

SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S HEGEMONIC
LEADERSHIP AMBITION IN AFRICA: 2004-2014

MATLOTLENG MOLAODIEMANG VICTOR

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SUPERVISOR : PROF LERE AMUSAN

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1065 Hector Peterson Drive

Unit 5

Mmabatho

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Themini-dissertation entitled

Submitted by

M V MATLOTLENG

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has been edited for language by

Mary Helen Thomas B.Sc.(Hons) P.G.C.E



Ms. Helen Thomas

Lecturer

School of Undergraduate Studies

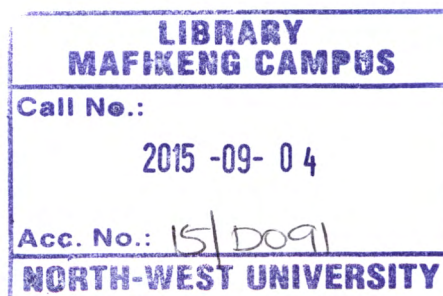


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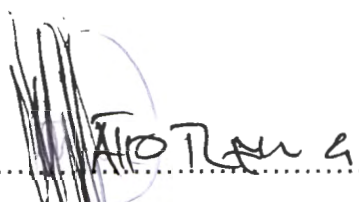
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this paper submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations at the North West University (Mafikeng Campus) submitted, has not been previously submitted by me for the purpose of a degree at this or any other institution of higher learning.

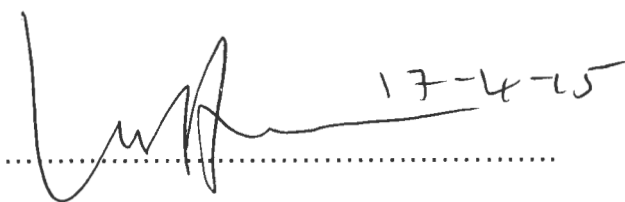
All the design and execution in this research paper is my own original work and all the material herein has been duly acknowledged.

SIGNED :


M V MATLOTLENG

E mail :vmatlotleng@gmail.com

SUPERVISOR :

 17-4-15
Prof. Lere Amusan

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Lastly, to the mother of my son (Lebone Mashigo) Miss Dibakiso Georgina Seponono Mashigo for playing an important role in my life when the days where dark between 2010 and 2013.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my sons, Botshelo, Mookamedi, Lebone and my late grandmother Tshogohatso Matlotleng and mother Maria Matlotleng.

ABSTRACT

The objectives of the study were to determine the impact of protests in the South African Image between 2004 and 2013, to systematically apply theoretical and methodological approaches in order to determine the trends and patterns and the impact of protests in South Africa and to add new information to the existing literature gap in the discipline of Peace Studies and International relations by coming up with new findings, conclusions and recommendations.

The study found and concluded that between 2004 and 2013 violence in South Africa was generated by all parties involved to the conflict which is both the state and the civilians or workers. In addition, the factors of globalisation that are beyond the powers of the state to control and the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality as raised in the grievances in South Africa were central to these factors. The study also found and concluded that in terms of the South African constitution, strike is a protected right. In addition, all the parties involved to the conflict which is the South African police force, the civilians and workers uses violence as a last resort to conflict resolution as protected in the constitution and violence in the form of protest actions in the country will in fact abort South Africa's political and economic hegemonic leadership goal in Africa, and dent the countries positive image.

Lastly, the study recommends that all parties to the conflict in South Africa to act responsibly and avoid violence at all cost taking into consideration the country's image in a constitutional democratic dispensation, and the country's prospects of becoming an African hegemonic leader. Public awareness, workshops and other forms of campaigns are recommended for all parties with a view to change the stereotype of a negative conflict resolution to a more peaceful oriented one.

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ACRONYMS

AMCU	: Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
APRM	: African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	: African Union
BRICS	: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
EGS	: Emerging Global South
FHR	: Foundation for Human Rights
HSRC	: Human Science Research Council
IBSA	: India, Brazil and South Africa
IPE	: International Political Economy
NEPAD	: New Partnership for African Development
NGO	: Non-governmental organization
NUM	: National Union of Mineworkers
OAU	: Organisation of African Unity
SADC	: Southern African Development Community
SAPS	: South African Police Service
SWOT	: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
UN	: United Nations
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

African Renaissance: An African vision and ideological movement that is committed to the socio-economic and political emancipation of Africans

Globalisation : The widening and speeding up of global interconnection that cuts across the political, social, economic and cultural spectrums

Manual for Postgraduate Students : The North-West University guideline for the postgraduate students on how to write an academic research

Marikana Strike : the 2012 Lonmin miners strike at Marikana near Rustenburg dubbed the “Marikana massacre” by the media, when the police shot and killed 34 protesting miners

Mixed Methods : A combination of both the qualitative and quantitative research approaches in the social sciences

Municipal IQ Hotspots Monitor : A web-based data and intelligence service specialising in the monitoring and assessing of all the 278 South Africa’s local municipalities

Service Delivery Protests : Peaceful and violent protests by the South African communities and workers in response to the employer or government’s failure to address their problems

Service Delivery Protest Barometer : A multi-level-government project at the University of Western Cape on service delivery protests in South Africa between 2007 and 2012

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

According to Meintjies (2009:99) in South Africa, a racist system deprived black people of political, social and economic rights and the ensuing 30 year low-level civil war was conducted by the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and other liberation movements for a new political order that recognised equality and civil rights for all. She adds that the Freedom Charter of 1955 called for democracy, education, housing and the sharing of wealth. Sooka (2009:29) also writes that “the unbanning of the liberation movements in 1990 and the subsequent release of political prisoners paved the way for a negotiated peace settlement that brought to an end the struggle against colonialism and apartheid which had lasted for more than 300 years”. She concluded that “in 1995 the government of South Africa passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 which provided for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and that a crucial weakness of the commission was that it failed to demonstrate sufficiently to those who had benefited from apartheid and the economic, social, political, and legal consequences of colonial and apartheid policies, the legacy that will continue to haunt South Africa for many decades”. Sooka (2009:21) also maintains that the argument for “national unity” usually results in the rights of victims being compromised for the sake of national reconciliation and that South Africa is a case in point, where the amnesty provisions resulted in the rights of the victims were set aside for the sake of national unity and reconciliation”.

Du Bois and Bois-Pedain (2008:289) also concur with Sooka (2009) that “every transition to democracy is a morally hazardous undertaking due to the standing risk of a new society...this danger is particularly acute when, as in South Africa, transition takes place in a context marked by wide-ranging and long standing injustices and that a variety of factors may make it impossible to address these through the standard mechanisms of corrective justice and that criminal prosecutions might not be practically feasible, or might threaten the possibility of a transition.” They then concluded that “yet, if the victims of such injustices are left without a moral response...the new democracy will be morally flawed from its inception, and thus the victims of the old are turned into victims of the new, as they are made to pay the price for a democracy in which others may hope to enjoy freedom from the sufferings

they have already experienced". However, Stinson (2009) in his abstract argues that South Africa's commitment to socio-economic transformation has been less successful in generating widespread support for a broad national identity...and that increasing economic marginalization has caused growing discontent among South Africa's poor and constitutes the biggest threat to the formation of a cohesive national identity in South African society.

The topic of this study is an assessment of the South African hegemonic leadership in Africa and how protests affected this dream between 2004 and 2013.

This chapter will focus on the statement of the problem, the research questions, the aims, the objectives, the rationale and significance of the study and the hypothesis.

According to D'Anieri (2010:70) the word hegemon means 'leader' or 'dominant actor'. Separate studies have been conducted on South Africa as a regional hegemony', and research has also been done on protests and, or strikes in the new democratic South Africa'. However, very few or no studies have been done on this particular topic in which both protests and the phenomenon of hegemony are incorporated synergistically into one topic. According to Ferim (2006:180-185)

the concept of hegemony basically refers to dominance or leadership by one state over others, and that this dominance or leadership be it by coercion or consent, usually spans across the political, economic, military and even cultural spheres resulting in asymmetry in the hegemon's interactions with other periphery or lesser states within a given geographical setting...". He further argued that given the hegemon's relative wealth and prosperity, "it can dictate the tone of political discourse, influence the terms of international trade, endorse social values and cultures which are emulated and revered by other lesser states and could be counted on to maintain local stability with its own diplomacy, prestige, and military power....

Moreover, academics, various organisations, and media houses have published extensively on the phenomenon of strikes or protests in South Africa since 2004. This study will assess the impact of protests actions or strikes on the image of South Africa between 2004 and 2013. That is, published data from individuals and organisations that have conducted studies on strikes and protests in South Africa will

be assessed; these will include the Municipal IQ Hotspots Monitor and the "Service Delivery Protest Barometer" which is a multi-level-government project at the University of the Western Cape.

South Africa as a prospective regional hegemony for leadership in Africa is a highly researchable phenomenon in the post-colonial post-apartheid era.

Ferim (2008:68-70) examined the impediments to South Africa's hegemony in Africa and outlined the features that qualify South Africa as a hegemon in the continent.

He posits that

South Africa politically and economically stands out distinctly as a leading power within the SADC region... in that the country has the most sophisticated forms of technology and infrastructure in the SADC region and its efforts at propagating peace, stability and continental unity have been applauded worldwide

Moreover, he added that "...the country has the largest and most diversified economy in the region and on the African continent, accounts for over 40% of the continent's industrial output and that South Africa played a leading role in resolving conflict in a number of SADC states including Lesotho, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Swaziland, Mozambique, Mauritius and Namibia".

In addition, Marthoz (2012:1-5) also maintains that the new South Africa has been keen to play a positive role on the African continent as a mediator, peacemaker and peacekeeper; he added that in terms of South Africa's peace diplomacy from the first years of former President Mandela's administration to President Thabo Mbeki, South Africa has energetically pursued an active peace-making role in African affairs.

Furthermore, Nkoane-Mashabane (2012:18) asserts that

...the birth of democracy in South Africa has brought a breeze of hope for regeneration of the African continent, partly because of its peace efforts in the continent, and that South Africa in promoting the African agenda seeks to correct status of Africans as perpetual victims....

Therefore, this study will examine the South African dream of leading an African agenda as postulated by most South African leaders since President Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected president. The subsequent presidents Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Motlanthe and Jacob Zuma all shared the same

view. This study seeks to assess whether the vision to lead the African dream can be realisable during the current phase of protests and strikes. (Annexure 1-2)

According to Gomes (2008:128) sustaining peace and stability in Africa is more or less a political investment against conflict and its destructive consequences. He added that in order to achieve this objective, the AU member states must put a premium on good governance, durable peace and sustainable development...he concluded that "for this to happen, the AU member states must generate the political will to persuade each other to live by norms, values and principles that they themselves have articulated and agreed to". It is against this background that this study will assess the South African commitment to the AU norms, values and principles particularly sustaining peace and stability and governance at the domestic level.

Between the years 2004 and 2013, South Africa has been experiencing nationwide sporadic protests, both peaceful and violent, sometimes referred to as "Service Delivery Strikes". Alexander (2012:1) writes that, "Since 2004 South Africa has experienced a movement of local protests amounting to a rebellion of the poor... this has been widespread and intense, reaching insurrectional proportions in some cases". Ndebele (2012:1) also argues that during the year 2012

South Africa has been dubbed the protest capital of the world and in addition to the fact that it has the highest levels of inequality and unemployment, it has one of the highest rates of public protests in the world

He added that "the widespread service delivery protests in South Africa may soon take on an organisational character that will start off as discrete formations and then coalesce into a full-blown movement ...", He further added that "during the 2004/5 financial year alone, about 6000 protests were officially recorded which means that at least 15 protests were taking place each day in South Africa at this time".

The definition of service delivery protests is defined differently by different authors. For example, Davids (2012) maintains that

Protest is defined by researchers as any complaint or issue cited by the protesters ...whether related to the delivery of municipal services or not, over which citizens decide to, and actually engage in organised public protest activity

Allan and Heese (2012) from 'Municipal IQ's Hotspots Monitor' also maintains that "the term service delivery protest... describes a protest which is galvanised by inadequate local services...the responsibility for which lies with the municipality".

However, this definition is prone to critique in South Africa as other forms of protests emanate from other sectors of society, for example, industrial action at the mines and in the private sector.

They add that that since protests first started in 2004 the reasons behind them are generally poorly understood and this has fuelled speculation on why protests occur and indeed whether these protests are even about service delivery. They concluded that given the large number of protests that have occurred it is no surprise that there is a growing concern amongst the public as to why these protests are happening and whether, and where, they will happen next and that the somewhat uncertain response by both government and analysts has done little to allay the public's fears".

Kunene and Maseng (2011:258-264) also posit that "...local governments across the country have experienced significant degrees of protests against service delivery especially in 2009 when protests were the highest since 2004...".The following are some of the notable protest actions in South Africa between 2004 and 2013.

- The National Defence Force strike for better salaries
- The annual teachers' strikes for better salaries
- The annual Municipal workers strikes for better working conditions and wages
- The 2012 mineworker's strikes for poor salaries dubbed the "Marikana massacre" at Lonmin mine near Rustenburg in the North West Province.

According to Ndebele (2012); since the year 2004; the following have been some of the reasons for service delivery protests:

- Poor municipal service delivery especially with regard to housing
- Unemployment and low wages
- Police brutality
- Government corruption by officials
- Provincial border demarcations, and
- Electricity

However, Alia (2009) argues that

“the South African government finds itself between a rock and a hard place...that the South African strikes are hampering its attempt to portray itself as a stable location for foreign investment”.

In addition, the acting South African government spokesperson in parliament Pumla Williams, mentioned at a media briefing during 2012 that

illegal and violent strikes are not helping South Africa's image internationally”.

She added that South Africa is not left unaffected, due to global factors but also domestic ones, as a result of which rating agencies altered our standing from stable to negative...

She concluded that these “illegal strikes and the accompanying violence is not helping the country's image internationally, and is contributing to the already existing challenges facing our economy and society...” (SAPA: October, 11, 2012).

Now, it is clear from the argument and literature stated above that there is a problem of strikes or protests, or public violence (Annexure 6-7) as stated by different authors . Moreover, it is now clear that there is a literature gap due to the fact that few or insufficient studies were conducted on this particular topic and it is also clear that the South African vision is tied to the African agenda in that the country wants to become an African hegemon by leading the African renaissance (Agenda) in the twenty first century. However, this study will methodologically intertwine the South African quest for hegemonic leadership in Africa and assess the impact of protests on the South African image, economy and political dream between 2004 and 2013.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The South African vision of hegemonic leadership in Africa and the upward trend of domestic strikes since 2004

1.4 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is significant to fill the literature gap in the discipline of peace studies particularly in South Africa because the problem of strikes and protest actions remains unresolved since 2004. Moreover, there is not enough up to date published scientific literature that exists on this question. Furthermore, the contemporary

methodology of mixed methods that was applied in this study was informed by the *raison d'être* to come up with new scientific results that will contribute positively to the knowledge base of the existing literature. Such information will be of seminal importance in the area of both security studies and governance in South Africa. The results of this study may also be useful for the purpose of referencing by social science academics and practitioners in the general discipline of peace studies and international relations.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study was motivated by the following objectives:

- To determine the impact of protests on the political- economy of South Africa between 2004 and 2013.
- To compare the variables of protests and that of the South African leadership dream between 2004 and 2013.
- To systematically apply methodological approaches and related literature in order to determine trends and patterns of protests in South Africa between 2004 and 2013.
- To add information to the existing literature gap in the discipline of peace studies and international relations with special focus on protests in South Africa.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions were answered in this study:

- What is the impact of protests on the South African political dream to lead an Africa agenda?
- What is the impact of protests on the South African economy?
- What is the general impact of protests actions on the overall image of South Africa?
- Why, in the post-apartheid era, do South Africans still engage in violent protest actions to resolve conflict?
- What do you recommend to reduce protests in South Africa?

1.7 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

From the literature already stated above, the topic was explored from a variety of perspectives such as political, economic and international relations. That is, the study cuts across these dimensions to assess the impact of strikes in general on the South African image. The study was a snapshot of events between 2004 and 2013.

1.8 HYPOTHESIS

Violent protest actions impacts negatively on the South African dream to lead in Africa between 2004 and 2013.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

For the purpose of this study, the content of the paper contain five chapters as follows:

Chapter One

This chapter contains the entire research proposal section.

Chapter Two

This whole chapter entails secondary literature sourced and includes the protests between 2004 and 2013. It also covers the theoretical perspectives of hegemonic stability and the realist perspective.

Chapter Three

This chapter entails the explanation of the research design and the procedure of the methodology applied which is the mixed method approach.

Chapter Four

The chapter explains the presentation of the primary data, and it also includes the limitations of the study.

Chapter Five

This is the final chapter of the study of data analysis. It entails the discussions of the findings, conclusions and recommendations. It also includes the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review is important in this study as it gives an in-depth evaluation of previous research. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive review of the literature related to the problem under investigation and the nature of the data collected is secondary. This data was useful for the generalization of the study to the entire country.

... data collected by other investigators in connection with other research problems, or as part of the usual gathering of social data as in a case of a population census... constitutes secondary data...(Bless, 2000:97)

This section of the paper focusses on four main categories of definitions, debates, protests in South Africa and South Africa as hegemony in Africa. Data in this study involved the identification and analysis of documents containing information relating to the problem. The chapter also includes the discovery of the latest research findings about the problem. In the subsequent literature, the study will explore the concept of hegemony and its relevance to the South African vision to lead in Africa, and in relation to the phenomenon of protests between 2004 and 2013.

The South African quest to lead both politically and economically in Africa can be found in the country's long term strategic goals and objectives as evidenced in the policy statements such as the annual state of the nation address in parliament, the official statements made by the different government ministers, the actual contributions made both at continental level and at the United Nations, and the South African participation and role played at the regional bodies such as SADC, AU, NEPAD and BRICS.

As Landsberg (2007:1) writes, "the South African policy agenda for the African continent is based on the understanding that socio-economic development cannot take place without political stability and that these are prerequisites for socio-economic development". He also added that the South African agenda in Africa also includes strengthening the AU and its structures... support for the Pan African Parliament,...operationalization of NEPAD priority sectors...and their integration with the AU...and operationalizing the African Peer Review Mechanism".

One of the principles of NEPAD is good governance as a basic requirement for peace, security and sustainable political and socio-economic development.

According to Tunde (2009:2) "African is richly blessed with natural resources, it commands 50% of the global gold deposit, diamonds and chromium... and despite this remarkable and varieties of natural wealth, African countries and people rank as the worlds most impoverished...". It is for this reason that South Africa regards Africa as the centrepiece of its own foreign policy and is mobilising a significant amount of resources towards the socio-economic awakening of the continent, and peace-building, as well as post conflict reconstruction and development. That is, the study will assess whether South Africa can be regarded as a continental hegemon as encapsulated in its policy ideals to lead an African renaissance. Clark (2009:205-8) maintains that

"Hegemony...has remained a relatively imprecise and under analysed concept". He further maintains that "... the idea that hegemony and power are reducible to coercive resources is a commonly held one".

He further cited Watson's (2007:26) definition of hegemony that

the material condition of technological, economic and strategic superiority which enables a single great power or group of powers, or the great powers acting collectively, to bring such great inducements and pressures to bear that most other states lose some of their external and internal independence

Moreover, Landsberg (2007:1) added that "a key aspect of South Africa's foreign policy over the past decade has been to assume the role of peacemaker and negotiator in Africa and to champion Africa's interests abroad... that the 'African agenda' is about charting a new path in order to effect a turn-around in the continent's economy, politics, governance and developmental orientation, and that a key goal informing South Africa's vision of the new 'African agenda' is to position the country so that it becomes a critical player in shaping the development agenda of the continent".

He further argues that "South Africa's role should be one of a hegemon and so long as that does not happen; our national economic goals will remain compromised". In addition, he cited a number of examples to demonstrate how South Africa had performed in so far as demonstrating regional hegemonic traits are concerned.

South Africa has been instrumental in shaping a continental vision of the African renaissance and subsequently NEPAD. This implies that "South Africa has been at the forefront to develop the continent's institutional capacity especially around the African Union, and that on occasion and particularly in the case of Lesotho, South Africa had the political will to intervene aggressively to address the hotspots that could destabilise the region... that it has generally been at the forefront of investment and economic development in the continent".

Nkoane-Mashabane (2012:18) also argues that "South Africa and its people stand to gain from the strengthening and deepening of bilateral and multilateral relations with countries of the world, especially those countries in Africa and... consolidating the African agenda... and that the future of South Africa is interlinked to that of our mother continent"(New Agenda, 2011:28).

2.1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SA AS A HEGEMON IN AFRICA

Since the dawn of the new post-apartheid in South Africa, the country has made a number of positive political contributions at SADC, AU and the United Nations as part of its dream to lead both politically and economically in the continent.

Moreover, the South African dream is clearly articulated in its foreign policy and according to Bowland (2013:2-3)

The South African foreign policy goals and objectives are reflected in the country's expectations in such areas as peace and security, human rights and economic development in which the African Agenda is the dominant feature".

He added that "...overall it would appear that the South African government places priority on dialogue in conflict situations through mediation and negotiation rather than the use of force in that since 1994 human rights have been an overarching foreign policy commitment of the South African government

In addition, the South African quest for hegemonic leadership in Africa has been demonstrated in a number of ways which include the country's contributions as follows:

South Africa won a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for the second time for 2011. This implies that the country will be at the UNSC for the next two years alongside the permanent powers of Britain, China,

France, Russia and the United States of America. Following the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, the then deputy president Thabo Mbeki made a famous “I am an African” speech in May 1996. Mbeki (2005:1) during the opening of the Second Session of South Africa’s Third Democratic Parliament further stated that, “... as we have laid a firm foundation ... this foundation must help us to move even further towards the consolidation of national reconciliation, national cohesion and unity and a shared new patriotism born of the strengthening of the manifest reality of South Africa...” He added that we must achieve new and decisive advances towards:

- Building a strong and efficient democratic state that truly serves the interests of the people... and eradicating poverty and underdevelopment ...
- Contributing to the victory of the African Renaissance and the achievement of the goal of a better life for the peoples of Africa and the rest of the world.

He concluded that “South Africa played an important role in the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from its traditional stance of being more preoccupied with the protection of territorial sovereignty of African states, to the present African Union (AU) in order to meet the current international challenges of the phenomenon of globalisation”. Kasamba (2013:29) also writes that “In 2012 Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was elected to the position of the African Union commission (Chairperson)...this has indicated that the participation of women in matters of peace and security on the continent is a priority item on her agenda” and Matlhako (2012:31) added that “...marking 10 years since the founding of the AU this year (2012) also coincides with South Africa assuming the administrative leadership of the continental body,... with the election of Dr Zuma – the first woman to head the AU’s Commission... this achievement is important for the continent in respect of and for gender and women advancement”.

In addition, South Africa has participated and is currently participating at multilateral levels and the following are some of the latest examples : During 2008 top female judges were appointed to high ranking positions at the United Nations as follows:

Judge Navanethem Pillay was appointed as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; she took up her post in Geneva on September 2008..She served as a judge of the International Criminal Tribunal

for Rwanda from 1993-2003 and acted as the tribunal's president for more than four years". The second woman to be appointed at the UN is the "former Constitutional Court Judge Catherine O' Regan who retired in 2009 who is currently serving as the chairperson of the United Nations Internal Justice Council of the World Economic Forum (Ngoma, 2008:6-7).

In another development, Jacky Selebi "the former national commissioner of the South African Police Service (SAPS) served as INTERPOL president from 2004 until 12 January 2008, he also served as South African representative as a chairman at the United Nations as the Human Rights Commission 94th session". On the contribution to peace and security in Africa "President Thabo Mbeki during the joint sitting of the third parliament opening cited the regeneration of the African continent (African Renaissance) as a priority goal for South Africa and as a challenge to be met.... he paid tribute to the South African National Defence Force which is doing a sterling work to help advance the cause of democracy and peace in various parts of our continent, and he emphasized the bilateral cooperation entered into with African countries... that we "will cooperate closely with India-Brazil-South Africa formation, while further strengthening our relations with China and we will work with other countries to ensure the effective contribution of the G20" (Mbeki, 2004:17-19).

This study seeks to assess the extent to which South Africa can lead an African agenda under the prevailing domestic circumstances when it has been experiencing strikes and protest marches between 2004 and 2013. In addition to the political goals that South Africa has of leading an African agenda, the country also has economic ambitions which are evidenced by the country's stance on NEPAD which is Africa's strategic economic policy under the African Unions leadership in order to counter the challenges of globalisation. The South African partnership in the BRICS is another positive development to deal with the challenges of globalisation at an economic front.

For example, Nkoane-Mashabane (2012) writes that

South Africa continued to consolidate peace and democracy in Burundi, Rwanda, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, and Central African Republic through its peace-keeping missions". She continued that "...South Africa and its people stand to gain from the strengthening and deepening of our bilateral and

multilateral relations with countries of the world, especially those countries here in Africa... South Africa in promoting the African agenda, seeks to correct the status of Africans and that despite Europe's attempt to impose absolute hegemony on Africa... there is no doubt that the AU is the sine qua non for the reversing of the spectre created by the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885

However, according to Marthoz (2012:2) despite the fact that "South Africa is undoubtedly the most powerful African nation that has played a leading role as a peacekeeper and peacemaker in the region,...it has not succeeded in fully implementing its proclaimed idealistic foreign policy or in resolutely addressing the social and economic domestic problems that this international ambition was supposed to help alleviate". Moreover, Landsberg (2009:1-6) posits that "the African Agenda is based on the understanding that socio-economic development cannot take place without political peace and stability and these are the prerequisites for socio-economic development". He added that since 1994,

South Africa has demonstrated a strong commitment to promoting the interests of Africa, and in being the voice of the continent internationally, He maintains that South Africa has placed an emphasis on both political and economic integration, and pursued both political and economic development goals

He added further that the country's African first policy now has diplomatic representation in 46 of 54 African countries and concluded that "while South Africa is one of the largest contributors to the AU's budget, and pays as much as R30 million to NEPAD and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), it remains the most underrepresented country in the African Union (AU) multilateral institutions, a serious situation that needs addressing as a matter of urgency".

Landsberg (2009) further argues that "the problem with the African Agenda over the past fifteen years has not been in the area of policy...he maintains that the problem has been in the realm of implementation of policy, and in this regard government has faced challenges located in the political and strategic environment, as well as with macro and micro institutional challenges at home".

Mondli Makhanya (2014:1) made a comparison between South Africa and Nigeria and labelled South Africa as the real number one as a hegemonic leader. He argues that South Africa's per capita income is double to that of Nigeria and added that South Africa's infrastructure is far ahead of Nigeria's and even comes close to that of developed countries. Furthermore, on the question of stability he maintains that South Africa is not battling the levels of instability such as insurgency and terrorism that Nigeria faces, for example the Boko Haram killings that have claimed 1500 lives this year (2014) alone. He then concluded that "however stable the South African democracy with a rule of law and strong accountability mechanisms... our instability in the form of service delivery protests and labour disputes should get warning lights flashing as violence is becoming too normal and acceptable as a weapon in our democratic society".

2.1.2 PROTESTS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA 2004-2013

According to Crais (2011:9) South African history offers particularly rich possibilities for exploring the problems of poverty and insecurity in the modern world. He adds that contemporary South Africa has one of the largest gaps separating the poor from the wealthy, and since the first democratic elections in 1994 both poverty and inequality have risen. He continues that these situations present acute challenges for the government and raise a host of issues ranging from the delivery of basic services to the durability of the young South African democracy.

In addition, the South African Statistician General Mr Pali Lehohla (2012:6) stated that "the 2011 Census figures illustrate South Africa's inequalities, and the government will have to plan to deal with this". He added that "although the figures show a positive trend, they also highlight stark contrasts that still exist in South Africa with regard to access to basic services, education, and annual income, between the sexes and racial groups as access to basic services had doubled since 1996, but admitted that there was much more that still needs to be done as our society's disparities are huge and that these inequalities have implications on policy".

Ramphela (2008:13-15) also maintains this about South Africa in celebrating 20 years into democracy that "it is good to reflect on where we are as a nation... as much has been achieved". She added that the signs of our success as a nation

includes that as a nation “we have a national constitution that is widely acclaimed, we have a solid legal and judicial system, we have woven the fragments of our divided past into a nation that calls itself South Africa”.

However, she argued that “we have much more to do to turn our remaining challenges into opportunities for further success”. She further added that “we still struggle to find closure on many issues related to the past...because the wounds are still raw, and because we have difficulty in acknowledging the depth of trauma”. She added that “our past wounds as a nation have a long history and the road to healing will also be long”.

She concluded that “we should not underestimate the psychological legacy of three centuries of colonial rule followed by apartheid”. In her concluding remarks she also asserts that South Africa needs “transformation” which she defined as denoting “fundamental changes in the structures, institutional arrangements, policies, modes of operation and relationships within society” and that “a successfully transformed South Africa would be characterised by the antithesis of all that was bad about the apartheid system...achieving this shift requires radical changes in values, attitudes and relationships at all level”.

According to Devenish (1998:27-28) the preamble of the constitution of South Africa has four cognate themes which occur and re-occur through the parts of the constitution giving it legitimacy and relevance for the people of South Africa, and reflecting their hope for political stability and social justice. The fourth and last theme is a political theme that is intended to ensure a greater political maturity for the nation as a whole so as to fulfil a historic destiny in the family of nations and that it embraces a commitment to building a united and democratic South Africa. During the year 1994 the new democratically elected government had an opportunity to break away from the apartheid past, and during the year 1996 the South Africa government adopted a new constitution (Act 108 of 1996) became the supreme law of the country. Therefore, political stability will be an important ingredient for South Africa both as a member state in the international community, and as a prerequisite for governance which is a requirement for statehood as Dugard (2010:82) writes that “the traditional criteria for statehood are described in the Montevideo Convention of 1933, which provides that the state as a person of international law should possess a government...”

Today South Africa's constitution is proclaimed the highest law in the land with... "The Bill of rights in the constitution (Act 108 of 1996) which is said to be a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa because it enshrines the rights of all people...and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom". (Davis,1997:27).Section 23 (2) (c) of the South African constitution states that "every worker has a right to strike". The constitution of South Africa is also described as "one of the most comprehensive and progressive instrument of its kind in the world because of the nature of rights protected such as the socio-economic rights."(Devenish, 1998:103).

Furthermore, in addition to the findings of Lehoula and Ramphela, Sooka (2009), maintains that

in spite of a progressive constitution... South Africa has had little success in addressing the poverty and inequality brought about by centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid

Sooka (2009) explains that in fact "there is a clear contradiction between the Bill of Rights and the economic rights of many South Africans...that the macro-economic policy of the country is not changing the socio-economic situation, and that the standards of living of most South Africans continue to deteriorate although the economy is growing annually, which means that the government has not changed much in its attempt to ensure economic rights to all, and this in some ways violates the Bill of Rights". (Annexure 8).She concluded that "for millions of South Africans especially those living in the former homelands... the rights provided in the constitution are a little more than a pipe dream, and that the only way to access these rights is to struggle for them" (2010:4). Matthews (2012) also wrote in BBC News during 2012 that "when it comes to the economy... South Africa is likely to record GDP growth closer to 2.5% this year, compared to 2.7% initially forecast, as the productivity of the mining sector is afflicted by the strikes. He then concluded that "last month President Jacob Zuma said the mining strike alone cost R3.1 billion...and that the economy could shed as many as 85000 jobs this year (2012) in a country where the unemployment rate is at least 25%"

According to Kunene and Maseng (2011: 255-261), “generally the causes of service delivery protests in South Africa are seriously complex, necessitating an expansion in the theoretical lens for capturing the full dynamics involved in fuelling the violence...”

The University of Western Cape initiated a multi-level-government project entitled “Service Delivery Protest Barometer” between 2007 and 2012 and De-Visser and Powell(2012) reported statistical data of protest incidents collected from media reports about protest activities in South Africa and explained that the “Service Delivery Protest Barometer” presents trends in service delivery protests in South Africa since 2007 and that it focusses on trends in four areas, namely: overall frequency, geographical spread, violence and the nature of the grievance.

They concluded that government at all levels (national, provincial and local) has to look, in a number of practical ways, at why service delivery protests are taking place and what can be done to mitigate them”.

De-Visser and Powell (2012) tabulated the following statistical service delivery protests in South Africa between 2007 and 2012 (Figure 1 and Figure 9). They classified data into Barometers 1-4 and in terms of ‘Barometer One’ they discovered the following trends:

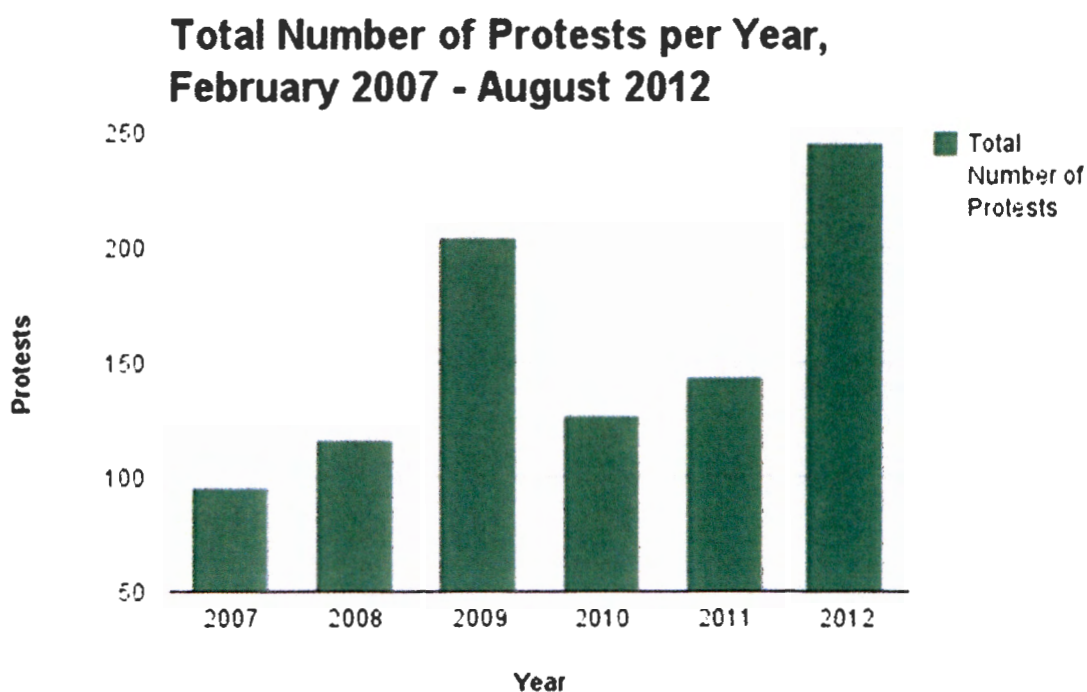


Figure 1 Multi-Level Government Initiative

Total Number of Violent Protests by Province, February 2007 - August 2012

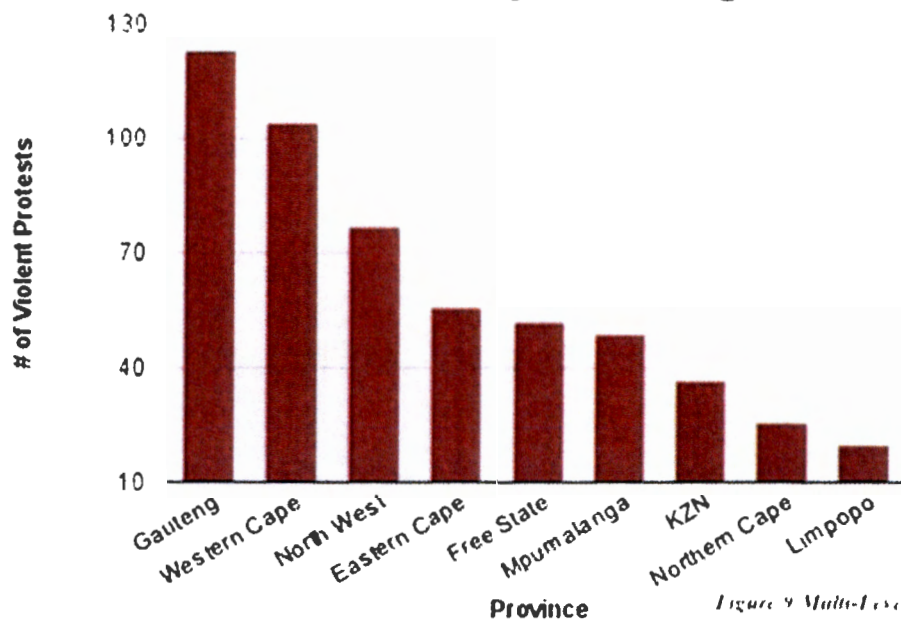


Figure 9 Multi-Level Government Initiative

“in the first 8 months of 2012 there have been more protests than in any other year, they added that the first 8 months have averaged 28.25 protests per month, and that from 2007 to 2011 there was an average of 11.61 protests per month, and that 2009 had the second highest average of monthly protests with 17”. In addition, they explained that “protests are far more likely to occur during the winter months (June, July and August) than in the summer months (December, January and February). They posit that in the winter of 2012 there was an average of 38 protests per month, more than at any other point in time. They then concluded that in 2012 the growth rate of protests has exceeded 100% for every year in the dataset”.

Moreover, Visser and Powell made a general analysis from the data as stated above that the overall, protest activity has risen dramatically in the first 8 months of 2012, with 226 protests per month or an average of 28.25 protests per month makes 2012 the year with the largest number of recorded protest activities by a significant margin. They argued that rises in protest activity for 2012 are not limited to winter months, but reflect an overall protest activity, and that during May 2012 the highest level of protests was recorded for a single month, with 49 different protests. They concluded that these increases are consistent with protest trends since 2009”. They

encouraged the use of the Service Delivery Protest Barometer as a means of furthering the related body of research and understanding of the topic

Moreover, according to Saba and van der Merve (Media 24 Investigations, 2013)

South Africa's wave of service delivery protests is far greater than previously imagined, with official police data revealing more than 3000 protests in the space of four years and that since 2009, there is a service delivery protest in South Africa- either violent or peaceful- at least once every two days

The report continued that "the true scale of the protests is far greater than other estimates as Monitoring agency Municipal IQ recorded 410 major service delivery protests from 2009 to 2012.

It concludes that the University of Western Cape's Service Delivery Protest Barometer- which uses a slightly broader definition, but unlike Municipal IQ ...arrived at about 720 protests from the beginning of 2009 to the end of August 2012".

Kunene and Maseng (2011:258-264) presented the following statistics as reflecting "a phenomenal increase in the number of protests and cited the local government report of 2009 as released by the Department of Cooperative Government that in South Africa between January and July 2009:

- Northern Cape 12%
- Western Cape 2%
- North West 17%
- Limpopo 3%
- Mpumalanga 8%
- Kwazulu Natal 8%
- Free State 15%
- Gauteng 30% and Eastern Cape 5%

They added that "in 2009 alone there was 52% increase in service delivery protests in the country which they attributed to the peoples "loss of confidence among local communities..."

In addition, De-Visser and Powell (2012) from the University of Western Cape in South Africa initiated a multi-level-government project entitled 'Service Delivery

Project Barometer” between 2007 and 2012 and tabulated statistical data in figures as follows:

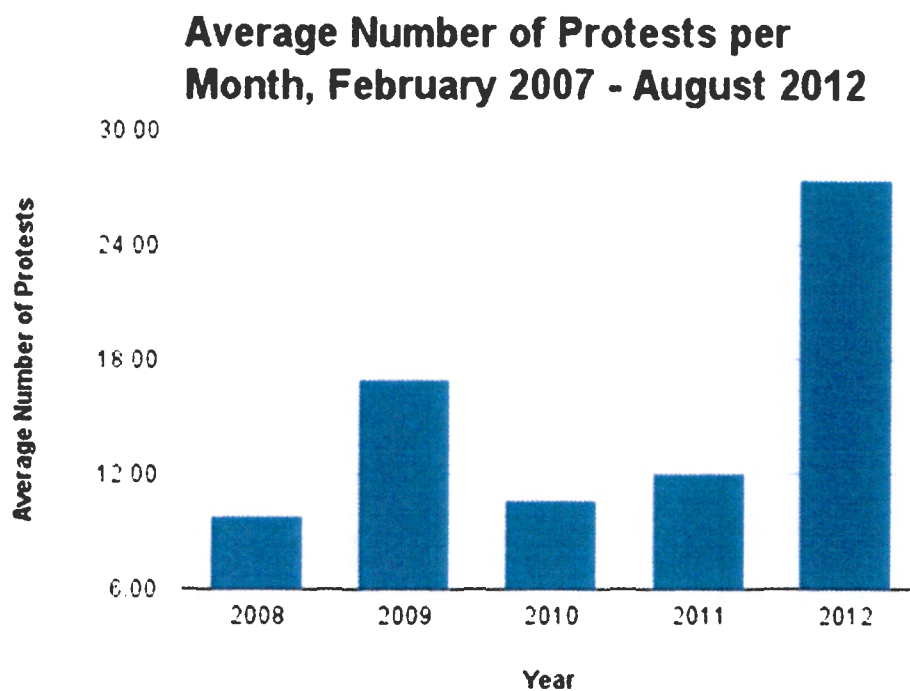


Figure 2 Multi-Level Government Initiative

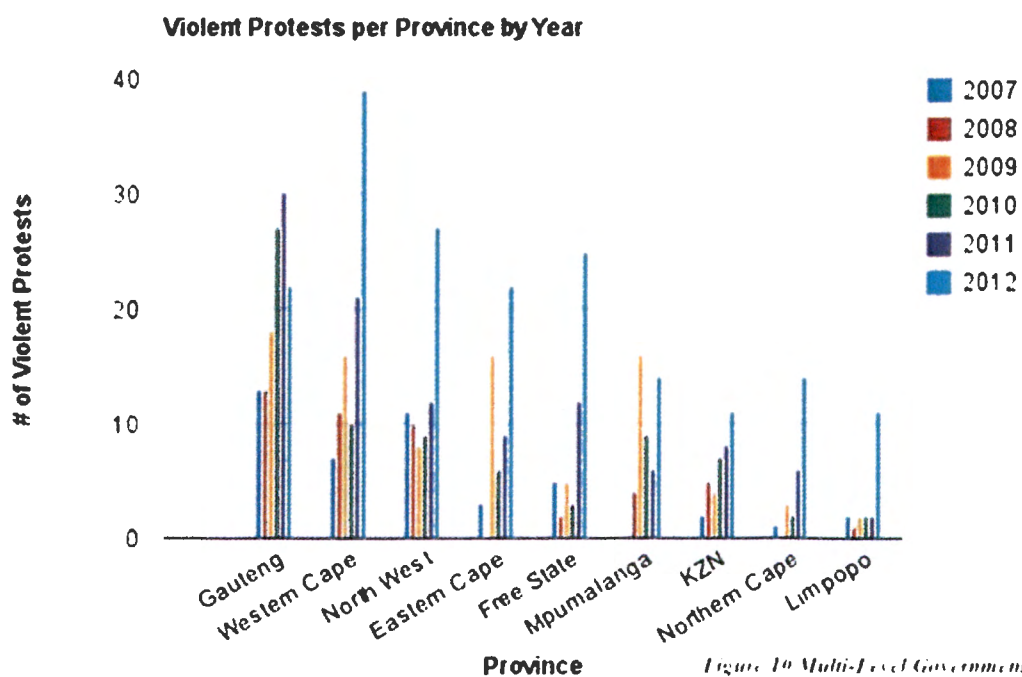


Figure 10 Multi-Level Government Initiative

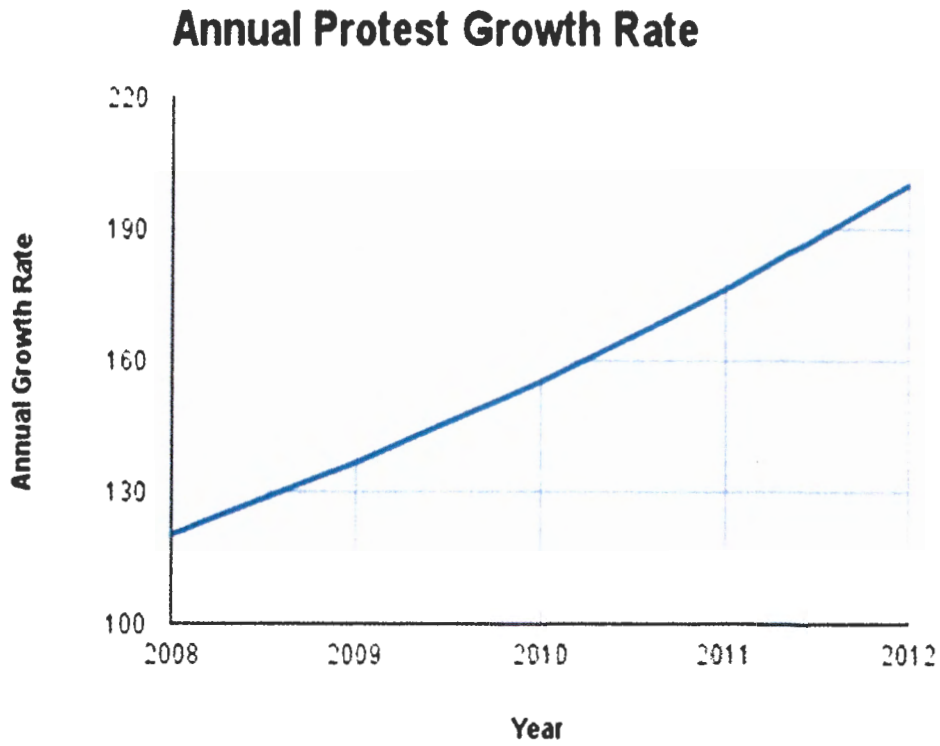


Figure 1 Multi-Level Government Initiative

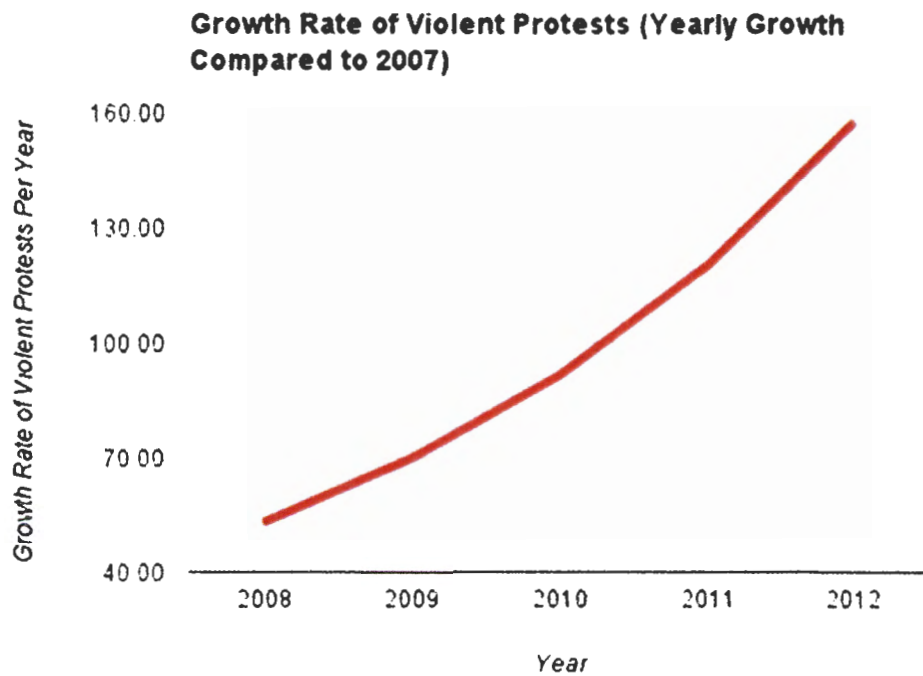


Figure 12 Multi-Level Government Initiative

Duvenhage (2012) also made an analysis of the events that led to the “Arab-Spring” and presented information on Service delivery protests across all the nine provinces in South Africa between January 2011 and August 2011 as sourced from local newspapers as follows:

- North West Province = 11%
- Northern Cape = 4%
- Western Cape = 23%
- Free State = 23%
- Eastern Cape = 9%
- Kwazulu Natal = 7%
- Limpopo = 2%
- Mpumalanga = 5%
- Gauteng Province = 18%

The Marikana miners' strike at a Lonmin mine close to Rustenburg in the North West Province in South Africa during 2012 is considered a seminal event in modern South African history. At Marikana, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) protests were reportedly in response to poor pay and the strike occurred against the backdrop of antagonism and violence between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and AMCU. The NUM was accused by AMCU of being closely linked to the ruling political party. The event garnered international attention following a series of violent incidents between the mine workers on strike and the South African Police Services which resulted in the deaths of 44 people (Annexure 9-10), the majority (34) of whom were striking mine workers killed by the police on 16 August 2012.

In addition, a wave of strikes occurred across the South-African mining sector and Anglo American – the world's biggest platinum producer announced that it would fire 12000 workers after losing 39000 ounces in output- or R700million in revenue.

According to Burkhardt and Buhuckor, (May, 14, 2013) “Lonmin the worlds-largest platinum produce announced operations at its Marikana mine in South Africa have been halted after workers refused to go underground. They interviewed Sue Vey, a company spokeswoman who reported that during the time of the strike the currency weakened substantially...Lonmin shares fell 7.3 percent to 265.10 pence by the close of business in London, the most since April 15...the Rand declined as much as

0.8 percent to 9.2319 per dollar...after the news of the work stoppage...its lowest level since April 22 and that it traded at 9.2091 as of 5:35pm in Johannesburg". The South African finance minister Pravin Gordon called for a resolution to disputes at Lonmin as he told reporters in Cape Town that "returning to normal production in our mining industry is absolutely critical"

Agbroko (2012) of the Financial Times also wrote that "as South Africa produces 80 percent of the world's platinum supply, the unrest continues to spook global commodities markets, pushing up platinum prices and dragging gold futures up too"

SAPA (2013) also reported on the first anniversary of the Marikana killings that "mine stoppages in 2012 cost Africa's largest economy 15.3 billion rands (\$1.2billion, 1.5 billion Euros)". De-Visser and Powell (2012) in their tabulation of violent protests in South Africa between 2007- 2012 referred to as 'Barometer 3' defined violent protests as

instances where some or all of the participants have engaged in actions that create a clear and imminent threat of, or actually result in, harm to persons or damage to property and that these includes instances where police disperse protesters with teargas, rubber bullets, or water cannons, rocks are thrown at passing motorists or tyres are burned to blockade roads". They further write that "in the first 8 months of 2012, 79.20% of protests turned violent and that there have been more violent protests in the first 8 months than there were total protests in 2011

The report added that the "Western Cape has surpassed Gauteng as the province with the largest number of violent protests in 2012, and that the North West province has more than doubled the number of violent protests from 2011, with most of the violent activity occurring in August 2012, and that the top 3 most violent provinces account for 55.9% of all violent protests over the 6 year period".

They maintained that with the exception of 2008, every year has seen more violent protests in winter than all the rest of the year combined. The report concluded that

violent protests have increased exponentially since 2010 and that the data show that protests are not only increasing in frequency but are also far more

likely to turn violent and the geographical distribution of violence has been consistent with other trends in protest activity (Annexure 3-5)

Pallo Jordan (2013) also argued that “before Marikana, one could point to the stable transition to democracy in that for an unprecedented 18 years after April 1994, South Africa did not experience any serious social or political upheaval. He maintained that the brutal methods of labour exploitation for which South Africa became notorious during the 20 century were pioneered in and institutionalised by the mining sector...” dominated by men who regarded their employees as little more than units of labour” and he concluded that the mining sector paid alarmingly low wages until forced to the bargaining table by the organised pressure of the workers”.

Landsberg (2008:207-209) speaks of a new paradigm that “at the end of the 1990's...NEPAD puts the challenge of poverty alleviation and underdevelopment at the core of a new Pan-Africanism in Africa on the premise that there can be no development without peace and security, governance and stability, economic growth and international cooperation”, and furthermore, that

this new paradigm was articulated under the rubric of the new African Agenda, driven by South African President Thabo Mbeki, President Olusegun Obasanjo and others...that South Africa and Nigeria in particular were instrumental in pushing for NEPAD and that from a South African point of view NEPAD was heavily influenced by the ideal of an African renaissance articulated by South Africa since 1995... and NEPAD came to be viewed as the vehicle through which the African renaissance would be delivered in that it is based on the philosophy that Africa's social, economic and political challenges can be addressed by continental initiatives, backed up by external assistance

Venter (2011:16) writes that “South Africa is heavily dependent on international trade (which accounts for 60 per cent of the gross domestic product) and direct foreign investment for economic expansion” and that “its over-reliance on minerals, (gold, platinum, coal, iron-ore) as foreign exchange earners (around 33 per cent of total export sales) makes it vulnerable to both foreign economic pressure and the general state of the global economy”.

Moreover, Agbu (2010:196-9) argues that “it is debatable if South Africa can be categorised as a member of Emerging Global South (EGS) even though it has the

potential, in that the prevalence of unemployment and other social malaises combine to raise doubts about its qualification as a country capable of displacing the hegemonic North countries from Africa". He further added that "the EGS constitutes those countries of the South that have risen from the push and pull of globalisation to becoming key players in the global economy...the EGS include countries such as Brazil, Russia, India and China and more recently South Africa (BRICS)".

Menocal et al (2007:531-7) also maintain that "developmental states are usually characterised by a strong leadership which is committed to developmental goals, and which places national development ahead of personal enrichment and or short-term political gains". They added that

the developmental state and good governance overlap and contain a set of norms and principles such as democracy, accountability and respect for human rights" and they cited the following countries as examples of developmental states: "Brazil, India, Mauritius, Botswana and South Africa

However, according to president Jacob Zuma (2013:6) in respect of strengthening the South-South relations "the BRICS member states reach across Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa ensuring that the group links emerging powers and raises the voices of these countries as a whole in the world". He also added that "we (South Africa) have always made it clear that our membership of this formation is not only intended to advance our own economic development alone, but that of the entire African continent...".

Susan Garth (2011) also writes that "the number of days lost in strikes across South Africa approached 30 million at the end of July which is already more than the number of days lost through strikes last year during the strikes season. She mentioned the prospect of a looming mining strike and she also mentioned that South Africa has not experienced a national mining strike since the year 2005. She mentioned the mining companies of Anglo-American and De Beers which are the world's largest diamond producers, and she further mentions the mining companies such as AngloGold Ashanti, Goldfields, Harmony and Rand Uranium.

Moreover, she reiterated that "South Africa produces 225 million tonnes of coal a year, 66 million of which is exported, and that electricity generation in South Africa is heavily dependent on coal... and Eskom, the state owned Power Company...will be forced to close if the coal strike continues". She further argues that approximately 80% of the world's platinum comes from South Africa and that the platinum miners

may soon join the strike and that their action is likely to drive up the world price of this vital commodity very rapidly. She concluded that rising unemployment which rose to 25.7 percent is increasing the pressure on the workers living standards as the South African workers' are receiving a smaller share of the national gross domestic product which has risen every year since 1998".

2.1.3 GLOBALISATION AND ITS EFFECTS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

The phenomenon of globalisation is selected in this study for its relevance to explain the topic, in particular the variable of hegemony. The concept of globalisation can be viewed from many perspectives which include the cultural, political, social, economic and technological dimensions; however, for the purpose of this study more focus will be placed on the socio-political and economic perspectives.

On the one hand, Held (2004:6-14) writes about globalization that

it remains a subject of intense debate in a changing world among social scientists and its story can be told relatively through drugs, crime, war, protest movements, terrorism...goods and money now all travel the globe...crossing national boundaries and connecting the world on an unprecedented scale and with an unimaginable speed...the authority of nation-states and traditional social institutions seems to be increasingly redundant ...as the nation-states are too small to be able to influence global change, and too large to respond effectively to the pressures for increased flexibility and competitiveness

McGrew (2011:16-17) added to the definition of globalisation as "a long-term historical process that results from worldwide interconnectedness in the study of world politics". He posits that "over the last three decades global interconnectedness has become increasingly evident in almost every sphere from economic to the cultural" and that "dealing with these transnational issues has led to an explosive growth of transnational and global forms of rule-making and regulation from G20 summits in 2009 responding to the global financial crisis, to the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change Conference". He then concluded that: "with the recognition of global problems and global interconnectedness has come a growing awareness of the multiple ways in which the security and prosperity of communities in different regions of the world are bound together in that a single terrorist bombing in Bali has repercussions for public perceptions in Europe and the USA, while agricultural

subsidies in the USA and EU have significant consequences for the livelihood of farmers in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean”.

Giddens (2006:50-3) also tries to define globalization by making an explanation that it refers to the fact that we all increasingly live in one world... what explains the rise of globalization is complex and includes the rise of contemporary information and communication technology, economic and political factors

Konare (2006:1) added that “the end of the Cold-war has brought a series of challenges under the current forces of globalisation in that our problems have become global from economy, human rights, and the environment and that all these are issues that we have to deal with at international level”. He maintains that “since the turn of the century, there has been global consensus in upholding peace, democracy and individual rights which include the adoption of the millennium declaration which encapsulates the goals of eradicating poverty and finding peaceful means to resolving conflict among states towards a global socio-economic development, and that this consensus was expressed at international conferences and summits”. That implies that because of access to international communication networks people are now more aware of their interconnectedness with others, and identify with global issues and processes more than was the case in the past.

Moreover, Kothari (2002:17-22) posits that “the collapse of the socialist states in the Soviet Union appears to have resolved the presumption that there are now no obstacles to the world-wide extension of modernization project, a presumption that finds its principal expression in the globalization debate. He asserts that “there is a widespread consensus across different perspectives that globalization is reducing the scope and power of the nation-state to direct national development strategies...”. According to Stinson (2009:17), “... like most countries in Africa today, modern South Africa is a product of European colonialism, independence movements and the various challenges and opportunities bestowed upon new states in an era of neo-colonialism and globalization”. He added that South Africa also carries a unique historical legacy of heavy industrialization, institutionalised racism and “colonialism of a special type” which continues to influence its post-apartheid development.

Now, it is on the basis of these debates and arguments posited that this study seeks to determine the impact of service delivery protests on the South African image both

nationally and internationally. That is, globalism was applied to help validate or falsify the hypothesis; it was also applied to address the research objectives and research questions. Furthermore, globalism was applied to determine any pattern and the extent of violent mass protests on the South African vision to lead an African agenda between 2004 and 2013.

During the 2009 state of the nation address, the South African president Jacob Zuma stated that the past year (2008) has seen “the global economy enter a period of crisis unprecedented in recent decades”. He added that “while South Africa has not been affected to the extent that a number of other countries have, its effects are now being clearly seen in our economy, that “the economic downturn will affect the pace at which our country is able to address the social and economic challenges it faces” and he concluded by reiterating the need to work together on a common programme to respond to the crisis to minimise the impact on the vulnerable and he singled out job creation as a priority area. Moreover, during the 2011 state of the nation address Zuma reiterated that “we are concerned that unemployment and poverty persists despite the economic growth experienced in the past 10 years”

Furthermore, in advancing the South African hegemonic leadership goal in Africa, president Zuma mentioned in the 2010 state of the nation address that “we will intensify efforts to promote the interests of South Africa globally... and we will support efforts to speed up the political and economic integration of the SADC ...and South Africa continues to play a leading role in continental efforts to strengthen the African Union and its organs and to work for unity”.

2.1.4 AFRICAN RENAISSANCE PERSPECTIVE AND THE SA VISION IN AFRICA

At the dawn of the twenty first century a number of international events took place and many commentators spoke of a paradigm shift. In Africa, African scholars spoke of an ‘African century’. In Europe there was a historical turnaround of events when the Eastern pro-communist block disintegrated and was accepted into the Capitalist West a move which was sealed by the removal of the Berlin wall.

In another development, the first black president Mr Barack Obama, was elected president in the USA, and in South Africa the first black president Mr Nelson Mandela was elected president of the country. As Murithi (2008:1,5) writes that “at

the dawn of the new millennium, the second democratically elected of South Africa President Thabo Mbeki proclaimed that it will be an 'African Century'.

Okolo (2010:103) added that "the shift from the OAU to the AU has been associated with the continental body's resolve to advance the frequently touted 'African solutions to African problems' in a bid to discourage external actors from meddling in African conflicts and that these initiatives are traced to the call for an 'African Renaissance', championed by former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki".

Gutto (2003:3-6) posits that

the African Renaissance is a vision and mission for transformative change and development that is premised on the understanding that the future of Africa and the peoples of Africa and the Diaspora lies in the fundamental processes of renewal, re-invention and rebirth for the renewal of Africa which has been defined as the furtherance of Pan Africanism within the global context, that this entails progressive, traditional African values and a shift in consciousness to embrace individual responsibility...

President Mbeki (2005:1) during his second State of the Nation address of the second session of the Third Democratic Parliament mentioned that as a nation "we must achieve new and decisive advances towards building a strong and efficient democratic state... and eradicating poverty and underdevelopment... contributing to the victory of the African Renaissance and the achievement of the goal of a better life for the peoples of Africa and the rest of the world".

The president added that "the strengthening of the SADC and the African Union and a commitment to the NEPAD strategy and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) will be a means by which to achieve that goal.

He outlined the goals of South Africa as including:

- Helping construct a new world order that is more equitable
- Strengthening of the local government system.
- Building the sense of national unity, united action and the new patriotism.
- Response to the diverse political, economic, social and technological challenges of the process of globalisation.
- Continue to work towards the regeneration of Africa; and

- Being responsive to the needs of the poor of the world, who constitute the overwhelming majority of humanity?"

That is, he maintained that the goals mentioned above are the values that underlie and constitutes the central architecture of South Africa's policies and programmes.

This perspective is relevant both in South Africa as an aspiring regional hegemon (as stated at its policies), and also as a contemporary African philosophy on both the African domestic and international stage.

According to Nkoane-Mashabane (2012:16) "despite Europe's attempt to impose absolute hegemony on Africa, our people resisted and created organisations that made Europe's occupation imperfect and very difficult and that the origin of the African Union (AU) emanated from the Pan African dream prompted by the 1884-85) Berlin conference... that Sylvester Williams, Jomo Kenyatta, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah answered in Manchester, England, in 1945 with the Pan African call, that these African men and women called for the immediate freedom of Africa, and they put their hands together in the harambee spirit to make it happen...that their clarion call followed various Pan African Congresses that were meant to establish the framework for African unity, and that at another level Marcus Garvey had earlier called for a single African government for African people calling for African solutions for Africa's problems".

Matthews (2008:25-37) also posits that "the key debates on Pan-Africanism originated around the 19th century at the height of slavery and at the dawn of colonialism...."

He defined Pan-Africanism as a vision in promoting an agenda to include all Africans, that as an ideological movement it is committed to the socio-economic and political emancipation of Africans, the idea that embodies the vision of a more dynamic, united, stable and prosperous Africa that seeks to unite Africa economically and politically so as to achieve sustainable economic development, better standards of living for the people of Africa, and to enhance qualitatively Africa's place in the world economy.

Moreover, he added that "the launch of the AU and NEPAD as a strategy for African development and integration in the 21st century represents a revival of Pan-Africanism... and provides new directions for much needed regeneration and rebirth of Africa". He also maintains that "the key conceptual themes emerging from Pan-

Africanism have been 'redemption of Africa' and 'Africa for Africans.' He concluded that "without creating a strong democratic, independent, and self-reliant New Africa, the continent will remain easy prey to the penetration of external economic interests; that is, a united Africa will be able to withstand multiple challenges but if it continues to be divided, it will continue to be beset by crises... and without unity, there is no future for Africa".

Okolo (2010:104) posits that "the concept of the African Renaissance is not new, however it was Thabo Mbeki the former president of South Africa, who popularised the concept in its modern and current usage" He concluded that "Mbeki made the ideological and political nexus which speaks to a call for a renaissance... to promote the idea of an African Renaissance as a new social imperative, making it a critical component of change and a *sine qua non* of recovery in Africa". Moreover, Okolo argues that

the call for an African Renaissance according to Mbeki in emphasizing African solutions to African problems' must be seen within the broader context but not as an end in itself as Africa especially in this globalised era, cannot afford not to partner with other regions of the world

According to the resolution of the Conference on African Renaissance, Integration, Unity and Development (2011:176-7) "the AU which succeeded the OAU has embarked on a struggle for a united Africa and Africa's economic independence and the development that would change the lives of Africans for the better", it further stated that "the African renaissance is a vision and mission for transformative change and development... premised on the understanding that the future of Africa and the Diaspora lies in the fundamental processes of renewal, reinvention and rebirth... it is a "furtherance of Pan-Africanism within the global context; the regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon to be added to the world... that there is a need for socio-economic, cultural and political re-orientation of the African psyche leading to a redefinition of Africa".

2.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

D'Anieri (2010:15) maintains that in political science, the word theory is used fairly specifically. He added that the specific usage of the word theory in political science differs slightly from the conventional usage in which the word may refer to any conjecture about a single event. He then concludes that a theory is a generalised explanation of a set of comparable phenomenon and that two things need to be emphasized. Firstly, that a theory is an explanation, in that it answers the question "why?", thus specifying a particular effect that is being explained and the causes of that effect. Secondly, that a theory is generalised in that it seeks to explain not a single event, but a series of comparable events.

Therefore, this study entailed the following application. This sub-section of the literature review is very important because it provided the theoretical foundational basis for examining of the problem under investigation. That is, two different theoretical perspectives have been applied, firstly the hegemonic stability theory, and secondly the Realist theory was applied. These two international relations theoretical approaches have been selected for the relevance to of their underlying principles. That is, the common denominator between these theories is their orientation with power for leadership or hegemony among states at international level. Moreover, these approaches have been synergistically synchronised in line with the research objectives with a view to address the research problem, research aims, research questions and the hypothesis as postulated, and to assist in the determination of the research findings, conclusions and recommendations.

2.2.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory

D'Anieri (2010:69-70) posits that the term hegemonic stability points to the main argument of the theory. He maintains that the hegemon can act as the global or regional policeman, in effect reducing anarchy in the system. He explained the hegemonic stability theory as "a strand of realist thought which finds that stability results from unipolarity in which one state is clearly more powerful and able to act to ensure some degree of order in the system". In addition, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), a leading Marxist thinker used the term hegemony to denote the predominance of one social class over others (e.g. bourgeois hegemony) and that

this represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated to it accept it as 'common sense' and natural. Moreover, Howson and Smith (2008:108-127) also concur that in fact "hegemony lies in the relationship between the economic, political and social spheres and cannot be separated one from another and that since it is based on leadership and consent, it is a complex process which must continually adapt".

For example, McGrew (2004:152-3) comments on hegemonic governance that "during the Cold-War when the USSR and the US were locked into a contest for global hegemony, the pattern of global governance was very different from that of today" He argues that the US emerged as the only global superpower and that although it remains unwilling to devote either the resources, or the attention to running the world, it does nevertheless have a critical veto over most aspects of global governance".

This theory has been chosen in this study for its relevance in Africa. According to Lumumba-Kasongo (2010:171-190) "Africa's partnership with the dominant powers is characterised by exploitation of both natural and human resources, unequal exchanges of resources and by the history of European discrimination against Africa and they concluded that this Euro-Anglo-American subordination of Africa in the international political economy leads to subordination and structural weaknesses of African states".

To assess this topic, this theory will be mixed and applied together with other theories in one pot with a view to come up with a more palatable perspective to answer the questions raised earlier in the study.

2.2.2 The Realist Perspective

According to Dunne and Schmidt in Baylis et al (2008:91-94)"realism is the dominant theory of international relations because it provides the most powerful explanation for the state of war which is the regular condition of life in the international system." They maintain that "the theory of realism that prevailed after the Second World War is often claimed to rest on an older, classical tradition of thought which many contemporary realist writers often claim to be part that includes such illustrious

figures as Thucydes, Nicolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau". They then conclude that "since the end of the Cold War, intra-state war (internal conflicts in one state) has become more prevalent than interstate wars". They further concluded that in terms of structural realists, when the sovereign authority of the state collapses, such as Somalia and Haiti, internal wars happen for many of the same reasons that wars between states take place.

D'Anieri (2010:63) maintains that there are four central assumptions to all realist theories which are as follows. The first one is anarchy, which places immense emphasis on the idea that international politics is anarchic. This assumption holds that international politics is anarchic because there is no world government to rule over states. The second assumption holds that realism sees states as the central actors in international politics and thus international politics is politics between states. The third assumption maintains that states are unitary actors. you do not need to look inside states to see how they behave; state behaviour is driven by the conditions in the system, not by internal politics of individual states .The last assumption, is that of states as rational actors. Realists maintain that state behaviour is rational and rationality does not mean that states always make the best or right decisions, but rather that states calculate the costs and benefits of all alternative policies in order to maximize their utility.

According to Mearsheimer (2001 :72-76) "for realists, international politics is synonymous with power politics... which implies that power is the currency of international politics". He further makes a distinction between defensive and offensive realists as follows:

On the one hand, he argues that defensive realists assume that the international system creates strong incentives to gain additional increments of power and believes that it is foolish to pursue hegemony. In addition, they maintain that if any state becomes too powerful balancing will occur, with other great powers building up their military and forming a balance. This implies that according to the defensive realists argument, the basic fact about life in the international system should be apparent to all states which should limit their appetite for more power, otherwise they run the risk of threatening their own survival for even when conquest is feasible, it does not pay as the costs outweigh the benefit.

However, on the other hand, the offensive realists do not buy these arguments as Mearsheimer writes that "states should always be looking for more opportunities to

gain more power and should do so whenever it seems feasible. That is, states should maximize power and their ultimate goal should be hegemony because that is the best way to guarantee survival”.

He then concludes that “the past behaviour of the great powers has been more in accordance with the predictions of offensive realists rather than defensive realism in that during the first half of the twentieth century, there were two world wars in which three great powers attempted and failed to gain hegemony. These imperial powers were Germany, Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany and that “it was not surprising that those countries were destroyed in those wars that they foolishly started”, and that the second half of the century was dominated by the cold war in which the USA and the Soviet Union engaged in an intense competition.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 METHODOLOGY

The research methodology is important in this study because it shows how the research study has been conducted. This study is a social survey and it is an exploratory type of survey with a motive to get new facts.

Surveys are data collection methods in which information is gathered through oral or written questioning.(Sarantakos, 1988:2).

“The researcher selects a sample from a population and administers standardized questionnaires to them...” (Babbie, 2010: 254).

The mixed approach was used in this study. This methodology was appropriate for this enquiry for its relevance to the problem statement and the objectives.

Mixing of the two types of data might occur at several stages: the data collection, data analysis, interpretation, or at least at all three phases (Creswell, 2009:207).

Mixed method is a combination of both the quantitative and qualitative approaches in a social science research.

“Mixed method is a rich field for the combination of data because with this design words, pictures, and narrative can be used to add meaning to numbers. This combination of methods involves the collection, analysis and integration of quantitative and qualitative data in a single or multiphase study”. (Hesse-Biber, 2010:3).

This methodological approach was applied because qualitative and quantitative methods of research have differing strengths and weaknesses, and constitute alternative and not opposing research strategies. That is, according to this approach, the strengths of one method were used to overcome the weaknesses of the other, and therefore achieve a higher degree of reliability and validity.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

“Research design (planning) provides the overall structure for the procedure that the researcher must follow... ” (Leedy, 2001:91)

That is, research designs are plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis...the selection of a research design is also based on the nature of the research problem or issue being addressed (Creswell, 2009:3).

3.3 POPULATION

The term population in this study refers to the entire group of people that the researcher wishes to investigate.

Population is that group of people about whom the researcher wants to draw conclusions...(Babbie, 2010:116).

That is, the researcher in this study intended to generalise the findings drawn from the sample and population to the entire South Africa.

The survey population was drawn from the two provinces of South Africa namely the North West Province and the Northern Cape. These provinces were selected for their convenience for the researcher, taking into consideration the travelling expenses and the time in which the report must be submitted.

In selecting the population, it was carefully noted that the prevalence of protest actions in the Northern Cape was relatively low; however, the high rate of inequality, poverty and unemployment at these provinces was the strong motivating factor that led to their inclusion into the population.

3.4 SAMPLING SIZE. AND METHOD

For the purpose of this study the non-probability sampling procedure was followed.

Sampling is the process of choosing the units of the target population which are to be included in the study and it enables the researcher to study a relatively small number of units to study the characteristics of a larger population.(Sarantakos, 1998:139)

The convenience sampling method was used in this study. This sampling method is also called accidental or haphazard. The reason for selecting this sampling method was that it is feasible. The community-based organisations, trade union members and ordinary South Africans from the streets were identified as useful for the purpose of sampling in this study. This method which is a type of a non-random sampling was preferred because the respondents were easy to reach. The main consideration was

that the sample has to be large enough to allow meaningful generalisation when analysing data. Sufficient care was taken in at this study that the sample should not be too large to pose problems.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND PROCEDURE

Primary data in this study was collected by means of three hundred semi-structured questionnaires that were distributed to the respondents.

When the researcher collects their own data directing towards answering questions raised by the researcher, the data is called primary data. (Bless, 2000:97).

A semi-structured questionnaire which consisted of both closed ended and open ended questions was either electronically or self-administered to the respondents,

The questionnaire was written in English, and consisted of three sections as follows:

The first section is a cover page, or an introductory letter which explains the instructions on how to complete the questionnaire and the ethical aspects of the research. The second part which is "section A", covered the biographical or personal details of the respondent such as location organisation, province, and place,.

The third part which is "section B" consisted of open-ended questions. In this part, the spacing provided allowed the respondents to elaborate on their answers.

Four questions were asked in the questionnaire as follows:

Firstly, why do people still engage in violent strikes in post-apartheid South Africa?

Secondly, what do you think is the impact of strikes on the South African dream to lead in Africa? Thirdly, what do you think is the impact of strikes on the South African economy? and, fourthly, what do you think is the effect of protests in South Africa on the country's image?

Three hundred (300) semi-structured questionnaires were distributed to three distinct communities in the two provinces

The first one hundred (100) was distributed to the members belonging to trade unions; the second one hundred (100) were distributed to the NGO's and the third group of one hundred (100) questionnaires were distributed to ordinary members of the community picked from the streets. One hundred (100) of the three hundred (300) questionnaires were either spoiled or returned incomplete from the respondents.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Procedures in the latest North West University Manual for Postgraduate Studies (October, 2010) were observed throughout the process of the study as part of ethical considerations and the researcher informed the respondents about the purpose of the research.

Ethical considerations are important in this study because the general approach is humanistic, and the objects of the research enquiry are human beings.

When the respondents agreed to be involved in the study, steps were taken to make them feel free, and to make them understand what they were agreeing to in the research process. Furthermore, the respondents were informed about the confidentiality of the information that they furnished. Lastly, the research informants were also instructed not to give any private information such as their names or contact details.

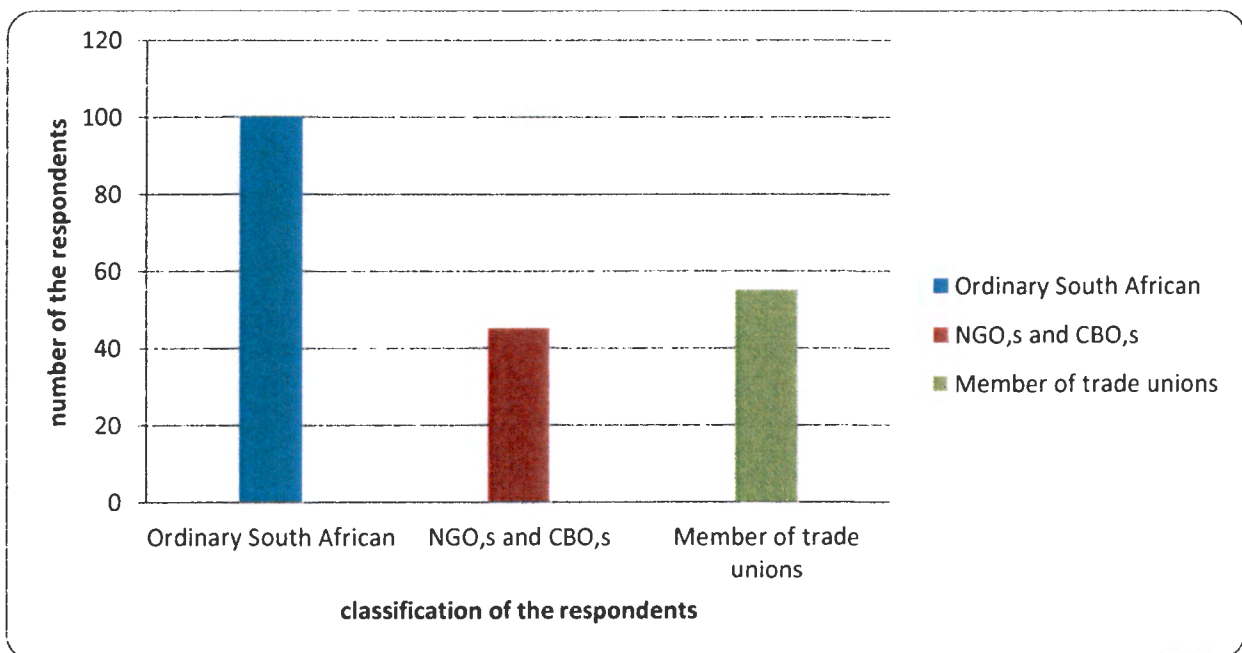
DATA PRESENTATION

The nature of data in this study is both the quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data sourced comprised statistical information from different texts and this information is acknowledged and presented in the subsequent chapter of the study in the format of graphs, tables and percentages.

Meanwhile, qualitative data in this study is sourced by means of research questionnaires and interviews. It is presented and classified firstly into the biographical details or the demographic descriptions of respondents such as geographical local or place, educational level and organisation, and secondly it is classified into the trend analysis of questions of opinion. Moreover, some of the qualitative data after it was analysed was reduced into statistical information in the form of graphs, tables, charts and percentages.

The data collected is hereby presented as follows:

Figure 1: Views on Why SA People engage on violent protests in the new democracy

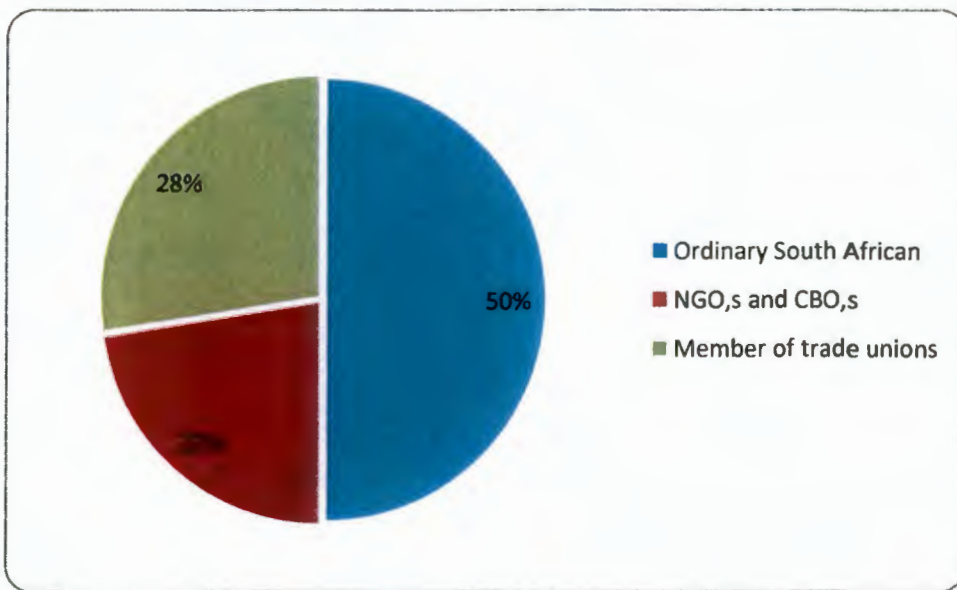


Author: Victor Matlotleng

According to this diagram, 100 ordinary South Africans responded that there is a poor delivery of services at local municipalities in the areas of job creation and addressing poverty inequalities in general .45 respondents from NGO's and CBO's

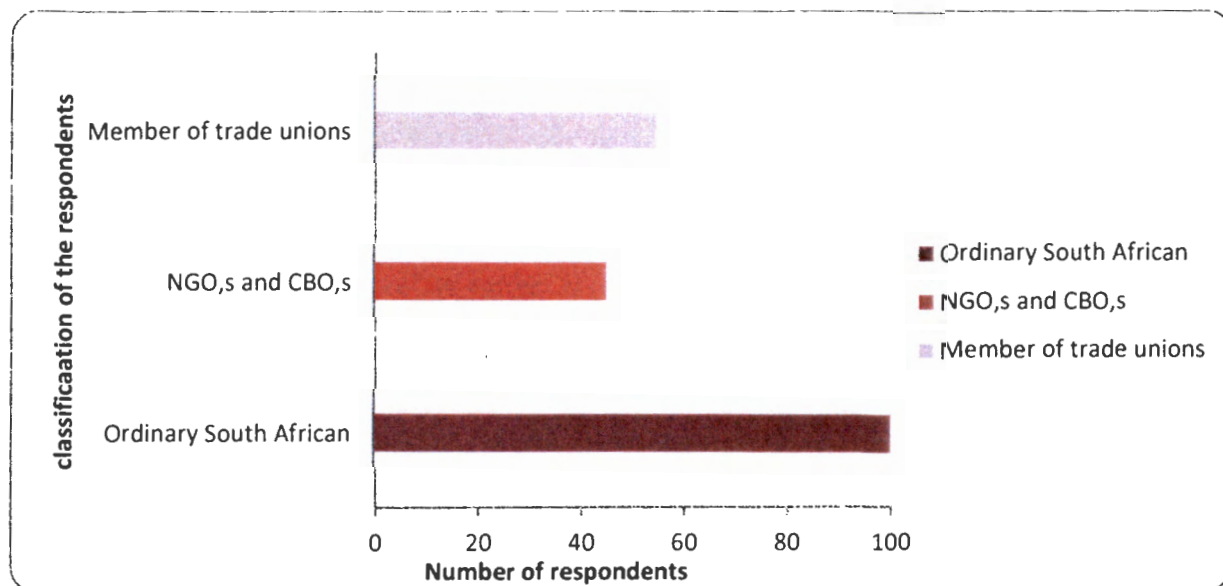
responded that there are huge disparities between the rich and the poor in SA and 55 trade unions members responded that the capitalist system prevalent in SA is what makes managers rich and the poor workers to struggle to have the ends meet.

Figure 2 Views on the impact of strikes on the SA dream to lead in Africa



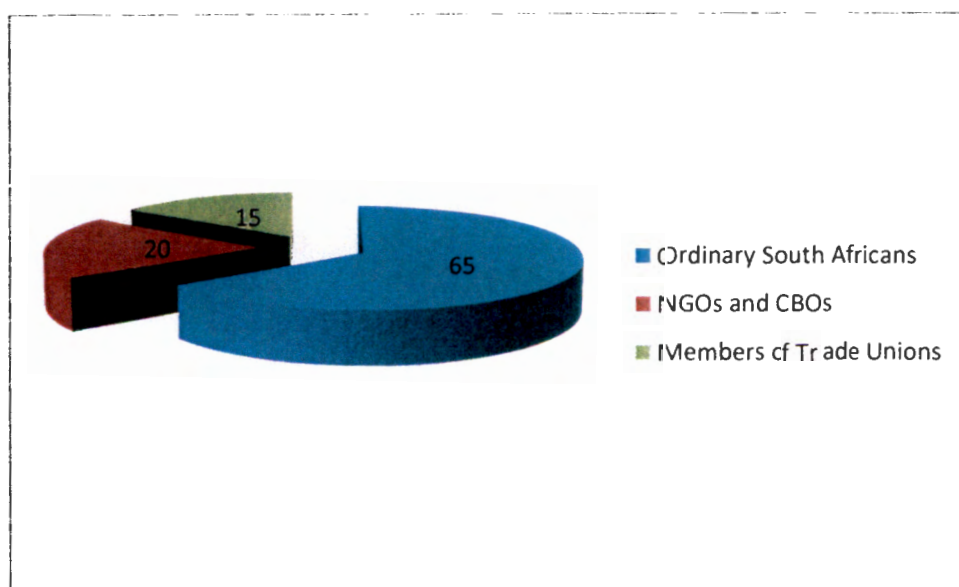
According to this chart, 50% of the ordinary South Africans responded that violent public protest as covered by the media portrays a negative image of South Africa in a democratically elected post-apartheid dispensation. 22% of the NGO's and CBO's responded that public demonstrations in general demonstrates to the world that there are internal problems in the democratically elected government of South Africa. 28% of trade union respondents maintained that strikes have a strong negative effect on the image of South Africa.

Figure 3 The Views on the Impact of Strikes on the SA economy



According to figure 3 above, 50% of ordinary South Africans responded that strikes have a negative impact on the South African economy, 30% of the NGO's and CBO's also concurred that strikes do not promote the economy of the country and 20% of the trade union members responded that strikes hamper the economy of the country

Figure 4: The views on the Impact of Strikes on the SA Positive Image



4.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following are some of the challenges experienced in the process of producing this paper.

There were administrative problems at Departmental level that added to the eventual failure of this paper to be registered during the 2013 academic year. As a result, the challenges experienced in this paper at departmental level spilled over and affected the timelines for the submission of the dissertation to the examinations office.

Conversely, the study could not fully achieve its intended objectives due to the fact that 300 research questionnaires were initially distributed to the respondents across the population in the two provinces and 100 of those were spoiled for one reason or another. As a result, a total of two-hundred questionnaires were completed returned and analysed.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS: THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A SWOT analysis was used in the study for the purpose of analysing data both quantitative and qualitative. SWOT is an acronym which stands for the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

That is, as indicated at the beginning of the study, there are two variables that were assessed. The first variable was to assess the impact of strikes or protests on the image of South Africa, and the second variable was to assess the prospects of South Africa to achieve its hegemonic leadership goal in Africa between 2004 and 2013. The SWOT analysis was applied to assess the South African strengths and opportunities in realising the hegemonic leadership goal in Africa between 2004 and 2013, and this method was also applied to assess the weaknesses and opportunities and later make the recommendations and conclusions. In this study, most of the quantitative secondary data sourced, was useful for the generalization of the entire analysis to the entire country.

5.1 The Findings of the study

According to the primary data presented and the secondary data cited above by analysts, the concerns raised by the ordinary South Africans and the workers on poor service delivery by the state at local municipalities and the huge wage inequalities are both genuine and legitimate, that is, as much as the hegemonic leadership in Africa is about power-relations among states, the divisions and lack of unity as characterised by a deep rooted conflict between the workers, employers and the state, can pose power-relations that can be detrimental to the South African hegemonic leadership dream if not properly managed.

It is a finding of this study that since 1994 generally, South Africa has done relatively well in so far as try to lead in Africa through the inputs made at both the NEPAD and the African Union. However, the literature stated above analysts agrees on dating the contemporary phenomenon of protests back to 2004 and that during 2012 it was at its peak. These findings are broken down into the impact of protests on the political, economic and the general image of South Africa between 2004 and 2013 as postulated at the proposal stage of this study and elaborated in the subsequent chapters.

5.1.1 The Impact of Protests in the South African Political dream

The findings from the literature reviewed pointed to the fact that the South African history of three centuries of colonial rule followed by apartheid impacted negatively in the countries psycho-social state and has created a country which is abnormal and full of violence. That is, the violent protest actions in South Africa are informed by the colonial and apartheid era and have left deeply entrenched and long-term psycho-social wounds and scars in the lives of the victims and future generations.

As a result, the historically poor South African's at all levels of society are full of negative energy which is expressed through violent protest actions against managers at workplace and government officials, and including government officials placed at senior state positions such as police officials who expresses violent behaviour on civilians.

Furthermore, strike actions which are peaceful, orderly and responsible are protected as a fundamental constitutional right in South Africa. However, the fact that strike is a last resort in terms of the provisions of the South African constitution suggests that the employers and the government in South Africa do not listen to the concerns of the workers and communities until protest actions arises. Then the government through the police force responds reactively to the civilian and workers by the use of force which is a form of violence.

In addition, the issues that were raised in the protesters grievances between 2004 and 2013 point to the problem of governance and security in South Africa at domestic level. That is, the poverty and wage gap in South Africa between 2004 and 2013 threatened political stability to a certain extent.

Consequently, the degree of anger expressed by the victims between 2004 and 2013, and the police killings of civilians is proportionate to the period, and such uncontrolled anger is holding South Africa back from achieving some of its political goal of becoming a complete African hegemonic leader.

5.1.2 The Impact of Protests in the South African Economy

The data sourced indicated that between 2004 and 2013 there has been an upward trend of violent protests actions from the poor black South Africans on issues related to poverty, inequality, unemployment, poor delivery of services, low wages and other socio-economic related issues. Moreover, South Africa has a quest to lead the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), However, the study finds that conflict

resolution at both the community-municipality and worker employer relations levels is mostly done through the courts of law who applies arbitrary decisions and the police uses life rounds to kill the protesters which does not portray South Africa well as a country with a constitution that is supposed to promote both political rights and freedoms and as a signatory to the African Union(AU) and the United Nations(UN) which are informed by peaceful resolution of conflict at both the domestic and regional spheres.

In addition, the literature indicated that the poverty gap between the rich and poor, employers and employees is still unacceptably huge in South Africa.

Furthermore, the study corroborates the Multi-level Government initiative barometer and the Intelligence Service Municipal IQ findings. Lastly, the phenomenon of globalisation has proven to be a cross-cutting factor that is behind the problems raised by South Africans, and which is beyond the control of the South African government.

5.1.3 The Impact of Protests on the South African Image

The study wanted to assess as to whether South Africa stands a chance of becoming an African hegemonic leader given the prevailing cloud of protests between 2004 and 2013. The following are the findings of the as informed by the research objectives.

Firstly, the political and economic contributions made by the South African government with a view to hegemonic leadership put South Africa in a good position, however the violence expressed by the police towards civilians and the violent civil protest pose a threat to the South African vision of becoming a hegemon.

Secondly, the phenomenon of globalisation is both a threat and an opportunity for South Africa and the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality and the violent protests actions do not serve any good purpose for the image of the country.

Lastly, the domestic problems in the country pointed to poor governance which is central to the NEPAD and the African Union requirement, and if the country wants to be a hegemonic leader in the region, it has to work hard to address this particular area.

5.2 The conclusions of the study

The conclusions of this study are informed by the findings as follows: the colonial and apartheid era has left a negative legacy of damage due to poverty and inequality on the psycho-social state of the South African population in general, and that the trends and patterns of violent protests in South Africa between 2004 and 2013 has developed into a negative culture of conflict resolution by the poor and the police officials, and if this culture is not managed by all role players concerned, it may spiral into more serious problems and also abort the South African goal of becoming an African hegemonic leader. That is, when to powers meet fire will always come out and it is for this reason that between 2004 and 2013 South Africa has been spiralled into a ring of violent protest actions.

This conclusion was supported by Mondli Makhanya (2014:1) that “however stable the South African democracy with a strong rule of law and strong accountability mechanisms...instability in the form of service delivery protests and labour disputes should get warning lights flashing as violence is becoming too normal and acceptable as a weapon in our democratic society”. That is, violence as a conflict resolution mechanism by the parties to the dispute in South Africa between 2004 and 2013 has become irrelevant and defeats the ends of the country’s political and economic objectives.

The study also concludes that an upward trend of violent protests between 2004 and 2013 tarnishes the positive image of the South Africa particularly in the statehood requirement of governance as determined by the Montevideo Convention of 1933, and that in the long term such damage could lead to negative consequences both in terms of realising the political goal of becoming an African hegemonic leader. In addition, the resolution of labour related matters with a heavily armed police force needs to be revisited as two wrongs will never make a right.

The South African peoples violent protest actions and the South African government violent response as conflict resolution mechanism between 2004 and 2013 is not helpful for the image of a constitutional democratic country with widely acclaimed fundamental rights. Furthermore, the study established that the phenomenon of globalisation which resulted in the global economic melt- down had a negative impact on the South African economy which resulted in the shedding of jobs in the private sector and that most of the violent protest actions were based on jobs, salary increases and poverty related problems.

Lastly, on more than one occasion since the birth of the new democracy in 1994, the country had managed to secure the UNSC seat as a non-permanent member, and if South Africa is serious about becoming a hegemonic leader in Africa it will have to work hard to secure a permanent seat at the UNSC, which means it must address the poor governance at domestic level so as to lead by example in Africa, as good governance is a prerequisite and an important principle of both the African Union and NEPAD. This study is not conclusive in terms of its findings because of the dynamic nature of the phenomenon of protests and as a result, further studies are recommended particularly on the impact of violent strikes in the economy in South Africa since 2004. Finally, the study is also conducted when there is a commission of enquiry investigating the killings of mineworkers at Rustenburg in the North West Province and the findings of the commission are likely to open up new information for further investigation by scholars.

5.3 Recommendations of the study

The study states the following recommendations. That there is a need for close monitoring of the problem of protests and their impact on South Africa by the South African government, For example, president Jacob Zuma during the 2011 State of the Nation address stated that "South Africa has taken note of the unfolding developments in Egypt as well as the earlier events in Tunisia and we will continue to monitor the situation closely including its implication for the Middle East and North Africa". (Zuma, 2011)

The study also maintains that the phenomenon of strikes in South Africa has not been a static issue; which implies that there has been an unprecedented increase in the number of protests and in the use of violence by protesters between 2004 and 2013.

Furthermore, the study concurs with the South African statistician general Pali Lehohla 2011 Census report that there is still much that needs to be done to address the huge gap of inequalities and disparities in the communities. The study also supports the objective stated in the first draft of the National Development Plan as stated by president Zuma (2012) during the 2012 State of the Nation address that "in 20 years' time the plan will directly address the elimination of poverty and inequality as critical points that must be attended to".

In addition, it is recommended that there is a need for all role-players in South Africa, from the government and the private sectors, non-governmental organisations and community based organisations to form a partnership and change the already entrenched stereotype of a culture of protest in South Africa which has become the norm of resolving conflict by all parties.

Furthermore, the study strongly condemns the lethal use of force by the government on protesting civilians as it sends the wrong message about the country to the world. In conclusion, good governance, peace and security and protection of fundamental rights are the preconditions of the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development and if South Africa wanted to be an African regional hegemon must avoid actions that may be construed as not promoting peace and security at domestic level. That is, South Africa is a rich country and full of potential and capacity to lead both politically and economically in Africa, however, its quest for leadership may be threatened by its state of poor governance evidenced by the concerns raised by the ordinary people at the domestic level.

The study further recommends an African solution to the unhealthy domestic power relations in South Africa which is characterised by violent protest actions and the killing of the protesters by the state police, this solution will be informed by negotiation and peaceful resolution of concerns raised outside the courts of law and with the absence of the police force brutality in labour related matters and community municipality related matters.

Lastly, there is a need in South Africa to entrench a culture of peace, unity, nation-building, and non-violence by creating public education initiatives which will include public awareness campaigns, workshops and seminars that will be driven by all the parties inclusive of the media, non-governmental organisations and the community based organisations, the performing arts, musicians and the ordinary South Africans the use of violence as a way of resolving conflict to a more peaceful way of conflict resolution.

That is, at both the local, provincial and national levels there must be categories gold, silver and bronze awards, awarded to individuals and organisations who made efforts to the ideals of nation-building, peace and unity in South Africa and those organisations that promote the culture of violence must be singled out, be named and shamed and be blacklisted.

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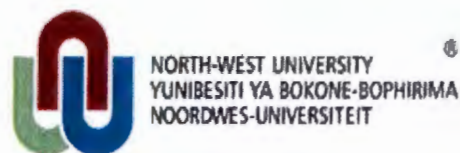
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RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE



Dear Sir / Madam

Could you please help me to complete the attached questionnaire?

The information to be furnished is based on an academic research project for the degree of Master of Peace Studies and International Relations at the North West University (Mafikeng Campus).

You are requested to tick with an X in the appropriate box, or provide an elaborate where requested to do so.

It will be appreciated if all questions are answered with honesty.

The information that is to be collected herein will be treated as private, confidentially and in a professional manner.

You are therefore advised to feel free as the information collected will not be used by any third party without any prior consent.

You are advised not to give your personal information such as your names or contact details.

The findings and recommendations of this research project may be applied for the improvement of services at your locality.

Thank you for your assistance and participation.

M. V MATLOTLENG

SECTION - A

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please tick with an X or fill in the corresponding block.

A: GENDER

1.	MALE	
2.	FEMALE	

B: LOCATION

Province

C: ORGANISATION

1.NGO - CBO Name	
2. Trade union name	

SECTION - B

COULD YOU PLEASE ASSIST WITH THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In your own opinion, do you think that people must engage in strikes as a last resort as a means of conflict resolution?

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2. What do you think about the impact of strikes in the general image of South Africa abroad?

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3. What do you think is the impact of strikes in South Africa in relation to its goal to lead in Africa?

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4. What do you think about the impact of strikes in relation to the SA economy?

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Thank you for your time and effort to participating in this project.

Annexure 1



Annexure. 2





Annexure.3



Annexure. 4



Annexure. 6



Annexure. 7



Annexure 8.1



PLATINUM BELT ESCALATION



**R17,5 MILLION
2013 EARNINGS**
(... 257 TIMES THE
LOWEST PAID)

ZAPIRO 15-5-14
M & G



The bosses eat, but we are starving

Platinum belt miners are angry and glaring wage inequality is at the root of their dissatisfaction

Annexure 8.2.

Annexure 8.3





Annexure.9