

Limitations in capacity to implement a political agenda, pointing to variation in Michael Mann’s “infrastructural power” – fiscal resources, military power and organisational reach into civil society – may increase revolutionary potential (Goodwin 1997, 10). Goodwin emphasises organisational or bureaucratic rationality and foreign threat responsiveness in this regard (Goodwin 1997, 10). A limitation in e.g. bureaucratic rationality implies a lack of establishing formality and thus calculability through organisational imperfections (lack of rule, flawed hiring process) or on staff level (lack of skill, disobedience) (Townley 2008, 49–51). In short, limitation in state-capacity in regard to bureaucratic rationality can be seen as contradiction to Weber’s “domination through knowledge” (Weber Max 1978, 225).

The third approach bases on the assumption that for collective action political opportunities are required; consequently, the revolutionary potential rises if a state lacks infrastructural means to control these opportunities or does not revert to violence for suppression (Goodwin 1997, 11). There is a link between breakdown of the state and opening of political opportunities

for revolution to occur. (13). Prominent examples of social movements in this context are both the *indignados* and the *occupy movement* (Eriksen 2014, 175–79). Goodwin names the approach that is centred on how states construct civil society fittingly state-constructionist; it deals, more specifically, with how domestic and foreign state behaviour acts as a catalyst and justification for e.g. grievances within a civil society (Goodwin 1997, 11). Skocpol points towards the unintentionality of this influence on group formation or political ideas of these and on the example of Tocqueville (Skocpol 1985, 21).

Cultural Theory on Revolution and Contention

Sewell (1985) sees Skocpol dealing with the role of ideology in revolutions as inadequate and develops an alternative conception where he expands the layers of causality, especially to incorporate the autonomous power of ideology in the revolutionary process (57). He sees ideology not as a structure in its own right, but that action based on ideology is shaped by already existing realities (60); for him structure is in collective action (61). Where for Skocpol (1979), “revolutions are not made, they come” (17), Sewell (1985) stresses revolutions as planned events transforming politics – e.g. in the French case (82).

Hunt (1984a) conducts a culturalist, historical, and linguistic or discursive interpretation of the French Revolution. She has been termed one of the main historians behind what is called the “cultural turn” in history. She draws on three positions of language - Marx, Tocqueville and Durkheim – and her main claim is that language has the function of bearing hidden meanings that can be unmasked (Hunt 1984a, 21). As a consequence of this linguistic position, revolutions can be read like a script (Hunt 1984a, 26). Language then becomes a prime interpretational tool that also comes to serve as a prime tool of power together with symbols and artefacts; symbolic practices of the people come to define politics and words take up the place before occupied by the charisma of the sovereign (Hunt 1984a, 26–28).

Berman (1996) focuses on the narrative of ideas, visions and ideology as a pivotal aperture of revolutions; he argues that ideas have their own power to shape the emergence and course of revolutions. Based on an analysis of the four big revolutions of 1968 and the fall of Communism twenty years later, he argues that ideas, revolutions and reactions are all part of a historical and generational process in which learning and interpretations are oscillating (19). Haugbølle (2012, 2016) reflects on the ideological conception and implications in the Arab spring in 2011; ideologies is understood both as a set of analytical categories in political science as well as social constructs and images serving as guiding posts in the everyday life of individuals and societies (Haugbølle 2016). In this view, ideologies become a set of practises of political subjectivity and action more than a set of elaborate political strategies. In *The Secular Saint*, Haugbølle (2013) elaborates on his conception of ideology to show how culture, history, religious identity and politics comes together in by drawing on the cult of the former

leader of the Lebanese Forces Bashir Jumayil, becoming a transcendental vessel of ideology, and how ideology becomes an intersection between formative elements. An argument that is taken up in *In Defense of Ideology*, establishing a theoretical platform for a synergy of ethnography and political thinking; ideology in this sense becomes a pivot and yet a fluid part of human sensemaking (Haugbølle 2016).

Selbin (1997) frames revolutions as human and non-deterministic, not merely structural, creations (123). He draws on several authors on e.g. Foran, Goldstone and Goodwin in his critique of structural theory to support his claim that culture and agency must be drawn in as explanatory factors (124). Based on the perspective that humans are not solely bearers of structures, but creators of the same structures, similarly to what is conceptualised as the “butterfly effect” in the natural sciences, he argues that societal structures can be determinant for both the conditions under which revolutions can happen and for the outcome dimension (126). But to understand how different groups act or how a revolutionary potential is realized, the focus has to be set on cultural factors as a condition and product of humans (126).

Foran (2005a) builds on Selbin’s dialectical understanding of conditions, revolutions and outcomes in his comparative review of Third World Revolutions. Here, based on an analysis of structures, political cultures and outcomes of the revolutions in Mexico, China, Cuba, Nicaragua and Iran, he elaborates how overall structures are shaping, but not determining, the human actions, and how culture in the form of collective memory, creativity and courage has been the crucial factors in making the revolutions (2005b, 33). Further, he points to Selbin in that rising inequality and failure of neoliberalism is another global macrostructural factor increasing the likelihood of revolution, and that the different cultures of resistance creates differentiated narratives as a basis for change (2005c, 259).

While contention is often termed a dichotomy of insiders and outsiders (Tarrow 2012), Pettinicchio (2012) introduces the notion of institutional activists who from a platform inside the governing institutions work for the case of the contenders or social movements (499). Moving from a conceptual understanding in which activists are working from the outside to forward their case, and where collective action was seen as spontaneous act outside the institutions, he adds the concept of how a dynamic can be formed by resources moving between the two sides (500). In some cases, because the organisational setup of NGOs and governments institutions resemble each other, in others, political parties and NGOs are linked in ways that makes the borders between activism and governance blurred; the existence of this kind of activism is pointed to as frequent in a South African context by authors as Bond et al. (2013) and Prevost (2017).

Tilly and Tarrow focus on political contention, collective claims and protest and cast light on the links between collective action and structural change (Tilly and Tarrow 2007, 4; Tarrow 2012, 20–21). Tarrow (1998) emphasises cycles of contention; rounds of both organized and

unorganized claim-making in which threats are posed towards the policy and repression is becoming a reaction (142). Cycles of contention can be a part of a social movement understood as sustained campaigns of making claims, but most contention is not a part of a movement (Tilly and Tarrow 2007, 8). An extreme form of such a contentious cycle is the revolution, in which the tensions are very high, and a large number of activists are mobilising; one example of this is the Orange revolution in Ukraine in 2004-5 (21).

Social Movement and Activism Theory

In *Strangers at the Gates*, Tarrow (2012) provides an overview of how the theories of contentious politics have evolved, starting from Marx and the early macrostructural approaches, over Tocqueville with a statist focus on political processes, and leading forward to the social movements of the present (9,14). From the Marxist notion of class conflict as a main structural issue, Tarrow moves to Touraine and the claim that social movement and class struggle are synonymous (19). From there, new work into the organisation of movements, social networks and resource mobilization emerges (20–21). Recently, the study of the inner workings and phases of social movements, together with the outward and often creative showings has been taken on by a new generation of researchers like Harrebye (2016); he is concerned with the nature of contention and how it is emerging in new and changing forms as a result of the changing framework of both capitalism and totalitarianism. The protest and struggle for power is to be understood in dynamic and dialectical terms, even more so in a world in which social movements tend to be constituted in both global and local terms (X–XI). In *Social Change and Creative Activism in the 21st Century*, Harrebye (2016) sets out to present an overview of the main theories of social movements (47). In doing so, he brings forward an understanding of social movements as:

[...] groups of people who share a collective identity centered on social solidarity (internally and in a certain way often with the surrounding society), a common identifiable cause, and ideas that are maintained and advocated over time. (Harrebye 2016, 47)

Social movements, rather than being vessels for realising political strategies, are concerned with the transition from emotion to action (48). A link can be drawn to e.g. Bellin (2012) and (Haugbølle 2013, 2015) emphasising the role of emotional triggers and elements respectively for revolutionary uprisings. Where Harrebye (2016) and Haugbølle (2016; Haugbølle and Bandak 2017) are differing from earlier generations is in their reference to globalisation, and the enabling of global, cosmopolitan or transnational structures as a factor in contention and activism. The *collective* action of the past has now transformed into *connective* action, often of a global nature (Harrebye 2016, 59–60). Harrebye's notion of contention moving forward in cycles made of different phases - "the grumbling phase, trigger points, the mobilization

phase, critical tipping points, phases of demobilization, and impact” (61) – is especially relevant in the analysis of the water crisis in South Africa.

Bond et al. (2013) are taking off from a Marxist framework to describe the contemporary landscape of protest in South Africa in the wake of the neoliberal policies adopted by the Tripartite Alliance after the end of Apartheid and point out the contradictory traits of the social movements; at the same time working together with and against the Tripartite Alliance (239-40). The importance of access from the local to the national and global level, localism in terms of broadening the scope of local or sectoral protest, and leadership in the fight against capitalism is stressed, for example in regard to the ‘water sector’, is stressed (240). A further point is the organising role of leadership, and in that regard the incorporation of “organic intellectuals” as vanguards in social movements and during mobilisation; Bond et al. reference the resistance to water privatisation in Johannesburg as a potential successful opposition to neoliberalism. The authors points to examples of successful or potential successful resistance, one of these the opposition to the neoliberal water privatization in Johannesburg (243). They argue that neoliberalism and the current crisis of capitalism and is reflected in a growing economic and spatial inequality inside South Africa, and that the protests by social movements have a broader significance in the struggle against neoliberalism, also in terms of global connectedness of movements (246-7).

Runciman (Runciman 2017a) conceptualises social movements as a praxis resulting from inequalities and material realities of everyday life rooted in neoliberalism- thus, in privatisation and commodification (36). The precariousness and (relative) deprivation, for example in terms of disconnection from water supply, is seen as significant elements in this (39). Burawoy (2017) argues that the transition after Apartheid in South Africa reflects a broader shift in the workings of capitalism and marketisation as an expression of neoliberalism and that local contention is mirrored on a global level.

Prevost (2017) categorises and diagnoses the overall state of the social movements in South Africa twenty years after the end of the Apartheid. Like Bond (2013) and Runciman (2017a), he points out the dispersed nature of protests and the often contradictory nature of movements (Prevost 2017, 158). Pointing to the importance of seeing the movements in a historical context, Prevost concludes that movements with an ability to compromise and working both outside and inside the polity have had some success, but that with growing discontent from the neoliberal impact on the country, it can be difficult to maintain this status (168-169).

Theoretical Basis for Research Project

The state-of-the-art literature is targeted towards necessary conditions and factors relevant for contention to build and the form and repertoire of activism acknowledged within the

respective scholarships. As a synthesis of this review, we provide an overview of the identified aspects that we base our subsequent analysis on. Not all the different theories or necessary conditions are relevant – or present – in the South African context yet are included to paint a broader picture of the diverse scholarship on revolution, contention and activism.

Theory	Author	Necessary Conditions and Factors
Structural Theories on Revolution and Contention	Skocpol	mass mobilisation, relations and struggle (class-class, class-state, state-international), bureaucratic power and struggle, military deficits
	Lachmann	within ruling elite conflict creates opening in societal structure and enables mass mobilisation, structure agency-based, change and outcome depend on external pressure on elites, alliance building to impact structure of society
	Goodwin	State-autonomy: conflict & disagreement between state officials and economic elite & civil groups, state official action & decision against interest of those State-capacity: limiting rule of bureaucracy and "veil of ignorance" both organisational and individual, education level of e.g. public workers, process failures Political opportunities approach: lack of infrastructural means or interest to control public sphere (e.g. policy, policing, military, communication system, responsiveness/inefficiency), unwillingness to enforce or violently suppress State-constructionist approach: influence and impact of institutions and of policy practice on contention/resistance within civil society; possibly also actions of state officials
	Goldstone	linkages of population growth and political crisis: "decline of state capacity to manage society", "alienation of elite actors", "mobilisation of mass movements", urban individuals & youth central role
	Wickham-Crowley	Origins of mass grievances, triggers of contention or restraint, society type and revolutionary success, variegated post-revolutionary power landscape
Cultural Theories on Revolution and Contention	Tilly & Tarrow	Collective action, waves of contention, political programs, political opportunities & changes in those structures, manifest claims, intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities, triggers of contention
	Hunt	Symbolic practices, language, artefacts, conspiracies, narratives
	Sewell	agency rises from structures and shapes action, multiple meanings of structures, ideological and political programs
	Berman	Interaction and learning between different revolutions and revolutionary movements, anti-colonialism and international solidarity movements (e.g. Anti-Apartheid). interaction between structural conditions and cultural environments, world revolution, generational learning, self-criticism.
	Selbin	Revolutionary potential is realized according to cultural factors, humans both bearers and creators of structures, political outcome playing out after revolutions can be determined by structures, political culture a result of previous human action, human action depending on specific historical conditions. Main question: How and where are humans entering the revolutionary process?
	Thomassen	Liminality, collapse of order, rituals, transitions, carnivals & clowns, trickster figure, mimetic violence & scapegoating.
	Pettinichio	Insiders with access to resources and power, change possible both from bottom and top, impact on policy from outside activism, movement (osmotic transference) between positions is possible, blurred borders between governance and activism.
	Haugbølle	Ideology as social constructs in everyday life and political practises, interaction between cultural and political factors, history a crucial analytical lens, Arab world as a window to a general understanding of ideologies, Ideological reorientation.
	Bellin	Complimentary roles of structure and agency, factors crucial to the ignition of protest (long-standing grievances, specific emotional triggers, a sense of impunity and the significance of access to social medias).
	Foran	Overall structures are shaping, not determining, human actions. Collective memory, creativity, courage. Rising inequality, failure of neoliberalism, different cultures create different narratives of change.
Social Movement and Activism Theory	Tarrow	Social movement and class struggle are synonymous, organisation of movements, social networks, resource mobilisation, transnational activism and activists.
	Harrebye	Creative activism, connective activism, emotions to action, circular phases of contention, global and transnational structure of activism.
	Runciman	Social movements as praxis resulting from inequalities and material realities of everyday life, neoliberalism as basis, privatisation, commodification, precariousness, (relative) deprivation.
	Burawoy	Marketisation as an expression of neoliberalism, local contention is mirrored on a global level.
	Bond	Marxist background. Contradictory traits of the social movements, working together with and against the government, importance of access from the local to the national and global level, localism and role of leadership, incorporation of "organic intellectuals" as vanguards in social movements mobilisation. Economic and spatial inequality as result of neoliberalism, protests has global significance in resistance to neoliberalism, global connectedness of social movements.
	Prevost	Dispersed nature of protests, contradiction in working both with and protesting against government, movements must be seen in historical context, neoliberal external impact makes resistance increasingly difficult.

Figure 1 - Necessary Conditions for Contention and Revolution Identified

Contention towards the South African Water Crisis

In the following, we first delimit the period of our subsequent analysis of the South African water crisis temporally and point out regional aspects and differences. We utilise search trends in combination with qualitative probes into spikes in search frequency for certain terms to do so. Based on this, we investigate the contention generally, but primarily towards water shortage – which throughout the chosen period changes name to water crisis. Here, we draw on the necessary conditions and factors for contention identified in the state-of-the-art literature review. Lastly, we elaborate on the global elements, implications and linkages of activism and contention towards this resource scarcity in South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular.

Delimiting the Temporal and Geographic Dimension of the Water Crisis

We start our analysis by delimiting the period for investigation and then provide a narrative by pointing out trends and key events. The resulting timeline is not ought to be an exhaustive (historical) analysis of how the water crisis came to be, this is outside the scope of our research. We rather follow Ketchley's (2017) approach of looking at the events and data available from during the Egyptian revolution, and focus those that are relevant in relation to our theoretical basis. As a first step in creating a coherent narrative of contention around the water crisis, we deployed a Google search trend analysis. The terms chosen are broad and not necessarily precise towards only contention, yet since that is true for all of them, we accept this level of generality for this entry point for a timeline – they are *corruption*, *protest (reference)*, *dam levels*, *water crisis* and *day zero*. The data available is relative to the highest search frequency (=100) and on the first level of analysis, nation-wide for South Africa; the chosen period for visualisation is January 2016 to May 2018 to account for the early phase of the ongoing drought (Holder and Kommenda 2018; Leahy 2018).

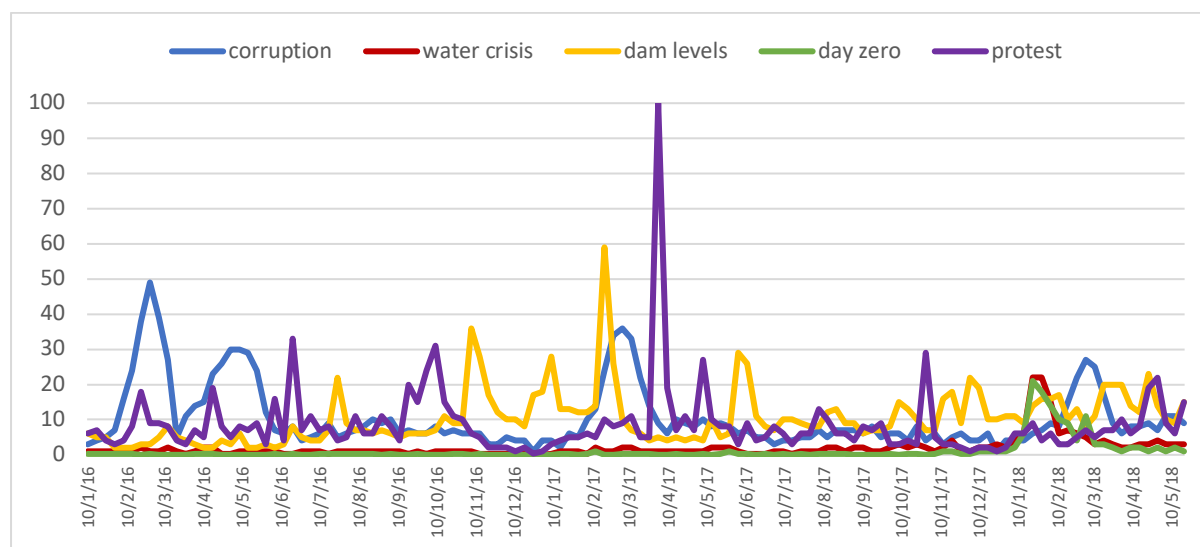


Figure 2 - Search Trends in South Africa 2016-2018 (Google Trends 2018)

The data shows that, while the terms *dam levels*, *protest* and partially also *corruption* continuously show peaks in South Africa, a historic spike can be identified around the week of February 19, 2017 for *dam levels*, followed by a spike in *corruption* and lastly and eruption-like increase in searches for *protest* occurs in the beginning of April 2017. At the same time, the terms *water crisis* and *day zero* only gain relevance in this regard from late-2017 onwards – the implications of this will be discussed at a later point. Nevertheless, we consequently choose these two periods for a more sophisticated qualitative analysis - a probe into February to June 2017 revealed mobilisation against the corruption within government and open opposition against President Zuma (GroundUp Staff 2017; Pertsovsky 2017) and dispersed, unorganised contention in direct relation to the water shortage (CapeTalk 2017). Subsequently, we delimit our further analysis at February 2017. The search trend analysis also shows growing search frequency for *dam levels* from September 2017 onwards, leading up to the occurrence of both *water crisis* and *day zero*, and a single spike in *protest* end of October 2017. Looking at the data for the most recent months, a relative decline in *water crisis* and *day zero* is observable, while at the same time *corruption*, *dam levels* and *protest* are rising again. Since our research is focused on the contention around the water crisis, we have this thought lead our further investigations and structure the chosen period and moments of analysis into different phases of contention in relation to the water crisis – with this approach we follow the idea of contention forming in phases (Harrebye 2016; Tarrow 2012a, 2011; Tilly and Tarrow 2015). In relation to our second research question, the regional differentiated analysis of search frequency sheds light on where in South Africa interest for the respective issues manifests. For a review of contentious events, a comprehensive overview is available in appendix G.

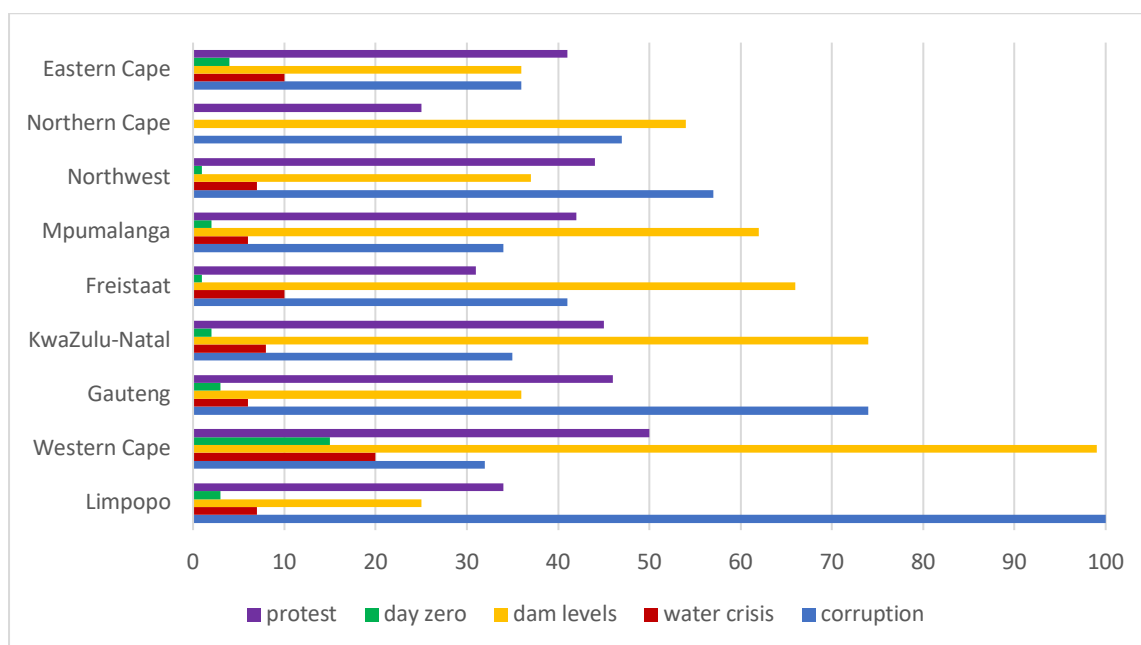


Figure 3 - Regional Overview of Search Term Relevance (Google Trends 2018)

We further identify a difference in regional relevance of the respective search terms; during

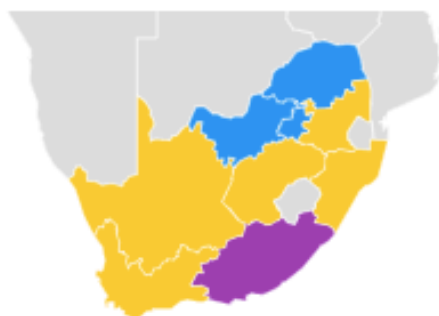


Figure 4 - Predominant Search Terms (ibid.)

the defined period, the predominant interest for the capital region is *corruption*, while for the Eastern Cape it is *protest* and the rest of the nation shows most interest *dam levels*. Looking into the regional data, it becomes clear that *protest* and *dam levels* are of nation-wide relevance and that *corruption* is mainly relevant for Gauteng and Johannesburg, as capital. At the same time, the terms *water crisis* and *day zero*

show relevance for Western Cape and Cape Town respectively, and only a minor indication for the capital. This insight supports the emphasis on Western Cape and Cape Town in regard to contention towards the water shortage or crisis, and contributes to analysing the interrelation of contention generally, e.g. to corruption, and water shortage in particular.

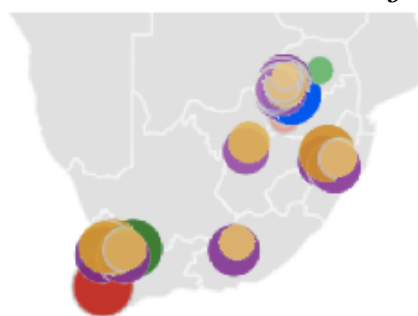


Figure 5 - Regional Term Relevance (ibid.)

Contention in Three Phases

We identify three main phases of contention in relation to the water crisis which we briefly outline in the following, before going into more detail. The contention unfolding in phases – or cycles – strongly resembles the conceptualisations of both Tarrow (1998, 142) and Harrebye (2016, 60) presented earlier:

The first phase of *dispersed contention towards the water shortage* we see from February until September 2017, where many social movements are active or forming around a variety of different issues and grievances, but mainly around inequality, corruption within government and directly against former president Zuma and his party ANC (GroundUp Staff 2017; Ntongana 2017). A review of the social movements identified in the overview of contentious events mentioned earlier can be found in the appendix E.

The second phase of *forming and organised contention towards the (now) water crisis* begins in late fall 2017; it is characterised by the introduction of the terms *water crisis* and *day zero* and a key event is the publication of the forecast of when water will run out in the Western Cape Region by the Department of Water and Sanitation (De Lille 2017b). Another important event is the formation of the Water Crisis Coalition in January 2018 (Water Crisis Coalition 2018a).

The third phase of *contention is marked by alliance-building and development of strategy* in direct relation to the water crisis. Now the issue of water supply has become a vehicle for nation-wide grievances and collaboration (SAFTU and Water Crisis Coalition 2018) Beyond

the national, the compression of space and time, and immediate global communication in particular, as one outcome of modernity and globalisation (Eriksen 2014) has provides means for transnational activism (Tarrow 2012a, 186).

In the following, we provide an insight into the three phases by use of examples we see as relevant to underline the respective contentious nature and level of escalation. This is a deliberate selection since a (complete) portray of all events and occurrences exceeds the scope of this project.

Phase One – Dispersed and Unorganised Contention Towards the Water Crisis

The events of February-September 2017 show a broad contention all over South Africa

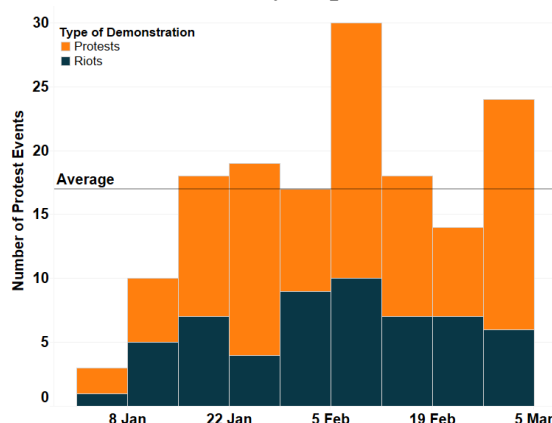


Figure 6 - Number of Riots and Protests in South Africa (adapted from Kishi 2017)

regarding a variety of topics, such as educational issues with the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) marching (Haffejee 2017; Kishi 2017). Important to note in regard to the water shortage are the lows on dam levels and subsequent introduction of level 3B water restrictions; limiting use further and raising tariffs (Koyana 2017; CapeTalk 2017). The main struggle

during this time is against president Jacob Zuma with e.g. numerous civic organisations hold church service going against Zuma on February 8th, calling for his resignation (Ntongana 2017). After a cabinet reshuffle end of March (The Presidency 2017) widespread protests – mass mobilisation - can be seen all over South Africa; on April 4, 2017, a national coalition emerges with many social movements but also the Anglican Church of Southern Africa endorsing the call for parliament to be recalled (Bohatch 2017). After being praised for his virtues at Ahmed Kathrada's funeral service – an icon and institution of the South African struggle - on March 29 (Whittles 2017), the now former finance minister continues to speak out at a Kathrada memorial, criticising not Zuma directly but the recent events and developments in general (Davis 2017). The protests continue with tens of thousands in the streets, church squares and other spaces across South Africa (Pertsovsky 2017; GroundUp Staff 2017). Violent protests in relation to issues with basic service delivery spike from May 2017 onwards, the contention built in the months prior manifests in e.g. looting and violent riots (Moody 2017).

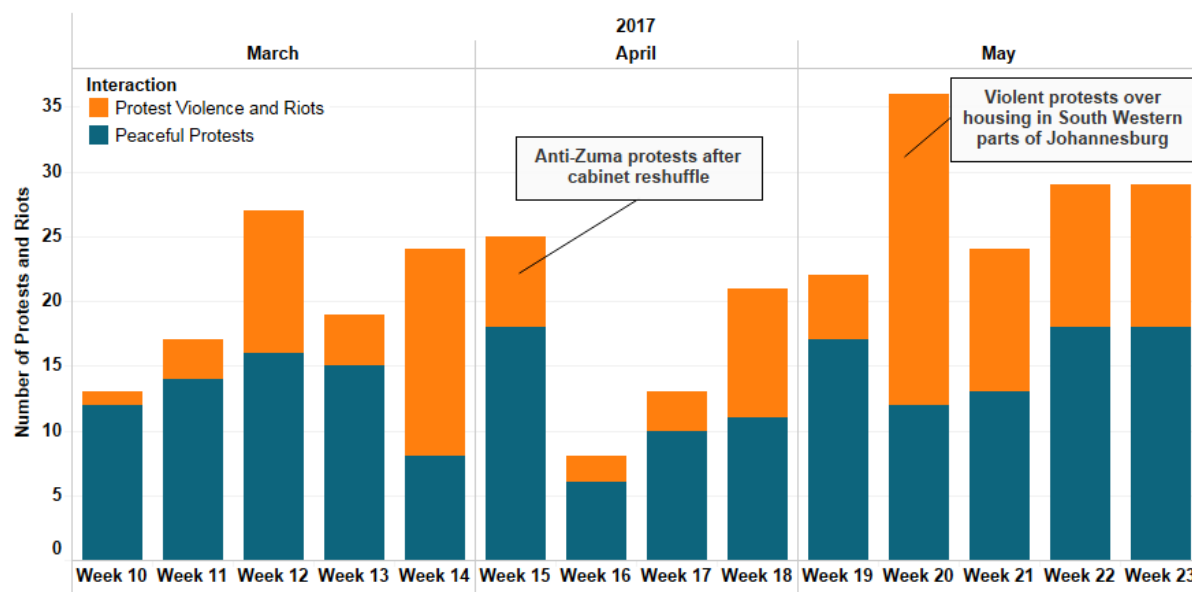


Figure 7 - Number of Protests and Riots in South Africa (adapted from Moody 2017)

With regard to the water shortage – by February 2017, dam levels had reached a low of 31% in the Western Cape region and the main strategy announced was a further decrease in consumption, after water restrictions had reached level 3B in January (de Villiers 2017a). It eventually takes until August 2017 for the strategy to meet the water shortage to be formulated and announced – when presenting the plan, Cape Town Mayor Patricia De Lille also speaks about the enforcement of (further) restrictions and mentions water management devices able to shut off water supply for household in excessive use of water (De Lille 2017c). In September, water restrictions in Cape Town are raised, again, to level 5 this time setting a limit of 87 litres of water per person (De Lille 2017a). In March 2017, an article in The Sowetan talked about solutions to the water shortage and how to prevent water wars as occurred in South Africa before; referencing a report on by the WWF and Boston Consulting Group (Chambers 2017; WWF and Boston Consulting Group 2017) – it remains unclear whether this extensive report had influence on the water resilience planning in the Western Cape.

Deploying the state-centred structural approaches to both the broader, general contention but also to specific contention towards the water shortage, we make the following assessment. There is clear mass mobilisation across the nation and across levels of civic society in South Africa and a struggle for more equality – factors in line with Skocpol and other structural scholars ((Lachmann 1997; Skocpol 1979, 1985; Wickham-Crowley 1997). With the various social movements and church rising up against state officials, a conflict of interest becomes obvious which we see in line with issues arising from Goodwin's state-autonomy approach (Goodwin 1997). The bureaucratic inefficiencies both in general but also manifesting in regard to water management hint at issues in state capacity (Goodwin 1997; Bond, Desai, and Ngwane 2013, 239). There is no major attempts to shut down protests and demonstrations at this time – arguably, the administration does not lack the means but rather the motivation to intervene

or interfere with mobilised civil society; providing the necessary political opportunities for contention to manifest (Goodwin 1997). The replacement key figures within President Zuma's cabinet as a sign of the power struggle within the ANC resembles the within-elite conflicts and struggles identified as part of the structural conditions for revolution and contention (Lachmann 1997; Albrecht and Schlumberger 2004). From a cultural perspective the fact that the mass mobilization is taking place also in public places like churches and squares is significant, as well as that the general environment of widespread contention is a factor in the continued formation of ideology from political and cultural events (Haugbølle 2013, 2016). Also, the symbolic significance in connecting the funeral of Ahmed Kathrada to the protests is pointing to the cultural element playing a part in this phase (Hunt 1984a).

Phase Two – Mobilisation and Organisation of Contention Towards Water Crisis

In the second phase, an interesting change in language is observable – where before the conversation revolves around *water shortage*, *drought* and *dam levels*, now the terms *water crisis* and *day zero* occur in Cape Town official communication and media adapts accordingly (De Lille 2017b; Chambers 2017). On October 4th, mayor Patricia De Lille announces that measures as defined for Phase One in the “Critical Water Shortages Disaster Plan” are in effect; besides targeting households consuming beyond the defined limits, the city is now utilising extreme pressure reduction to enforce a reduction in overall water consumption (De Lille 2017b). Beyond that, Phase Two (disaster stage) and Phase Three (extreme disaster stage) consequences and restrictive measures are communicated to the public – announcing that from Phase, the city will turn to shutting off water supply to homes and rationed quantities would be available from specific locations (De Lille 2017b). Within the same month, reports of supply cuts and outages surfaced in (social) media and as the Daily Maverick reports, contention directly naming class and race related discrimination in water supply arises (Neille, Van der Merwe, and Dougan n.d.). With dam levels on the decline and no winter rains in late 2017, the *water crisis* and *day zero* are looming over Cape Town; a look at the water consumption from January 2018 onwards reveals that even though consumption decreases, dam levels keep depreciating (Walker 2018a; Neille, Van der Merwe, and Dougan n.d.).

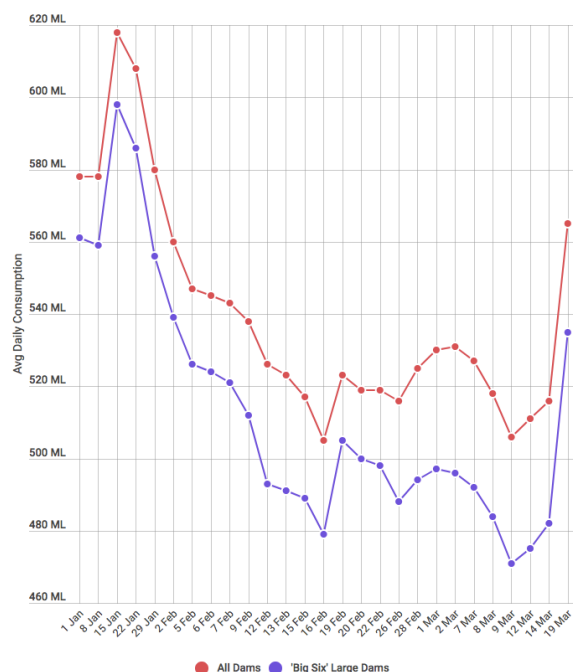


Figure 8 - Average Daily Consumption in Cape Town (in ML) (Walker 2018b)

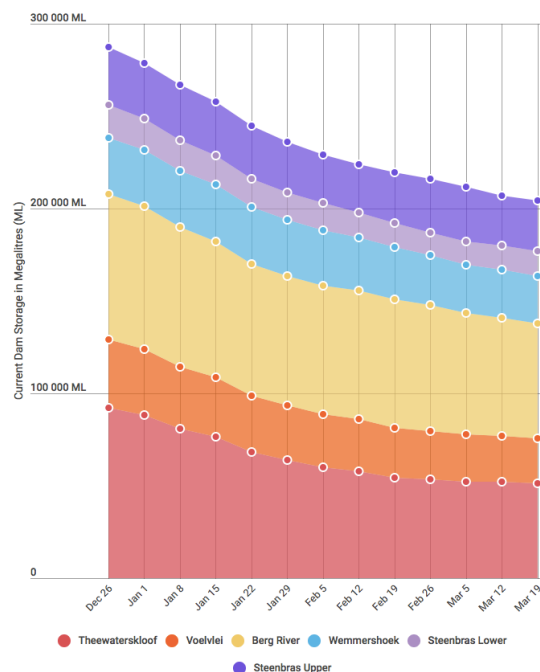


Figure 9 - Share of WCWSS Dam Capacity in ML (Walker 2018c)

In January 2018, the Water Crisis Coalition (WCC) forms as a collaboration of different social movements, organisations and individuals as a response to the water crisis in Cape Town and the Western Cape – one of their early demands is a halt of bottling plants in the region (Water Crisis Coalition 2018a; Ramphela 2018). At the same time, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) mobilises in response to the water crisis, primarily opposing the water tariffs and criticising the Democratic Alliance-led (DA) government in Cape Town for failing to make plans in time – mass protest is called for January 21 (Vallie 2018). In February, the WCC starts confronting bottling plants in the region with the demand to lower the respective extractive activities and reduce water consumption for bottling e.g. beer and soft drinks (Baobab 2018; ENCA 2018a). The reporting on Coca Cola allegedly declining a meeting with the WCC, and the subsequent corporate response indicate a trajectory that we will go more into in Phase Three; the rising tension between civil society in South Africa and corporations (ENCA 2018a).

Another area of contention is present in direct relation to mayor De Lille; it is twofold. Firstly, the public criticises her for handling the water crisis poorly and not keeping her word – the offer of a public water tap outside her official residence, in the sense of the word, runs dry (Saal 2018) and she published her water consumption in September 2017, revealing an excess consumption of 2L which sparked further discussion (de Villiers 2017b). Then further, there is open criticism of De Lille and the Cape Town administration, especially the Department of Water and Sanitation, is voiced – the extreme measures are at the cost of the population not just monetarily through increasing water tariffs, multiplying the water bill for households with each new level introduced, but also in living standard (Yeld 2018; ENCA 2018b; City of Cape

Town 2017). Residents also start to refuse the installation of water management devices which allow for a household-specific remote cut from water supply (Duval 2018) and the WCC call supplies an affidavit form to object to the installation of said devices (Water Crisis Coalition 2018b). The water crisis also affects the Cape Town administration internally: Themba Godi, chair of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts states “The truth is, we don’t have a department [of Water and Sanitation]” and that “Access to water should be escalated to national risk” (Payne and Davis 2018). The mayor’s position had been contested since late 2017 when several allegations were put forward – covering councillors’ involvement in a murder of a DA ward councillor, irregularities at her private residence’s building work, covering irregularities in a road building project and alleged nepotism – resulting in a dispute over De Lille keeping office from December after being suspended from the Democratic Alliance (Van der Merwe 2017; Mathope 2017). On February 14, President Zuma resigns and on the following day, former Vice President Cyril Ramaphosa takes office as new President of South Africa (Patel and Tromp 2018), this appointment confirms the trend of entrenching neoliberalism identified years prior (Bond 2013).

The joining forces of around 70 organisations in the WCC and the subsequent direct action and voicing of contention in relation to the water crisis but also the city’s handling of the situation strongly reflects Tarrow’s (2012a) idea of a contentious wave. The adoption of drastic terms like *(water) crisis* and *day zero* have an observable effect on the population in Cape Town; this change in language is painting a Damocles’ Sword in the public debate about a not too distant and very uncertain future that is threatening – this use of language is what Hunt (1984b) describes as symbolic relevance and points to populist movements utilising language as a propagandistic tool (Snyder 2017; Müller 2014). A new layer to the contention building around the water crisis in Phase Two is the mentioned trajectory of mobilisation and open critique against corporations, here against mentioned bottlers and brewers. This, arguably, presents a class-based struggle related to inequality in the sense of Skocpol (Skocpol 1979) and becomes even more evident given a recent World Bank report setting South Africa as most unequal society in the world (Feketha 2018). Indicators for relative deprivation can also be found in e.g. the still poor access to electricity (Prevost 2017, 150) and exclusionary marketisation (Burawoy 2017, 22). The observed within-elite struggle on a national level in Phase One peaks in the resignation of President Zuma and the subsequent restructuring in the ANC, with Ramaphosa taking over. But it is also visible in Phase Two, especially locally in Cape Town when looking at the DA-internal struggle and the open conflict between Mayor De Lille and other politicians (Lachmann 1997; Albrecht and Schlumberger 2004).

Phase Three - The Water Crisis Coalition in Full Force

There is further contention arising to the theme of *day zero* – on debate in media and social movements is the credibility and reliability of *day zero* itself; questions are raised as to why 70 springs around Cape Town are not being utilised and official response from the city regarding the methodology of calculating *day zero* is “The city's calculation of Day Zero has always been conservative based on what the past usage of the urban and agricultural users have been.” (Folb 2018). With the introduction of ever tighter water restrictions and the first desalination plants under construction (Evans 2018), the projection for *day zero* is officially pushed to 2019 in an Update in mid-April 2018:

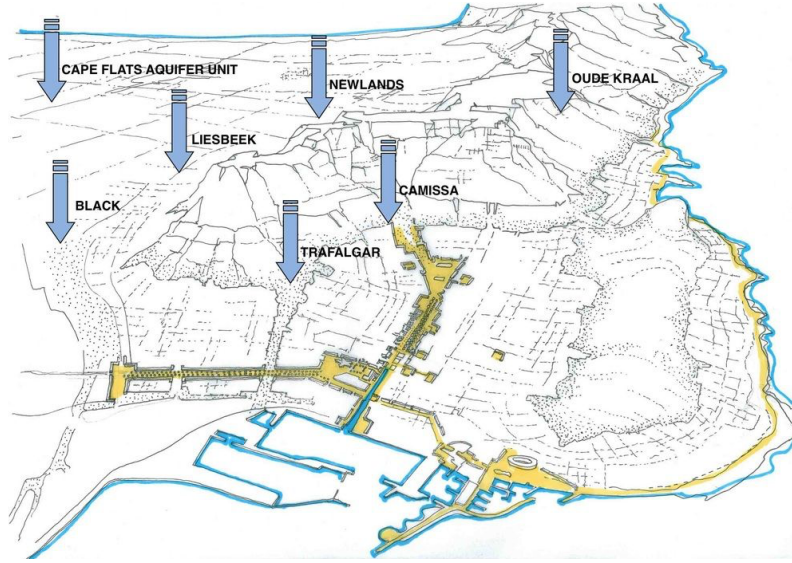


Figure 10 - Spring Water Systems around Cape Town (adapted from Andrew n.d)

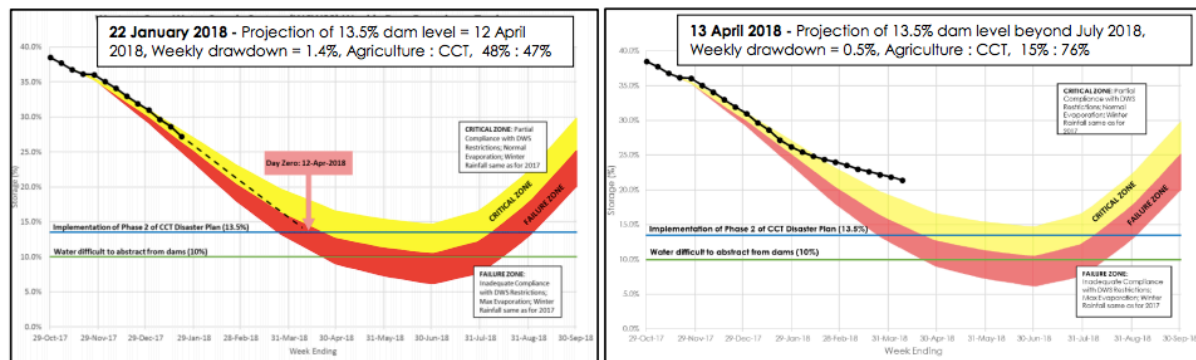


Figure 11 - Forecasted Day Zero and change after measure introduction (Department of Water and Sanitation, City of Cape Town, and Monika Haskins 2018)

Also in Phase Three, the fight between Mayor De Lille and the DA continues, after De Lille gave an interview to CapeTalk's Eusebius McKaiser in which she responded with a 'yes' to the question whether she would resign from the DA after winning her court case (McKaiser 2018). At the time of writing, the removal from the DA is under review and formerly temporarily suspended mayor De Lille is currently, also temporarily, reinstated as mayor (Etheridge and Herman 2018).

In terms of contention and social movements (re-)acting to the water crisis, April 2018 brings a new quality with it. The WCC and the South African Trade Union (SAFTU) publish a *Memorandum of Demands* that formally joins the struggle for a variety of issues together (SAFTU and Water Crisis Coalition 2018):

We believe that air, water, land and food are part of the global commons. These areas should not be exposed to exploitation and profiteering in any form.

The capitalist system creates a false scarcity of our basic human needs in order to further enrich the wealthy elite by stealing from the working class majority. This system promoting privatisation of water and other resources and services. We oppose desalination of sea water and water management devices as attempts at privatisation of our commons.

Capitalism is poisoning and polluting the planet and is the driver of disastrous global climate change. This is the root of water scarcity.

- (SAFTU and Water Crisis Coalition 2018, 1)

The trigger in this case is the 2018 and 2019 Cape Town city budget which newly-formed alliance rejects and criticises “[...] for its anti poor policies, unaffordable increases for basic services, and lack of provision of decent housing for all; and to reject the privatisation of water and all our services.” (1). WCC, SAFTU and their allies base their case on the concept of global commons or global public goods – referring mainly to the global availability (Kaul, Grunberg, and Stern 1999) and the thought of non-excludability from consumption (Samuelson 1954) for air, water, land and food, while especially criticising the constructed rivalry being fuelled by privatisation in the capitalist system (SAFTU and Water Crisis Coalition 2018, 1–2). Examples provided are the inequality in relation to class – “schools in working class areas are forced to stop their sporting activities due to lack of water for their fields, while the elite continue to play on their emerald green, water guzzling, golf courses” (2) – and further, the second dimension voiced in this memorandum is an open criticism of capitalism and the capitalist system, accusing it of creating a “false scarcity” by e.g. not opening the 70 Camissa springs (3-4) but also, allegedly, of deploying prepaid water meters (3). The alliance-building goes both ways – later in April, the WCC joins protests and demonstrations organised by SAFTU to call for a minimum wage both locally and nationally (Palm 2018). One central chant in demonstrations organised by the WCC is “Water for all or the city must fall”, this catches on and remains central to demonstrations until today (Petersen 2018; Palm 2018; Hendricks 2018). The objections are acknowledged in De Lille’s speech to the Full Council Meeting on April 25 where she mentions thousands of complaints and objections directly to the city and on social media (De Lille 2018).

The previously identified factors aspects in Phase One and Phase Two also apply for Phase Three, with an escalating tendency that can be explained with Harrebye’s (2016) cyclical development of contention and social mobilisation. The main regional within-elite conflict remains the DA against mayor De Lille; here we see a severe conflict within political leadership affecting the public’s confidence in government (Goodwin 1997; Tilly and Tarrow 2007). While on a national level, the neoliberal faction within the ANC has gained influence with Ramaphosa taking office, confirming a trajectory foreseen by Bond (2013).

The new aspect is the alliance building in the repertoire of the WCC (Harrebye 2016; Tarrow 2012a) – we can see the formerly local and targeted social movements joining forces thus

becoming global activist movements in the area of water but also beyond (Pettinicchio 2012). Analysing the language and strategic aspects of the memorandum itself, the introduction of *global public goods* and demanded application different “commodities” indicates opposition to privatisation and on a meta-level capitalism (Runciman 2017a, 2017b). The language is in line with Marxist ideology of unions and revolutionaries in the past (Bond, Desai, and Ngwane 2013). The alliance-building is the first step in transnational activism and contention building on the *water crisis* and the WCC’s activities. We address these global implications, parallels and linkages in the next section in more detail.

Globalisation of Contention and Activism – Global Linkages, Parallels and Trajectories

The issue of resource scarcity and utility management that is the scope of research in this paper is an object of contention for Cape Town and South Africa. Looking to the outside world, the global context, both this issue and the struggle to it are mirrored in a number of conflicts and cases in many other places, e.g. Spain, India or Iraq (Watts 2018; Winter 2018; PTI 2018). Failure of service and infrastructure is seen in many varieties and from many different causes, many connected to grievances, protests and contention. Examples are many, e.g. the waste disposal crisis in Lebanon in 2015, causing widespread protest under the slogan “You Stink” (Taylor 2015; Al Jazeera 2015), recurrent crisis in Naples in Italy caused by the lack of garbage disposal (BBC 2014), numerous similar situations in Greece caused by strikes connected to austerity policy cutbacks (Lowen 2013; PressTV 2017), and similar challenges also recently in Cape Town with lack of landfill capacity (Tswanya 2018).

In the field of water supply and management, crisis situations, emergencies and public protests and discontent has been and is frequent. In Bolivia, natural phenomena in forms of droughts, corruption and shifts towards privatization of water supply has caused widespread protests since around 2000 (Baer 2008; Global Water Partnership 2017, 2018; Reuters Staff 2016). This case has involved the global action network Global Water Partnership (GWP) which is also actively cooperating with the Cape Town Water Coalition (CTWC). Similar crisis is seen in Colombia, where corruption and public mismanagement has caused emergency and supply shortage in several poor regions (Brodzinsky 2015). Water scarcity is causing uprisings also in Tunisia (The National 2016) and in Yemen (Whitehead 2015), and it is also an element in the civil war in Syria (Friedman 2013).

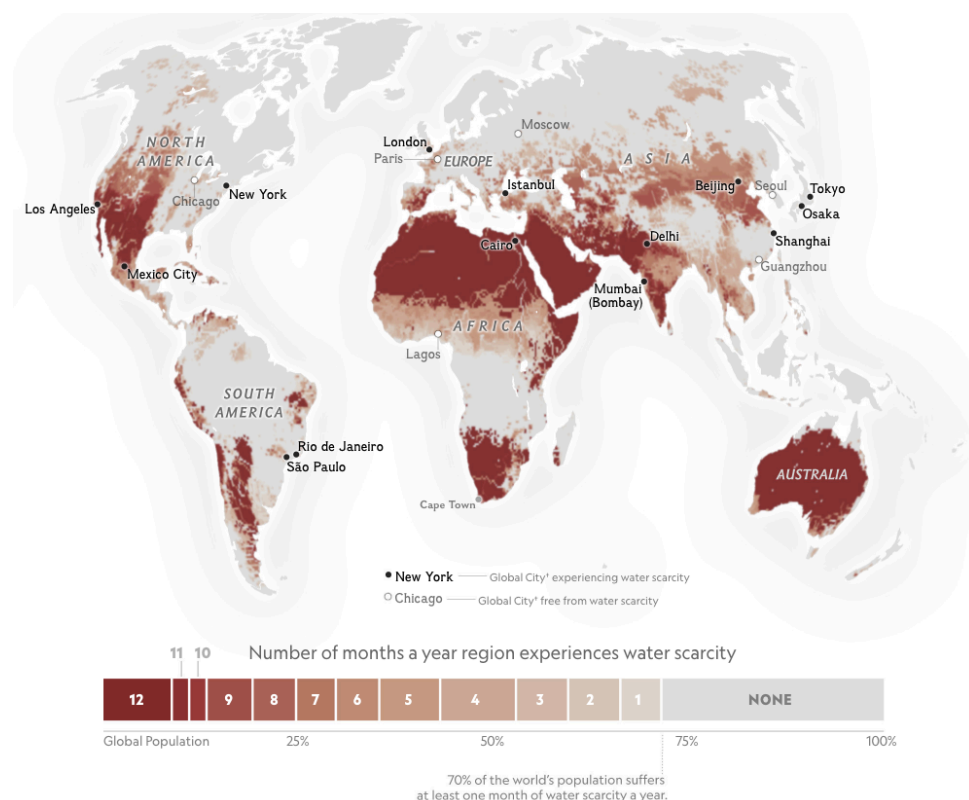


Figure 12 - Global Water Scarcity (adapted from Leahy 2018)

To sum up, common causes of contention— apart from natural and climatic phenomena – are corruption, privatisation and lack of proper policies and management. The South African water crisis draws the attention of global activist networks, not only GWP, but also others like *envienta* and the P2P Foundation, which organises the global network event *Hack The Water Crisis* in Cape Town in February 2018 (HackTheWaterCrisis 2018). The activist initiative *Water 4 Cape Town* aimed at grass-root education is another platform connecting to global activism on water and water supply; with several contacts to global networks like *End Water Poverty* (EWP), *Sanitation and Water for All* (SWA) and *Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council* (WSSCC), it serves as yet another evidence of the global linkage character of the Cape Town water crisis (Water4CapeTown 2018). There are strong voices in Cape Town that propose an alternative to the neoliberal solution of water scarcity – privatisation of water supply and augmentation via e.g. desalination plants (Evans 2018) or the proposed but denounced towing of icebergs from the Antarctic (ENCA 2018c; Schwartz 2018) – by drawing on the, apparently unused, spring system around the Table Mountain and below Cape Town (Gosling 2013; Harding 2016); with the *Reclaim Camissa* project working on re-discovering the spring system (Reclaim Camissa Trust n.d.).

What can be identified in the global context as reasons for activism is strongly mirrored in the underlying reactions in South Africa. Corruption within the ruling ANC as a main reason for failure of delivering the promised programs of infrastructure, sanitation and housing (Prevost 2017, 157) and causing both local and nation—wide protests. An issue with these protests is

that some of the key organisers are government employees (157-58), pointing to Pettinicchio's concept of institutional activism being a factor, too. Corruption as a key element in rising inequality in South Africa is also being featured internationally (Onishi and Gebrekidan 2018), and redistributional inequality in the time after the end of Apartheid together with raising unemployment and an increased disconnection from electricity and water supply networks in mainly poor areas and predominately black, working class areas (Runciman 2017a, 39). The precarity caused by the corruption together with the marketization of public goods is seen by scholars as a main reason and a connection point the many and local dispersed (41), and from other examples like the fight against privatization of water in Johannesburg the link from local to national to global protest and activism is made. The protests are no longer local debates but raised to "*the cutting edge of the world's anti-neoliberal backlash*" (Bond, Desai, and Ngwane 2013, 243; Rodina and Harris 2016, 342).

From the local offspring in marketisation and economic exclusion, a global political force is emerging, manifesting a "liquid protest" that is constantly reformatting and moving spatially to new areas, with the movements becoming globally connected by social medias and transnational activists (Burawoy 2017, 24–25). In this way, the emerging resistance becomes a parallel of how neoliberalism affects and structures a global patchwork of post-developmental states and post-Communist zones from Latin America, South Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa to Eastern Europe and Asia in an uneven and dispersed way (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010, 338). Parallel to the significance of social medias for connecting globally, the necessity of a grounding in local concrete and real space is imminent (Burawoy 2017, 24). This connects to the claim-making in open spaces and also the bottom-up perspective in a cultural theoretical lens (Tarrow 2012; Thomassen 2012a, 2012b; Pettinicchio 2012). And in a local context in Cape Town, it is reflected in for example a series of creative Open Street events arranged by the citizens' initiative the Public Space project (PPS 2018; Harrebye 2016; Thomassen 2012b). In this part of the analysis we have identified how local contention and protests are lifted to both a national and then a global level. Water crisis and resource deprivation are not only local but becoming global issues and met by global activist networks with thought-through agendas turning towards a political resistance against neoliberalism.

Summary and Conclusion

In this research project we set out to make sense of what has been termed the *South African Water Crisis*. We started off by reviewing the scholarship on revolution, contention, social movements and activism, having in mind our focus on uncovering the trajectory of contention towards the water crisis. This state-of-the art literature review provided a multitude of necessary conditions for contention but also factors relevant for activism and social movements. With this theoretical backing, we turned to analyse the timeframe from February 2017 to May 2018. We found three distinguishable phases of contention towards the water crisis within this period characterised by different degrees of organisation and severity or escalation. In the first phase, nation-wide protests targeted to former president Zuma and the ANC are predominant with only *dispersed and unorganised contention towards the water shortage*; there was mass mobilisation during that time, but more rooted in grievances more related to corruption and issues with state-capacity than to water scarcity – the issue had not reached the public realm yet. The second phase begins with the Capetonian government introducing the terms *water crisis* and *day zero* in its strategy to counter the depletion of the dams and reservoirs in the region. We argue that especially this change in public communication, i.e. the use of *crisis* and the doomsday-like *day zero*, heavily influenced the subsequent mobilisation under the theme of the water crisis and contention towards the mismanagement of water resources and government respectively. The resulting formation of a social movement called *Water Crisis Coalition*, which adopted the governmental terminology, drew in many different actors and organisations with various interests. From here, a phase of strategising began that is ongoing at the time of writing. Under this banner, the public openly opposed and is opposing corporations in the water business – both e.g. in bottling and water augmentation. It was here where, we argue, that the water crisis developed a trajectory that in recent weeks took it from a local to national level – and beyond, to a global. In our view, the succession of former president Jacob Zuma by Cyril Ramaphosa in February 2018 has had a strong influence on this, too. This became prominently visible in the third phase identified where nation-wide protests under the theme of water scarcity and alliance-building with SAFTU but also activists outside of South Africa took place and adopted an openly anti-capitalist speech, calling for an end of privatisation of global public goods. Where phase two was characterised by *forming and organised contention*, the following phase three was marked by *alliance-building and development of global strategy*. We found the reviewed theory to be highly relevant in analysing activism and contention towards the water crisis – especially the combination of structural and cultural theory proved beneficial in painting a coherent narrative of what, on a meta-level, happened between February 2017 and May 2018. In the last part of the analysis, we have shown how what might at first glance primarily seemed to be about local supply and climate (change) management, proved to have a variety of

complex global linkages and is deeply rooted in the issues that the variegated nature of the global process of neoliberalisation presents. We argue that the forms of contention and activism in both Cape Town but also nation-wide resemble the forms of contention and activism that can be observed globally in contemporary times. That is, the contestation of capitalism generally and privatisation in particular. We have shown that the local contentions developed global connections, and that the narrative of these movements transformed from merely water management into a struggle against the capitalist system.

We conclude that in doing so, the contention towards the South African water crisis has become a mirror of the growing global resistance to capitalism in the local context and provides a glimpse of what is yet to come, globally, with regard to the unknown effects of global climate change in the near future. Water scarcity is not only a South African issue and droughts are occurring in more and more regions across the globe. While we do not identify a revolution in South Africa as a result of its resource scarcity – yet - the speed with which the local contention and social movements went through the phases of formation, organisation, strategy-development and global alliance-building sets precedence for the rest of the world as to how severe a threat resource scarcity poses to both the local context but also to our international society – especially in light of climate change, progressing neoliberalisation and the compression of space and time in the contemporary.

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Appendix A – Python Newsscraper

Base script courtesy of Joachim Blaafjell Holwech (<https://github.com/holwech/NewsScraper>).

The modified script to scrape <https://news24.com>:

```
import feedparser as fp
import json
import newspaper
from newspaper import Article
from time import mktime
from datetime import datetime

# Set the limit for number of articles to download
LIMIT = 10000

data = {}
data['newspapers'] = {}

# Loads the JSON files with news sites with open('NewsPapers.json') as data_file:
companies = json.load(data_file)

count = 1

    # This is the fallback method if a RSS-feed link is not provided.
    # It uses the python newspaper library to extract articles
    print("Building site for ", company)
    paper = newspaper.build(value['link'], memoize_articles=False)
    newsPaper = {
        "link": value['link'],
        "articles": []
    }
    noneTypeCount = 0
    for content in paper.articles:
        if count > LIMIT:
            break
        try:
            content.download()
            content.parse()
        except Exception as e:
            print(e)
            print("continuing...")
            continue

        # Again, for consistency, if there is no found publish date the article
        # will be skipped.
        # After 10 downloaded articles from the same newspaper without publish
        # date, the company will be skipped.
        if content.publish_date is None:
            print(count, " Article has date of type None...")
            noneTypeCount = noneTypeCount + 1
            # if noneTypeCount > 10:
            #     print("Too many noneType dates, aborting...")
            #     noneTypeCount = 0
            #     break
            #count = count + 1
            continue
        article = {}
        article['title'] = content.title
        article['text'] = content.text
        article['link'] = content.url
        article['published'] = content.publish_date.isoformat()
        newsPaper['articles'].append(article)
        print(count, "articles downloaded from", company, " using newspaper,
url: ", content.url)
        count = count + 1
        noneTypeCount = 0
    count = 1
    data['newspapers'][company] = newsPaper

# Finally it saves the articles as a JSON-file.
try:
    with open('scraped_articles.json', 'w') as outfile:
        json.dump(data, outfile)
except Exception as e: print(e)
```


NewsPapers.json:

```
{
  "News24 SA": {
    "link": "https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/"
  }
}
```

Utilised library for python script is *newspaper* by Lucas Ou-Yang (<https://github.com/codelucas/newspaper>)

Conversion of json-file to csv-file to process data done with the help of <https://konklone.io/json/>

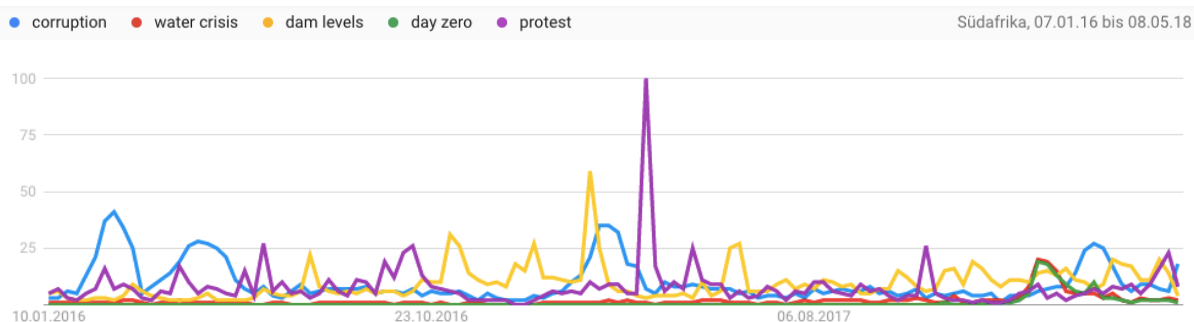
Dataset of ca. 1200 articles available as separate file on request.

Appendix B – Literature Review

Theory	Author	Necessary Conditions and Factors
Structural Theories on Revolution and Contention	Skocpol	mass mobilisation, relations and struggle (class-class, class-state, state-international), bureaucratic power and struggle, military deficits
	Lachmann	within ruling elite conflict creates opening in societal structure and enables mass mobilisation, structure agency-based, change and outcome depend on external pressure on elites, alliance building to impact structure of society
	Goodwin	State-autonomy: conflict & disagreement between state officials and economic elite & civil groups, state official action & decision against interest of those State-capacity: limiting rule of bureaucracy and "veil of ignorance" both organisational and individual, education level of e.g. public workers, process failures Political opportunities approach: lack of infrastructural means or interest to control public sphere (e.g. policy, policing, military, communication system, responsiveness/inefficiency), unwillingness to enforce or violently suppress State-constructionist approach: influence and impact of institutions and of policy practice on contention/resistance within civil society; possibly also actions of state officials
	Goldstone	linkages of population growth and political crisis: "decline of state capacity to manage society", "alienation of elite actors", "mobilisation of mass movements", urban individuals & youth central role
	Wickham-Crowley	Origins of mass grievances, triggers of contention or restraint, society type and revolutionary success, variegated post-revolutionary power landscape
	Tilly & Tarrow	Collective action, waves of contention, political programs, political opportunities & changes in those structures, manifest claims, intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities, triggers of contention
Cultural Theories on Revolution and Contention	Hunt	Symbolic practices, language, artefacts, conspiracies, narratives
	Sewell	agency rises from structures and shapes action, multiple meanings of structures, ideological and political programs
	Berman	Interaction and learning between different revolutions and revolutionary movements, anti-colonialism and international solidarity movements (e.g. Anti-Apartheid), interaction between structural conditions and cultural environments, world revolution, generational learning, self-criticism.
	Selbin	Revolutionary potential are realized according to cultural factors, humans both bearers and creators of structures, political outcome playing out after revolutions can be determined by structures, political culture a result of previous human action, human action depending on specific historical conditions. Main question: How and where are humans entering the revolutionary process?
	Thomassen	Liminality, collapse of order, rituals, transitions, carnivals & clowns, trickster figure, mimetic violence & scapegoating.
	Pettinichio	Insiders with access to resources and power, change possible both from bottom and top, impact on policy from outside activism, movement (osmotic transference) between positions is possible, blurred borders between governance and activism.
	Haugbølle	Ideology as social constructs in everyday life and political practises, interaction between cultural and political factors, history a crucial analytical lens, Arab world as a window to a general understanding of ideologies, Ideological reorientation.
	Bellin	Complimentary roles of structure and agency, factors crucial to the ignition of protest (long-standing grievances, specific emotional triggers, a sense of impunity and the significance of access to social medias).
	Foran	Overall structures are shaping, not determining, human actions. Collective memory, creativity, courage. Rising inequality, failure of neoliberalism, different cultures create different narratives of change.
Social Movement and Activism Theory	Tarrow	Social movement and class struggle are synonymous, organisation of movements, social networks, resource mobilisation, transnational activism and activists.
	Harrebye	Creative activism, connective activism, emotions to action, circular phases of contention, global and transnational structure of activism.
	Runciman	Social movements as praxis resulting from inequalities and material realities of everyday life, neoliberalism as basis, privatisation, commodification, precariousness, (relative) deprivation.
	Burawoy	Marketisation as an expression of neoliberalism, local contention is mirrored on a global level.
	Bond	Marxist background. Contradictory traits of the social movements, working together with and against the government, importance of access from the local to the national and global level, localism and role of leadership, incorporation of "organic intellectuals" as vanguards in social movements mobilisation. Economic and spatial inequality as result of neoliberalism, protests has global significance in resistance to neoliberalism, global connectedness of social movements.
	Prevost	Dispersed nature of protests, contradiction in working both with and protesting against government, movements must be seen in historical context, neoliberal external impact makes resistance increasingly difficult.

Appendix C – Nation-wide Search Trends

Source: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2016-01-07%202018-05-08&geo=ZA&q=corruption,water%20crisis,dam%20levels,day%20zero,protest>



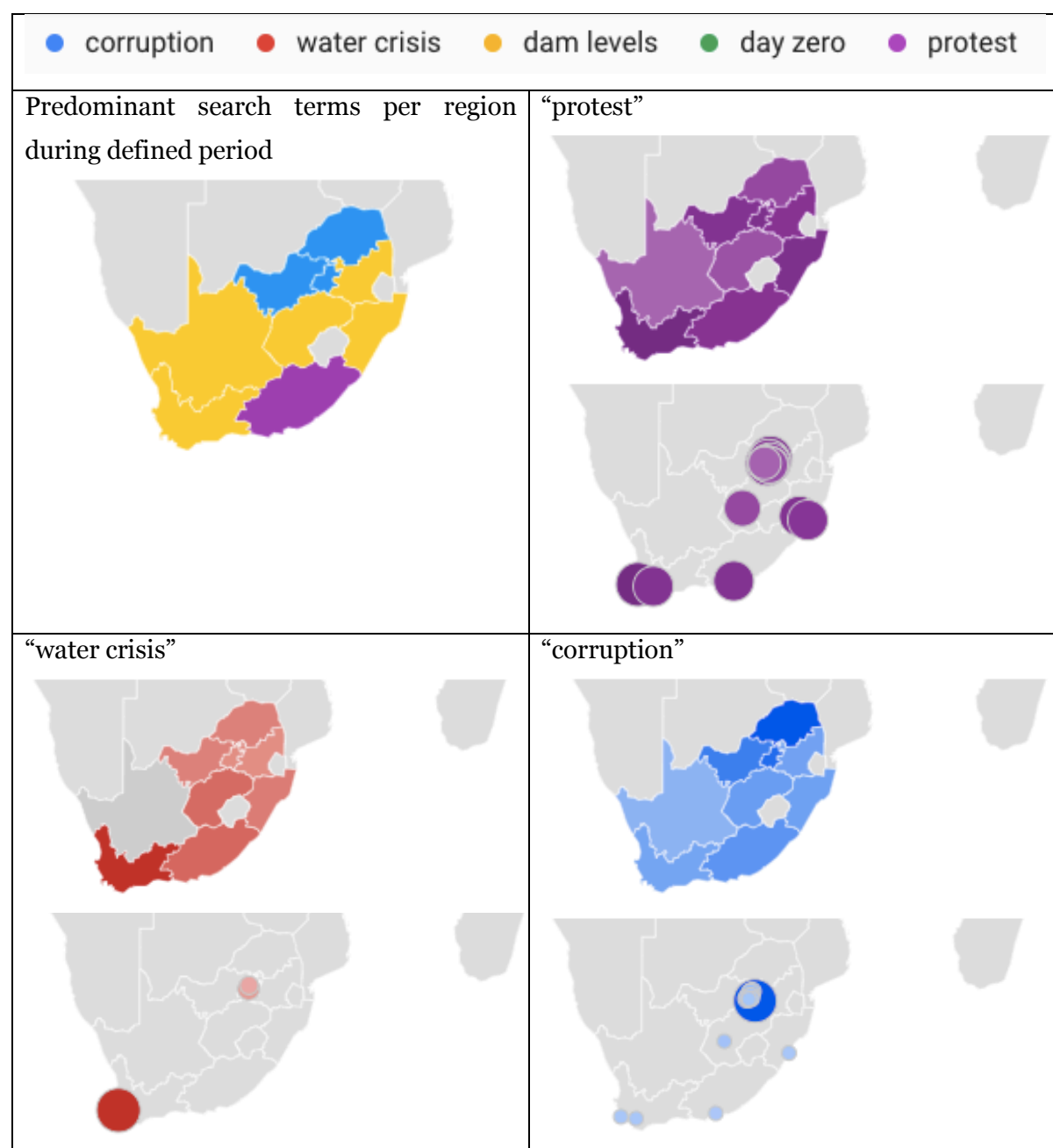
Country	South Africa				
Week	corruption	water crisis	dam levels	day zero	protest
10/1/16	3.00	1.00	5.00	<1	5.00
17/1/16	3.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	7.00
24/1/16	6.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	3.00
31/1/16	5.00	1.00	2.00	<1	2.00
7/2/16	13.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	5.00
14/2/16	21.00	1.00	3.00	<1	7.00
21/2/16	37.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	16.00
28/2/16	41.00	1.00	2.00	<1	7.00
6/3/16	34.00	2.00	4.00	0.00	9.00
13/3/16	25.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	7.00
20/3/16	5.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	3.00
27/3/16	8.00	<1	4.00	0.00	2.00
3/4/16	11.00	1.00	3.00	<1	6.00
10/4/16	14.00	1.00	2.00	<1	5.00
17/4/16	19.00	2.00	2.00	<1	17.00
24/4/16	26.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	10.00
1/5/16	28.00	1.00	3.00	<1	5.00
8/5/16	27.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	8.00
15/5/16	25.00	1.00	2.00	<1	7.00
22/5/16	21.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	5.00
29/5/16	11.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	4.00
5/6/16	7.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	15.00
12/6/16	5.00	<1	3.00	0.00	4.00
19/6/16	8.00	<1	7.00	0.00	27.00
26/6/16	4.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	6.00
3/7/16	3.00	1.00	4.00	0.00	10.00
10/7/16	6.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	5.00
17/7/16	9.00	<1	6.00	<1	6.00
24/7/16	5.00	<1	22.00	0.00	3.00
31/7/16	6.00	1.00	8.00	<1	5.00
7/8/16	7.00	1.00	6.00	<1	11.00
14/8/16	7.00	1.00	5.00	<1	6.00
21/8/16	7.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	4.00
28/8/16	7.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	11.00
4/9/16	8.00	1.00	7.00	<1	10.00
11/9/16	5.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
18/9/16	6.00	1.00	6.00	<1	19.00
25/9/16	6.00	<1	6.00	<1	12.00
2/10/16	5.00	1.00	4.00	<1	23.00
9/10/16	7.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	26.00
16/10/16	4.00	1.00	11.00	0.00	13.00
23/10/16	6.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	8.00
30/10/16	5.00	1.00	10.00	<1	7.00
6/11/16	5.00	<1	31.00	0.00	6.00
13/11/16	6.00	<1	26.00	<1	5.00
20/11/16	4.00	1.00	14.00	0.00	2.00
27/11/16	2.00	1.00	11.00	0.00	2.00
4/12/16	5.00	<1	9.00	0.00	2.00
11/12/16	3.00	0.00	10.00	<1	2.00
18/12/16	2.00	<1	8.00	0.00	2.00
25/12/16	2.00	0.00	18.00	0.00	<1

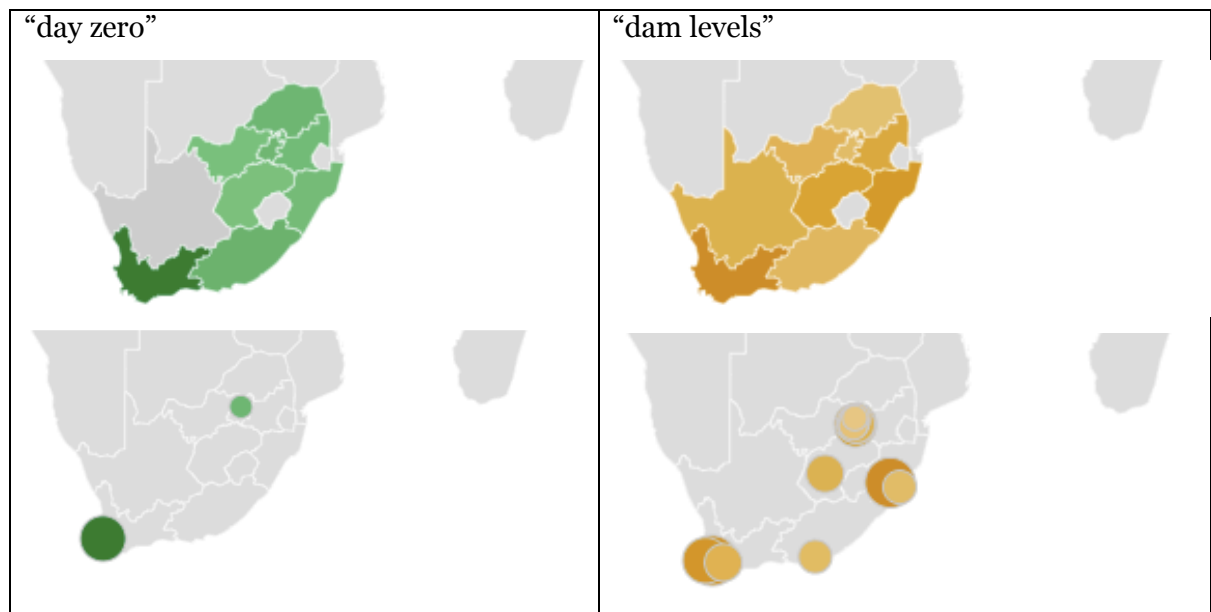
1/1/17	2.00	<1	15.00	<1	<1
8/1/17	4.00	<1	27.00	<1	2.00
15/1/17	3.00	1.00	12.00	<1	4.00
22/1/17	5.00	1.00	12.00	<1	6.00
29/1/17	6.00	1.00	11.00	0.00	5.00
5/2/17	10.00	1.00	10.00	0.00	6.00
12/2/17	13.00	1.00	11.00	<1	5.00
19/2/17	21.00	1.00	59.00	<1	10.00
26/2/17	35.00	1.00	25.00	<1	7.00
5/3/17	35.00	2.00	9.00	<1	9.00
12/3/17	32.00	1.00	6.00	<1	9.00
19/3/17	18.00	2.00	6.00	<1	5.00
26/3/17	17.00	1.00	4.00	<1	5.00
2/4/17	7.00	1.00	3.00	<1	100.00
9/4/17	5.00	<1	4.00	<1	17.00
16/4/17	10.00	1.00	4.00	<1	6.00
23/4/17	8.00	1.00	4.00	<1	10.00
30/4/17	8.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	7.00
7/5/17	9.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	25.00
14/5/17	8.00	2.00	10.00	0.00	11.00
21/5/17	7.00	2.00	4.00	<1	9.00
28/5/17	7.00	2.00	6.00	<1	9.00
4/6/17	7.00	1.00	25.00	<1	3.00
11/6/17	5.00	1.00	27.00	<1	6.00
18/6/17	6.00	1.00	6.00	<1	3.00
25/6/17	3.00	<1	6.00	0.00	4.00
2/7/17	4.00	1.00	6.00	<1	8.00
9/7/17	4.00	1.00	9.00	<1	6.00
16/7/17	3.00	<1	11.00	0.00	2.00
23/7/17	5.00	1.00	7.00	0.00	6.00
30/7/17	3.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	5.00
6/8/17	7.00	1.00	7.00	<1	10.00
13/8/17	5.00	2.00	11.00	<1	10.00
20/8/17	6.00	2.00	10.00	<1	6.00
27/8/17	7.00	2.00	8.00	<1	5.00
3/9/17	6.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	4.00
10/9/17	6.00	2.00	5.00	<1	9.00
17/9/17	8.00	1.00	5.00	<1	6.00
24/9/17	5.00	1.00	7.00	0.00	7.00
1/10/17	6.00	2.00	7.00	<1	4.00
8/10/17	4.00	2.00	15.00	0.00	2.00
15/10/17	5.00	2.00	12.00	<1	4.00
22/10/17	7.00	3.00	8.00	<1	4.00
29/10/17	3.00	2.00	6.00	0.00	26.00
5/11/17	5.00	1.00	7.00	<1	5.00
12/11/17	4.00	1.00	15.00	1.00	3.00
19/11/17	5.00	4.00	16.00	<1	2.00
26/11/17	6.00	1.00	9.00	<1	2.00
3/12/17	4.00	1.00	19.00	1.00	1.00
10/12/17	4.00	2.00	16.00	<1	2.00
17/12/17	5.00	2.00	11.00	1.00	1.00
24/12/17	1.00	2.00	8.00	1.00	1.00
31/12/17	4.00	1.00	11.00	1.00	2.00
7/1/18	4.00	3.00	11.00	2.00	5.00
14/1/18	4.00	8.00	10.00	5.00	6.00
21/1/18	6.00	20.00	14.00	19.00	9.00
28/1/18	7.00	19.00	15.00	18.00	3.00
4/2/18	8.00	15.00	13.00	13.00	5.00
11/2/18	8.00	6.00	16.00	9.00	2.00
18/2/18	14.00	5.00	11.00	6.00	4.00
25/2/18	24.00	5.00	10.00	5.00	5.00
4/3/18	27.00	5.00	7.00	10.00	7.00
11/3/18	25.00	3.00	9.00	3.00	5.00
18/3/18	17.00	5.00	20.00	3.00	8.00
25/3/18	9.00	2.00	18.00	2.00	7.00
1/4/18	6.00	1.00	17.00	1.00	9.00
8/4/18	9.00	3.00	11.00	2.00	5.00
15/4/18	9.00	2.00	11.00	2.00	9.00
22/4/18	7.00	2.00	20.00	2.00	16.00
29/4/18	6.00	3.00	14.00	2.00	23.00
6/5/18	18.00	2.00	4.00	1.00	8.00

Appendix D – Regional Search Trends

Source: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2016-01-07%202018-05-08&geo=ZA&q=corruption,water%20crisis,dam%20levels,day%20zero,protest>

period	(07.01.16 to 08.05.18)				
Region	corruption	water crisis	dam levels	day zero	protest
Limpopo	100	7	25	3	34
Western Cape	32	20	99	15	50
Gauteng	74	6	36	3	46
KwaZulu-Natal	35	8	74	2	45
Freestate	41	10	66	1	31
Mpumalanga	34	6	62	2	42
Northwest	57	7	37	1	44
Northern Cape	47		54		25
Eastern Cape	36	10	36	4	41





Appendix E – Contemporary Social Movements in South Africa

Name	Key area of interest	Description	Website	Facebook site
Cape Town Water Crisis Coalition	Stop water tariffs and privatization	The Cape Town Water Crisis Coalition was formed on Monday 15 January 2018 by local organisations to ensure sustainable water resources. The coalition stands united against drought levies and tariff hikes.	http://atmclub.co.za/wcc/	https://www.facebook.com/WaterCrisisCoalition/
Social Justice Coalition	Social justice. Inequality	Works to advance the constitutional rights to life, dignity, equality, freedom and safety in the lives of all people, but especially those living in informal settlements in South Africa.	https://www.sjc.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/sjcoalition/
#UnitedBehind	Social justice. Inequality	Civil society coalition constituted of over 20 organizations. #UniteBehind is committed to the demand that the ANC recall President Jacob Zuma, that we stop the Nuclear Deal, and that we restore the credibility of our criminal-justice system by investigating, charging, prosecuting and convicting all those in state-capture and corruption.	https://unitebehind.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/UniteBehind/
Observatory Civic Association	Local community organisation	The Observatory Civic Association represents the Cape Town Observatory community	https://obs.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/ObservatoryCivicAssociation/
The Women's Legal Centre	Non-profit Law center	Seeks to achieve equality for women, particularly black women through impact based litigation, the provision of free legal advice, legal support to advocacy campaigns run by other organizations (which fall within the Center's objectives) and training that ensures people know and understand the impact of judgements of the courts on the subject of women's rights.	http://www.wlce.co.za/	https://www.facebook.com/WLCCapeTown/
Equal Education	Education. Equality	A movement of learners, parents, teachers, and community members striving for quality and equality in South African education.	https://equaleducation.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/equaleducation/
Mining Affected Communities United in Action-Macua.	Social justice. Support of miners.	A united front of mining affected community based organisations	www.macua.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/www.macua.org.za/
The Mining and Environmental Justice Community Network of South Africa (MEJCON-SA)	Social justice. Support of miners.	A non-profit organisation and law clinic based in Cape Town, South Africa. We are activist lawyers who help communities and civil society organisations in South Africa realise our Constitutional right to a healthy environment by advocating and litigating for environmental justice.	https://cer.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/CentreEnvironmentalRights
SECTION27	Social justice. Equality.	SECTION27 uses law, advocacy, legal literacy, research and community mobilisation to achieve access to healthcare services and basic education. SECTION27 aims to achieve structural change and accountability to ensure the dignity and equality of everyone.	http://section27.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/SECTION27news/
UCT Fees must fall	Education. Equality	Local group at the UCT. Free education for all.	None	https://www.facebook.com/uctfeesmustfall2017/
Reclaim the City	Housing. Desegregation	The campaign consists of an active chapter of domestic workers and low-income earners in Sea Point, supporters among poor tenants in Woodstock and Salt River, young professionals, high school pupils, students, and workers from across Cape Town. We believe that it is the State's obligation to play a proactive role to reverse spatial apartheid in Cape Town.	http://reclaimthecity.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/ReclaimCT/
Women on Farms Project	Womens right. Gender equality.	The vision of WFP is an engendered society that treats women who live and work on farms with dignity and respect in accordance with the constitutional rights guaranteed to all South African citizens.	http://www.wfp.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/Women-on-Farms-Project-

				118004724902439/
Safer Spaces	Violence and crime prevention	SaferSpaces is an online knowledge sharing and networking portal for community safety as well as violence and crime prevention practitioners from government, civil society and the research community in South Africa. The portal focuses on preventative approaches as long-term, sustainable solutions to violence and crime.	https://www.saferspaces.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/safer-spaces.sa
Gun Free South Africa	Gun control	Reducing and preventing gun violence through legislative reform and social mobilisation.	http://www.gfsa.org.za/	None
West Coast Environmental Protection Association	Environmental protection	Dedicated to protecting the eco-systems and livelihoods that are dependent on the Elandsfontein aquifer in the heart of the West Coast National Park.	https://www.givengain.com/cause/7368/about/	https://www.facebook.com/WCEPA/
Sex Workers Education & Advocacy Task force (SWEAT)	Equal rights for sex workers	SWEAT's core objective is to provide sex workers with health and rights services while advocating for sex work to be decriminalised in South Africa.	www.sweat.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/SWEATSA/
SONKE Gender justice	Social and gender equality	Sonke works to create the change necessary for men, women, young people and children to enjoy equitable, healthy and happy relationships that contribute to the development of just and democratic societies.		https://www.facebook.com/SonkeGenderJusticeNGO/
Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW)	Gender equality	FEW mission: Is to ensure a world where lesbian, bisexual... women know access and enjoy their rights to autonomy, dignity and equality in all aspects of their lives, both in the private and public domain.	www.few.org.za	https://www.facebook.com/forumfortheempowermentofwomen/
Khayelitsha Site C Peacebuilding Team	Local community organisation	The Peacebuilding Team in Khayelitsha Site C aims to mitigate violence and resolve conflict.	https://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/khayelitsha-site-c-social-cohesion-community-dialogue	None
Lungelo Lethu Human Rights Foundation	Human rights	The organisation deals with human rights matters, particularly house evictions or mortgage bonds e.g landlords versus tenants, family houses etc.	None	https://www.facebook.com/LLHRF/
Right2Know	Freedom of expression and access to information	Strengthens and unites citizens to raise public awareness, mobilise communities and undertake research and targeted advocacy that aims to ensure the free flow of information necessary to meet people's social, economic, political and ecological needs and live free from want, in equality and in dignity	http://www.r2k.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/right2know/
Women on Farms Project	Labor conditions for female farm workers	The vision of WFP is an engendered society that treats women who live and work on farms with dignity and respect in accordance with the constitutional rights guaranteed to all South African citizens.	http://www.wfp.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/Women-on-Farms-Project-118004724902439/
Women's Legal Centre (WLC)	Gender equality & legal support	Non-profit law centre that seeks to achieve equality for women, particularly black women through impact based litigation, the provision of free legal advice, legal support to advocacy campaigns run by other organizations (which fall within the Center's objectives) and training that ensures people know and understand the impact of judgements of the courts on the subject of women's rights.	http://www.wlce.co.za/	https://www.facebook.com/WLC-CapeTown/
Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA)	Student movement	Azanean student movement	http://pac.org.za/	https://www.facebook.com/www.pac.org.za/
Mining Affected Communities United in	Mining labours movement	uniting communities affected by large scale mining operations on their land.		https://www.facebook.com/groups/MACUASA/

Action (MACUA)				
Equal Education (EE)	Equal educational rights	A movement of learners, parents, teachers, and community members striving for quality and equality in South African education.	https://equaleducation.org.za/	https://www.fac ebook.com/equal.education/
#OneTooMany campaign	Gender issues - Anti-violence	Stop for violence against women	www.ilithalabantu.org.za	https://www.fac ebook.com/ilithaLabantu
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Left-wing political party	A radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers' movements, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and lobby groups under the umbrella of pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation.	https://www.effonline.org/	https://www.fac ebook.com/economicfreedomstruggle
Reclaim the City	Housing	Affordable housing for all. Desegregation.	http://reclaimthecity.org.za/	https://www.fac ebook.com/ReclaimCT/
Electricity Tariffs Must Fall	Infrastructure. Supply	Aim of group is just focused on the suffering of our people due to electricity TARRIFS being so high.		https://www.fac ebook.com/groups/1289788107748611/about/
Kensington's Community Policing Forum (CPF)	Community security	Community forum cooperating with police forces	http://kensingtoncpf.co.za/	https://www.fac ebook.com/KNCPF/
Voice of Africans for Change (VAC)	Community organisation	non-governmental organisation working with communities, government and other civil society formations on issues of refugee rights in South Africa.	http://www.vac-africa.org/	https://www.fac ebook.com/Voice-of-Africans-for-Change-511488959016152/
Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)	Health Care. HIV prevention	The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) advocates for increased access to treatment, care and support services for people living with HIV and campaigns to reduce new HIV infections.	http://www.tac.org.za	
Save SA	Government. Political movement	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.savesouthafrica.org/	https://www.fac ebook.com/SaveSouthAfricaNow/
Congress of South African Students (COSAS)	Education	An anti-apartheid student organisation established in 1979 in the wake of the June 16 Soweto Uprisings in 1976 in South Africa.	http://ewn.co.za/Topic/Congress-of-South-African-Students-Cosas	https://www.fac ebook.com/cosassince1979/
Coalition of Civics Against Xenophobia	Civil rights. Racism	Coalition of community groups to combat the growing threat of xenophobic violence.	https://workersocialistparty.co.za/coalition-of-civics-against-xenophobia/	
Sonke Gender Justice	Gender equality. Racism	Sonke works to create the change necessary for men, women, young people and children to enjoy equitable, healthy and happy relationships that contribute to the development of just and democratic societies.	http://genderjustice.org.za/	https://www.fac ebook.com/SonkeGenderJusticeNGO/
Earthlife Africa	Environmental protection	ELA seeks to promote development that leads to a better life for all - without exploiting people or degrading the environment. It encourages and supports individuals, businesses and industries to reduce pollution, minimise waste and protect our natural resources.	http://earthlife.org.za/	https://www.fac ebook.com/earthlifeafricajohnnesburg/

Appendix F - Media Sampling and Selection

Based on the methodological discussion, two criteria are set up for deliberate sampling: *Accessibility* and *readership/reach*. Accessibility is understood as the option of accessing the media in full in an online format for the time period stated in the method part. The readership/reach is here stated as likes for the media's Facebook site:

Media	Affiliation	Readership/reach
News24	Naspers (Multinational)	6,417,856
The Daily Sun	Media24 group, owned by Naspers	1,705,402
The Sunday Times	Times Media Group	1,264,794
SABC	Public broadcaster	764,342
The Sowetan	Times Media Group (formerly AVUSA)	693,126
The Mail & Guardian	M&G Media	478,062
The (Johannesburg) Star	Independent News & Media South Africa (INMSA)	121,296

News24

Online news publication. The largest digital publisher in South Africa. Broad-spectrum news reports, both local and international (southafricanmedia.co.za). Affiliated with by the multinational media company, Naspers.

www.news24.com

<https://www.facebook.com/news24/> 6,417,856 people like this

The Daily Sun

The Daily Sun is a tabloid daily newspaper. South Africa's largest daily paper. Circulation 287.000. Estimated 5 million readers. Affiliated with the Media24 group, owned by Naspers. Readers/target predominantly black urban English-reading population.

<https://www.dailysun.co.za/>

<https://www.facebook.com/sadailysun/> 1,705,402 people like this

The Weekly Mail and Guardian

The Mail & Guardian is a South African weekly newspaper, published every Sunday both in paper and online format. Circulation 45.000. Content is mainly political news and analysis and investigative reporting. Critical also towards ANC. Affiliated with by M&G Media in Johannesburg (independent).

<https://mg.co.za/>

<https://www.facebook.com/MailGuardian/> 478,062 people like this

The (Johannesburg) Star

Published daily in English. Circulation 200,000.

Affiliated with Independent News & Media South Africa (INMSA).

<https://www.iol.co.za/the-star>

<https://www.facebook.com/TheStarSA/> 121,296 people like this

The Sowetan

Readers/target predominantly black urban English-reading population. Originally freely distributed to households in the then apartheid-segregated freely township of Soweto in Johannesburg. Circulation 130-150.000. Affiliated with Times Media Group (formerly AVUSA).

<https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/>

<https://www.facebook.com/sowetanlive/> 693,126 people like this

The Sunday Times

English language weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg every Sunday. Circulation 450,000 - 500,000. Affiliated with Times Media Group.

sundaytimes.co.za

<https://www.facebook.com/SundayTimesZA> 135,183 people like this

<https://www.facebook.com/TimesLIVE> 1,264,794 people like this

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)

The state broadcaster in South Africa, and provides 19 radio stations as well as 5 television broadcasts to the general public. Online news and Facebook presence.

<http://www.sabc.co.za/sabc/>

<http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/>

<https://www.facebook.com/SABCNewsOnline/> 764,342 people like this

News Paper Chains

South Africa has **four major newspaper chains**: Argus Newspapers, which accounts for 45 percent of all daily South African newspaper sales, especially in the major cities. Its properties include its flagship property, *The Johannesburg Star*, *The Argus*, *The Cape Times*, the *Daily News* and *Natal Mercury*, and the *Pretoria News* and the *Sunday Tribune*. Next, in terms of size and influence, is Times Media, formerly South African Associated Newspapers, the country's second largest English language newspaper chain. Its other properties include *Business Day*, the *Eastern Province Herald*, and the *Evening Post* in Port Elizabeth. *The Sunday Times* is also part of the Times Media stable. Times Media is ultimately owned by the giant Anglo-American Corporation, the country's largest company.

Websites

South Africa's biggest websites (SA visitors only)

gumtree.co.za	4 949 379	179 120 456
news24.com	4 764 619	62 217 059
iol.co.za	2 181 990	17 617 207
timeslive.co.za	2 084 329	11 722 097
msn.com	1 855 331	20 201 848
Careers24.com	1 676 006	22 699 276

Further Sources

Press Reference. <http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Africa.html>

<https://mybroadband.co.za/news/internet/117977-south-africas-biggest-websites.html>

<http://www.southafricanmedia.co.za/>

<https://www.facebook.com/South-African-Media-1030405463752075>

<https://mybroadband.co.za/news/internet/117977-south-africas-biggest-websites.html>

Appendix G – Review of Contentious Events in South Africa February 2017 to May 2018

Date	Place	Event	Key area of interest	Organizer/Participants	Claim	Reference
03/May/18	Cape Town	Demonstration	Evictions	Ndifuna Ukwazi Law Centre	Support of land occupation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/new-evidence-adds-spice-vital-eviction-court-case/
04-May-18	Pietermaritzburg	Demonstration	Wages	SADTU and NATU	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-teachers-protest-kzn-tables-budget/
01-May-18	Mitchells Plain	Protests	Land	Siqalo community	Utilities	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mitchells-plain-and-siqalo-residents-meet-defuse-conflict/
02-May-18	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Social Justice Coalition (SJC)	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/evicted-land-occupiers-bed-down-outside-civic-centre/
25/Apr/18	Nationwide	Demonstration	Wages	SA Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU)	Minimum wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/r20-hour-insult-say-marchers/
25/Apr/18	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Vrygrond community	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/vrygrond-residents-restart-land-occupation/
23/Apr/18	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Urban development	Sobantu residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/angry-residents-surround-anc-regional-leadership-pietermaritzburg-city-hall/
21/Apr/18	Mahikeng	Protests	Corruption	Mahiking residents	Removal of mayor	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-mahikeng-revolts-against-unemployment-and-corruption/
18/Apr/18	Johannesburg	Bus strike	Wages	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (Satawu)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/commuters-battle-get-work-bus-strike-starts/
18/Apr/18	Nationwide	Bus strike	Wages	United National Transport Union (UNTU)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/no-myciti-busses-after-wednesday/
18/Apr/18	Pietermaritzburg	Demonstration	Urban development	Edendale residents	Housing conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/edendale-residents-say-they-wont-vote-2019/
17/Apr/18	Pietermaritzburg	Demonstration	Education	Students from Msunduzi Tvet College	Educational fees	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-fire-rubber-bullets-pietermaritzburg-students/
16/Apr/18	Cape Town	Demonstration	Evictions	Vrygrond community	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/violence-erupts-vrygrond-after-shack-demolitions/
12/Apr/18	Cape Town	Demonstration	Living conditions	South African Trade Unions (COSATU)	Minimum wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cosatu-pickets-parliament-over-deepening-crisis-cape-town/
12/Apr/18	Cape Town	Demonstration	Wages	SA Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/saftu-marches-against-proposed-labour-laws/
12/Apr/18	Philippi	Demonstration	Urban development	Philippa residents - Siyangena	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/philippi-land-occupiers-threaten-defy-court-order/
11/Apr/18	Hermanus	Demonstration	Solidarity	Hermanus residents	Release of prisoners	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hermanus-residents-support-arrested-protesters/
06/Apr/18	Cape Town	Protests	Solidarity	Khayelitsha land occupiers	Prosecution of killers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/khavelitsha-residents-demand-justice-murdered-land-occupiers/
28/Mar/18	Hermanus	Protests	Evictions	Hermanus residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-immigrants-displaced-hermanus/
26/Mar/18	Hout Bay	Demonstration	Living conditions	Hout Bay residents	Housing after fire	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/year-after-hout-bay-fire-residents-sit-without-basic-services/
22/Mar/18	Cape Town	Demonstration	Wages	National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers union	Wages - Job conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/community-healthcare-workers-want-be-public-servants/

21/Mar/18	Ekurhuleni	Protests	Infrastructure	South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO)	Removal of mayor	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/taxi-drivers-call-mayor-masinas-resignation/
20/Mar/18	Qoboqobo	Demonstration	Infrastructure	Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda	Road connections	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/sixty-one-year-old-man-shot-dead-protest/
08/Mar/18	Mfuleni	Protests	Land occupation	Mfuleni residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/riot-mfuleni-follows-shack-removals/
06/Mar/18	Durban	Strike (6 weeks)	Wages	Three labour unions (NEHAWU, TENUA, NTEU)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/eighth-week-strike-durban-university-technology/
05/Mar/18	Johannesburg	Protests	Security	African Diaspora Forum (ADF)	Campus security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/investigation-killed-foreign-student-test-bheki-cele/
05/Mar/18	Gugulethu	Protests	Land occupation	Residents of Gugulethu	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gugulethu-occupiers-call-city-buy-land-them/
02/Mar/18	Khayelitsha	Demonstrations	Education	Learners from Bulumko Secondary School	Teacher hirings	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/khavelitsha-school-learners-march-more-teachers/
20/Feb/18	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Wages	Employees of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/nsfas-workers-strike-higher-wages/
20/Feb/18	Durban	Protests	Wages	Staff of Durban University of Technology (DUT)	Wages - restore	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/anger-striking-durban-university-workers-find-pay-slashed/
20/Feb/18	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Corruption	Residents and former municipal workers - South African Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu), Cosatu, the South African Communist Party (SACP), ANC activists and the South African Students Congress (Sasco)	Reinstallment of jobs	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/end-corruption-jail-officials-demand-hundreds-pietermaritzburg-march/
19/Feb/18	Philippi	Protests	Urban development	Philippa residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/philippi-land-occupiers-describe-desperation/
16/Feb/18	Dunoon	Protests	Urban development	Dunoon residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/what-lies-behind-protests-dunoon/
12/Feb/18	Paterson	Protests	Education	Learners and community members from Paterson	Afrikaans education	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/afrikaans-speaking-parents-threaten-close-school/
08/Feb/18	Cape Town	Strike	Security	United National Transport Union (UNTU)	Improvement of railway security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/union-threatens-shut-down-metrorails-northern-line/
07/Feb/18	Johannesburg	Strike	Employment	Former employees of Jozi@Work & Pikitup	Employment contracts	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/rubbish-piles-cleaning-workers-protest/
31/Jan/18	Witwatersrand	Strike (3 weeks)	Wages	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) and the National Health, Education and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/wits-university-and-unions-reach-wage-deal/
31/Jan/18	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Security	The community of Mpophomeni	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/grandmother-murdered-community-furious-police-response/

29/Jan/18	Cape Town	Protests	Water scarcity	The Cape Town Water Crisis Coalition (CTWCC)	Removal of water management devices, stop any drought levy or water tariff increase plans and no privatisation of water supply.	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-protest-against-city-over-water-crisis/
25/Jan/18	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Infrastructure	Taxi drivers in Pietermaritzburg	Lower traffic fines	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/pietermaritzburg-blockaded-taxi-drivers/
23/Jan/18	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Education	Parents from Bloekombos Primary School	Room for more students	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/kraaifontein-parents-demand-places-school-their-children/
20/Jan/18	Johannesburg	Protests	Education	Learners and parents from Kwadedangendale High School	Reparations in schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/soweto-learners-protest-against-education-departments-failure-fix-school/
18/Jan/18	Johannesburg	Protests	Wages	National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers (NUPSAW)	Recognition of union + higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/dis-chem-accused-victimising-union-members/
17/Jan/18	Vereeniging	Protests	Education	Students at Hoërskool Overvaal	Afrikaans education	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-protests-and-violence-afrikaans-high-school/
17/Jan/18	Pietermaritzburg	Strike	Wages	National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/students-turned-away-unisa-pietermaritzburg-campus/
16/Jan/18	Durban	Protests	Education	Students at Thekwini TVET College's Centec Campus in Morningside	Admission & registration for education	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/students-protest-confusing-registration-process-ethekwini-college/
15/Jan/18	Durban	Strike	Wages	Employees at the Durban University of Technology (DUT)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/dut-employees-strike-after-wage-negotiations-break-down/
12/Jan/18	Johannesburg	Protests	Security	residents of Tshepisoong	More policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/jhb-neighbourhood-demands-police-station/
12/Dec/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Philippi East residents	Improved electricity security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/call-fix-street-lights-after-children-electrocuted/
06/Dec/17	Durban	Protests	Media	People from at least 20 local civil society organisations	Media access to council meetings	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/durban-activists-defy-bad-weather-protest-against-council-media-ban/
05/Dec/17	Cape Town	Protests	Justice	Rape Crisis supporters	Dedicated sexual offences court	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/rape-crisis-demands-privacy-rape-survivors-court/
05/Dec/17	Nationwide	Protests	Security	Members of FEDUSA and of the Health and Other Services Personnel Trade Union of South Africa (HOSPERSA)	Increased security for paramedics	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/we-save-people-who-saving-us-crime-ask-paramedics/
01/Dec/17	Cape Town	Demonstration	Security	Activists from the Social Justice Coalition	Non-racial based police allocation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-tell-court-crime-not-its-policies-affect-poor/
30/Nov/17	Cape Town	Demonstration	Corruption	#UniteBehind supporters	Arrest of President Jacob Zuma and fixing of the trains.	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-stage-mock-trial-zuma/
29/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	#UnitedBehind	Prosecution of the PRASA board. Removal of Deputy Finance	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/call-parliament-remove-deputy-finance-minister-sfiso-buthlezi/

					Minister Sifiso Buthelezi	
29/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	Observatory Civic Association	Nullification of manipulated election to board of OCA	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/property-developers-booted-obz-civic-association/
28/Nov/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Corruption	Endumeni Civic Organisation	Nullification of confiscated property	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/municipality-accused-housing-corruption-opposes-audit/
24/Nov/17	Durban	Demonstration	Racial issues	Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans in KwaZulu-Natal	Establishment of a commission to investigate killings of black farmers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mk-veterans-cut-n3/
24/Nov/17	Cape Town	Union claims	Wages	Commercial Stevedore Agricultural and Allied Workers Union (CSAAWU)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/unions-call-r8500-instead-r3000-farm-workers/
24/Nov/17	Durban	Protests	Land occupation	Social Justice Coalition (SJC)	Reclaim of evicted properties	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/civil-society-groups-stand-durban-shack-dwellers/
22/Nov/17	Cape Town	Demonstration	Security	Social Justice Coalition (SJC), Equal Education	More equal policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protesters-demand-more-equal-distribution-police/
22/Nov/17	Durban	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of eMhlabeni, uMlazi	Garbage collection. Improved infrastructure conditions.	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/umlazi-residents-swamped-rubbish-and-sewage/
21/Nov/17	Baviaanskloof	Protests	Police brutality	Local residents from Baviaanskloof area	Removal of Studtis (Baviaanskloof) police station commander Herman Smith	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/farm-workers-willowmore-appeal-provincial-legislature/
17/Nov/17	Beacon Bay	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Ducats and Nompumelelo in Beacon Bay	Housing and improved infrastructure.	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/beacon-bay-protesters-call-out-mayor/
17/Nov/17	Pretoria	Protests	Mining	Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA) and the Mining and Environmental Justice Community Network of South Africa (MEJCON)	Greater influence for communities affected by mining in the Mining Charter	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/victory-community-organisations-mining-charter-battle/
14/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Masiphumelele community leaders	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/masiphumelele-once-again-without-mobile-police-van/
14/Nov/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Urban development	Local residents of Pietermaritzburg	Housing and housing conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/brothers-funeral/
10/Nov/17	Bhisio	Demonstration	Labor conditions	Health care workers from different areas of the Eastern Cape	Recognition of union	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/health-care-workers-fight-recognition-department/

06/Nov/17	Cape Town	Petition	Urban development	Residents of Kraaifontein	Housing and land	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/land-occupation-kraaifontein/
03/Nov/17	BuffaloCity	Demonstration	Security	Local Buffalo City residents	Better policing. Protection against gender based violence	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/march-confronts-community-tolerance-violence-against-women/
02/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Local UCT student group Fees must fall.	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uct-trashed-fees-protests-escalate/
02/Nov/17	Port Elizabeth	Strike	Labor conditions	Workers at Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality	Working hours improvement	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/weekend-outages-trigger-protests-pe/
01/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	The #UniteBehind Coalition	Arrest of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/civil-disobedience-against-zuma-and-npa-eight-arrested/
01/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Reclaim the City	Resisting eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/woodstock-woman-evicted-her-home-26-years/
01/Nov/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Sweet Home Farm, Philippi	Release of community leaders	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/philippi-residents-evict-community-leader-corruption/
30-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Farmers from the CT area	Protection from killings	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protesters-march-through-cape-town-against-farm-murders/
30-Oct-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Security	Doctors from Port Elizabeth	Protection against robberies	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/doctors-protest-against-armed-robberies/
27-Oct-17	Cape Town	Demonstration	Security	Equal Education (EE)	Safety in schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/huge-march-school-safety/
27-Oct-17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Living conditions	Social Security Agency (SASSA) beneficiaries in Pietermaritzburg	Social security grants reinstallment	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/i-came-home-r70-mv-r1140-says-pietermaritzburg-social-grant-beneficiary/
26-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students of UCT	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uct-suspends-classes-following-disruptions/
26-Oct-17	Port Elizabeth	Strike (2 weeks)	Wages	Employees of Coca Cola Beverages South Africa	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/coke-strike/
23-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Steenvilla social housing	Resisting eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/false-alarm-steenvilla-affordable-housing-complex/
23-Oct-17	Cape Town	Claims	Wages	Volunteers for the Walking Bus initiative	Payment for volunteering	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/walking-bus-volunteers-want-be-paid/
20-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	#UniteBehind	Action against corrupt PRASA officials	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/transport-minister-must-answer-over-prasa-crisis/
20-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Hanover Park School Governing Body Forum	Improved school security. More policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hanover-park-parents-threaten-shut-down-10-schools/
20-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	learners from ID Mkizhe and Fezeka high schools in Gugulethu	Improved school security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gugulethu-learners-march-safety/
20-Oct-17	Bronkhorstspuit	Protests	Security	Gun Free South Africa (GFSA)	Improved gun licensing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gun-control-activists-furious-delays-child-shooting-case/
19-Oct-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Education	Equal Education	Upgrade of schools and school infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/school-students-picket-coega-offices/

16-Oct-17	Pretoria	Demonstrations	Wages	Workers affiliated with the South African Policing Union (Sapu) and its labour federation, the SA Federation of Trade Unions	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-call-centre-workers-march-union-buildings/
13-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Parents from Bardale Primary School in Mfuleni	Upgrade of schools and school infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mfuleni-parents-storm-out-meeting-education-department/
12-Oct-17	Fort Hare	Protests (2 weeks)	Education	Students of Fort Hare University	Payment of travel and meal allowances	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fort-hare-students-end-boycott-after-chaotic-two-weeks/
12-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Mfuleni parents	School building	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mfuleni-parents-demand-new-school-better-security/
11-Oct-17	Schaumburg	Protests	Urban development	Residents of the settlement of Schaumburg	Water supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hekpoort-settlement-has-been-trying-12-years-get-water/
11-Oct-17	Barcelona	Protests	Urban development	Residents of Barcelona Informal Settlement in Mdantsane, East London	Water supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/no-toilets-barcelona-after-25-years/
10-Oct-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Urban development	Residents of Embhovane in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth	Sewage repairs	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/pe-houses-stand-dams-human-faeces/
9-Oct-17	Wolseley	Protests	Urban development	Residents who moved to Zakhele in Wolseley	Garbage collection. Infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/illegal-electrical-connections-hinder-service-delivery-wolseley-says-municipality/
9-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Patrol group in the Marikana informal settlement in Philippi	Better police protection	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/marikana-community-tired-begging-police-protection/
9-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	The Luyoloville Housing Committee	Fair charging of housing. No evictions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gugulethu-residents-fight-eviction/
6-Oct-17	Pretoria	Protests	Education	Equal Education	School transportation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/learners-protest-transport-grant/
6-Oct-17	West Coast NP	Protests	Mining	West Coast Environmental Protection Association	Stop for issuing mining permissions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mining-company-has-its-eye-national-park-environmentalists-warn/
6-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Cape Peninsula University of Technology students	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cput-protesters-dispersed-following-attempted-disruptions/
5-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Philippa and Marikana residents - Social Justice Coalition (SJC) Improved infrastructure. Policing		https://www.groundup.org.za/article/sjc-leads-marikana-community-march-city-and-police/
4-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	#UniteBehind	Freezing of assets for PRASA	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/udf-veterans-give-abrahams-24-hours-freeze-assets/
4-Oct-17	Durban	Protests	Evictions	Shack dwellers in Cato Manor	Stop of police brutality	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/durban-anti-land-invasion-unit-trampling-homes-and-human-rights/
4-Oct-17	Cape Town	Open letter	Security	General Secretary of the Social Justice Coalition	Improved safety for residents. More policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/open-letter-authorities-about-marikana/
3-Oct-17	Port Hare	Protests	Education	Students of the University of Fort Hare	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fort-hare-students-protest-over-fees-water-and-electricity/
3-Oct-17	East London	Protests	Urban development	Residents of Masibulele Informal Settlement in Mdantsane	Sewage repairs. Water supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/one-pit-toilet-every-twenty-families/

2-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Marikana settlement	Improved safety for residents. More policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/marikana-situation-under-control-says-plato/
2-Oct-17	Port Elizabeth	Strike	Wages	Workers at Makro	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/makro-workers-picket-port-elizabeth/
2-Oct-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Sex Workers Education & Advocacy Task force (SWEAT)	Improved security for sex workers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/most-sex-workers-are-mothers-khavelitsha-event-told/
2-Oct-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Gender issues	Forum for the Empowerment of Women & Soweto gay community	Improved security for LGBT people	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/soweto-gay-pride-goes-ahead-without-hitch/
29/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Members of the Khayelitsha community. Social Justice Committee (SJC)	Improved security for residents	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/anger-over-police-brutality-khavelitsha-dialogue/
28/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Corruption	#UniteBehind	Action against PRASA corruption	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/npa-accused-failing-act-against-corruption-prasa/
27/Sep/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Corruption	Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) members	Prosecution of corruption and the Gupta family	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-cosatu-members-protest-cities-across-country/
27/Sep/17	Stellenbosch	Strike	Wages	Winery workers from Leeuwenkuil Family Vineyards	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/wage-strike-leeuwenkuil-vineyard/
26/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cput-students-demand-end-class-disruptions/
26/Sep/17	Robertson	Strike	Wages	Workers of Robertson Winery	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/workers-robertson-winery-take-employers-again/
26/Sep/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Living conditions	Local farmers from Port Elizabeth	Protest against the The Plant Improvement Bill	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/farmers-speak-out-against-new-plant-bills/
25/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents in Retreat	Dropping of Garbage dump expansion	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/retreat-residents-want-city-dump-rubbish-site-plan/
22/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Fishing	Fishermen from across the Western Cape	Protest against fishing quotas	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fishing-communities-march-fisheries-department/
22/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Hout Bay residents	Housing and improved fishing quotes	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hout-bay-residents-call-solidarity-hangberg/
22/Sep/17	Atlantis	Protests	Health care	Atlantis residents	Improved hospital service	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/atlantis-residents-demand-better-service-wesfleur-hospital/
22/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	residents of Ocean View	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/ocean-view-protest/
21/Sep/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Evictions	Lungelo Lethu Human Rights Foundation & coalition of inhabitants	Stop for evictions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/white-farmers-and-communist-party-members-join-fight-bank-evictions/
21/Sep/17	Humansdorp	Protests	Living conditions	Residents of KwaNomzamo township	Better housing & infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/week-protests-humansdorp/
21/Sep/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Denmark township	Sewage and improved infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/ours-grass-only-cut-when-they-host-anc-rallies/

19/Sep/07	Randburg	Demonstrations	Infrastructure	Right2Know (R2K) and the Diepkloof Voices of Poor Concerned Residents	Cheaper mobile and data rates	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/r2k-demands-cheaper-airtime-and-data/
19/Sep/17	Matatiele	Protests	Infrastructure	Maluti Matatiele R56 Road Forum	Maintainance of roads	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protests-flare-again-matatiele/
18/Sep/17	Cape Town	Strike	Infrastructure	Provincial Minibus Taxi Task Team	Txi licenses	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cape-town-taxi-drivers-strike-marred-violence/
18/Sep/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Education	Parents from Klipspruit West Secondary High School in Soweto	Removal of teachers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/race-tensions-protest-soweto-school/
18/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents from settlements of Marikana, Thabo Mbeki, Ireland and also Lower Crossroads	Release of community members	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-protest-arrest-murder-suspects/
14/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Residents from Hangberg	Reinstatement of fishing quotas	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mayhem-hangberg-after-deputy-minister-police-cancels-imbizo-residents/
13/Sep/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Human rights	Muslim Judicial Council Women's Forum	Stop of human rights violations in Myanmar	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/thousands-march-parliament-over-rohingya-killings/
13/Sep/18	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Residents from Hangberg	Reinstatement of fishing quotas	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hangberg-erupts-over-fishing-rights/
12/Sep/18	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students from Cape Peninsula University of Technology	Reinstement of School leaders	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protesters-call-suspension-cput-academic-activities/
12/Sep/18	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Hout Bay fishermen	Larger lobster quotas	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-shoot-child-mouth/
11/Sep/18	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Residents of Kensigton	Better policing and more police ressources	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/kensington-community-picket-more-police-resources/
07/Sep/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Housing	Residents of Ikhamvelihle township	Housing permissions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/shackdwellers-demand-right-return-land/
05/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests	Strike	Members of the South African Liberated Public Sector Workers' Union (Salipswu)	Better working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uct-workers-plan-strike-over-working-conditions/
04/Sep/17	Cape Town	Protests		Women workers from Womens on Farms project	Higer wages and better working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/women-farm-workers-protest-labour-law-violations/
31/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students from Cape Peninsula University of Technology's (CPUT)	Removal of private security staff	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/security-and-students-clash-cput/
30/Aug/17	Witzenberg	Protests	Housing	Backyarders from Pine Valley township	Apology for demolition of shacks	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/municipality-apologises-destroying-occupied-shacks-wolseley/
30/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Khayelitsha, Marikana and Kraaifontein	Better stret lighting	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/khayelitsha-residents-demand-better-street-lighting-reduce-crime/
29/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Khayelitsha residents	Better housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/we-should-be-able-stay-cities-where-we-work/
28/Aug/17	Matatiele	Protests	Infrastructure	Matatiele residents	Better roads and clean water	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/matatiele-protesters-demand-roads-and-water/
28/Aug/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Gender issues	Women's Legal Centre (WLC)	Legal protection for muslim	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/muslim-marriages-under-court-scrutiny/

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28/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA)	Accommodation for students	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cput-students-protest-over-accommodation/
25/Aug/17	Durban	Protests	Housing	Residents of Howell Road in Sydenham	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/legality-howell-street-evictions-questioned/
21/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents of Khayelitsha	Housing development	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/clashes-khayelitsha-following-land-occupation/
18/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Residents of Hangberg in Hout Bay	Better living conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hangberg-residents-protest-better-living-conditions/
18/Aug/17	Sundays River	Demonstrations	Urban development	entrepreneurs from the Sundays River Valley Municipality	More state contracts for local businesses	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/local-eastern-cape-business-owners-demand-more-state-jobs/
16/Aug/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Right2Know	justice for the victims of the Marikana Massacre.	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-demand-justice-marikana-massacre-victims/
16/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Witsand settlement	Electricity connection	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/tension-between-haves-and-have-nots-over-electricity/
16/Aug/17	Pretoria	Protests	Mining	Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA)	Legalisation of mining	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/informal-miners-demand-legalisation-their-work/
15/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	from Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay	No reblocking of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hout-bay-residents-protest-against-reblocking/
11/Aug/17	King William's Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Equal Education (EE)	Better school sanitation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/eastern-cape-learners-tackle-mec-over-lack-toilets-schools/
10/Aug/17	Port Elizabeth	Demonstrations	Gender issues	Women in Port Elizabeth	Stop for abuse of women	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/teach-your-sons-about-respect-and-consent-dont-teach-your-daughters-about-not-getting-raped/
10/Aug/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Gender issues	#OneTooMany campaign	Stop for violence against women and children	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/11000-people-sign-pledge-end-violence-against-women-and-children/
08/Aug/17	Pretoria	Protests	Government	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/eff-supporters-march-union-buildings/
08/Aug/17	Nationwide	Protests	Government	Opposition political parties	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/opposition-parties-unite-call-fire-zuma/
08/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Reclaim the City (RTC)	Affordable housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/zille-and-housing-activists-hold-fruitful-meeting/
07/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Government	United Democratic Front (UDF) veterans	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/udf-veterans-call-npa-prosecute-state-capturers/
04/Aug/17	Mount Frere	Occupation	Housing	Residents of Mbodleni Village in Mount Frere	Finishing of housing development	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mount-frere-residents-occupy-unfinished-rdp-houses/
04/Aug/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Housing	Residents of Westville near Kwadwesi in Port Elizabeth	Building of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/port-elizabeth-residents-torch-vehicles-housing-protest/
03/Aug/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Education	Students of Uviwe Senior Secondary School	Transportation to education	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/eastern-cape-learners-return-class-after-three-day-shutdown/

02/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students and workers at Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT)	Hiring contracts for workers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cput-insources-its-workers/
01/Aug/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Women from Hanover Park	Awareness of gang violence. Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/moms-march-their-murdered-children/
01/Aug/17	Pietermaritzburg	Demonstrations	Wages	National Education and Health Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu)	Better wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/state-laboratory-employees-march-pietermaritzburg/
01/Aug/17	Johannesburg	Demonstrations	Security	The African Diaspora Forum (ADF)	Awareness of xenophobia	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/african-diaspora-forum-condemns-comments-mkongi-mashaba/
01/Aug/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Electricity Tariffs Must Fall	Electricity prices	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cape-town-residents-angry-over-electricity-tariff-hike/
31/Jul/17	East London	Protests	Education	Parents and learners of Uviwe Senior Secondary School	Transportation to education	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/parents-and-learners-shut-down-east-london-high-school/
28/Jul/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Foreign affairs	Group of Zimbabweans	Right to vote in Zimbabwe	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/zimbabweans-protest-right-vote/
27/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing. Infrastructure	Residents from Bhakela informal settlement and Phumlani Village	Housing and better infrastructure	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/pelican-park-protesters-block-roads-after-councillor-goes-awol/
26/Jul/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Foreign affairs	The Muslim Judicial Council (MJC)	Religious affairs in Israel	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/thousands-march-against-israeli-security-measures-al-aqsa-mosque/
24/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents from the social housing complex Steenvilla	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/steenvilla-social-housing-residents-protest-evictions/
24/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Kensington's Community Policing Forum (CPF)	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/kensington-residents-march-more-police/
20/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents of the informal settlement of Hout Bay	No reblocking of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/violence-erupts-imizamo-yethu-city-attempts-reblock/
20/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Khayelitsha	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-present-stats-unequal-policing/
19/Jul/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Wages	Call agents from the 10111 South African Police Service (SAPS)	Higher wages and better working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-call-centre-agents-down-phones/
13/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents in a temporary relocation area (TRA) in Wallacedene, Kraaifontein	Electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/wallacedene-dark-waiting-eskom/
11/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Woodstock	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/woodstock-residents-protest-against-their-evictions-symbolic-taliep-petersen-bridge/
10/Jul/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Residents of Ocean View	Better policing and community security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/ocean-view-forms-human-chain-highlight-crime-problem/
06/Jul/17	Eastern Cape	Protests	Education	Equal Education (EE)	Water, electricity, sanitation for schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fix-our-schools-petition-launched/
05/Jul/17	Evaton	Protests	Urban development	Evaton Heritage Trust Council.	Restoration of dispossessed land	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/landowners-fight-100-years-dispossession/
04/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Foreign affairs	Asylum seekers	Protest against UNHCR abuses	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/refugees-claim-abuse-unhcr/

03/Jul/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents of Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay	Restoration of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/months-after-fire-hout-bay-explodes/
30/Jun/17	Peddie	Protests	Education	Parents at Sopitini High School	Hiring of teachers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/no-english-teacher-parents-fear-children-will-fail-matric/
28/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Capricorn and Vrygrond	Control with taxi licenses	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-clash-protesters-vrygrond-and-capricorn/
27/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Joe Slovo Park community leaders	Restoring of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/newly-repaired-community-hall-torched/
26/Jun/17	Pretoria	Protests	Foreign affairs	Congolese immigrants	Protest against visit by Congolese President	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/drc-immigrants-protest-against-kabila-visit/
26/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Joe Slovo Park, Milnerton	Restoring of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/joe-slovo-residents-torch-myciti-bus-after-shacks-demolished/
23/Jun/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Evictions	Land occupiers from Ehlovin in Wells Estate	Restoring of housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-and-npa-want-land-occupiers-punished-courts/
23/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	#FeesMustFall (FMF)	Reinstating of dismissed workers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uwc-activists-agree-demands-not-methods/
22/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Nyakathisa informal settlement.	Electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/formal-homeowners-fight-informal-settlement-neighbours-over-electricity/
21/Jun/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Ehlovin settlement	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/second-week-mass-evictions-and-violent-protests-port-elizabeth/
20/Jun/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Voice of Africans for Change (VAC)	Security for immigrant businesses	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/stop-looting-our-shops-demand-immigrants/
20/Jun/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Infrastructure	residents in Pietermaritzburg	Water and electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/toilets-not-emptied-year-say-residents/
19/Jun/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Education	Members of Nelson Mandela Bay Transport Services (NMBTS)	School transportation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/bakkie-owners-stopped-transporting-school-learners/
19/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Khayelitsha residents	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/khayelitsha-backyarders-clash-police/
15/Jun/17	Durban	Protests	Security	Sex worker activists	Decriminalisation of sex work	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/sex-workers-demonstrate-during-deputy-presidents-speech/
15/Jun/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Working conditions	The South African National Taxi Association (Santaco)	Higher wages. Better licensing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/thousands-stranded-taxi-blockade-joburg/
13/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Justice	The Social Justice Coalition (SJC)	Decriminalisation of protest	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/social-justice-coalition-challenge-criminalisation-protest-action/
13/Jun/17	Durban	Protests	Health care	Civil society organisations	No confidence in National AIDS Council	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-protest-against-aids-council/
13/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Cape Town train commuters	Better train service	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/commuters-rebel-metrorail-fails/
12/Jun/17	Davidsonville	Protests	Infrastructure	Davidsonville residents	Restoration of water and electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-residents-clash-police-davidsonville/
09/Jun/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Education	Parents from Pietermaritzburg Girls' High School	Punishment for racist statements	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/pietermaritzburg-girls-high-school-learner-k-word-rant-sparks-protest/
08/Jun/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Evictions	Land occupiers in Motherwell	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/land-occupiers-say-we-will-die-fighting-our-shacks/

07/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Wages	Call agents from the 10111 South African Police Service (SAPS)	Higher wages. Better working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/agents-threaten-close-down-police-call-centre/
07/Jun/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Wages	Witwatersrand African Taxi Association (WATA)	Taxi licensing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/taxi-associations-battle-over-soweto-routes/
06/Jun/17	Port Elizabeth	Strike	Wages	Security Officers Civil Rights and Allied Workers Union (Socrawu)	Higher wages. Better working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/thousand-workers-strike-coega-export-company/
05/Jun/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Infrastructure	Reidents of Sobantu	Electricity supply - protests against prepaid meters	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/municipality-stops-electricity-deductions-after-protests/
05/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Gugulethu	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gugulethu-community-complain-poor-policing/
05/Jun/17	Schaumberg	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Schaumberg	Water supply and sanitation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/schaumberg-community-march-over-lack-services/
05/Jun/17	Cape Town	Protests	Gender issues	Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)	Stop for violence against women and children	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cosatu-leads-march-against-gender-based-violence/
02/Jun/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Evictions	Residents of the Bekezela informal settlement in Newtown	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/evictions-turn-violent-newtown/
01/Jun/17	King William's Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Kei Road Location	Water supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/kei-road-returns-normal/
30-May-17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents in Kuyasa, Khayelitsha	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/rdp-recipients-want-mouldy-cracked-houses-fixed/
25-May-17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)	Improved security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protest-after-health-care-worker-stabbed-death/
25-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Gender issues	Students from universities in Gauteng	Protests against rape culture	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/students-protest-against-rape-culture/
23-May-17	Cape Town	Occupation	Urban development	Backyarders in Khayelitsha	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/biggest-land-occupation-cape-town-recent-times-taking-place/
22-May-17	Pretoria	Demonstrations	Gender issues	People in Pretoria under the slogan #notinmyname	Stop for violence against women	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/thousands-march-against-violence-against-women/
16-May-17	Durban	Demonstrations	Health care	The South African Medical Association (SAMA)	Better health care spending and system	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/medics-protest-kzn-health-care-system-collapses/
16-May-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Motherwell	Restoration of electricity	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/panic-buying-and-violent-protests-after-power-failure-port-elizabeth/
15-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Government	Residents of Johannesburg	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protesters-demand-secret-ballot-zuma/
15-May-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Tambo Square informal settlement	Better policing and security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/its-our-turn-benefit-say-residents-gugulethu-informal-settlement/
12-May-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Education	Parents of Ikhwezelihle Primary School in Motherwell	Better school security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/port-elizabeth-parents-shut-down-school-anger-education-department/
11-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Education	Parents and students from Ennerdale	Better school security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/parents-defend-school-protesters/
10-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Urban development	Residents of Finetown	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protests-spread-across-southern-johannesburg/

9-May-17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Gugulethu	Removal of shack settlement close by	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/angry-gugulethu-residents-close-down-school/
9-May-17	Cape Town	Protests	Wages	Employees at UCT	Better wages and working conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uct-catering-staff-protest/
9-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Housing	Residents from Eldorado Park and Freedom Park	Housing and employment	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/eldorado-park-explodes-over-lack-houses-and-jobs/
8-May-17	Grabouw	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of the Siyanyanzela informal settlement in Grabouw	Water, sanitation, electricity	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/land-occupiers-grabouw-demand-services/
5-May-17	Johannesburg	Protests	Education	Students from across Gauteng	Asbest removal in schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gauteng-learners-demand-replacement-asbestos-buildings/
5-May-17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Education	Students from across Port Elizabeth	Better sanitation and food in schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gauteng-learners-demand-replacement-asbestos-buildings/
4-May-17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Parents of children at a makeshift school in Joe Slovo informal settlement	Education basic essentials	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/parents-burn-tyres-they-demand-registration-school/
3-May-17	Nationwide	Strikes	Wages	Employees of the Perishable Products Export Control Board (PPECB)	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/national-strike-food-export-board/
3-May-17	Cape Town	Occupation	Infrastructure	Reclaim The City (RTC)	Water and electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-occupy-cape-town-building-over-month/
28/Apr/17	Port Elizabeth	Demonstrations	Government	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/zuma-must-go-now-pityana-tells-port-elizabeth-crowd/
28/Apr/17	King William's Town	Demonstrations	Education	Students from schools across Eastern Cape	Better sanitation and supplies in schools	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/systemic-failure-eastern-cape-education/
27/Apr/17	Cape Town	Protests	Government	Residents from Khayelitsha. Equal Education	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/khayelitsha-meeting-calls-zumas-dismissal/
25/Apr/17	East London	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Isilatsha	Emergency service. Security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/residents-rural-east-london-village-wait-hours-ambulances-says-residents/
23/Apr/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Hangberg in Hout Bay	Better policing. New police station	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hangberg-residents-demand-police-station/
18/Apr/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Cape Town pensioners. Right2Know	Restoration of pensions. Resignation of minister	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/picket-against-deductions-social-grants/
13/Apr/17	Nationwide	Strikes	Wages	Bus drivers	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/striking-bus-driver-explains-exhausting-shift-system/
13/Apr/17	Boland	Protests	Security	Residents of Mbekweni informal settlement	Firing of police officers	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mbekweni-protesters-demand-dismissal-police-officers/
12/Apr/17	Pretoria	Protests	Government	Population of Pretoria	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-tens-thousands-march-union-buildings/

11/Apr/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Social Justice Coalition and residents of Khayelitsha	Better and non-biased policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protesters-demand-new-police-station/
08/Apr/17	Nationwide	Demonstrations	Government	Nationwide protests	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-anti-zuma-protests/
06/Apr/17	Pretoria	Demonstrations	Government	Members of the Save SA campaign	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/anc-councillors-names-charge-sheet-following-save-sa-attack/
06/Apr/17	Pretoria	Demonstrations	Government	Tribute to finance minister Gordhan at the late ANC stalwart Ahmed Kathrada	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/huge-crowd-cheers-pravin-gordhan-st-georges-cathedral/
04/Apr/17	Port Elizabeth	Demonstrations	Government	Save South Africa (SSA)	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/take-streets-pityana-urges-sa/
31/Mar/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Government	Save South Africa (SSA)	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-outside-parliament-call-zuma-resign/
31/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Recipients of social grants from Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha and surrounding areas	Restoring of social grants	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/crooks-who-only-care-about-their-pockets/
31/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Workers of University of the Western Cape (UWC)	Reinstatement of security guards	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/dismissed-uw-c-security-guards-desperate-start-working/
30/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Evictions	Residents of Elsie River	Protests against eviction	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/elsies-river-erupts-violent-protest-after-shack-demolished/
29/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Living conditions	Residents of the informal settlement in Gugulethu	Local recruitment of janitors	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/battle-over-toilet-cleaning-jobs-gugulethu/
29/Mar/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Immigration	African Diaspora Forum	March against xenophobia	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/immigrants-and-south-africans-march-together-hillbrow/
28/Mar/17	Cape Town	Occupation	Housing	Local families from Pella	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/church-land-occupiers-demand-basic-services/
27/Mar/17	Cape Town	Occupation	Housing	Reclaim the City	Affordable housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-start-occupation-demand-social-housing/
24/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students from Philippi High School	Better conditions of school buildings	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/philippi-high-students-march-provincial-legislature/
24/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Reclaim the City	Affordable housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/activists-vow-continue-fight-tafelberg-site/
22/Mar/17	Mbekweni	Protests	Security	Residents of Mbekweni	March for area security	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mbekweni-residents-march-against-crime/
22/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Security	Residents of Nyanga	Better policing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-satellite-station-not-enough-sav-hundreds-nyanga-residents/
20/Mar/17	Johannesburg	Demonstrations	Immigration	Residents of Rosettenville	Protests against immigrant settlement	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-stop-anti-immigrant-march-rosettenville/
17/Mar/17	Johannesburg	Demonstrations	Education	Congress of South African Students (COSAS)	Better school infrastructure and conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/photos-students-march-herman-mashaba/

16/Mar/17	Mthatha	Protests	Living conditions	Residents of Mthatha	Return of police confiscations	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mthatha-city-centre-closed-hawkers-protest/
15/Mar/17	Nqutu	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Nqutu	Water, electricity, sanitation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/seven-months-without-local-government-nquthu/
14/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Dismissed security guards at University of the Western Cape (UWC)	Reinstatement of security guards	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/dismissed-security-guards-demonstrate-outside-uwc/
13/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents of Masiphumelele	Rehousing after demolition of shacks	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/arrests-after-masiphumelele-protest-cuts-cycle-tour-short/
13/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Members of the Jewish community in CT	Affordable housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/jewish-capetonians-sign-petition-calling-social-housing-tafelberg-site/
10/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents from Masiphumelele	Water, Electricity, sanitation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/smouldering-discontent-masiphumelele-vears-after-fire/
10/Mar/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Wages	Academics from University of CT	Higher wages	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/uct-unions-demonstrate-higher-wages/
09/Mar/17	Pretoria	Demonstrations	Security	Coalition of Civics Against Xenophobia	Protests against xenophobia	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/presidency-refuses-accept-memo-anti-xenophobia-protest/
09/Mar/17	Umlazi	Protests	Living conditions	Right to Know Campaign (R2K)	Restoring of social grants	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/social-grants-protesters-demand-answers-dlamini/
09/Mar/17	Port Alfred	Demonstrations	Living conditions	People with disabilities from around the Eastern Cape	Jobs for disabled people	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/people-disabilities-demand-better-jobs/
08/Mar/17	Kouga	Demonstrations	Living conditions	SAMWU (South African Municipal Workers' Union)	Reinstatement of work contracts	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/400-workers-strike-kouga-municipality/
06/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students from Philippi High School	Building of new school	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/philippi-high-students-demand-promised-new-school-be-built/
04/Mar/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Security	Sonke Gender Justice	Protests against xenophobia	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cape-town-organisations-protest-against-xenophobia-and-scapegoating/
03/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Students at iQhayiya High School in Khayelitsha	Removal of school principal	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/protests-start-again-troubled-khayelitsha-school/
03/Mar/17	Butterworth	Protests	Infrastructure	Santini informal settlement	Water, Electricity, sanitation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fed-waiting-residents-informal-settlement-sort-out-their-own-water-supply/
02/Mar/17	Cape Town	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents in Gugulethu	Community facilities	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/gugulethu-residents-fight-over-future-tambo-square/
28/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Parents from Mseki Primary school	Better school facilities	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/no-learning-mseki-primary-school-until-demands-are-met/
22/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Environment	Earthlife Africa	Protest against nuclear power	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/court-hears-why-nuclear-deal-should-be-stopped/
22/Feb/17	Pietermaritzburg	Protests	Education	Students at Indumiso campus in Imbali	Improved student conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/pmb-students-start-class-boycott/
20/Feb/17	Port Elizabeth	Protests	Security	Residents of Motherwell	Protests against raising of local fence	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-fire-rubber-bullets-spar-protesters/
16/Feb/17	Mdantsane	Protests	Education	Mdantsane primary schools	School transportation	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/mdantsane-schools-face-closure-leaving-learners-stranded/
15/Feb/17	Alice	Protests	Education	Students from Mdeni Senior Secondary School	New school building	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/school-holds-classes-middle-road-protest/

15/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Housing	Residents from informal settlements in Fisantekraal	Housing	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/fisantekraal-residents-want-build-their-own-homes/
14/Feb/17	Cape Town	Demonstrations	Living conditions	Residents and neighbours of Masiphumelele. Social Justice Coalition	Better housing conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/masiphumelele-residents-march-fish-hoek-demand-better-living-conditions/
14/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Education	Parents of children attending Kwa-Faku Primary School	Better school building	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/crossroads-parents-shut-down-school/
09/Feb/19	Mzamomhle	Protests	Infrastructure	Residents of Mzamomhle	Electricity supply	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/weeks-no-electricity-mzamomhle-residents-east-london/
08/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Government	Save South Africa campaign	Resignation of President Jacob Zuma	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/peoples-assembly-calls-president-zuma-resign/
08/Feb/17	Johannesburg	Protests	Health care	Treatment Action Campaign	Lower costs of cancer treatment	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/tac-calls-roche-drop-price-breast-cancer-drug/
07/Feb/17	Mthatha	Protests	Education	Students from Walter Sisulu University	Free education for all	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/five-campus-shut-down-walter-sisulu-university/
07/Feb/17	Cape Town	Protests	Mining	Women from Mining Affected Communities United in Action (WAMUA)	Better sanitation and living conditions	https://www.groundup.org.za/article/women-affected-mining-call-inclusive-indaba/