2014-2019

### amandla.mobi

People-powered campaigns



AMANDLA & action for mzansi





"I support amandla.mobi for scaling-up local struggles and garnering national support"

- Boitumelo Matlala - amandla.mobi member

"Unchecked power in South Africa can only be challenged by a movement that truly speaks to the majority of South Africans. Under Koketso's leadership, amandla. mobi resonates powerfully with black women from poor and working class backgrounds. They've skilfully combined the type of community organising that fought apartheid, with cutting edge new activism tools."

- Ory Okolloh - Co-founder of Ushahidi, former Director of Investments at Omidyar and former Managing Director, Africa at Luminate "Because the poor class like myself remain neglected, especially by the government. I support amandla. mobi because they stand in the gap for us."

- Mpho Motloung - amandla.mobi member

"I support amandla.mobi because their work is essential to [the] black community. Especially on black women voices."

- Mamokgethi Molopyane - amandla.mobi member

"I support amandla.mobi cause they've utilised the digital sphere to mobilise against intersecting forms of oppression in SA."

- Simamkele Dlakavu - amandla.mobi member



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#### **Executive Director's Message**



#### **Koketso Moeti**

I'm proud to write this message on behalf of over 300,000 members of amandla.mobi. Together we have won many campaigns – from helping to scrap the tax on sanitary pads, to demanding the construction of the Diepsloot footbridge, which has made it safer for children to travel to school. We've run hundreds of campaigns, some of which we lost. But year by year, we have grown in numbers and learnt important lessons.

We launched our first campaign in June 2014 in isiZulu, using SMS to call on the Mayor of Ekurhuleni to take action against

unemployment. At that time, we had no bank account, paid staff, office or even a mobile site. All we had was our belief in the power of Black people, especially Black women from low-income backgrounds, to organise and start to win campaigns for justice.

It hasn't been an easy journey. In the first 12 months, Mxit, an inclusive mobile tech platform we used, collapsed, and we lost the ability to communicate with 70% of our members. We have struggled to secure large grants, recruit campaigners and keep up with the sheer demand from members and partners to launch campaigns. I would like to thank the amandla.mobi team, Board and funders for their significant contributions, which have made us the organisation we are today.

I would also like to thank all our partners. It has been a privilege to work with organisations that share our values. From community organisations to social movements and NGOs, it has been an honour to draw upon your expertise and hard work to run campaigns that move us closer to a more just Mzansi (South Africa).

Most of all, I would like to thank members of the amandla.mobi community, who are the ones that power our work. This report is dedicated to you. I hope you will enjoy reading about our achievements and challenges. As we wrote this report, we realised how far we have come. We also recognised that we have only scratched the surface of what we are capable of.

Together for justice, Koketso Moeti

> "We were told amandla.mobi would fail. But after five years of working with our members to win campaigns, our impact speaks for itself. Our victories have helped impact the lives of millions."

#### **Chairperson's Letter**



#### Nomzamo Zondo

It has been an honour to witness the idea behind amandla.mobi become a reality over the last six years. It is no coincidence that amandla.mobi launched its first campaign in 2014, the same year we celebrated 20 years of democracy in South Africa.

For Black people, the end of apartheid and the beginning of a constitutional democracy held the promise of a just society based on the will of the people. In the 90s, we saw many anti-apartheid social movements demobilise, with activists filling leadership positions in the very institutions that had oppressed Black people,

including parliament, government and businesses. Some believed the private and public sectors would build a new South Africa, where everyone's constitutional rights would be realised.

Nearly 20 years into democracy, miners in Marikana were gunned down by police while calling on the mining company Lonmin to pay a living wage. The public and private sectors colluded and committed South Africa's first post-apartheid massacre. The Marikana Massacre was a painful reminder that vested interests still held immense power, which they used to co-opt and capture the state. While the constitution helped keep some of this in check, there was an urgent need for more people-powered accountability.

amandla.mobi has helped fill an essential gap in civil society by building and amplifying people's power to counterbalance the powerful. The organisation has pioneered new ways to make public participation processes accessible to those who are most impacted.

The amandla.mobi team has faced many challenges and shown resilience and perseverance. Organisations founded and led by Black women face enormous obstacles in securing and maintaining funding and legitimacy. On behalf of the Board, I would like to thank the small group of visionary funders who have supported amandla.mobi over these last six years. I wish to acknowledge and thank the founding amandla.mobi Board members, Kgomotso Sediane and Janet Jobson, for establishing the organisation's governance and providing oversight.

This report is an important account of the many ways amandla.mobi's campaigning and movement building with its members have deepened our democracy and placed those most impacted by injustice at the centre.

"amandla.mobi's campaigns and movement building have built a megaphone for the marginalised. From the CEO of Vodacom, to the Minister of Finance, the powerful have had to listen."

# About us

amandla.mobi is a community organisation committed to building a more just and people-powered Mzansi (South Africa).

amandla.mobi works to turn every cell phone into a democracybuilding tool so that those most affected by poverty, violence and corruption – Black women from low socio-economic backgrounds – can access cutting-edge tools to organise their communities in numbers that incentivise accountability from those in power and deliver change to people's lives.

amandla.mobi launched in June 2014 as a non-profit company. In 2015 the South African Revenue Service (SARS) certified amandla.mobi as a registered Public Benefit Organisation with 18A (tax deductibility) status.



#### Amplifying the voices of the marginalised

We work to ensure those most impacted by a decision are able to make their voices heard and hold decision-makers to account. To build the collective power of the marginalised, we run mobile, multi-lingual, multi-issue campaigns that connect people across location, language and injustice.



#### **People-powered campaigns**

We work with our members, marginalised communities and values-aligned organisations to identify strategic opportunities and design targetted campaigns. Each campaign engages the decision-maker using peoplepowered tactics such as petitions, protests, public comments etc.



#### **Movement building**

When a person participates in a campaign, there is an option to become more involved by signing up to receive regular updates about new and existing campaigns. With each campaign, more like minded people become active members of the amandla.mobi community and help us shape our campaigns and what issues we prioritise.



#### **Inclusive civic tech**

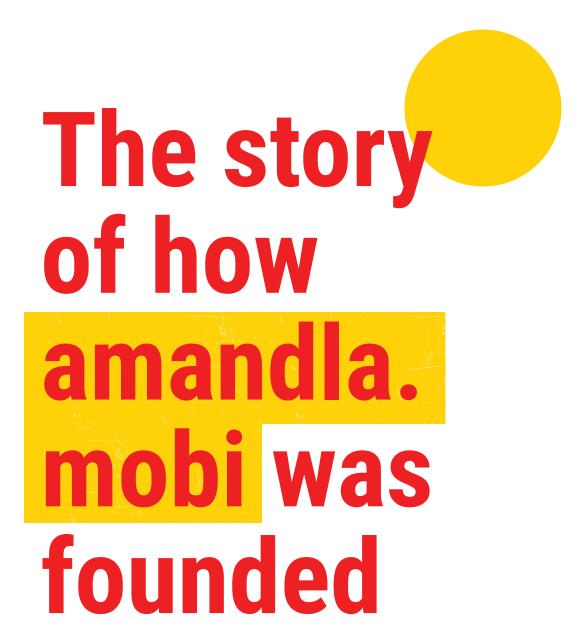
The digital era has made information and public participation more accessible to those who can afford internet access. We pioneered mobile tools to bridge the digital divide so that cost and access is not a barrier to civic action. But technology is just a tool that accelerates and scales real-world action.



#### **Holding decision-makers to account**

We work to close the feedback loop between decision-makers and the people they should serve. Each campaign engages a decision-maker to implement a demand that could help address an issue. Our campaign model monitors to see if a decision-maker commits to and implements a specific decision, budget, policy or law that could have a tangible impact in the lives of the marginalised. Where decision-makers fail to act, new tactics or approaches are used to hold political and corporate interests to account.





#### An idea born from a shared struggle for justice

Years before Koketso Moeti founded amandla.mobi, like many Black women across South Africa, she – and her community – faced many injustices. Koketso grew up in Rooigrond, a poor community in North West province. In 2006, Rooigrond faced the threat of forced eviction by the local municipality<sup>1</sup>, which wanted to build a shopping centre. Koketso worked with other community members to organise and campaign to save their community and stop their homes from being demolished.



During this time, someone donated a cell phone to Koketso, which helped her communicate and coordinate with members of her community faster and at scale. For the first time, Koketso could access the internet and connect to a wider world, where she could find information and engage the media. The cell phone helped further amplify the voices of the community, and by using different campaign tactics, they eventually forced the municipality to rescind the eviction order.

Koketso saw what people-powered campaigns could achieve, and she knew that in communities across the country, other Black women like her were at the forefront of struggles for dignity. Koketso thought about how cell phones could help amplify community struggles, but mobile internet access remained a major barrier for the majority. Koketso knew that cell phones and technology would also not solve everything, they were simply a tool that could be used to help real-world actions, like protests and petitions, happen faster and at scale. What was really needed was a space for low-income Black women to be able to connect across the country and build their collective power, guided by a shared commitment to justice.

Koketso spent years working with different communities and organisations at the intersection of governance, communication and civic action. During this time, her idea to help build power for those most impacted by injustice became clearer.



# 2013 in review

Working to turn the idea into reality

While working to support her family, Koketso spent her free time thinking about her idea to amplify the collective voices of low-income Black women. She began researching and developing the concept behind amandla.mobi.

Koketso knew she would need to somehow open doors to funding and resources to make her idea a reality. However, many of her funding applications were rejected, and Koketso had been around the non-governmental (NGO) sector long enough to know that you were not taken seriously unless you were a white man. In fact, most funding for social justice work flowed to organisations founded by white men.

Koketso had no choice but to try to find a white man who shared her values and vision, and who was less likely to take control of an idea that was unapologetically pro-Black, pro-women and pro-poor. Koketso was eventually introduced to a white man who ticked these boxes, and who was crazy enough to turn down other job offers and work with her full-time, to try and make her idea a reality.

And so, amandla.mobi was born. Koketso and her small team started to make some inroads with donors, but funding applications continued to be rejected. Many struggled to grasp Koketso's vision for amandla.mobi, because it was disruptive and challenged the idea that the marginalised were voiceless and in need of 'saving'. In Koketso's experience, when funders identified what problems and suggested solutions they wanted to fund, most looked at the world through a lens that was male, white and privileged.

Koketso and her team, however, founded amandla.mobi on the belief that the 'voiceless' were the ones best equipped to identify problems and solutions. Not only that, amandla.mobi's starting point was that marginalised groups, especially low-income Black women, were already at the forefront of struggles for justice. Litigation, public awareness and other approaches to social change could help hold decision-makers to account on issues of justice, but Koketso saw a gap in the ecosystem that made up civil society.

Koketso made the case that there was a need for a space where the marginalised, especially low-income Black women, could come together to demand justice and mobilise in the numbers necessary to help hold those in power to account. Because injustices are interconnected, amandla.mobi would create a space that would not just focus on one issue, such as education, but on multiple issues.

Koketso realised that, in fact, a white man was not enough to convince funders to take a risk and provide initial funding. Funders needed to see proof of concept if they were even to consider her idea. She spent the second half of 2013 and early 2014 working with her small team to research, speak to experts, and experiment with different campaign tactics and technologies.

Indra de Lanerolle, a visiting researcher and adjunct lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, was among those who influenced the organisation's strategy. His research identified English literacy as one of the most significant barriers to internet access<sup>2</sup>. For that reason, amandla.mobi would focus on creating a space, not only for mobile and multi-issue campaigns, but also multi-lingual ones. Meeting at, and working from, different food outlets, Koketso and her team started planning to launch a pilot campaign to test their assumptions and vision of people-powered justice.

### Where is our youth desk? amandla.mobi launches its first campaign

Even though amandla.mobi did not have a bank account, staff members or an office; we worked with Sne and other young leaders from Ekurhuleni to set up a mobile petition, calling on the mayor to fund youth desks to help fight unemployment. Petition signatures were handed over, and the mayor and municipal manager committed to most of the campaign demands.

#### The campaign involved:

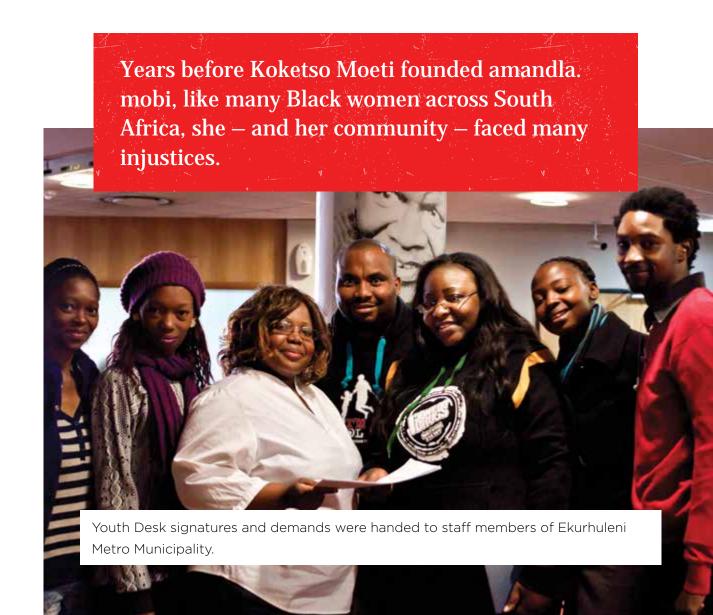
- A workshop to design and plan the campaign with local young leaders;
- Allowing anyone to join the campaign on any type of phone, using USSD;
- Translating the campaign into isiZulu;
- Community organising, including going door-to-door in different communities;
- Promoting the campaign by handing out flyers and putting up posters;
- Securing a radio interview and some media coverage.

The National Youth Policy states that municipalities should put in place 'youth desks', where young people can easily access information about job opportunities, scholarships and internships, and print their CVs. Together with a group of young leaders in Ekurhuleni, we researched how the municipality used resources to tackle youth unemployment, identifying what was working and (through surveys) what wasn't. We held a workshop with young leaders to design the campaign. A realistic campaign 'ask' was identified: to call on the mayor to ensure the 2015 municipal budget could properly fund youth desks.

A mobile petition was set up in isiZulu, which could be signed without internet access. Young people in communities could dial \*120\*4729# from any phone to learn about the campaign demand, sign the petition, and share their thoughts on the priorities that the youth desk should focus on.

The campaign was launched on Youth Day, 16 June 2014 and started with young leaders going door to door, speaking to people, putting up posters, handing out flyers in public spaces and sending information about the campaign by SMS. Articles and a radio interview helped to boost the campaign further.

In August, Sne and a delegation of young leaders delivered the petition signatures to representatives of the mayor's office. The mayor and municipal manager accepted most of the campaign demands and committed to looking at the 2015 budget priorities. Sne and other young leaders monitored the implementation of this commitment, and the municipality put the youth desk in place. During this process, campaign organisers also learnt a lot about what an Integrated Development Plan is, and how it is a powerful tool for public participation and holding decision-makers to account.



# 2014 in review

amandla.mobi launches

#### Year in review 2014

This year marked 20 years of democracy in South Africa, and the year in which amandla.mobi launched its first campaign on 16 June, with the hope that our efforts would help create a more just and people-powered democracy. After the launch, amandla.mobi spent the rest of the year trying to register as a non-profit, setting up a bank account, securing funding and continuing to build an accessible mobile campaign platform. It was an exciting, but challenging time. The small amount of funding we managed to raise was not enough to pay everyone a salary, so members of the team had to take on other work or rely on their own savings.

While setting up amandla.mobi as an organisation, we never stopped identifying opportunities and partners to launch campaigns that could have an impact on the lives of low-income Black women. Our first campaign, calling on the Mayor of Ekurhuleni to set up youth desks, resulted in a few hundred signatures. We proved we could run an inclusive campaign that could get the attention of a decision-maker, but the idea behind amandla.mobi was not to build a petition or campaign platform. It was to build a community of members who could communicate, collaborate and build their collective power.

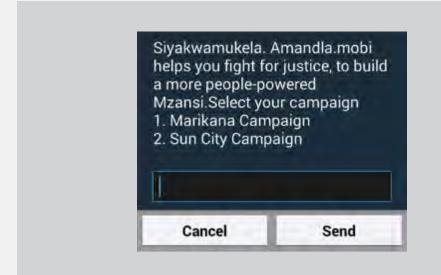
In the SMS update we sent to youth desk campaign supporters, we provided an update on the petition delivery and response from the mayor's office, but we also told supporters about our next campaign: in light of information that police officers were confiscating blankets from the homeless, we wanted to take on the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD). Some of the youth desk campaign supporters signed our new petition, and others did as well. Some of these petition signers agreed to receive ongoing SMS, Mxit (a South African instant messaging platform light on data) and email updates from amandla.mobi.

Over the coming months, each different campaign brought in new members to the growing amandla.mobi community. By December 2014 – over six months – we grew our membership to 13,000 people, and we ran 17 campaigns. With each SMS, Mxit message or email that we sent about a new campaign, some people would unsubscribe, but others kept taking action. Not only that, many mobilised others in their community to take action and to agree to receive ongoing updates and become active members of the growing amandla.mobi community.

In September of 2014, amandla.mobi finally received its registration certificate as a Non-Profit Company, and the organisation was able to open a bank account.

#### Some of the many other campaigns we ran included:

- Showing solidarity with striking workers at the Sun City resort;
- Working with Activate! to provide young people with an accessible platform via Mxit, where they could submit ideas that would be submitted to the National Planning Commission;
- Calling on the mining company, Lonmin, to compensate the widows of the Marikana Massacre; and
- Calling on the City of Cape Town to stop unlawful evictions.





## CAMPAIGN 1

Stop police using R-5 rifles for crowd control



We ran a campaign to highlight the dangers of the police using deadly R-5 assault rifles for crowd control. Police Minister Nhleko appointed a panel of experts to address issues around police brutality, such as crowd control and the use of R-5 assault rifles<sup>3</sup>.



In 2012, miners in Marikana went on strike and on 16 August, police shot and killed 34 miners and left many others seriously injured. An inquiry into the Marikana Massacre revealed that police used R-5

# R-5 assault rifles off our streets for now Minister Nhleko admits R-5s have not been used at protests for some time, and announces panel of experts recommended by Farlam Commission of Inquiry. We are a step closer to: 1. Stopping the police using the R-5 rifles for crowd control in Mzansi. 2. Helping ensure we don't have another massacre like Marikana. Share the news AMANDLA &

assault rifles, and Police Commissioner Phiyega admitted that police continued to use R-5s, two years after the massacre. The inquiry found that R-5 assault rifles fire rounds at such speeds that the bullets disintegrate on impact, making it impossible to trace bullets back to the rifle that fired them. An international policing expert called the use of R-5 rifles 'totally unacceptable'<sup>4</sup>.

We partnered with <u>Gun Free South Africa</u>, an NGO with expertise in reducing gun violence. Together we designed and launched a campaign to call for a ban on police using R-5s for crowd control. The campaign used different tactics, including a petition, protests and letter-writing. The campaign received backlash from the gun lobby in South Africa, with Gun Free South Africa staff receiving death threats.

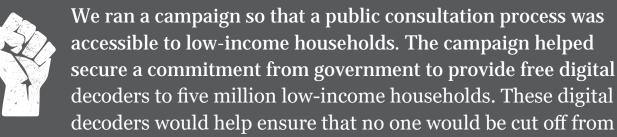
The campaign kept the use of R-5 assault rifles in the spotlight and the Farlam Commission of Inquiry highlighted that R-5s had no place in crowd controls. Police Minister Nhleko appointed a panel of experts to review public order policing and to make recommendations.

#### The campaign involved:

- Leveraging the expertise and years of work by Gun Free South Africa;
- Creating content to explain why R-5 rifles should not be used for crowd control;
- Launching a petition accessible on feature phones in multiple languages;
- Helping expose the gun lobby's intimidation tactics;
- Organising a protest outside Denel, the state-owned manufacturer of R-5 rifles; and
- Drawing media attention to the use of R-5 rifles and the threat they pose.

### CAMPAIGN 2

#### Keep Free TV Free -



news broadcasts in their home language, or education or entertainment shows aired by the South African Public Broadcaster (SABC).

Many in South Africa, especially low-income Black women, were unaware of the government's plans to migrate from analogue to digital TV. Digital migration would require all households to have a digital decoder (set-top-box) so that they could still access free-to-air TV when the country eventually switched off the analogue signal. At the cost of R750, a digital decoder would be unaffordable for 15 million low-income households.

We partnered with the Save Our SABC Coalition (<u>SOS Coalition</u>) to design a campaign that used their expertise and analysis, combined with our innovative campaigning model. The public regulator Universal Service and Access Agency of South Africa (USAASA) opened a public comment process, including whether the government should cover the cost of digital decoders for low-income households. However, the public comment process was poorly advertised, and comments had to be sent in writing. Our constituents, especially low-income Black women, would be most impacted by the outcome of the public comment process but faced the most significant barriers to participation.

We designed and launched a campaign on an inclusive mobile platform called Mxit. The campaign enabled 4,500 people from low-income households to send in their public comments to USAASA. This provided a strong public mandate for the regulator to ensure low-income households would not be cut off. Together with the SOS Coalition,

we welcomed the government's planned subsidy of the digital decoders. Upon closer investigation, however, we noted that an expensive and bureaucratic process had been put in place and that the subsidy would cover only 5 million of the 15 million households who were unable to afford a digital decoder.



## MPAIGN

Save the apartheid victims compensation fund



We ran a campaign with victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations. Through solidarity actions, the campaign drew attention to the failures of the Department of Justice to consult with the largest apartheid survivor support group in the country.

We partnered with Khulumani Support Group to work on this campaign. Khulumani is a membership-based organisation representing 90,000 survivors of gross human rights violations under apartheid. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) recommended that those who were raped. tortured, imprisoned, assaulted and had family members killed during the apartheid era should receive compensation. Sixteen



years later, most of the victims still hadn't received a cent in compensation. Instead, the Department of Justice was moving ahead with plans for half of the compensation funds to go towards municipal infrastructure projects, which the government should pay for. Some of the compensation funds were allocated to building a community centre in Mpophomeni, even though the township already had a community centre<sup>5</sup>.

The campaign included different tactics such as a petition, calling talkback radio and securing some media coverage. This resulted in some scrutiny and oversight of the actions of the Department of Justice.

### CAMPAIGN 4

Virgin Active must ban racist woman abuser



We demanded justice for domestic worker Cynthia Joni, by calling on Virgin Active to ban Tim Osrin — self-confessed racist and woman abuser.

Cynthia Joni was on her way to her job as a domestic worker in Kenilworth, Cape Town when Tim Osrin stopped his car and violently assaulted her<sup>6</sup>. When asked about the incident by the *Weekend Argus*, Tim Osrin stated, 'She's probably thinking, "this white guy slapped me, great ... here



comes my Christmas box". People do these things, you know'. Tim Osrin went on to show just how normalised gender-based violence is, when he said he had thought Cynthia was a sex worker - as if that somehow justified his actions.

Many of amandla.mobi's members, especially low-income Black women, can relate to Cynthia's treatment because we often bear the brunt of racism and gender-based violence. Privilege often protects perpetrators, which entrenches racism, classism, sexism and gender-based violence.

In responding to the incident, amandla.mobi confirmed that Tim Osrin ran a swimming school for adults and children at four Virgin Active gyms in Cape Town. Virgin Active in South Africa has a history of protecting racists, despite its code of conduct<sup>7</sup>. We launched a rapid response petition calling on Virgin Active to follow its code of conduct and ban Tim Osrin on the grounds of 'prejudicial behaviour'. Virgin Active terminated Tim Osrin's contract<sup>8</sup>.

### CAMPAIGN 5

Pick n Pay and Land Rover: Stop supporting apartheid denialism



We helped pressure two large companies into withdrawing their sponsorship of a concert that featured a racist apartheid denialist.

Musician Steve Hofmeyr has used his popularity as a platform to preach racist and apartheid denialist views. In October 2014 Steve Hofmeyr tweeted, 'Blacks were the architects of apartheid'. He received some backlash, and a national car dealership forced him to return a sponsored bakkie<sup>9</sup>.





This created an opportunity for a possible tipping point, so amandla.mobi members began mobilising. Steve Hofmeyr was scheduled to perform at the *Afrikaans is Groot* festival, sponsored by one of the country's largest supermarket chains, Pick n Pay. Together with our members, we launched a petition calling on festival organisers and sponsors to stop profiting from the performance of apartheid denialist Steve Hofmeyr. While the festival organisers did not remove Steve Hofmeyr from the lineup, Pick n Pay and Land Rover pulled their sponsorship<sup>10</sup>.



Abasha base Ekurhuleni bahlanganela ukuthola amaYouth Desk bazokwazi ukuthola ulwazi ngomsebenzi namabursary!

Join the campaign by dialing

\* 120 \* 4729 \* 2 #

Obsessed par Dissocial

iNational Youth Policy idinga ukuthi uMazipala wangakini abe neYouth Desk. Hlangana nathi, masisebenzisane ukuthola iYouth Desk khona uzokwazi ukuthola uhwazi



PERPLE PRIMER SEMOCRACY

2014 - June 16 - Our first campaign launched in Ekurhuleni focused on ensuring access to Youth Desks. Pictured is Sne, one of the campaign organisers, holding up one of the campaign posters being put up in Tembisa.

# 2015 in review

amandla.mobi overcomes obstacles

#### Year in review 2015

This year saw amandla.mobi launch innovative new civic actions to deepen our democracy. amandla.mobi enabled greater public participation in the run-up to the 2015 Budget Speech; donated supplies to victims of xenophobic violence; and organised documentary screenings, candlelight vigils, protests and public art to demand justice for Marikana. Our members also stood in solidarity with Fees Must Fall and crowdfunded airtime, data and bail money for protesting students.

Our membership grew rapidly in 2015 as our campaigns gathered momentum, especially on Mxit, a local instant messaging platform. But we were soon hit by a devastating crisis. In a matter of weeks, we lost the ability to contact 70% of our members because Mxit collapsed. WhatsApp had expanded beyond the smartphone market to feature phones, which are internet-enabled but rely on WAP (Wireless Application Protocol) or 2G.

Mxit only provided us with a member's Mxit ID when they joined a campaign, not their cell phone number or email. We were able to ask many members to share their cell phone numbers or email addresses with us so we could keep in contact with them, but Mxit's user base plummeted so quickly we were left unable to contact about 12,000 of our members to update them on campaign victories and next steps.

Mxit's collapse represented a major blow to our movement-building work and happened when we were trying to convince key funders to support our work. Many around us said amandla.mobi would not succeed. Yet there was plenty of interest in our talents, with well-paying job offers. But we remained committed to amandla. mobi and its potential to help create systemic change. We picked ourselves up and kept campaigning and building our community. We bounced back, and by the end of 2015, amandla.mobi struggled to meet the massive demand from its members, communities and other NGOs who wanted to launch new campaigns.

The collapse of Mxit taught us that, like South Africa, the mobile tech space was volatile, and we had to build a resilient tech platform and organisation.



#### Some of the other campaigns we ran included:

- We successfully campaigned to stop the problematic Slide the City events.
- We supported students at the 'University currently known as Rhodes' (UCKAR) to demand the university change its name.
- We called for cheaper electricity for low-income communities by calling on Eskom to renegotiate apartheid-era agreements.
- We called for an end to the practice of fining unmarried pregnant women in Mandala Village, Limpopo Province.
- We worked with the Women's Legal Centre on a campaign to stop forced and coerced sterilisations.
- We supported calls for a more inclusive Pride in Cape Town.
- We called for an end to outsourcing workers.

### CAMPAIGN 1

Justice for survivors and families of the Marikana Massacre



We worked directly with the widows and family members of those who had lost their lives in the Marikana Massacre, and with partner organisations. Together, we ran campaign actions demanding compensation and accountability from government and the mining company,

Lonmin. Campaign actions included helping to organise and resource over 70 events across the country on the third anniversary of this first 'post-apartheid' massacre. Together with our members, we helped shift public understanding of what had really happened in Marikana, when SABC and e.tv eventually gave in to our campaign demands and screened the documentary *Miners Shot Down*.



#### The campaign involved:

- Launching a petition, with the widows, to help raise awareness of what had really happened in Marikana;
- Working with the widows and providing transport, so they could hand-deliver petition signatures to decision-makers and attract media attention;
- Setting up an event; organising tools and resources for event hosts;
- Using informal courier services to send event resources to hosts in hard-toreach areas;
- Helping to promote over 70 Marikana solidarity events across the country, including creating a tool that allowed members to look up their nearest event; and
- Launching new campaign actions and engaging different decision-makers to help keep the wheels of justice turning.



In August 2012, during the events of the Marikana Massacre, 44 people lost their lives and many were left injured. Media coverage of the massacre failed to explain how a mining company used its influence to mobilise politicians and the police to brutally suppress striking workers. One of the widows of the massacre, Manthabang Ntsenyeho, found that many people in her community did not understand why her husband was killed.



However, an award-winning documentary, Miners Shot Down, helps tell the story of what really happened in Marikana. The documentary explores key public interest issues that impact everyone in South Africa, from police brutality, workers' rights and economic justice to threats facing governance and democracy. Airing Miners Shot Down on SABC and e.tv

would help ensure the majority of people in South Africa could understand what happened in Marikana, and amandla.mobi worked with the widows of Marikana to launch a petition with this very demand. The campaign attracted a lot of media attention, as we worked with the widows to hand-deliver the petition signatures to the head offices of each TV broadcaster.

The privately owned, free-to-air broadcaster, e.tv, promised to respond to the campaign demands within a month. When e.tv failed to meet this deadline, amandla.mobi members started contacting the station to ask for an explanation. This tactic, along with others over the years, would eventually result in *Miners Shot Down* being screened on e.tv and the SABC. As part of a broader campaign strategy, the screening of *Miners Shot Down* helped ensure the events of Marikana were not forgotten.

To commemorate the third anniversary of the massacre on 16 August 2015, we set up an event-organising tool and provided resources enabling people to host solidarity and memorial events. Over 70 events were hosted across the country, from documentary screenings and public arts projects to protests and candlelight vigils. On 16 August, we hand-delivered messages of support from our community to the widows of the Marikana Massacre.



In partnership with the Marikana Support Campaign organisers, Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI), we demanded the release of the Farlam Commission of Inquiry Report, so that widows, family members and surviving miners had time to lodge civil claims before 16 August 2015. President Zuma finally released the report on 25 June 2015.

While calls to hold government to account for its role in the Marikana Massacre continued, it was important to amandla.mobi to also hold the mining company Lonmin to account. A critical report by the Alternative Information & Development Centre (AIDC) exposed that for years Lonmin had been moving millions of rands out of South Africa through using (amongst others) tax havens, for example, Bermuda<sup>11</sup>. The research showed that Lonmin could easily have paid miners a living wage of R12,500, built houses and honoured their promises of compensation to widows and family members of those shot and murdered in 2012. Based on this research, we launched a petition with specific demands of Lonmin.

Over the years, we collaborated with different organisations and identified strategic stakeholders who could help hold Lonmin to account. This included working with German activists who engaged shareholders of BASF, a German company that is one of Lonmin's largest customers. We also protested and petitioned outside key Lonmin shareholders such as ABSA, Old Mutual and Investec. Despite the Farlam Commission of Inquiry having found that Lonmin played a key role in the massacre, and despite our continued public pressure, Lonmin evaded any form of official compensation and instead offered widows jobs at Lonmin.



### CAMPAIGN 2

Solidarity and strategic support for the Fees Must Fall movement



We worked directly with students, academics, workers and our members to campaign at a national level for government to scrap fee increases at higher education institutions, such as universities and technical colleges, and provide funding to achieve

fee-free higher education. We also supported a number of local campaign actions at campuses in almost every province. This included helping evicted students find safe accommodation, crowdfunding airtime and data so students could talk to lawyers and journalists, helping expose private security guards who were brutalising students, and calling for an end to outsourcing workers. We forced the Department of Higher Education to release a report that the Minister had commissioned, but had tried to keep hidden, because it provided students with evidence and policy recommendations to support their demands. While we provided support, it was the blood, sweat and tears of protesting students that eventually forced President Zuma to announce there would be no fee increase in 2016.

For years, low-income students at universities and other higher education institutions had been struggling with fees and other student costs. Even students receiving financial aid through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) often struggled, with many dropping out of their studies, as the financial aid failed to cover all their costs. Many students who were not eligible for financial aid because their households earned above the threshold also could not afford their studies. These students became known as the 'missing middle'.

In late 2015 government announced a tuition fee increase for 2016. Student protests erupted across the country under the rallying call, Fees Must Fall. Student protesters helped build public pressure on vice-chancellors to act, while calling on government to scrap the fee increase by providing more funding.

amandla.mobi launched a Fees Must Fall solidarity petition, which included a letter signed by many progressive academics. The petition quickly gathered support and helped show decision-makers that many agreed with the students' demands.

Some student protestors stood in solidarity with workers in their call to end outsourcing at campuses. The outsourcing of workers, especially cleaners, had robbed workers of their rights and benefits and had even caused salary cuts. Many workers, in turn, downed tools and rallied behind Fees Must Fall. amandla.mobi was inundated with requests to support campaigns to end outsourcing at a number of different campuses.

As student protests grew across campuses, university management often ignored students when they tried to engage. Rather than decision-makers engaging with students and their demands, university management brought in security guards and police to shut down the protests. As a result, amandla. mobi was inundated with reports of police brutality and unlawful arrests. Many students didn't have enough money to buy airtime or data, so they struggled to find legal assistance or pay bail for fellow student protestors who had been unlawfully arrested.

We identified ways that amandla.mobi members and allies could help. We distributed a list of student leaders' cell numbers, and we called on our members to transfer unused airtime or data to student leaders so they could engage with lawyers, talk to journalists and coordinate the next steps for their campaign. Our members not only crowdfunded airtime and data, but many also helped raise money for bail and donated food, water and even laptops.

amandla.mobi worked with student leaders and our members to provide support at campuses in almost every province. Whether it was calling on the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) to stop evicting students, raising enough funds for bail for University of the Western Cape (UWC) students, or attending a University of Johannesburg (UJ) protest, we worked closely with students, workers and our own members to coordinate rapid-response actions.



One of amandla. mobi's members contacted us and pointed out that years previously, the Minister of Higher Education, Blade Nzimande had commissioned a report to look into the feasibility of making higher education fee-free for the poor in South Africa. The Minister had received the report in 2012, but he had refused to release it to the public. It was clear

that whatever was in that report could provide evidence and clear policy recommendations for the Fees Must Fall movement. We launched a petition to call on the Minister of Higher Education to release the report. We also submitted a Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) request to the department. We made the case that it was in the public interest that a publicly funded report be made public.

To the Minister's horror, the department's legal team could see no reason they couldn't release the report, and they sent us a copy within 24 hours of our application. We immediately contacted one of the authors of the report, Professor Salim Vally, to confirm this was indeed the final report. We then released the report to the media<sup>12</sup>. As expected, the report findings and recommendations contradicted the Minister's claims that the students were making impossible demands. What is more, the report had warned the Minister three years earlier that there were many challenges facing low-income students. The report's findings provided research to strengthen many of the student's demands.

Stop companies hiding billions from service delivery

We ran a campaign that explained the complex practice of illicit financial flows and connected the impact of these to bread-and-butter issues. We produced and ran a radio advert in multiple languages, created an infographic and ran a petition.

The campaign helped build public pressure, which contributed to the Minister of Finance attending a key summit and introducing a key policy to help reduce illicit financial flows.



Stop mining companies hiding our money overseas. Sign the campaign, whatsapp ur name to 074 357 6937.

In partnership with Oxfam International, we ran our first 'tax justice' campaign. It focused on policy recommendations for curbing illicit financial flows at international and local levels. We had teams of community organisers engage people at taxi ranks, in townships and at community events. We explained how much money is lost through tax havens and how this loss means less money for service delivery. The campaign was run in four languages and included <u>radio adverts</u> in English and isiZulu.

Our first 'ask' was for Finance Minister Nene to commit to attending the Financing for Development Summit in Addis Ababa and to push for an intergovernmental tax body at the summit, to show that South Africa is serious about taking strong action against illicit financial flows. Negotiations at the summit failed, but the Minister was clear there was strong support for action against illicit financial flows. The Minister went on to pass amendments to help with country-by-country reporting<sup>13</sup>.

Transport Minister must recover PRASA's looted money



We amplified the experiences of our members, which strengthened the urgency for the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) to respond to corruption impacting our public trains. We organised commuters and collected signatures. The public train

agency started the process of recovering looted funds.



A Public Protector report exposed corruption at PRASA. As angered amandla.mobi member Elaine Nkosi said, 'I am tired of waking up early, only to get to work late, with a fear of being sexually assaulted, mugged, injured in an overcrowded coach and never finding a bathroom when I need one'. Our campaign called on Transport Minister Peters to take action and start recovering the looted money. Three months later, it was reported that PRASA had begun the process of

recovering R2.65 billion spent on the European-built Afro 4,000 trains, which were the wrong size for South Africa's train tracks<sup>14</sup>. While this was a step in the right direction, amandla.mobi members took to social media to keep up the public pressure. A group of amandla.mobi members also started talking to train passengers to recruit more campaign supporters.

Stop Our Perfect Wedding from promoting rape culture

We launched a rapid-response petition to hold a TV station to account for airing an episode of a reality TV show that promoted rape culture. The petition helped keep up public pressure, which resulted in

two sponsors withdrawing from the show and the TV station committing to considering our demands.



Popular reality TV show *Our Perfect Wedding* aired an episode where a man explained that he had met his fiancé when he was 28 years old, and she was 14 years old. He then boasted about having sex with a number of schoolgirls. We launched a rapid-response petition demanding the TV station take responsibility for normalising rape

culture by airing an episode of *Our Perfect Wedding* that engages viewers on gender-based violence, consent and rape culture. Our team, along with Dr Tlaleng Mofokeng ('Dr T'), designed this campaign demand as an action the media company could take that would be a step in the right direction towards undoing the damage that had been caused by airing an episode that normalised rape culture. The campaign gathered momentum and, not long after, Absa Bank withdrew their sponsorship of the TV show. Together with Dr T, we hand-delivered our demands and the names of the campaign supporters to the TV station's offices. The senior management representative

committed to sharing our demands with the rest of the management team. Days after the petition delivery, it was reported that Vodacom had also withdrawn its sponsorship of the show<sup>15</sup>.



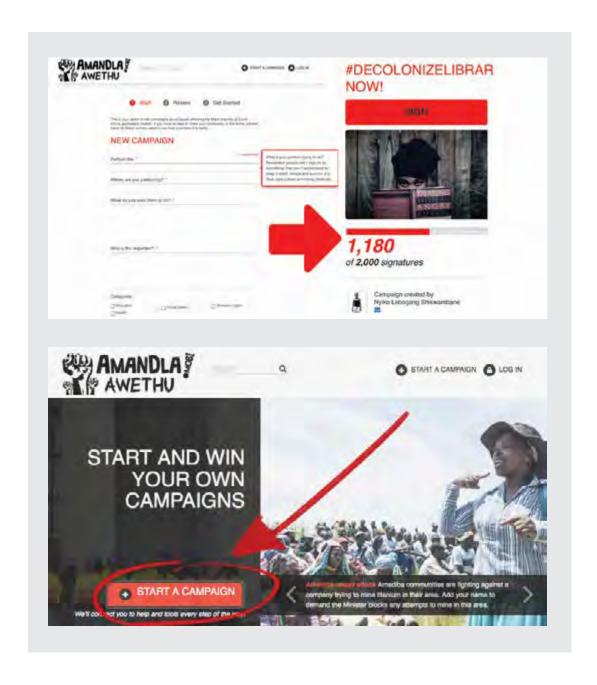


# 2016 in review

The launch of awethu.mobi

### **Year in review 2016**

Although the amandla.mobi team had slowly grown and we had secured larger grants, we struggled to keep up with messages and requests from our members, communities and partner organisations who had identified issues and wanted to run campaigns. To overcome this bottleneck, we worked to develop and launch awethu.mobi, a platform where those who share our values can set up and run campaigns.



amandla.mobi designed awethu.mobi so our members, communities and partners could use different campaign tactics. Through this platform, we helped people to launch petitions, facilitate public comments or organise events. The response to awethu.mobi was encouraging, with many of our members not only launching, but also winning campaigns.

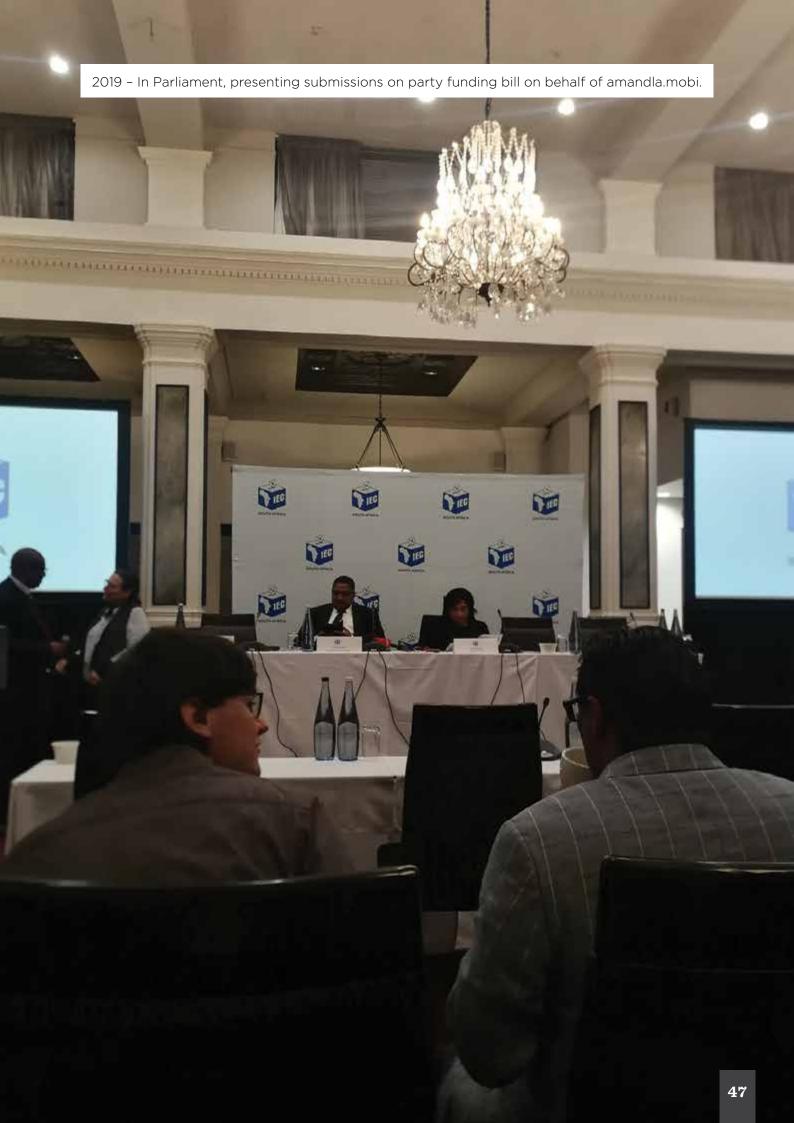
awethu.mobi proved an important step towards helping progressive civil society in South Africa access people-powered campaign tools. However, while awethu.mobi helped reduce bottlenecks, the demand to work with amandla.mobi still continued to increase throughout the year. So, in 2016, we saw an increase in the number of campaigns run by amandla.mobi, as well as in the campaigns supported by us on our awethu.mobi platform.

Most campaigns that were uploaded aligned with our values, had a clear demand and targeted a specific decision-maker; but some campaigns either went against our values, or the campaign starters needed support and advice.



### 2016 campaign highlights include:

- We launched a campaign that made public participation in the national budget more inclusive by making it easier for members of the public to make submissions.
- We worked closely with the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants South Africa (CoRMSA), Lawyers for Human Rights and the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) to analyse Home Affairs' Green Paper on International Migration and explain how the different proposals would undermine the dignity of asylum seekers. We then launched a campaign to challenge xenophobic narratives, by placing the stories and struggles of asylum seekers at the centre of our communications. The campaign called on members to submit public comments on the Green Paper.
- We succeeded in stopping a seminar that would show businesses how to go about the illegal practice of 'fronting', which undermines government policy aimed at economic transformation and undoing the legacy of apartheid in terms of economic inequality. We launched and won the campaign in a matter of days, with fewer than 100 signatures.
- We launched a solidarity campaign in support of striking workers
   at Robertson Winery. Our campaign focused on exposing worker
   exploitation at Robertson Winery and included an action to pressure
   retailers who stocked Robertson wines. We also protested outside a wine
   expo which put more pressure on Robertson Winery and sent a clear
   message to the wine industry that exploitation is unacceptable. While the
   strike continued for a long period, and workers did not get the full pay
   increase they wanted, they did get a pay increase of 8% and disciplinary
   action against them was dropped.
- We ran a number of anti-racism campaigns, such as calling for the removal of a racist High Court Judge, Mabel Jansen, who claimed that the rape of young children is part of black culture. We also succeeded in having a 'whites only' guest house removed from Trip Advisor and we stopped a crowdfunding campaign to raise funds for Penny Sparrow, who was found guilty of hate speech and fined.
- We ran a campaign for the removal of Skhumba, a radio DJ who made sexist, body-shaming comments about female Fees Must Fall protesters.
   Skhumba was not removed and provided a 'non-apology' apology.



Release our qualifications! Student uses awethu.mobi to win campaign



To help scale up member-led campaigns, amandla.mobi had launched awethu.mobi in 2016. Sboh Thusi was among the first to use awethu.mobi to launch and win a campaign, with minimal support from the amandla.mobi team.

Sboh mobilised hundreds of students and pressured Durban University of Technology (DUT) and NSFAS to resolve a payment issue that had resulted in the withholding of over 1,500 students' qualifications and prevented graduates from being able to apply for jobs.

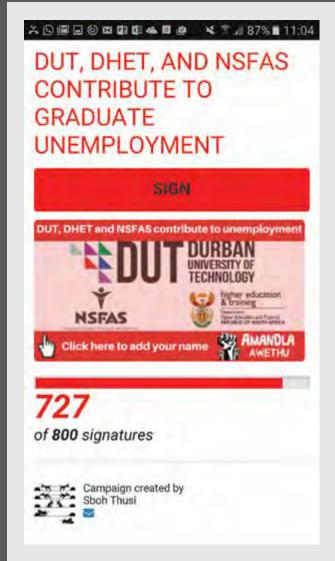
### The campaign involved:

- Sboh visited www.awethu.mobi and followed the steps to design and launch his petition.
- Students who were impacted added their names and recruited others to help build public pressure.
- The amandla.mobi team helped Sboh engage local media, so there would be more coverage of the issue and the petition.
- The decision-makers agreed to meet with students face to face, and agreements were made to resolve the issues.

Sboh Thusi, who had received financial aid from NSFAS, had finished his studies at the Durban University of Technology (DUT). But at his graduation, DUT refused to hand over Sboh's qualification; instead he received a statement of debt for over R65,000.

Without a qualification, Sboh could not apply for jobs or internships. He started talking to other students in the same situation and discovered there were over 1,500 other students who had been denied their qualifications, due to NSFAS's failure to pay students fees since 2013.





Sboh decided to start organising his fellow students and used awethu. mobi to launch a petition and draw media attention to unemployment caused by the failures of DUT, NSFAS and DHET to address nonpayment<sup>16</sup>. In just over a month, public pressure from Sboh's campaign forced DUT management and NSFAS officials to meet with students to discuss their demands. An agreement was reached and NSFAS committed to paying over the outstanding funds and the qualifications were finally released<sup>17</sup>.

Sboh was accepted into an internship at KwaZulu-Natal's Department of Transport, and some of the other students who received

their outstanding qualifications were able to secure jobs. In recognition of his work, Sboh was named as one of 200 young people in South Africa who were having a positive impact on society<sup>18</sup>.



Calls to stop racist school rules sweep the country



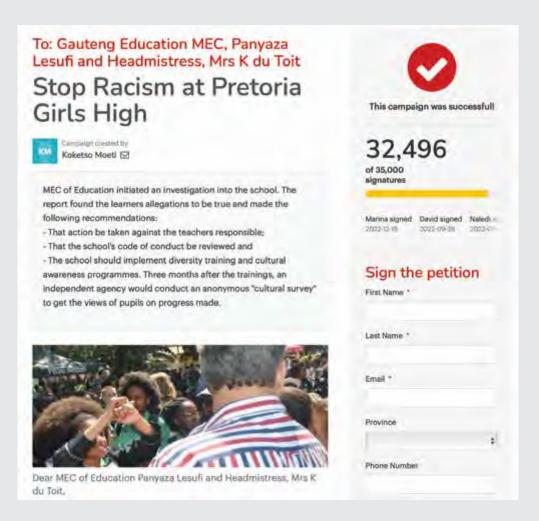
amandla.mobi members launched a solidarity petition with learners from Pretoria High School for Girls, who made international headlines when they protested against racist school rules. These included forcing Black learners to straighten their

hair. The Gauteng Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Education suspended the racist rules and initiated an investigation. As a result of the findings, the school was forced to scrap its racist rules. Many learners saw the petition on awethu.mobi and launched their own campaigns to take on their schools' racist rules. After this, amandla.mobi designed and ran a campaign to engage education MECs of the nine provinces, which helped end racist rules in schools across the country.

Over 20 years into democracy, many institutions in South Africa continue the legacy of apartheid and colonisation. Racism remains entrenched in many schools, for example Black learners were stopped from being able to wear their hair naturally, such as in an afro. One learner explained, 'We were told we're too loud; have no manners; we weren't allowed to speak our own language. It's rude'. A group of learners protested these policies. The experiences and actions of these learners resonated with our members, and it sparked a national conversation. A solidarity petition was launched on amandla.mobi's new awethu.mobi platform, and went viral<sup>19</sup>. Learners at schools across the country saw this petition and launched their own petitions on awethu.mobi to tackle their schools' racist policies.

With a bird's-eye view of these multiple campaigns, we saw that some schools agreed to the learners' demands and changed their racist policies. But to bring an end to these racist policies at all schools, the Department of Basic Education would have to use its mandate. We launched a campaign to engage each Education MEC from the nine provinces. We re-engaged amandla.mobi members who had signed the different school petitions to join this latest action and ensure this public momentum resulted in lasting change.

These campaigns represented a major milestone for amandla.mobi. Not only could people use awethu.mobi to help them replicate campaigns that were working in another community, they were also able to engage decisionmakers at the local, provincial and national levels.





Stop the Health MEC from putting mental health patients in danger



Despite limited public support, we kept engaging our members and using different tactics to keep up pressure on decision-makers in the Department of Health. Our work alongside affected families may have helped delay

the forced removal of patients with severe mental health issues, but many patients still died. Although we helped push for an independent investigation, in the end over 144 people died.



We launched this campaign after meeting with family members of people with severe mental health problems, who were in the care of Life Esidimeni, a group of private hospitals and clinics contracted by the Gauteng Department of Health. Without consulting the families, the Gauteng Health MEC had decided months earlier to bring the contract with Life Esidimeni to a close, to save money<sup>20</sup>. Family members explained that some chronically ill mental health patients were being evicted and left out on the street or sent to other unknown care centres.

We launched a rapid-response petition, calling on the Gauteng Health MEC to stop forcing patients to leave the current facilities. The campaign received limited support from our members, despite our best efforts. Family members marched to the Gauteng Health Department's offices. Public pressure helped force the Gauteng Health MEC to backtrack and extend the contract with Life Esidimeni. We kept campaigning, to demand

that the MEC consult families and outline her plan to ensure the dignity and safety of patients and their family members.

We then learnt that the MEC had broken her promise and that already 54 adult patients with chronic mental illnesses had been sent to a child-care facility<sup>21</sup>. We kept working to engage our members on this urgent campaign, including sharing stories of what the MEC's actions meant for patients and their families. Again, it was difficult to mobilise our members and the public to support this campaign.

In September 2016, we received devastating news that 37 patients who had been transferred from Life Esidimeni to other facilities had died. We launched an urgent campaign action and our members helped send direct messages to the Gauteng Premier and MEC of Health, demanding urgent action before another patient died<sup>22</sup>, but the number of deaths kept climbing.

We then launched a campaign to push for a full investigation into the matter and demanded that all patients be returned to Life Esidimeni, as per their families' wishes. An investigation was launched and the Health Ombudsman's report found that over 90 people had died, due to neglect at the unregistered NGOs where they had been transferred. The Gauteng Health MEC was heavily implicated, and we joined calls for the urgent implementation of the report recommendations.

The Life Esidimeni campaign weighs heavily on us. Stigma associated with mental health issues made it difficult to mobilise enough public support to prevent the deaths of patients. We reflected on why it took patients dying for some of the public and decision-makers to begin to take this issue seriously. It reminded us of the balance between being people-powered and pushing for justice. Even when there is limited support for certain campaigns, it is important that we do not give up and that we continue to build public pressure even when it's hard.

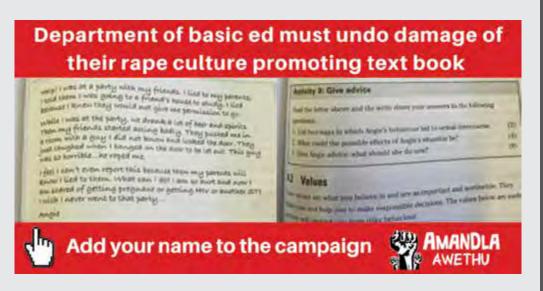


Undo the damage of textbook promoting rape culture



We ensured the Department of Basic Education removed a textbook that reinforced victim-blaming around sexual assault.

We called on the Department of Basic Education (DBE) to undo damage by a Grade 10 Life Orientation textbook, which reinforced a victim-blaming narrative around rape. The DBE removed the textbooks, which was one of our key campaign demands. However, it is unclear whether the Department issued a memo or instructions to educators to undo some of the damage by engaging students and challenging rape culture.



Stop virginity tests for bursaries



We launched a petition and drew media attention to put pressure on the uThukela District Municipality to continue providing bursaries but to scrap the required virginity testing. The municipality was forced to scrap the practice by the Commission for Gender Equality.



The Mayor of uThukela District Municipality introduced a 'Maiden Bursary Award' (scholarship) for young women to study at university or other higher education institutions. A condition of the bursary was that women must undergo regular virginity testing to prove they were still virgins. Women should not have to undergo a traumatic, invasive and flawed process that erodes control of their own

bodies, to receive support for education<sup>23</sup>. The campaign gathered a lot of support, and we partnered with the Rural Women's Movement and the KwaZulu-Natal Christian Council. However, we did receive some backlash from conservative members of our constituency, after a radio interview.



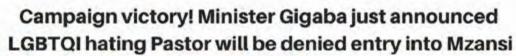


Stop Anderson promoting hate speech in South Africa



Together with Gay SA Radio, our campaign helped convince the Minister of Home Affairs to deny the homophobic pastor, Steve Anderson, and his followers, entry into South Africa.

Homophobic pastors have inflamed violence and hate against the LGBTQI+ community across different African countries. Right-wing American Pastor Steve Anderson planned to travel to South Africa to preach his message of hate and violence against the LGBTQI+ community. In June 2016, Anderson had celebrated the Orlando Massacre of LGBTQI+ people and called the mass shooting 'good news'.





Share this victory against hate



amandla.mobi partnered with Gay SA Radio to launch a petition to call on Home Affairs Minister Gigaba to deny Anderson entry to the country by rejecting his visa. The Minister agreed to meet with Gay SA Radio, and we kept engaging our members and collecting signatures so that, at the meeting, it would be very clear to the Minister that he must act. The campaign did help to persuade the Minister to act: 'Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba has announced that American gay hate pastor Steven Anderson, and his followers, will not be allowed into South Africa'24.





# 2017 in review

New civic action tactics increase accountability

### Year in review 2017

amandla.mobi continued to grow through 2017. While we launched and won new campaigns, we also worked on existing campaigns: we started new campaign actions and changed tactics when the decision-maker did not implement our 'asks' or there were new developments. Our campaign with SOS Coalition (SOS), Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) and Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) against SABC censorship was just one example of a multi-year campaign using a variety of tactics.

In 2017, amandla.mobi began to make some important inroads with funders who could provide larger grants to help us continue growing our community of members and run high-impact campaigns. Since 2013, amandla.mobi had been fortunate enough to have access to a couple of free desks in an IT company, ThoughtWorks SA, based in Braamfontein. This in-kind support meant we saved on internet and rental costs.

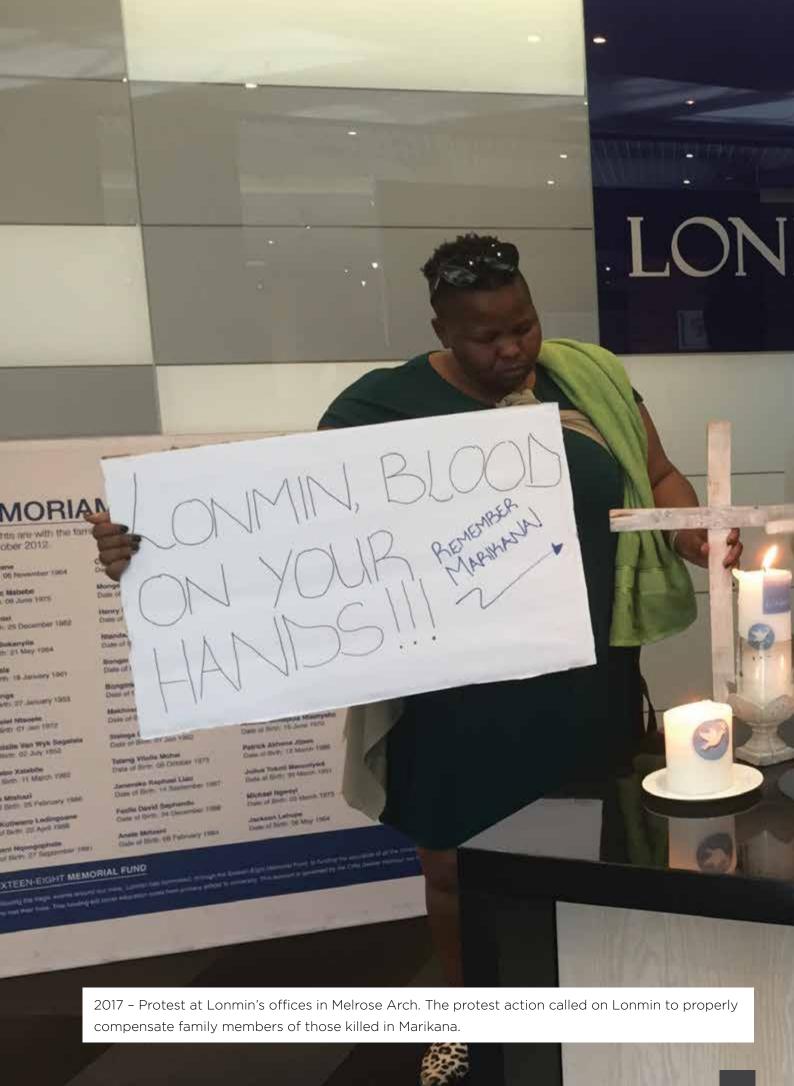
However, in late 2017 distressing allegations were made regarding the handling of a sexual assault complaint<sup>25</sup>. After meeting with the managing directors of ThoughtWorks SA, amandla.mobi decided to move out of the office with immediate effect. We issued a statement outlining our position, packed up our laptops and filing cabinet and moved out. Oxfam South Africa offered us some in-kind office space.



### In addition to the five campaigns highlighted below – as well as other campaigns not listed here – amandla.mobi also took the following actions:

- We campaigned to help put pressure on Allan Gray, a major shareholder in Net1, a company that had made unlawful deductions from social grant recipients. Allan Gray committed to putting pressure on Net1.
- The Social Justice Coalition launched a campaign on awethu.mobi against proposed upgrades to Muizenberg Police Station, given that there were low-income communities without enough police resources.
- An amandla.mobi member set up a petition on awethu.mobi to call on Wits University to fire KPMG as their internal auditors, in the light of KPMG's role in enabling state capture.
- We won our campaign to implement a sugary drinks tax to help combat type-2 diabetes and other non-communicable diseases. The victory was significant because the beverage industry used a variety of tactics to try stop the sugary drinks tax.
- Reclaim the City set up a petition on awethu.mobi to stop the Somerset Precinct rezoning. Reclaim the City had a constructive meeting with the City of Cape Town.
- After footage emerged of Deputy Minister Mduduzi Manana assaulting a woman, we launched a petition calling on the President to dismiss the Deputy Minister. President Zuma did not dismiss Mr Manana, but ongoing public pressure saw him resign as Deputy Minister.
- Tanzanian police arrested 13 people for the 'promotion of homosexuality'.
   We launched a rapid-response campaign to put pressure on the
   African Commission on Human Rights, as well as Tanzanian officials, to
   immediately release all those who were arrested. The persons arrested
   were, thankfully, released safely<sup>26</sup>.
- We campaigned for the release of the Fees Commission report. In light of
  the Fees Must Fall movement's work, a commission was put together to
  look into higher education funding. Although the Fees Commission was
  flawed in many ways, we decided to help enable public participation. We
  also worked to ensure public oversight at each step of the process, so
  that there were no hold ups.

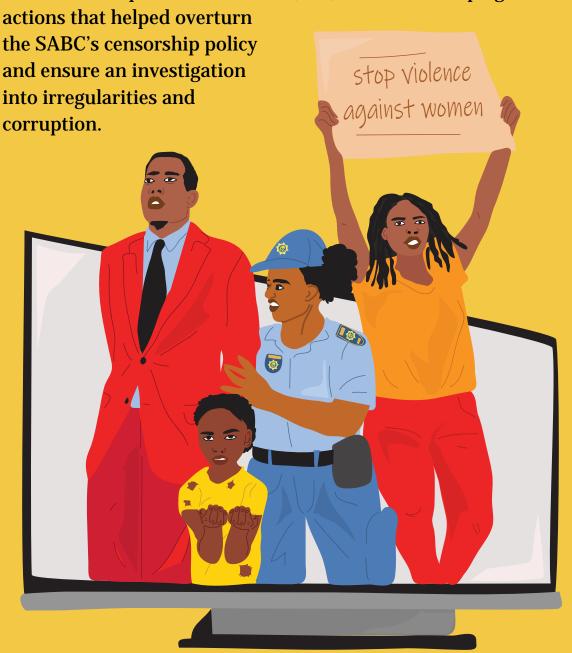
- A number of proposals were being considered that would attack and undermine women's sexual and reproductive rights. This included a proposal to force women to look at images and videos of their foetuses, before being allowed to undergo an abortion. We ran a campaign with the Sexual and Reproductive Justice Coalition (SRJC) to increase public participation, especially from women, in drafting these proposals. The proposals were ultimately unsuccessful.
- An amandla.mobi member launched a petition on awethu.mobi to demand that Durban University of Technology (DUT) pay its workers decent living wages and bring an end to the strike. The campaign allowed us to remobilise members from a previous DUT campaign, this time focusing on staff. DUT agreed to increase wages.
- We worked with an amandla.mobi member who launched a petition calling on authorities to revoke the licence of the company Enviroserv, given the impact of pollution from their Shongweni landfill site on surrounding Black communities. The Department of Environmental Affairs suspended Enviroserv's license, but the company went to court and successfully appealed. However, the matter was escalated to the Minister of Environmental Affairs.



Stop SABC censorship and corruption



South Africa's public broadcaster, the SABC, introduced a censorship policy and targeted journalists who spoke out. We worked with the SOS Coalition (SOS), Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), and Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) to launch campaign



### The campaign involved:

- Collecting petition signatures and presenting them at a hearing into the censorship policy;
- Mobilising members to join protest actions;
- Keeping our members updated on developments;
- Highlighting the SABC's refusal to air important documentaries;
- Engaging SABC advertisers through message-writing action;
- Crowdfunding adverts to pressure key SABC advertisers; and
- Petitioning for a corruption investigation to begin.





The SABC is the most accessible source of news in South Africa, covering all languages, through TV channels and radio stations. In May 2016, the acting SABC Chief Operating Officer (COO), Hlaudi Motsoeneng introduced a censorship policy that banned broadcasting visuals and reporting on local protests that may include the destruction of public property<sup>27</sup>. This was the start of a multi-year campaign lead by our partners, the <u>SOS Coalition</u> (SOS), <u>Media Monitoring Africa</u> (MMA) and <u>Freedom of Expression Institute</u> (FXI) to not only stop this censorship policy, but also protect journalists who spoke out and ensure evidence of corruption could be investigated.

During apartheid, Black people's protests and struggles were stifled and censored at home and to the outside world. More than 20 years into democracy, the SABC's censorship policy suppressed important information about the conditions and conflicts happening in communities across the country, and has since also banned newsreaders from reading newspaper headlines on-air. Our campaign partners SOS, MMA and FXI lodged a complaint against this self-censorship with the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), which had the mandate to overturn the censorship policy.

amandla.mobi collected signatures to demonstrate public support, which were handed over to the lawyers representing our partners. Our campaign partners also organised protests outside the SABC and ICASA, and we called on our members to join these protests. As public pressure against the SABC censorship grew, the acting SABC Chief Executive Officer (CEO) resigned, and journalists started speaking out. The SABC targetted those who spoke out and eight journalists were suspended and eventually fired<sup>28</sup>. They also received death threats.

ICASA ordered the SABC to reverse its censorship policy. This was an important victory for the campaign<sup>29</sup>. However, Hlaudi Motsoeneng, SABC COO, refused. It became clear that the campaign needed to keep applying public pressure on the SABC, but that the pressure needed to come from another angle.

We identified key companies who were the SABC's largest advertisers; stakeholders who could apply economic pressure. With our partners, we designed and launched a campaign that called on First National Bank (FNB), Vodacom, Chicken Licken, Clientèle Legal and South African Breweries (SAB) to pause their advertising with the SABC until it scrapped its censorship policy. The campaign action involved our members sending thousands of emails and tweets to each of these companies, calling on them to act.

Our next campaign tactic was to crowdfund a newspaper advert that would draw the connection between ending SABC censorship and the companies pausing their advertising campaigns. Our members raised over R11,000 and we secured a probono graphic designer to put the advert together.



The SABC would eventually agree to the ICASA ruling to remove their censorship policy. However, the campaign pivoted to demand the reinstatement of journalists who had been fired, known as the SABC 8. We also ran campaign actions to highlight decisions by the SABC not to screen documentaries such as Miners Shot Down, and Project Spear, despite there being public support for these documentaries.

Sustained public pressure from multiple angles eventually saw Hlaudi Motsoeneng being removed as COO in early 2017. A parliamentary ad hoc committee issued a report on their inquiry into the fitness of the SABC board. The report into the state of the SABC revealed huge problems at the public broadcaster<sup>30</sup>. But there was a silver lining: the Special Investigations Unit (SIU) was ready to commence a probe into the millions owed to local artists in royalties, which could possibly address dodgy deals at the SABC. We launched a petition calling for President Zuma to sign the proclamation that would allow the SIU to start its investigation. President Zuma signed it in August 2017<sup>31</sup>.

Campaign created on: AWETHU

Investigate Pietermaritzburg police brutality and torture allegations



The campaign helped to force police leadership in KwaZulu-Natal to engage with the family members of five young men who were killed by police. The engagement with police resulted in an investigation into the conduct of the police's K9 unit.

Five young men were shot and killed in Pietermaritzburg by the police's K9 unit. After the gruesome murders, the police released photos of the young men on social media, without family consent or knowledge. Families of the deceased tried to get answers from the police but were ignored.

These young men were never charged and found guilty by a court of law. Police claimed that they suspected the young men were going to commit crimes in the area. The families launched a message-writing campaign on awethu.mobi to pressure the Acting Provincial Police Commissioner in KwaZulu-Natal to engage with the families, and to ensure a full investigation into the conduct of the police officers.

The campaign was successful and although nothing would bring back the lives that were lost, the family members thanked everyone who supported the campaign.



Campaign created on: AWETHU

Stop GBV! Support the Safe Taxis Charter

Working with other women's organisations, we ran an inclusive mobile, multi-lingual campaign that facilitated the creation of a National Safe Taxis Charter, grounded in the experiences and suggestions of over 100 women from across the country who used taxis to commute. Over 2,000 people added their names calling on government and the taxi industry to adopt the charter.





Seka umkhankaso: Faka imibono yakho nge-charter kazwelonke yabesimame ye-#SafeTaxisNow



The poor majority in South Africa rely on minibus taxis for public transport. Minibus taxis receive no government funding and are operated by the taxi industry. For decades women have experienced gender-based violence and sexual harassment when travelling. In March and April 2017, a number of rape cases perpetrated in taxis put the issue in the media spotlight. The Soul City Institute wanted to launch a campaign to address the issue, and approached amandla.mobi. Soul City facilitated a space for different women's organisations, as well as amandla.mobi and other stakeholders, to meet and plan the campaign.

amandla.mobi created an accessible mobile tool that allowed women who used taxis every day to share their ideas on how to improve safety in and around taxis. We launched a campaign that reached half a million low-income Black women, in four different languages (isiZulu, Setswana, isiXhosa and English). We sourced over 100 ideas from different women, and these were used to create a National Safe Taxis Charter<sup>32</sup> from the ground up designed by women across the country. Once the charter was finalised, over 2,000 people signed a petition calling on government and taxi associations to adopt it.

Campaign created on: AWETHU

Are your savings making us sick? Divest from coal and oil now!

We partnered with Fossil Free South Africa to encourage our members, and members of the public, to send a direct message to their pension or investment fund, calling on them to divest from fossil fuels and reinvest in renewables. Because of the number of messages that the funds received,

asset managers were forced to engage and respond. This opened the door for Fossil Free SA to continue engaging asset managers<sup>33</sup>.

### Are your savings making us sick? Divest now!



Add your name to the campaign

South Africa is heavily reliant on coalfired power stations, fuelling climate change. While many low-income Black women may not necessarily use the term 'climate change', that does not mean our constituency does not see and understand the cost of fossil fuels to our health, or the link between fossil fuels and the increase

in severe weather events such as drought and floods. Many people understand we have a problem, but don't always know what they can do.

Working with Fossil Free SA, we launched a campaign to help people to connect the dots. The campaign explained how many people's hard-earned savings are helping to fund the coal plants through different pension funds – including the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF). The campaign provided a tool that enabled people to select their pension fund and send a message calling on that fund to divest from coal, gas and oil, and reinvest in renewable energy.

The campaign we designed and launched referenced research commissioned by groundWork. The research showed that coal-fired power stations are a major factor in air pollution, contributing to 2,200 deaths per year<sup>34</sup>.

AMANDLA AWETHU

Campaign created on:

Stand up for inclusivity - support Tumi Morake



A petition was launched to counter right-wing groups who were demanding that Jacaranda FM take action against radio host Tumi Morake, for her comments on apartheid. The radio station issued a statement that they stood by Tumi.

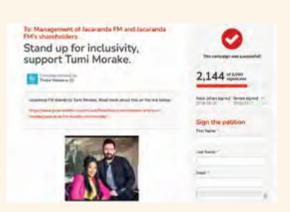


Campaign signatures delivered to Jacaranda FM in support of Tumi Morake. Nearly 20 years into democracy, a survey found that 47% of white people in South Africa believe apartheid was not a crime against humanity<sup>35</sup>. Radio host, comedian and actress Tumi Morake used an analogy, on air, to communicate the lack of acknowledgement and remorse from those who benefitted from apartheid. She said that 'It's like a child whose bicycle was taken forcefully away from him and then you say to the bully, "no, no, no, share the bike together, don't be like that" '36.

The response from right-wing groups was swift: they demanded that Jacaranda FM take action against Tumi Morake. One furniture company removed their adverts, while many listeners called for a boycott of the station.

Thoba
Vokwana
launched
a petition

on awethu.mobi, calling for people to support Tumi Morake and ensure Jacaranda FM took no action against her. The petition quickly gathered a lot of momentum and signatures were delivered in person to Jacaranda FM, with Tumi Morake present. Jacaranda FM released a statement that they would stand by Tumi<sup>37</sup>.





Campaign created on:



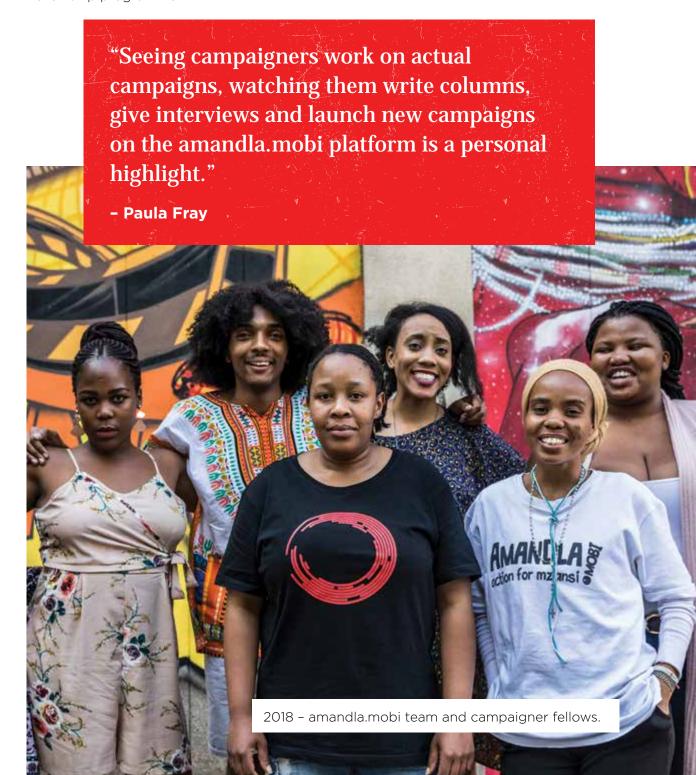
# 2018 in review

amandla.mobi gets its own office and launches Fellowship programme

### Year in review 2018

Advocacy NGOs founded and led by white men in South Africa appear able to secure large grants from funders before they have even launched their organisation. amandla.mobi didn't start with millions in our bank account, an office or even staff. But after four years of extremely hard work, we started to secure some larger grants.

We had outgrown in-kind office space, and we finally had enough funds to rent our own office space. We rented offices at the Maths Centre in Braamfontein, which provided us with space for our growing team and the launch of our Campaigner Fellowship programme.



### In addition to the five campaigns highlighted below – as well as other campaigns not listed here – amandla.mobi also took the following actions:

- An event on land expropriation was organised at the University of South Africa (UNISA) but none of the speakers were Black women.
   We campaigned and forced the organisers to make the voices of Black women heard.
- In partnership with groundWork, we launched a campaign calling on Standard Bank to divest from the new coal-fired power stations – Thabametsi in Limpopo and Khanyisa in Mpumalanga. While Standard Bank didn't divest during 2018, ABSA and First Rand Bank did.
- We campaigned in solidarity with an LGBTQI+ couple who were struggling to have a visa granted and Home Affairs was being suspiciously homophobic. Eventually, a visa was issued.
- Finance Minister Gigaba announced in his 2018 budget speech that government would be increasing Value-Added Tax (VAT). We fought to stop this VAT hike as it would hit low-income households the hardest. While we failed to stop the VAT increase, we launched a campaign calling for VAT to be removed from more essential items such as sanitary pads, school uniforms, nappies, high-protein food, bread flour and cake flour. We won a partial victory when it was announced that sanitary pads, bread flour and cake flour would be VAT free.
- Right2Know launched a petition on awethu.mobi, calling for the release
  of the Moerane Commission report into the underlying causes of political
  killings in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Right2Know had been calling for the
  report to be released and had also submitted a Public Access Information
  Act (PAIA) application. The campaign had a partial victory when the KZN
  Premier 'released' the report to the KZN legislature. However, he did not
  make the full report, nor its transcripts available to the public.

- One of our Campaigner Fellows, Charlene Mihi, launched a petition to address the poor services and treatment of patients at Maki Legwete Clinic. This was a very local-level campaign. The clinic management agreed to meet, and afterwards implemented the campaign demand to provide patients with different ways to report poor services and treatment.
- Another of our Campaigner Fellows, Yolanda Dyantyi, launched a petition
  to tackle the gender wage gap issue by drawing attention to the fact
  that South African women's soccer team, Banyana Banyana, were not
  receiving equal pay to the men's team, Bafana Bafana. While our national
  women's soccer team still don't receive equal pay, the campaign did, at
  least, lead to the commitment of giving the players a bonus.
- For years, tobacco companies have tried to find new ways to profit from their deadly products, while also working to stop any restrictive policies or taxes. E-cigarettes (vaping) provided a new product to get a new generation hooked. The Department of Health proposed stronger antismoking laws that would ban smoking in public, regulate e-cigarettes and implement other evidence-based interventions to reduce smoking. The tobacco industry ran a campaign to build public opposition to the new anti-smoking laws. Together with the National Council of Smoking, we launched a public comment campaign to make sure that voices of non-smokers were also heard during the public consultation process.
- Paul Makonda, the governor of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, deployed a surveillance squad to track down queer people on social media. To stand in solidarity with LGBTQI+ and to put pressure on Tanzanian authorities, amandla.mobi organised a protest outside the Tanzanian Embassy<sup>38</sup>.

"amandla.mobi's digital Fellowship is creating a new generation of movement leaders and social justice advocates equipped with technology as a tool for change. The Fellowship plays two parts: 1) to revolutionalise the internet and technology in South Africa, and 2) to make technology and the internet accessible to every South African."

- Digital campaigning trainer Jamila Brown



Stop taxing our periods and deliver the promised free pads!



We estimate that 15 million women<sup>39</sup> benefitted from our campaign to remove the Valued-Added Tax (VAT) on sanitary pads. Through working with our members to monitor pad prices, we estimated that a 13% saving was passed on to the consumer. The campaign to demand the promised free sanitary pads also

that government honour the promised free sanitary pads also achieved an important milestone: R157 million was allocated to rolling out free sanitary pads to low-income schools.



### The campaign involved:

- · Launching a petition;
- Partnering with other organisations;
- Engaging decision-makers at national and provincial levels;
- Collecting public comments and testimonies;
- Presentations to Parliament and a panel of experts;
- Protests and creating a giant sanitary pad costume to attract media attention; and
- Crowdsourcing pad prices from our members, to ensure retailers passed on savings to consumers.

Some schoolgirls use socks or newspapers as sanitary pads, and others do not attend school because of menstruation<sup>40</sup>. To respond to this issue, we spent years campaigning until we secured a victory. In 2011, President Zuma made a commitment to provide sanitary pads to the poor, but years later it appeared that this promise had not been fulfilled<sup>41</sup> – other than a once-off public relations stunt with Procter & Gamble to donate pads to 45 learners.



In 2016, health journalist Pontsho Pilane launched a petition on awethu. mobi, demanding that the government provide free sanitary pads to learners in quintile 1 to 3 schools (low-income schools). This would be the start of an ongoing campaign demanding that government fulfil its promise, made in 2011. We also partnered with organisations like the National Girl Child Movement, Livity Africa and Equal Education.

One of the campaign tactics involved the creation of a giant sanitary pad costume. The giant sanitary pad made appearances across the country, following the president and other key decision-makers when they attended public events. From a Youth Day event in Soweto and Women's Day event at the Union Buildings to Parliament itself, the giant sanitary pad, along with a group of campaign supporters, attracted a lot of attention.

The petition demanding that government provide the promised pads gathered momentum. Decision-makers kept referring the campaign to other departments, but campaign starter Pontsho Pilane identified the key departments and their different roles, and the petition was handed over to various portfolio committees in Parliament and the Ministers of Basic Education, Health and Social Development. Pontsho also made a presentation to Parliament, calling for a national policy to coordinate the rollout of sanitary pads and to remove VAT from sanitary products<sup>42</sup>.

In January 2017, we learnt that the Department of Basic Education in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) had started distributing free sanitary pads to 3,000 schools<sup>43</sup>. This was a step in the right direction, and we used the moment to work with our members in different provinces to write to their premiers, asking them to follow the lead of KZN.



In July 2017, the names and comments of everyone who had signed the petition and sent public submissions were hand-delivered to the Minister of Women, Susan Shabangu. The Minister's department tweeted that it supported our demand to 'ensure that no girl who cannot afford a sanitary pad is forced to miss school'. Although a number of decision-makers supported the demand, implementing it required National Treasury to allocate funds.

In early 2018, government announced a hike in VAT, from 14% to 15%. The proposed VAT hike was anti-poor, and amandla.mobi ran a large campaign to stop it. While that campaign failed, government had to compromise and consider some kind of relief for low-income consumers. An expert panel was appointed to look at increasing the list of basic necessities that were zero-rated.

This created an opportunity to campaign to axe the tax on sanitary products, and amandla.mobi members made written submissions and an oral submission to the expert panel. The panel included this demand as part of the recommendations<sup>44</sup> they submitted to the Minister of Finance. In October 2018, the Minister of Finance announced that, from 1 April 2019, sanitary pads would be VAT free.

While we had called for all sanitary products to be VAT free, including tampons, this was still a significant campaign victory. The Minister also announced that R157 million<sup>45</sup> would be allocated to the national roll-out of sanitary pads to low-income schools<sup>46</sup>. This was yet another important campaign victory.

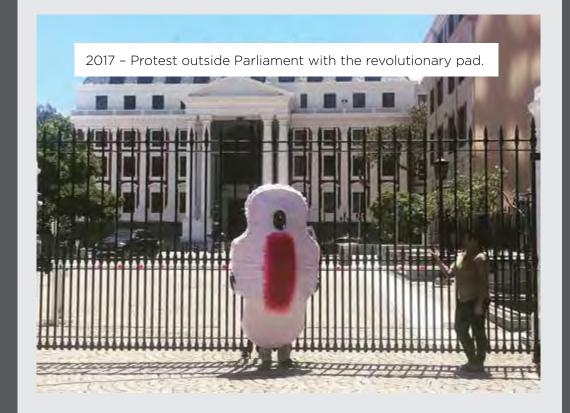
But before the amandla.mobi team celebrated, we split up and went to different supermarkets to note the prices of sanitary pads. We did this to gather some baseline data on the current prices of sanitary pads, so that over the coming five or so months we could track prices and ensure that retailers were not slowly increasing the price of sanitary pads, which would mean the 15% reduction in price would not be passed on to the consumer.

We built a mobile campaign tool, so that we could work with our members to crowdsource pad prices from across the country<sup>47</sup>. Monitoring and mapping these enabled us to compare prices before and after sanitary pads were zero-rated on 1 April 2019. We also cross-referenced our data with that of the Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice & Dignity (PMBEJD) Group and their monthly Household Affordability Index.



2017 - July - Delivery of signatures for our campaign to ensure government delivers promised sanitary pads. Pictured is the former Minister of Women in the Presidency Susan Shabangu receiving the campaign signatures.

While prices fluctuated, depending on province, retailer and brand, by and large we found that the 13% saving was passed on to the consumer. This campaign action was an important milestone for amandla.mobi, as we began to develop new ways to monitor the implementation and impact of campaign demands.





# Stop the VAT hike •



In February 2018, Finance Minister Gigaba announced an increase in Value-Added Tax (VAT) and dismissed claims this move was 'anti-poor'<sup>48</sup>. In response, our members rallied in numbers to make decision-makers understand how this would impact their lives. Finance Minister Nene replaced

Malusi Gigaba a month later and conceded that the VAT hike would hurt poor households the hardest<sup>49</sup>. While we failed to stop the VAT hike, the campaign laid the foundation for a lot of our economic justice work.



For the first time since 1993, South Africa increased VAT<sup>50</sup>. In response to Finance Minister Gigaba's 2018 budget speech we launched a petition that quickly gathered over 55,000 signatures. These signatures were hand-delivered to Ismail Momoniat, the Head of Taxation at National Treasury. To make sure the voices of our members were heard, we participated in the public hearings of Parliament's Finance Committees. When it became clear that the VAT hike was likely to go ahead, we consulted our members and asked for their feedback on different options the campaign could take as a next step. This included whether to keep fighting to stop the VAT hike or to focus on having VAT removed from more essential items, which would provide at least some relief to low-income households.

During the process of designing and launching the campaign to stop the VAT hike, we had spent a lot of

time analysing research and policy recommendations by a number of different civil society groups. While we failed to win the campaign, this analysis would inform our demands of decision-makers and formed the foundation of our longer-term economic justice work. The process of navigating Parliament's public comment process helped us identify other challenges to inclusive and accessible public participation, which would influence our strategy to help enable greater civic participation in the years to follow.

Tell the Minister of Labour to offer compensation to domestic workers!



Domestic workers are denied compensation for injuries, illness or death from work. We supported the campaign starter who launched a public comment campaign on awethu.mobi to demonstrate mass public support for the rights of domestic workers.



In 2012, Maria Mahlangu, a domestic worker, drowned when she fell into her employer's swimming pool<sup>51</sup>. Maria's grieving daughter was offered R2,500 by her mother's employer. While many workers, or their dependents, are able to apply

for compensation for work-related injuries, illness or death, the Department of Labour excludes domestic workers from accessing this compensation. Domestic workers have been organising to demand better worker's rights and the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) took legal action.

In 2018, the Minister of Labour finally opened the public comment process that could help end the exclusion of domestic workers from the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act (COIDA)<sup>52</sup>. Assisted by amandla.mobi, Clio Koopman, a Campaigner Fellow, launched a public comment campaign in support of compensation for domestic workers. The campaign made the process of participating in public comment much easier, both for domestic workers and those wanting to stand in solidarity.

By the time public comment closed, the campaign helped demonstrate significant public support for domestic workers rights.



Campaign created on:

No nuclear, yes renewable

Our campaign helped to counter attempts by Energy
Minister David Mahlobo to run a sham public
participation process on nuclear energy. The campaign
complemented the work of environmental NGOs to
oppose government's aggressive nuclear energy plans. It
also highlighted the job creation opportunities of community-owned
renewable energy, compared to nuclear energy. In addition, the
campaign amplified the stories and health struggles of workers who
were exposed to radiation and chemicals at the Pelindaba nuclear
facility.



The South African government failed to start transitioning from fossil fuels to community-owned renewable energy. To make matters worse, Energy Minister David Mahlobo was pushing to implement a controversial expansion of the country's nuclear energy<sup>53</sup>. Environmental NGOs and others were pushing back against these plans, including a successful legal action by Southern African Faith Communities' Environment Institute (SAFCEI) and Earthlife Africa Johannesburg<sup>54</sup>.

We recognised that there needed to be much more public support to oppose nuclear energy and push for community-owned renewables. To build broader public support, our

strategy was to highlight not only the environmental issues, but also the job creation opportunities of renewable energy, while shining a spotlight on the history of harm that nuclear facilities have caused workers, and the ongoing health risks of nuclear production.

We met with former workers of the Pelindaba nuclear facility run by the Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa (NECSA). Workers shared how they were exposed to radiation and dangerous chemicals<sup>55</sup>, which they believe has led to their own poor health and the deaths of fellow workers. We collaborated with workers to launch a campaign calling for compensation and a halt to nuclear plans.

The campaign helped shift the public discussion around nuclear energy and in a radio interview, Energy Minister Mahlobo was questioned about the health risks of nuclear energy. With growing public scrutiny and pressure, Energy Minister Mahlobo organised a last-minute Energy Indaba to 'tick the box' of public consultation on the nuclear expansion plans. In response, we organised a protest with ex-Pelindaba workers outside the Energy Indaba. When a delegation of workers and the amandla.mobi team tried to participate in the public consultation process, including handing over petition signatures, we were prevented from being able to enter the venue.

The campaign played a small role in building broader public pressure against nuclear plans. By August 2018, the new Minister of Energy Jeff Radebe announced that government had halted its nuclear power expansion plans until 2030 and would instead expand alternative sources of energy, such as renewables<sup>56</sup>.



# LAUNCH OF THE CAMPAIGNER FELLOWSHIP



In 2018, we designed and launched a full-time paid Campaigner Fellowship programme for six Black women, to help accelerate their skills and impact in their community. Campaigner Fellowship graduates have used their training and experience to set up their own initiatives, or join

organisations and strengthen the ecosystem of researchers, donors, activists and organisers, who together challenge government and corporates. When new positions have become available, some of our graduates have even gone on to apply and join the amandla.mobi team.

Black women face barriers everywhere, including in civil society. The four-month Campaigner Fellowship programme was designed for activists, writers or community organisers to receive training in best practice campaigning, intensive coaching, and hands-on practical experience in running real-world campaigns. The process to select our six Campaigner Fellows was extremely rigorous and we invested time and resources into the programme. The results speak for themselves.

### Campaigner Fellows describe their experiences and achievements:

'The fellowship helped me identify the kind of activist I want to be and the type of activism I'm suited for. It confirmed that I prefer NGO work because that's where I see myself making a difference in society. I was awarded a scholarship for an MA in Gender Studies at UCT's African Gender Institute; hoping to graduate in 2021.'

- Gaboitsiwe Kgomongwe (2018 graduate)

'The Campaigner Fellowship exposed me to a variety of tools within civic technology and the digital landscape I can use to make my voice heard on social issues. I'm grateful for the opportunity and experience because today I'm working towards my own feminist inspired digital platform.'

- Yolanda Dyantyi (2018 graduate)

'amandla.mobi's digital Fellowship is creating a new generation of movement leaders and social justice advocates equipped with technology as a tool for change. The Fellowship plays two parts: 1) to revolutionalise the internet and technology in South Africa, and 2) to make technology and the internet accessible to every South African.

In 2019, I trained Fellows in digital campaigning. It was a truly beautiful experience to build community with Black South African women and nonbinary advocates. Next year I will also inspire Fellows to become trainers, and to transform material into their language(s) and context(s).

The greatest testament to the Fellowship is that Fellows applied for positions and became employees of amandla and are doing incredible work from running digital campaigns to writing hard-hitting op-eds. I am so proud of them. It is an honour to be a part of their growth.'

### - Digital campaigning trainer Jamila Brown

'From the beginning of the Fellowship, I got to understand what challenges Black people, especially Black women, in South Africa face on a daily basis. I gained knowledge about radical change, and the confidence to do the work. I learnt that writing must inform, educate and encourage people to stand up and take action. I learnt about interacting with different kinds of people, understanding where they come from and what their issues are. I learnt it is important to maintain human connection even in the digital space. The training was challenging, and I got to understand how digital technology can be a game-changer for activism and campaigning. I formed relationships with amazing women who taught me so much. Ultimately, I gained a voice in society.

My highlight was the coaching and mentoring by the South African and US-based activist trainers. The sessions were fun and challenging. Many discussions, arguments and disagreements took place. It was a very creative space for me. I had to dig deep and do self-introspection. I had to re-evaluate my goals and decisions, and why I wanted to be an activist. I got to learn that changing things takes take time. You need a clear goal and vision of where you want to get with a campaign, or it will be easy to crash. These sessions involved creating campaigns, writing opinion pieces, being creative with image designs, videos, audio recordings, and failing and trying again.'

- Tlou Seopa, 2019 graduate now working for amandla.mobi

# 2018 Campaigner Fellows















# 2019 in review

New civic action tactics increase accountability

### Year in review 2019

In June 2019, amandla.mobi celebrated the five-year anniversary of launching our first campaign and starting our movement building through working with our members. It provided a moment of reflection and affirmation: even though so many people had said that amandla.mobi would not succeed, here we were, thriving!

Some of our campaign victories had impacted well over 10 million people. Our campaign to axe the tax on sanitary pads had helped contribute to a 13% drop in the price of sanitary pads, while our Data Must Fall campaign resulted in pro-poor regulations that gave greater control to low-income consumers to manage their voice. SMS and data bundles.

Each year's successes and failures taught amandla.mobi valuable lessons. What made 2019 significant was that we shifted our organisational strategy away from taking on a lot of campaigns, and instead focused on starting a greater number of campaign actions. We had learnt that we could win some campaigns by simply launching a petition, while securing other campaign demands required using different tactics, engaging different decision-makers, and sustaining public pressure over a longer period of time.

# In addition to the five campaigns highlighted below – as well as other campaigns not listed here – amandla.mobi also took the following actions:

- We learnt that the South African state-owned weapons manufacturer Denel
  was selling arms to Saudi Arabia, and this was contributing to the conflict
  in Yemen. We launched a petition after a whistle blower leaked information
  that Saudi Arabia was trying to buy a controlling stake in Denel. Public
  Enterprises Minister Pravin Gordhan committed to taking the sale of Denel
  off the table.
- One of our members launched a campaign on awethu.mobi to ban public displays of the apartheid flag. We sent campaign signatures to the Minister of Justice who provided a supporting submission to the affidavits submitted by the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and the Equality Court agreed that gratuitous displays of the apartheid flag should be banned<sup>57</sup>.

- An awethu.mobi petition was launched calling for the retraction of a racist journal article on the intelligence of 'coloured' women. The article was retracted by the editor and publisher, for 'serious flaws exist in the methodology and reporting of the original study'58.
- An awethu.mobi petition was launched to stop Koffi Olomidé, a performance artist who has a well-documented history of abuse against women, from performing in South Africa. The two proposed venues cancelled the performance<sup>59</sup>.
- Between 2017 and 2018, over 200 people in South Africa died from listeriosis due to eating contaminated processed meat. We noted that a national regulator had tried to introduce hygiene regulations for processed meats, all the way back in 2014, but industry had rejected the regulations and stated they could self-regulate. We also noted that, over a year after the listeriosis outbreak, those hygiene regulations had still not been passed. We launched a petition and the Minister of Trade and Industry, Ebrahim Patel finally signed new processed meat regulations<sup>60</sup>.
- After years of hard work by the organisation My Vote Counts, South Africa was close to implementing the Political Party Funding Bill, which would force political parties to disclose who donated to them. In partnership with My Vote Counts and the Right2Know Campaign, we launched a letter-writing campaign action to call on President Ramaphosa to sign the Political Party Funding Bill before the 2019 elections. We also presented an oral submission during the public comment process. The campaign was, unfortunately, unsuccessful, but because of the ongoing work of My Vote Counts, the Bill would eventually be passed.
- We helped organise a screening event of the LGBTQI+ documentary, <u>Under the Rainbow</u>, which follows Pamela Adie's journey as a Nigerian lesbian navigating sexuality amid homophobia in her home country. The event was in partnership with Initiative for Strategic Litigation in Africa (ISLA), AFDA, Iranti-Org, GALA and the Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW). We also helped Pamela secure TV and other interviews to talk about her journey and the documentary.
- Women in South Africa continued to be abused and murdered, and the Total Shut Down: Intersectional Womin's Movement Against GBV organised a protest at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) in Sandton, to demand that the private sector contribute funds to tackling GBV. Members from amandla.mobi helped promote the protest<sup>61</sup> and attended it.

In 2019, we ran our Campaigner Fellowship programme again and welcomed a new cohort.

# CAMPAIGN 1 Data Must Fall

We channelled collective frustration around the high cost of mobile internet into a multi-year campaign, starting in 2016, that challenged profiteering by mobile networks. The campaign exposed price discrimination against the poor and built public pressure on regulators to act. In the end,

the campaign resulted in pro-poor regulations that benefitted over 30 million, mostly low-income, pre-paid mobile users. The campaign also resulted in an agreement from the two largest mobile networks, MTN

over the poor

and Vodacom, to reduce the cost of some of their mobile internet bundles by 30% to 50%. This reduced the cost of mobile internet access for 13 million people.

### The campaign involved:

- Some of our members organising their communities, by going door-to-door, collecting petition signatures, and putting up posters;
- Collecting voice notes and testimonies from low-income consumers, which we played at the public hearings of the communications regulator, ICASA;
- Researching and monitoring mobile data prices, to build up the evidence base to expose price discrimination by mobile networks;
- Protesting at public events sponsored by mobile networks, to draw attention to their profiteering;
- Securing pro-bono legal assistance when mobile networks took legal action against amandla.mobi and ICASA, the communications regulator that was introducing pro-poor regulations;
- Launching a letter-writing campaign, where campaign supporters submitted complaints to their mobile network;



- Delivering written and oral submissions to the Competition Commission; and
- Engaging the media and using TV, radio and print interviews, to counter attempts by mobile networks to neutralise the negative PR they were receiving.



Internet access has changed the world but has excluded the poor, the very people who could benefit the most from access to information, education, jobs and income that the internet has helped to unlock. We launched the strategic campaign, Data Must Fall, to bridge the digital divide.

In 2016, we launched our Data Must Fall petition and helped get the attention of our leaders. In February 2017, President Jacob Zuma announced that reducing the cost of data was a priority. We continued to build public pressure, until both our communications regulator ICASA and our Competition Commission announced they would be looking into high data prices.

We presented testimony and voice notes at the public hearing held by ICASA to look at the practices of mobile networks. We highlighted a number of issues that impacted low-income consumers. When users buy voice, SMS or data 'bundles', these are at a certain 'in-bundle' price. But it can be difficult for consumers to keep track of how much voice, SMS or data is left in their bundle. What often happens is a consumer finishes their bundle and their mobile network starts charging them 'out-of-bundle' rates, which are much more expensive and cause 'bill shock'. We called for an end to this practice. We also raised the issue of

unused data expiring. We highlighted that, unlike milk, data does not have a shelf life and that any unused data should roll over to the next month.

Our campaigning and testimony resulted in ICASA proposing a number of pro-poor regulations. The regulations would stop mobile networks from charging out-of-bundle rates when a user's bundle was depleted. If the user's data bundle was depleted, their mobile internet would stop, until they bought another bundle or agreed to paying out-of-bundle rates.

Just before these pro-poor regulations were to start, some mobile networks struck back and took legal action against ICASA and amandla.mobi. This move was clearly a strategy to delay the regulations and attempt to water them down. But, thanks to an amazing pro-bono lawyer, and public pressure to name and shame mobile networks, the case was settled.

While the ICASA regulations process was underway, the Competition Commission was also investigating mobile networks. Together with Indra de Lanerolle, a visiting researcher and adjunct lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, we presented evidence and testimony that mobile networks were charging the poor the highest data prices, entrenching digital and economic inequality. People such as the CEO of Vodacom soon found themselves hauled in front of the commission to explain.



The campaign elevated the voices and experiences of low-income consumers, which began shaping the public agenda. The Competition Commission slammed mobile networks for their anti-poor pricing. In their final report, the

Competition Commission gave the two largest mobile networks, Vodacom and MTN, until February 2020 to reduce their data prices by between 30% and  $50\%^{62}$ .

# Minister Mboweni must fully fund plans to address gender-based violence



The campaign challenged our leaders to 'put your money where your mouth is' and make tangible commitments to fund plans to address gender-based violence (GBV). The campaign helped increase scrutiny on practical measures to reduce GBV and how they would be funded.



GBV has been a major problem in South Africa, and in 2018 and 2019, incidents of GBV sparked a major public outcry. Since 2017, amandla.mobi had been campaigning with the Stop Gender Violence coalition, calling for a national strategic plan (NSP) against GBV.

This campaign finally made some progress, and work on the NSP began. However, we recognised that, while there was a great deal of attention on GBV and plenty of lip-service from our leaders, there were limited commitments. Most actions were focused on 'raising awareness of GBV'. We realised that a NSP for GBV would not have an impact if it was not fully funded. So, we shifted our focus to the issue of funding.

The campaign called on the Minister of Finance to announce that the government would fully fund the NSP to address GBV. Given the fact that the fiscus is under significant strain, the campaign included several options for where Treasury could find the money. One option was freeing up funds by reducing the benefits that members of parliament received, based on the *Ministerial Handbook*.

On 9 December 2019, Minister Senzo Mchunu announced amendments to the Ministerial *Handbook*: '... in relation to vehicles for ministers, for MECs, for mayors that are bought by the state are now parked at R700,000. Ministers, deputy ministers, mayors EXCOs, MECs, and premiers will no longer are allowed to fly business class. We now have to fly economy<sup>63</sup>.'

Demand that the IEC act to stop political parties from making xenophobic comments

We pushed for the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC) to take action against political parties that made xenophobic comments in the lead-up to the general election in May 2019. The campaign failed to get the IEC to

act, and a portion of our members would not be swayed by our messages challenging xenophobia and misinformation, and left amandla.mobi. However, the campaign helped reinforce our values amongst our members and helped challenge and shift some of our members who were on the fence, when it came to xenophobic claims.

In the lead-up to the general election in May of 2019, amandla.mobi noted that political leaders were increasingly making comments that stoked xenophobia. Politicians the world over have used migration to shift blame and reinforce nationalism. South Africa has a shameful history of xenophobia and violence. As the elections approached and politicians made xenophobic comments, many immigrants were attacked and forced to leave their homes<sup>64, 65</sup>.

The Minister of Health Aaron Motsoaledi said, 'The weight that foreign nationals are bringing to the country has got nothing to do with xenophobia...it's a reality. Our hospitals are full, we can't control them...they have to be admitted, we have got no option – and when they get admitted in large numbers, they cause overcrowding, infection control starts failing'66. Comments by officials from the second largest political party, the Democratic Alliance, also stoked xenophobic views<sup>67</sup>.

After analysing the situation, we identified and launched a campaign to tackle xenophobia. We called on the IEC to enforce the electoral code of conduct, which bans 'using language that provokes violence'. We argued that political parties that made claims stoking xenophobia were provoking violence. We also pointed out how the use of misinformation by political parties to sway voters was a threat to our democracy.

The IEC ignored the campaign and failed to act. While this was extremely disappointing, the campaign's failure reinforced our determination to do more to counter xenophobia. Some members left amandla.mobi because they disagreed with our position on xenophobia. We did not see this as a major loss, but rather as part of an ongoing process of reinforcing shared values and commitment to justice among the amandla.mobi community.



Campaign created on:



Demand a National Health Insurance that works for the people



We ensured that those who would be most impacted by the National Health Insurance (NHI), could access information and participate in the public consultation process. Over 170,000 people were able to participate from their cell phones, in their preferred language and at no cost. Without

the public participation campaign, the vast majority of public submissions would have come from the middle and upper classes, given their disproportionate access to information and the internet, and computer and English literacy.

The NHI Bill is probably the single biggest proposed reform to South Africa's health system over the past two decades. There is extreme inequality when it comes to access to quality health care in South Africa. The country's health system is already strained by the double burden of communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, and non-communicable diseases like diabetes and heart disease. Corruption, mismanagement and profiteering in the health sector also represent major challenges.

With so much at stake, the funding model, design and roll-out of the NHI would all have to be done in a way that served the people, and not just the private interests of a few. The public comment process was an opportunity for experts as well as everyday people, especially the poor majority, to have their say. Parliament, government and the media, however, failed to explain the NHI to the public. Like most of South Africa's public consultation processes, a small percentage of the population were aware that public comment was open. Most information about the NHI was in English, and one had to submit public comment by email or fax, a major barrier for the poor majority.

We identified expert submissions from academics and NGOs that were propoor. From there we worked on reading, analysing and summarising key points. We explained these points in a way that spoke to our constituents, while ensuring they could raise concerns in their submission that were based on their lived experiences. We developed a TV advert and other pieces of content to promote the campaign and worked around the clock to run a public comment campaign that was accessible and truly inclusive.

Some of our members organised their communities and collected submissions in person. We also designed the collation of public comments to provide a high-level summary of the main issues people raised. This provided Parliament's public comment process with both a high-level summary and each comment from over 170,000 individuals who participated in our campaign.



Don't let children drown: build the Diepsloot footbridge



Angel Sibanda, a six-year-old child from Diepsloot drowned in February 2016, when she tried to cross a river on her way to school. Angel's parents called on the City of Johannesburg to build a bridge so no that other child would drown, and amandla.mobi

members mobilised in support. The pedestrian bridge was finally opened on the 7th August 2019<sup>68</sup>.

### Call the Mayor's office: 0875506045



Build the Diepsloot footbridge before the rains later this week

The Sibanda family from Diepsloot lost their little girl, Angel, who died while attempting to cross a river on her way to school. Her lifeless body was found days after she was swept away by the river<sup>69</sup>. Following her tragic death, her parents stated that they wanted the City of

Johannesburg to erect a footbridge 'so that no other parent loses a child as they did'<sup>70</sup>.

Many of our members were horrified by what happened, so, together, we launched a petition to support the demands of Angel's parents, for the City of Johannesburg to build a bridge so children could travel to school safely<sup>71</sup>.

# Membership

### Apr 2015 5,000 members

At the start of 2015
we used a range
of tech platforms
and communication
strategies, including
Mxit, a South African
instant messenger
platform that was
especially light on data
and had a huge lowincome user base.

In April we were hit by a devastating crisis: the Mxit platform collapsed and Mxit users moved to WhatsApp in large numbers; and we were unable to follow them due to Mxit's privacy policy. We lost contact with 12,000 members (about 70% of our Mxit users).

### Dec 2016 109,000 members

amandla.mobi was undefeated by the Mxit collapse, and engaged in many campaigns that built membership, such as justice for the families and survivors after the Marikana Massacre. support for the Fees Must Fall movement, and campaigns against corruption and gender violence. By the end of 2015, amandla.mobi was struggling to meet the huge demand from its members, communities and other NGOs who wanted to launch campaigns.

### Dec 2014 17,000 members

On 16 June 2014, National Youth Day, amandla.mobi was launched. Within seven months, amandla.mobi had grown to 17,000 members and had started 17 campaigns that focused on corruption, women's rights, education, media access and police brutality.



# Dec 2015, 29,000 members

amandla.mobi launched awethu.mobi - a platform where the public could set up and run an approved campaign. This was highly successful and led to a massive increase in membership.

2014 2015 2016

# growth

### Dec 2017 148,000 members

amandla.mobi continued to grow. While we launched and won new campaigns, we also worked on existing campaigns, introducing new campaign actions and tactics. Our campaigns were national (e.g. SABC censorship and corruption) and regional (e.g. police brutality in Pietermaritzburg).



### Dec 2018 220,000 members

By 2018, we had dramatically increased our work with other NGOs and other partners, and there was an increase in media coverage of our work. Our tech platform gave us data on membership growth, demographics and reengagement rates.



### Dec 2019 300,000+ members

In this period, we grew our management capacity through training and additional support. We also started to cut back on the number of campaigns, to develop quality and depth to campaigns.

Member numbers grew, but we realised that high numbers do not always equal campaign wins. We developed our strategies and tactics to build momentum and pressure through e.g. public submissions, pickets and media engagement.

2017

2018

2019

# The amandla.mobi campaign process

amandla.mobi leads campaigns that build real power for Black people, with a particular focus. Our success is based on a process that we have tested repeatedly — it works!









## Identify the issue.

We identify opportunities to run highimpact campaigns on issues impacting our core constituency, by:

- listening to the amandla.mobi community;
- working with key stakeholders, which includes those impacted by issues, partner organisations and issue area experts; and
- monitoring government and private sector actions and decisions.



# Design a campaign.

We work with key stakeholders (those affected by the issue, partner organisations and experts) to identify a constructive but impactful 'ask' of a decision-maker to address the campaign issue. The campaign may then get sign-off from the Executive Director.





### **Provide actions.**

We provide people with actions to constructively influence decision makers, e.g.

- We sign the campaign 'ask' of the decision-maker.
- We recruit others.
- We make a public submission.
- We organise an action: this could be a meeting, protest or whatever is necessary to escalate the campaign.



# Translate and broadcast the campaign.

- We translate the campaign into isiZulu, Setswana, IsiXhosa and English.
- We broadcast the campaign using SMS, Please Call Me, WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook and our mobi website.





## Monitor and re-engage.

- With partners, we monitor that a decision-maker has fulfilled any commitments made to change practices, policies, budget allocations or whatever needed to happen to make real world impact.
- We re-engage supporters of the campaign.

# Using awethu.mobi to run a campaign

awethu.mobi is a public platform where values-aligned individuals, communities or organisations can bring people together to campaign for justice. Whether it's sending in public comments for the budget, organising a protest outside your mayor's office, or gathering signatures for a petition, the public can use awethu.mobi to put pressure on decision-makers who can help fix an issue in their community.

awethu.mobi can help campaigners to build real power for Black people, especially low-income Black women in Mzansi.

## Using awethu.mobi the public can:





## Start a petition

A public petition is a written request or a demand to government or another institution, to do something that people believe is right and true. The aim of a petition is to get as many people to sign it as possible, to show that there is strong public support. A petition needs to:

- be clear and easy to understand;
- be concise people will not read long, complicated texts;
- give accurate and relevant details to convince people who don't know about the issue; and
- be directed at the right decision-makers.



## **Organise an event**

Events such as protests, pickets, sit-ins, meetings and workshops are a good way to:

- raise awareness and demonstrate support for an issue;
- help people feel they are part of a bigger movement or community, taking action together;
- spread the word about the issue;
- turn up pressure on decision-makers; and
- help campaigners to organise and conscientise their community.





## 'Send message action'

'Send message action' lets people send their own individual messages directly to a decision-maker. This is useful when:

- a government department, parliament or another public institution calls for public comment on a policy, bill, regulation or budget, and people need specific information to participate; or
- people want to send messages directly to a decision-maker, such as complaints or reasons for supporting the campaign demands.

## **Terms and conditions**

amandla.mobi reserves the right to not publish campaign actions with racist, sexist, classist, ableist, xenophobic or homophobic views and/or language. We will remove derogatory or defamatory public comments.

While amandla.mobi makes every effort to ensure that awethu.mobi campaigns are aligned with our values, we do not necessarily endorse campaigns on this platform.

# awethu.mobi campaign stories

"I am from Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal. I finished my studies at DUT in 2015. I still owed R77,000 in fees. Graduation was scheduled for June 2016. That did not happen. I missed a job because I could not present them with a certificate...I then started a campaign on awethu.mobi.

It was not easy, but I started anyway. amandla.mobi gave me lots of support. I posted the campaign to social media, and it went viral. Two weeks later NSFAS responded that we should meet with DUT. I think we were only taken seriously once the story went viral.

I shared the outcomes of the meeting online so that we did not run a campaign, and make a lot of noise, whilst leaving others behind.

After some weeks, I got my results and my certificate, and I finally got into an internship programme.

The campaign had a number of people that participated, and it still went on in 2017. The war was not over."

- Siboniso Thusi a

Siboniso's campaign received over 700 signatures and over 1,500 people received their qualifications because of it.

"I started my first campaign — a petition for a second police station in Nyanga, Cape Town — during September 2016, after the release of the national crime stats. What stood out for me was that Nyanga was the crime capital for the fifth year in a row. The reason the Minister gave for this was that there was only one police station in the area, i.e. heavier case load per police officer. It made sense then to campaign for a second police station. This seemed like an actionable demand.

I was born in Nyanga, so this was quite a personal campaign for me. I wanted to make a difference in the area.

At first, I tried to engage the provincial leaders, then Mayor de Lille and Premier Zille. When I didn't get any tangible responses from them, I decided to start a petition on awethu.mobi.

Part of the journey of the Nyanga petition included working with community groups and organisations such as the Social Justice Coalition, and also participating in peaceful protests, community meetings, WhatsApp groups and imbizos with government officials. Growing these relationships helped to position the campaign better and to make sure that it was grounded in real issues and would yield an outcome that benefited all in the community."

- Nelisa Nggulana

The biggest victories during the Nyanga petition include a mobile police station in Philippi and a second police station in Nyanga, which was unveiled in Samora Machel in December 2018. This petition received 949 signatures.





The Waislitz Global Citizen Awards are annual cash prizes that recognise the excellence of individuals in their work to end extreme poverty.



The Tech for Global Good programme is an expansion of The Tech Awards, founded in 2001 to recognise organisations using technology to benefit humanity.

## amandla.mobi staff members



**Koketso Moeti**Founding Executive Director
2014-2019



**Paul Mason**Partnerships and Tech Manager

2014–2019



**Heather Robertson** *Finance, Operations and HR Manager*2018–2019



**Siphesihle Tetwayo** *Office Administrator*2018-2019



**Fezile Kanju**Campaigns Manager

2014-2016



**Sabelo Mnukwa** *Campaigner*2014–2015



**Thuli Ngubane** *Office Administrator*2016-2018



**Nqaba Mpofu** *Campaigner*2016–2017



**Khaliel Moses** *Junior Campaigner*2019



**Noxolo Mfocwa** *Junior Campaigner*2019

## amandla.mobi Board



**Kgomotso Sediane** 2014/2015



**Nomzamo Zondo** *Chair* 2016–2019



**Janet Jobson** 2014/2015



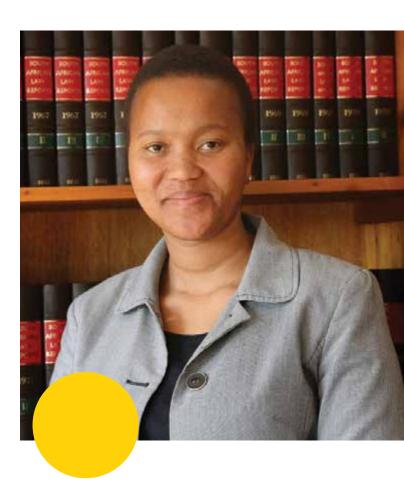
Adèle Kirsten Secretary 2016–2019



**Dr Tshepo Madlingozi** *Member*2014/2015

## **Chair: Nomzamo Zondo**

Nomzamo is the Executive Director at the Socio-Economic Rights
Institute (SERI). She has played a key role representing the families and miners involved in the Marikana Massacre. Nomzamo brings a deep understanding of holding government and corporate power to account, and is an asset to our long term strategic goals. Nomzamo holds an LLB degree from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), and served her articles of clerkship with the Wits Law Clinic. She was admitted as an attorney in 2008.





## **Secretary: Adèle Kirsten**

Adèle is a nonviolent, social justice activist of more than 35 years. She joined the anti-apartheid movement in the 1970s. Through the National Peace Accord structures Adèle helped set up a rapid response network of unarmed young people trained in conflict resolution and emergency services to respond to high levels of violence leading up to the 1994 election. She is a founding member of Gun Free South Africa (GFSA) and became its Director in March 1995. She has led the organisation to major victories against gun violence.



## Member: Dr Tshepo Madlingozi

Tshepo is a leading South African intellectual and expert in the area of social movements and struggles for socio-economic justice. He brings legal and advocacy expertise to the Board. He is Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS). Tshepo was previously a senior law lecturer at the University of Pretoria and the National Advocacy Coordinator for Khulumani Support Group – a national membership organisation of over 100,000 survivors of apartheid's gross human rights violations. He previously served on the Board of Siyafunda Care Centre.



## Financials

2014

2015

2016

## Revenue



R706,773



R1,412,455



R1,925,845

## **Expenditure**



R154,267



R869,147



R2,606,790

## What's left



R552,506



R543,308



R680,945 (deficit)

View 2014 Financials View 2015 Financials View 2016 Financials View 2017 Financials View 2018 Financials View 2019 Financials

2017

2018

2019

## Revenue



R3,343,481



R6,731,891



R9,502,796

## R

R3,320,360



R4,119,196

## **Expenditure**



R7,578,529

## What's left



R23,121 (deficit)



R2,612,695



R 1,924,267

## How we're funded

The small amandla.mobi team support the work of the real campaigners and change-makers in our community. To do this and preserve our independence, amandla.mobi accepts donations from a variety of donors who align with our values. We do not accept funds with conditions that compromise the mission of the organisation, funds from political parties and funds directly from corporations or national and foreign governments.

## **Funders in 2019:**

- Brot für die Welt
- Comic Relief
- Global Health Advocacy Incubator
- Luminate (part of The Omidyar Group)
- Open Society Foundation South Africa

## Funders in 2018:

- Brot für die Welt
- The David & Elaine Potter Foundation
- Global Health Advocacy Incubator
- Indigo Trust
- Omidyar Network
- Open Society Foundation South Africa
- Oxfam South Africa
- Waislitz Global Citizen Awards grand prize

## **Funders in 2017:**

- Brot für die Welt
- Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids
- DG Murray Trust
- The David & Elaine Potter Foundation
- Foundation for Human Rights
- Heinrich Boll Foundation
- Making All Voices Count
- Open Society Foundation South Africa
- Oxfam South Africa

## **Funders in 2016:**

- Brot f

  ür die Welt
- Bertha Foundation
- The David & Elaine Potter Foundation
- DG Murray Trust
- Heinrich Boll Foundation
- Open Society Foundation South Africa

## **Funders in 2015:**

- Bertha Foundation
- Campact
- Making All Voices Count

## **Funders in 2014:**

- Bertha Foundation
- Global Green Grants
- Indigo Trust

amandla.mobi is working not only to be a people-powered community, but people-funded as well; each year we aim to be increasingly funded by members.

We have a policy of publishing details of donations over R10,000. Between 2014 and 2019, we received donations of over R10,000 from:

- Henry Tinsley
- Julian and Lizanne Knights
- Joel Joffe

amandla.mobi is a registered Public Benefit Organisation with 18A status and has US public charity equivalency status.



"Bread for the World (BftW) and amandla.mobi have been cooperating since 2016. BftW is happy working together towards strengthening the voice of marginalised communities with the focus on Black women. During our partnership, the number of members who are active on the social mobilisation platform and participate in campaigns has increased from less than 25,000 to over 300,000 by 2019. amandla.mobi supports the building of a social movement which stands up for democracy and justice. We highly value amandla.mobi's expert knowledge on the meaningful use of modern technologies and digitalisation."

- Robin Goldmann, Bröt fur die Weld / Bread for the World

"amandla.mobi engages South Africa's disaffected majority by uniting them around opportunities for targeted collective action. Using amandla.mobi's tools, the people most affected by social injustice can be the ones to raise awareness and propose solutions. This brings previously disaffected groups into public dialogue and civic action, a critical piece of the struggle for progress in South Africa.

We are inspired by the way that amandla.mobi leverages the best of what technology has to offer — simplified communication, lower costs, large scale — by using mobile-first, cheap, or free tools which operate in four languages. We also recognise the importance of acknowledging technology's limitations when it comes to civic participation. Technology can only go so far without sustained real-world action and can also present an inaccurate illusion of inclusivity. amandla. mobi's work incorporates skilful and tactical offline techniques that complement their online efforts. With a little bit of creative thinking, and a lot of passion and determination, amandla.mobi is showing that the power of both technology and civic engagement can be opened up to those who need it most."

<sup>-</sup> Wendy Trott, Luminateb

## Lessons learnt

Turning the vision of amandla.mobi into reality required resilience to navigate the highs and lows. In the early days, some people said that amandla.mobi would fail. Some felt that the vision and plan were too bold. Unlike many successful organisations, when amandla.mobi launched, the organisation did not have connections to donors to secure the necessary funds. Despite this, amandla.mobi launched our first campaign before the organisation had a bank account, office or even paid staff.



awethu.mobi campaign starters from across South Africa meet to discuss the successes and challenges of running campaigns. This day-long workshop was organised by amandla. mobi in partnership with the Civic Tech Innovation Network at Wits University's Journalism School in September 2017. An Action Learning methodology was used to develop an early version of amandla.mobi's campaign model.

Overcoming adversity and learning from failure have been powerful teachers. amandla.mobi was built from scratch to run and support campaigns for justice while building a movement. Over the years, amandla.mobi has consolidated lessons about what works and what doesn't through data analysis, debriefs, workshops and external evaluations. Here are the biggest lessons we've learnt over the last five years:

## To build a movement, the most precious resource is the trust your members have in your work.

It was tough, but we managed to secure funding that did not compromise our independence by restricting or distracting us from serving our members and mission. We have worked to ensure our actions and work are consistent, and over time, we have showed our members that, at the end of the day, we are first and foremost accountable to them and our values, and not just funders. We have not only regularly sought feedback and input from our members to strengthen our work, but have also ensured that the funding we receive does not compromise trust and is aligned with the organisation's values.

## **Fail fast**

Everything will always go differently than planned. Mzansi is a volatile place where the socio-economic-political context is constantly shifting. Campaigns that seem winnable may fail. In fact, the majority of campaigns fail. However, each time a campaign fails or wins, we use data and evaluations to adjust our approach to social change so we refine the different combination of tactics and strategy that increases the chances of holding decision-makers accountable. Over time, we have picked up patterns while adjusting to a changing context.

## Tech is and always will be just a tool.

The printing press was a tool used by activists to distribute information more easily using flyers. Mobile phones, the internet and social media are the same. They are tools that let you communicate and coordinate to make real-world actions happen faster and at scale. Tech is also not neutral. When there are barriers to tech, such as cost and language, tech can reinforce power structures that marginalise voices. That is why we have spent so much time ensuring our tech is inclusive.



- 1. 'Rooigrond the forgotten village'. News 24, 4 August 2012
- 2. 'Most SA internet users are Black'. News 24, 28 November 2012
- 3. 'Nhleko says panel will influence the future of public order policing'. Penelope Mashego, for *Business Day Live*, 29 April 2016
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- 5. 'The President's Fund: Where is the money for apartheid victims actually going?'. Simon Allison for the *Daily Maverick*, 14 October 2014
- 6. 'He came up to me and just klapped me'. Sue Segar for the *Weekend Argus*, 18 October 2014
- 7. 'Gym racism row grows as Virgin's Branson steps in'. *The Mail & Guardian*, 7 February 2012
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- 10. 'Big sponsors pull out of Afrikaans concerts after Steve Hofmeyr tweet'. *Times Live*, 17 March 2015
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- 12. 'What Blade's no-fee varsity report says'. The Daily Vox Team, 29 October 2015
- 13. Speech by Minister of Finance Mr Nhlanhla Nene to the National Assembly, 27 October 2015
- 14. 'Take back your trains: PRASA seeks refund in dodgy tender debacle'. Thanduxolo Jika for the *Sunday Times*, 29 November 2015
- 15. 'OPW suffers another blow, Vodacom withdraws sponsorship'. Thando Kubheka for *EWN*, 5 December 2015

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- 17. Ibid
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## Appendix: 2019 Financials

### AMANDLA, MOBI NPC

Annual Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2019

Registration no. 2014/176307/08

Statement of financial position			
	Notes	2019 R	2018 R
Assets			Restated
Non-current Assets			
Furniture and equipment	2	220 603	58 787
, ,		220 603	58 787
Current Assets			
Cash and cash equivalents	3	8 018 831	5 490 314
Other receivables			10 746
		8 018 831	5 501 060
Total Assets		8 239 434	5 559 847
Funds and Liabilities			
Funds			
Accumulated funds		4 974 952	3 050 685
0		4 974 952	3 050 685
Current Liabilities	,	404 544	40.500
Trade and other payables	4	200 569	18 500
Provisions	5	12 996	0 400 000
Deferred income	6	3 050 917	2 490 662
		3 264 482	2 509 162
Total Funds and Liabilities		8 239 434	5 559 847

## AMANDLA.MOBI NPC

Annual Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2019

## Registration no. 2014/176307/08

Statement o	Comprehensive	Income
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	Notes	2019 R	2018 R Restated
Revenue Grants and donations received Other income		9 363 296 9 342 447 20 849	6 648 328 6 648 328 -
Expenditure Operating and project expenses		7 <b>578 529</b> 7 578 529	4 119 196 4 119 196
Operating surplus		1 784 767	2 529 132
Interest income		139 500	83 563
Surplus / (deficit) for the period		1 924 267	2 612 695

### Detailed Statement of Comprehensive Income

	Notes	2019 R	2018 R Restated
		0.040.447	
Grants and donations	10	9 342 447	6 648 328
Bread for the World		854 938	1 173 484
Global Health Advocacy Incubator / Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids		3 613 110	2 095 797
NCAS		30 087	-
Comic Relief		218 066	165 059
David & Elaine Potter Foundation		33 000	297 000
Campact		379 538	196
Emerson Collective		141 688	×
Omidyar Network Fund Inc		1 841 363	1 479 738
Open Society Foundation SA		759 039	700 000
Global Poverty Project		340	1 386 970
Health Enabled		9.	400 000
Heinrich Boell Foundation			300 000
OXFAM		2 1	231 682
Indige Foundation		T 2	550 000
Bread for the World project deferred income adjustment		1 417 380	(2 144 838)
Sundry donations		54 238	13 436
Suitally donations		94 230	13 436
Other income		160 349	83 563
Interest received		139 500	83 563
Öther		20 849	-
Total income		9 502 796	6 731 891
×			
Personnel		3 549 085	2 116 943
Salaries & contributions		1 545 792	1 519 293
Developer (personnel)		562 115	467 421
Campaigner consulting fees		1 140 265	125 238
Consulting fees		212 501	4 991
Staff development & welfare		6 927	B1 1
Recruitment		46 068	
SARS - Penalties & Interests		12 214	
Prior year tax expense		23 205	
Administration (Core operations)		1 157 656	569 218
Office rental		182 858	80 311
Equipment rental		21 666	11 279
External accountant		127 746	82 005
Evaluation consultant			47 000
Secretarial Fee		1 025	140
Audit fees		29 378	38 453
Insurance		35 110	3 684
Office supplies & minor equipment		176 114	41 135
Depreciation		55 595	18 568
Financial service fees		23 834	16 289
Legal services		27 365	25 276
Telephone & internet		158 538	55 663
Courier & postage		3 862	1 892
Local travel - subsistence		19 426	. 775
Local travel - ground		100 993	83 745
		57 804	19 205
Local Yavet - Fights		12 411	19 203
Accomedation Foreign travel		123 931	44 713
Foreign (rave)		123 331	MH 7 10
Project activities		2871 788	1 433 035
Online services		810 296	474 735
Advertising & promotions		1 760 994	527 793
Developer (projects)		78 301	275 000
Media services		177 116	153 486
Donatrons		31 708	
Campaign materials		13 373	2 021
Total expenses		7 578 529	4 119 196
		1 924 267	2 612 695
Surplus for the period		1954 501	2012083

This supplementary information does not form part of the financial statements and is unaudited.

Notes

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